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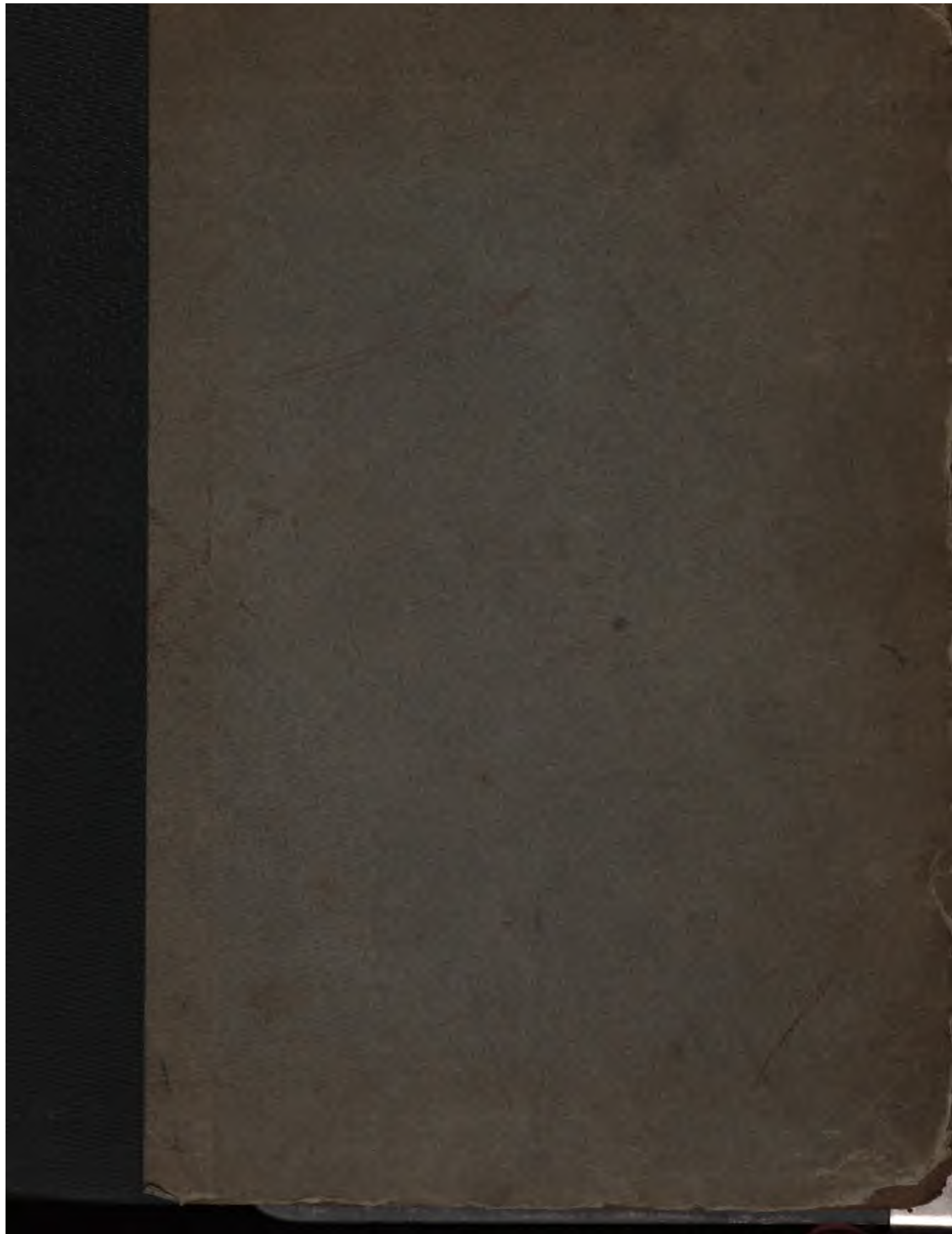
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Hodgson, John

A

HISTORY

OF

Northumberland,

IN THREE PARTS.

PART I.

Containing the General History of the County.

STATE OF THE DISTRICT UNDER THE ROMANS,
THE SAXON AND DANISH KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND,
THE OFFICIAL EARLDOM.

WITH A

Narrative of Events connected with the County

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST
TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

UNDERTAKEN BY THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE:
PRINTED BY THOMAS & JAMES PIGG, 81, CLAYTON-STREET.

MDCCLVIII.

J.A 670.

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TO
RICHARD WELLINGTON HODGSON ESQ.
THIS VOLUME
COMPILED AS A SUPPLEMENT TO HIS FATHER'S LABOURS
AND
AS A TOKEN OF REGARD FOR HIS MEMORY
IS DEDICATED
WITH SINCERE RESPECT
BY
JOHN HODGSON HINDE.

PREFACE.

THE compilation of the present volume has been undertaken at the request of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, as a contribution of labour towards the completion of the *History of Northumberland*, so ably commenced and industriously prosecuted by the late Rev. John Hodgson.

That gentleman proposed to divide his work into three parts.

- I. *The General History* of the County from the earliest period.
- II. *The Topography and Local Antiquities* arranged in parishes.
- III. *A Collection of Records and Illustrative Documents*.

With the second and third divisions he had made considerable progress, a large portion of the county having been described and illustrated in a manner which enhances the regret universally entertained that he was not spared to finish the task he had undertaken.

Of the first part no commencement had been made; and the Council of the Antiquarian Society determined to proceed with this in the first instance; that the work might at all events be complete, as far as it goes, instead of consisting of the second and third parts only, without a first. This resolution, it is believed, has been generally satisfactory to the possessors of copies of the original work, who may rest assured that no efforts shall be wanting on the part of the Society to ensure the completion of the History in its entirety.

The undertaking of the compiler of this part extends only to the present volume, for the whole of which he is responsible, except for the second chapter, which embraces the important discussion as to the Builder of the Roman Wall, for which the reader is indebted to the much abler pen of Dr. BRUCE.

The name of that gentleman is so completely identified with the subject, and his reputation in connection with it is so deservedly high, that the Editor felt he should have been guilty of the utmost presumption, if he had attempted the execution of this task himself. There seemed, besides, a peculiar propriety in soliciting Dr. BRUCE'S assistance here, as in this investigation he has followed in the footsteps of Mr. HODGSON, enforcing with singular clearness and ability the views which were originally propounded in the *History of Northumberland*.

As regards the remainder of the volume, it may be necessary to say a few words, explanatory of the views of the compiler. In the earlier portion, extending through the Roman,

Saxon, and Danish Periods, and the Government of the Official Earls, he has endeavoured to render the historical details as full as possible. In dealing with the Roman Period, indeed, he has refrained from discussing some topographical questions, the elucidation of which might have rendered his sketch more perfect, because the subjects had already come under Mr. HODGSON'S own review in the last of his published volumes.

In the Saxon and Danish Periods a much clearer field was open to him, which Mr. HODGSON has not entered upon at all, and which has been very imperfectly explored by others. Here he has scrupulously consulted every available authority, tracing each statement to its original source, and never relying on recent historians for information which they could only have at second or third hand. Where irreconcilable discrepancies exist between different writers, he has invariably presented all the conflicting statements, not, indeed, hesitating to state his own view in favour of one or the other, but giving the reader at the same time the means of forming an independent judgment. He has availed himself, to the best of his ability, of the increased facilities which now exist, not only of referring to the historians of our own country, but of comparing their statements with the chronicles of other nations. This course has been of especial service to him in the darkest period of Northumbrian history, in which he has been enabled, by a comparison of the Saxon Chronicle and Symeon with the inestimable series of Irish Annals, to trace the erratic career of the Danish leaders, who flitted backward and forward from one island to the other, as plunder or conquest invited them, and were to be met with, one year at Waterford or Dublin, and the next on the Humber or the Tyne.

The Government of the Official Earls has been treated in detail, under the conviction that minute particulars, the narrative of which would unduly swell a national history, are especially interesting to the readers of the annals of an isolated locality.

During the Norman Period to the close of the reign of Henry III., the compiler has still aimed at preserving the memory of every incident connected with the county, because up to that time Northumberland still had a sort of nationality of its own, not completely absorbed in the sovereignty of England. For a considerable portion of the period, indeed, it was in the hands of Scottish princes, nor did the kings of Scotland finally abandon their claim till its very close. In the reign of John, and even in that of his successor, it was yet doubtful whether Northumberland would ultimately be attached to the southern or northern monarchy in Britain.

With the reign of Edward I. an entirely new era commences. Northumberland becomes at once the scene of great events, but these do not especially concern the county in which they occur, as their history is the common property of the nation. From this date, whilst on the one hand a History of Northumberland would be imperfect which omitted any material incident that took place within it: so on the other, it should not be encumbered with an elaborate account of every Scottish invasion and Border skirmish.

In the subsequent pages, where some discretion had to be exercised in dealing with super-

abundant materials, those events have been briefly noticed which have already been fully illustrated by our general or local historians, whilst greater space has been afforded for matters hitherto unrecorded or imperfectly understood, which have been brought to light by the publication of State Papers, Privy Council Records, and other authentic documents not previously available.

In particular, care has been taken to render accessible all information which could be gathered of a statistical nature. On this head, indeed, an apology may be due to some readers for what may appear dry records of the names of the Border leaders, the position of their strongholds, and the number of followers they could bring into the field. Some may complain that the narrative is interrupted by dull abstracts of obsolete Acts of Parliament. These, however, are the criticisms of which the Editor has the least fear. He may have failed to render his narrative tolerably attractive; he may have been too diffuse in some matters and too brief in others: but in presenting these documents and abstracts, he is satisfied that he is supplying valuable materials for illustrating the state of the country in by-gone times.

Two chapters have been introduced at the close of the Norman Period, the importance of which, it is hoped, will sufficiently excuse the interruption of the historical narrative to make room for them. Of these, one is devoted to the *Tenures, Services, and Customs* originating in earlier times, of which traces yet remained in Northumberland, either exclusively or in common only with the adjoining counties: the other contains such particulars as can be recovered respecting the wapentake of Sadberge, whilst it formed a part of the county of Northumberland. Both chapters have been compiled from materials which have not been accessible to previous enquirers, and it is hoped that the information which they contain may be interesting beyond the circle of local readers, to whom the perusal of a topographical work is usually confined. Whatever attraction they may have for the general or local antiquary, is attributable in a very small degree only to the compiler. The materials were for the most part ready to his hands, in the valuable series of Pipe Rolls which were given to the public by Mr. HODGSON in another volume of his history. The publication of these records was a service to historical literature and constitutional antiquities, which has hitherto been very imperfectly appreciated—partly, perhaps, from the immense variety of information which they contain, and the somewhat chaotic state in which it is presented. It would be truly gratifying if the perusal of these chapters were to be the means of directing attention to the documents on which they are founded, so as to lead not only to the study of the Pipe Rolls of the Northern Counties, which have already been printed,* but to the publication of a continuous series of the early Rolls of other counties.

* The series of Northumberland Pipe Rolls, printed by Mr. Hodgson, comprise the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., John, and Henry III. The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham, to the end of the reign of John, have been published by the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

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History of Northumberland.

CHAPTER I.

ROMAN PERIOD.

IN tracing the ancient History of Northumberland, it is impossible to adhere strictly to the narrow limits of the present county. During the Saxon period, it will be necessary to include in our survey the entire kingdom of that name; and it will be convenient, from the commencement, to adopt the same area, extending from the Humber and Mersey on the south to the Forth and Clyde on the north. Within this district were comprised, in the opinion of Camden, with whom Horsley and all our most distinguished antiquaries concur, the two Roman provinces of Maxima Cæsariensis and Valentia, the former lying to the south, the latter to the north, of the great Barrier which stretches from the Tyne to the estuary of the Solway. From the *Notitia* we learn that there were five provinces in Britain—three under officers of præsidial rank, and two under consular governors. The former were Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Flavia Cæsariensis; the latter, Maxima Cæsariensis, and Valentia. Camden, with his usual acuteness, has remarked, that in the decline of the Empire the frontier provinces only had governors of consular dignity, and infers that the præsidial governors were appointed to the three southern provinces, which were more immediately under the eye of the Vicarius of Britain, and the consular to the two northern. Of the correctness of this view we have confirmatory evidence as regards Valentia, the remotest from the central authority. In the reign of Valentinian, when the Roman territory was invaded by the barbarians, and the great Theodosius sent over to repel their aggressions, we find that, having expelled them from the frontier, which they had occupied, he formed the recovered country into a new province, to which he gave the name of Valentia, after his imperial master.*

* Ammianus Marcellinus, as cited hereafter.

Within the district, which has by general consent been assigned to the province of Maxima, two British tribes were located, the Parisi and the Brigantes. Of the former we know nothing beyond the position which they occupy in the geography of Ptolemy on the sea-coast immediately north of the Humber. Their "well-sheltered bay" is supposed by Horsley to be that of Bridlington, which, protected from the violence of the waves by the promontory of Flamborough-head, is fully entitled to the name. The site of their capital, Petuaria, has been the subject of much discussion, but is still involved in too much obscurity to justify the admission of any conjectural opinion here. The Brigantes are described by Tacitus as the most numerous tribe in Britain, and Ptolemy speaks of their territory as extending from sea to sea, and containing nine towns, being considerably more than the number possessed by any other state. From the limits which he assigns to them, and the position of their towns, they seem to have occupied the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancaster, the West and North Ridings of Yorkshire, Durham and a small portion of Northumberland. Of their towns, the positions of the following are ascertained beyond dispute, as they occur also in the Itinerary of Antoninus and elsewhere; Isurium at Aldborough, Eboracum at York, Cattraetonium at Caterick, and Vinnovium at Binchester, near Bishop-Auckland. Isurium occurs more than once in the Itinerary; in one instance as Isu-Brigantum, and is supposed to have been the ancient capital of the tribe whose name is thus incorporated with it. Even under the Roman government, although inferior to Eboracum, in must, from existing remains, have been a place of considerable importance.

Olicana seems to be identical with the station of Olenacum in the Notitia. Its locality has generally been assigned to Ilkley in the West Riding of Yorkshire, at which there are the remains of a Roman station, chiefly on account of the supposed affinity of the ancient and modern names; neither is Ilkley an inappropriate site for Olenacum, situated as it is on the Roman road from Ribchester to Castleford. The four remaining towns of the Brigantes, Calatum, Camunlodunum, Epia-cum, and Rigodunum, neither occur in the Itinerary nor the Notitia; unless Horsley is right in identifying Calatum with Galacum, and Camunlodunum with Campodunum, both in the Itinerary, the former of which he places at Appleby, ^b the

^b No remains have been discovered at Appleby denoting a Roman station, nor have we any satisfactory evidence of a Roman road in that direction.

latter at Gretland, near Halifax. Some investigators have fancied that in Camunlodunum they trace the original of the modern name of Malton, but Malton does not at all accord with the locality indicated by Ptolemy, being many miles too far to the east.

Epiacum is conjecturally placed by Horsley at Hexham, which suits very well with the latitude assigned to it by Ptolemy, half a degree north of Vinnovium; but if he is correct in the longitude, half a degree west from the same place, then Hexham is not nearly far enough in that direction.

Of Rigodunum, Horsley says "Camden conjectures the true original reading might be *Ribodunum* and that the place is Ribchester, in Lancashire, but this seems too far fetched. Some coins are said to have been found at Coln, and according to Mr. Thoresby there has been a Roman town near Leeds, but neither of these seem to suit the Rigodunum of our geographer. The situation he assigns it would direct us rather to Manchester or Warrington; the former is undoubtedly Roman, and bears the name of Mancunium in the Itinerary. I have also been told of a military way near Warrington; if this intelligence be right, I would give my suffrage for it." Subsequent investigations prove beyond doubt that a Roman road passed Warrington, but whether Warrington was Rigodunum is still involved in uncertainty, although no more feasible site has been suggested. It agrees pretty well with the geographical position laid down by Ptolemy, a sixth of a degree north of York, and two degrees west. The Roman remains mentioned by Thoresby are at Adel, six miles from Leeds to the north-west. After all, we have no evidence that Rigodunum, which is enumerated by Ptolemy amongst the towns of the native Brigantes, was ever adopted as a Roman settlement, and we are probably led astray by seeking to identify its site by evidences of Roman occupation. Camden's theory, on the whole, though not conclusive, is as probable as any other.

The province of Valentia comprised the territories of five British tribes, the Novantæ, Damnii, Selgovæ, Otadeni and Gadeni. The geography of this district is greatly perplexed by a mistake of Ptolemy, who seems to have formed his map from two distinct surveys, one reaching northward to the Wall, the other including the country beyond. These he has pieced together in such a way as to turn the western part of the second survey to the north, thus converting degrees of latitude into longitude, and the converse. We find in this way the promontory of Galloway represented as the northernmost angle of the island, and Caithness extended eastward almost across the German Ocean. Amongst the many services rendered

by Horsley to the study of Romano-British antiquities, not the least is his rectification of Ptolemy's map, from which we are enabled with tolerable precision to determine the relative positions of the five tribes. Beginning at the west we have the Novantæ occupying the district of Galloway, and giving their name to the Novantine Chersonese; to the north of the Novantæ lay the Damnii, and to the east the Selgovæ; beyond these, on the eastern side of the island, were the Otadeni and Gadeni. If Ptolemy's account of the relative positions of the towns were at all to be relied on, we might with some confidence determine the boundaries of the tribes to which they belong, but on this head Horsley's attempts at identification are at most, with a very few exceptions, but happy conjectures.

Of the two towns of the Novantæ, the position of Retigionium is ascertained from the circumstance of its standing on a bay of the same name, which can only be Loch Ryan, on which is seated the modern town of Stranraer: the site of Lucopibia is undetermined, opinions being divided between Wigton and Whitehern.

The Damnii had six towns, the Selgovæ four, to all of which Horsley has assigned sites according very well with the data furnished by Ptolemy, but unsupported by confirmatory evidence, beyond the occasional presence of Roman or British remains, which might as well belong to any other town, as to that to which he attributes them. The following lists are formed in accordance with his opinions.

TOWNS OF THE DAMNII.	TOWNS OF THE SELGOVÆ.
<i>Colania</i> .. Carstairs, in Lanarkshire.	<i>Carbantorigum</i> .. Bardanna, or Kier, Perthshire.
<i>Vanduaara</i> . Paisley.	<i>Uxelum</i> Caerlaveroch, Dumfries.
<i>Coria</i> Lynekirk, in Peebles.	<i>Corda</i> Cumnoc, Ayrshire.
<i>Alauna</i> .. Camelon, near Falkirk.	<i>Trimontium</i> Birrenswork Hill, Dumfriesshire.
<i>Lindum</i> .. Kirkintilloch, near Glasgow.	
<i>Victoria</i> .. Abernethy, in Perthshire.	

The very significant name of the last town in this list, Trimontium, is undoubtedly not of British origin, but must have been imposed by the Romans. General Roy first suggested the Eildon Hills, and not Birrenswork, as the true site, and certainly no one can contemplate the peculiar configuration of the three peaks which rise high and conspicuous above the surrounding country without being struck by the appropriateness of the designation. Birrenswork is indeed a most remarkable hill, and, like Eildon, visible from a great distance on all sides; but

it is a single isolated mass, to which the name, so apposite in the other case, is altogether unsuited. If Eildon be the true Trimontium, the Selgovæ are necessarily brought much further to the north-east than they have generally been placed. The result of this is, that much more space is allowed for the territory of the Damnii, and much less for the Otadeni and Gadeni, than by a strict adherence to Ptolemy's allocation; but so far is this from being an objection, that it rather relieves us from a difficulty. The Otadeni and Gadeni had but two towns between them, and must have been very small tribes, whereas the Damnii had six towns, and are spread by Ptolemy over three degrees of latitude and one of longitude. To accommodate these details to the supposed position of Trimontium at Birrenswork, Horsley has been compelled to extend the Damnii far beyond the boundaries of Valentia, placing one of their towns as far north as the banks of the Tay; a course which is rendered unnecessary, if General Roy's suggestion is entertained, and the Selgovæ are removed into a district which had been unnecessarily assigned to the exclusive occupation of the Otadeni and Gadeni. It may be remarked that there are at Eildon, British remains even more conspicuous than those described by Horsley at Birrenswork, whilst traces of Roman occupation are equally distinct.^c No town is mentioned by Ptolemy amongst the Gadeni, and only two amongst the Otadeni, Curia and Bremenium. Of these the site of the former is uncertain; that of the latter is determined both by inscriptions and by the Itinerary, being the only one of Ptolemy's towns, to the north of the wall of Hadrian, which occurs in that document. It is also the most northern which exhibits the remains of massive fortifications of masonry, the Roman stations in Scotland being mere earth-works. It stands in a commanding situation in the upper part of the valley of the Reed, in Northumberland, on the line of the great Roman road which traversed the island from north to south, by the Brigantian towns of Vinnovium, Catarractonium, Isurium and Eboracum. A few miles to the south, on the same line of road, and also on the margin of the Reed, is another Roman station, to which the name of Habitancum is assigned on the authority of inscriptions, but which is unnoticed in the geography of Ptolemy, the Itinerary and the Notitia. Habitancum seems to have been within the territory of the Gadeni; at least altars have been found there dedicated to "the God Magon of the Gadeni." If this inference be correct, then Brememium and Habitancum

^c For the Roman antiquities discovered at Eildon, see Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*; also Wilson's *Prehistoric Antiquities of Scotland*.

must have been frontier positions of the Otadeni and Gadeni, each of whom, as well as the Brigantes, were partially located within the modern county of Northumberland.

The Brigantes are first mentioned by Tacitus, under the year 50 (A.D.), but as he describes them as being then in a state of rebellion, they must have submitted to the Roman government at a somewhat earlier period. Aulus Plantius was the first general sent into Britain by the Emperor Claudius, A.D. 43, nearly a century after the invasion of Julius Cæsar. Of his two first campaigns we have a minute account, and it is certain that up to the close of the second year he did not penetrate so far north as the Humber. Of the intervening years, from 45 to 49 inclusive, we have no record, but the submission of the Brigantes must have been within that period.

In the year 50 Ostorius Scapula was appointed to the government, who having suppressed an outbreak of the Iceni, and overrun the country of the Cangi, was crossing over to the west coast, when he was recalled by intelligence of disturbances amongst the Brigantes. "Resolved," says Tacitus, "not to attempt new conquests till the old were secured," he hastened back, when his promptitude was rewarded with complete success, and the Brigantes returned to their allegiance. Although thus constrained to acknowledge the Roman supremacy, they still maintained their domestic government under their queen Cartismandua, who was not only favourably inclined towards the invaders, but glad to avail herself of their protection against civil commotions amongst her own people. She proved her zeal for her new allies by giving up to them Caractacus king of the Silures, who, after a gallant struggle for the liberties of his country, was compelled to seek refuge at her court. Notwithstanding the captivity of their king, the Silures maintained an obstinate resistance, and caused so much loss and annoyance to their assailants, that Ostorius sunk under the fatigue and annoyance of his position, leaving the Roman forces in Britain for a time without any recognised head.

When Diddius Gallus was appointed to the vacant command, he found the affairs of the Roman province in a most critical state. Not only had the imperial forces been defeated by the Silures, but the latter had been joined by Venutius the husband of Cartismandua, the ablest British leader after Caractacus, with a considerable portion of the Brigantes. Cartismandua, who enjoyed the crown in her own right, had repudiated Venutius, and contracted a second marriage with his armour-bearer Vellocatus. Disgusted by this conduct, and ashamed, under such

circumstances to submit to female domination, the bulk of the people sided with Venusius, and Cartismandua was driven from the throne, in defiance of the Roman governor, and the legions of her foreign protectors. "To Venusius," says Tacitus, "was left the kingdom, to us war." The contest, as he elsewhere informs us, "was at first doubtful, but its termination was satisfactory."^d The discomfiture of Cartismandua was in truth an advantage to the Romans, who were now at liberty to pursue their own territorial aggrandizement, instead of upholding the government of a discreditable ally. An important victory was gained by Cesium Nasica, the lieutenant of Diddius, who was himself incapacitated for active exertion by age and long service; and the success was followed up by Petilius Cerialis, though still incomplete at the close of his government.*

Whether the subjugation of the province was perfected by his successor Julius Frontinus, or was reserved for the genius of Agricola, is uncertain, but the notices which have come down to us of the exploits of the former refer to a different quarter of the island.

Julius Agricola assumed the government, A.D. 78, having previously served in Britain with distinguished reputation under Suetonius Paulinus. His first campaign, as chief in command, was against the Ordovices, and closed with the conquest of the Isle of Anglesea.^f The proceedings of the following year are enumerated in general terms by Tacitus, without any distinct specification of localities, but it is probable that the winter of 79-80 was passed in the north, with a view to the campaign of the following year, and Horsley is of opinion that a part at least of the "Stations and Castles," which are described by the historian as having been erected during the previous summer, were in the line subsequently occupied by the Wall of Hadrian.

In the third year, A.D. 80, he proceeded northwards amongst tribes hitherto unknown, as far as the estuary of the Tay. It has indeed been contended by some, that so long a march through a hostile country was impracticable in a single season; and that "Taus Estuarium" is meant not for the Tay but the Solway.

^d This narrative is derived from a comparison of the *Historiæ* of Tacitus with the *Annales* of the same writer.

* The government of Vettius Bolanus intervened between those of Diddius and Petilius, but it was a period of inaction.

Mr. Hodgson has given a verbatim translation of Tacitus' account of the campaigns of Agricola. *Hist. North.*, Part II., vol. iii., p. 157.

But if this be so, where are the new tribes through whose territories he passed? The Brigantes, who occupied the entire country northward to the Solway and the Tyne, had been known to successive governors for thirty years. Beyond them the nations were undoubtedly new, for the great extent of the Brigantian territories had completely intercepted all communication with the country to the north. The latitude of the Solway was probably the starting point; certainly it was not the limit of the operations of the year. The Roman roads to the north pass this parallel at two points, one line crossing the Tyne near Corbridge, the other crossing the Eden at Carlisle. From the Brigantian frontier, at either point, to the Tay below Perth, the distance is about equal; in neither case exceeding 150 miles; and surely this is no excessive distance for a well appointed army under the ablest general of the age to penetrate in a summer, especially when we are told that the enemy were so panic-stricken, as not even to attempt to arrest their progress.

The fourth year was spent in securing the countries which had been overrun, not indeed to the utmost limits of the last campaign, but far beyond the latitude of the Solway. A chain of forts was built across the isthmus which separates the Friths of Forth and Clyde, and thus, says Tacitus, "if the valor of the army and the glory of the Roman name could have been bounded by a limit, that limit was found in Britain itself." Such at any rate was the ultimate limit of the province of Valentia, the original conquest of which was completed in this campaign.

"In the fifth year of his expedition, passing over in the first ship, in frequent and successful battles he subdued nations till then unknown, and furnished with troops that part of Britain which looks towards Ireland." The scene of these exploits was undoubtedly the peninsula of Cantire, the Epidian Promontory of Ptolemy, and the adjacent districts, accessible from the shores of the Clyde by a short and sheltered sea passage, but cut off from all direct communication by land by the numerous and deep indentations of the coast. By the occupation of this promontory he commanded the shortest passage between any part of Britain and Ireland; and the only one, as far as we know, which was used in very early times for the purposes either of hostile invasion or colonization, the distance between the two islands in this quarter being less than twelve miles.

The two following years were occupied by the invasion of the central district of Scotland; in the last was obtained the famous victory of the Grampians.

With this battle ended the career of Agricola, the jealousy of Domitian

prompting his immediate recall, and from this date we have no particulars of any occurrences in Britain for upwards of thirty years.

On the accession of Hadrian, A.D. 117, we read of revolts in various parts of the empire; amongst others, "the Britons refused any longer to be held in obedience," and three years later we find the emperor himself coming over to compose the disturbances. Before his departure he commenced the erection of the famous Wall which bears his name, to protect the Roman province from the incursions of the northern barbarians.

All these particulars are transmitted to us by one historian only, *Ælius Spartianus*, who lived a century and a half later than the events which he records. On the other hand, a succession of writers attribute the erection of the Wall to the emperor *Severus*, who reigned seventy years after Hadrian; and if we had no other evidence, there is little doubt that the latter must have been deprived of the honor of this great work. In the decision of this question, however, is pre-eminently displayed the value, as historical monuments, of those inscriptions which have been found in the numerous stations occupied by the Roman garrisons. By the aid of these the Wall has been made to tell its own story, and a due portion of credit has been assigned to each of the imperial competitors.⁵

On similar testimony we are enabled to authenticate a statement of *Capitolinus*, that under *Antoninus Pius*, the immediate successor of Hadrian, another barrier was erected across the island by the *proprætor* *Lollius Urbicus*. This rampart, which was of earth, and not of stone, was one hundred miles in advance of the Wall of Hadrian, and extended from the Forth to the Clyde, across that peninsula which *Agricola* had previously defended by a chain of forts.

Two formidable invasions of the Roman province by the *Caledonians* are recorded between the reigns of *Antoninus Pius* and of *Severus*; one during the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, the other during that of *Commodus*. The task of repelling the first was entrusted to *Calpurnius Agricola*, the second to *Ulpius Marcellus*. Of the proceedings of this second *Agricola* we have no details, but *Marcellus* was eminently successful.

The reign of *Severus* was at an early period disturbed by fresh incursions from the same quarter. The invaders were bought off with gold by his unwarlike lieutenant *Virius Lupus*; but this expedient, though temporarily successful, only incited the barbarians, by encouraging their cupidity, to renewed assaults. At

⁵ A separate chapter is devoted to this subject, respecting which, see also the Introduction to this volume.

length the emperor determined to come over to Britain, and undertake in his own person the conduct of the war on an extended scale.

For the first time since the days of Julius Agricola the Roman legions were led beyond the limits of Valentia into a country which had never submitted to the Roman arms. The Caledonians however had profited by their former disasters, which had taught them the impolicy of opposing their irregular forces to the disciplined ranks of the Romans in a general engagement. Severus was thus enabled to penetrate to the furthest extremity of the island, but he returned without any positive advantage, and not without a heavy loss amongst his followers, who suffered not less from the toils of the march and the rigour of the climate, than from the desultory attacks of the natives. Worn out by fatigue and vexation, the emperor died at York, A.D. 211, after a residence of somewhat more than two years in Britain, the latter part of which he devoted to strengthening the defences of the province.

From the circumstance of Severus having adopted the rampart of Hadrian rather than that of Antoninus as the basis of his fortifications, it has been taken for granted that the intermediate district had been abandoned. Such a conclusion is hardly warranted by facts. We have seen that on two occasions the vallum of Antoninus had proved utterly insufficient as a protection from the inroad of the barbarians into the heart of the province, and without any intention of abandoning the more advanced limit, it might well be matter of consideration whether it was possible so to strengthen the northern defences as to make them a trustworthy bulwark to which to commit the safety of the entire district to the south, or whether complete security could only be obtained by the restoration and augmentation of the works of Hadrian as a second line of defence. If the question was so considered, the result can not be doubted. It would have been easy, unquestionably, to have replaced the earthen mound of Antoninus by a wall of stone, and to have rendered it as impregnable as it was possible to make the southern barrier; but when all this had been done, although complete protection would have been afforded from the north, the provincials would have been as open as ever to an attack from the north-west. Against this danger the foresight of Agricola had provided by the occupation of the Epidian Promontory; but his northern conquests had been abandoned or lost, and the present care was not to recover territory which had been relinquished, but to defend what remained.

There is a passage in Pausanias from which it may be inferred that the border tribes within the Roman pale were not, even in the time of Antoninus, quite on the same

footing as the people of the interior. "Antoninus," we are told, "took away more than half the territory of the Brigantes, because they had invaded the tribe of the Genuini (Gadeni), who were tributary to the Romans." At this period, then, not only the Gadeni, who were within the northern rampart, but the Brigantes, who were within the Wall of Hadrian, retained some vestiges of independence, and were not provincials but tributaries. It is not unlikely that in the time of Severus, nay probably till the organisation of the province of Valentia by Theodosius, the Gadeni and the other intra-mural tribes still continued tributary only. That they ever reverted to their former state of freedom and barbarism is contradicted by the fact, that when the Romans finally abandoned the island, the Forth and the Clyde, and not the Tyne and the Solway, were the recognised limits between the barbarian Picts and the Romanised Britons. There is no evidence that the stations on the vallum of Antoninus were ever occupied in force after the reign of its founder, to which all the inscriptions which have been found, and they are numerous, relate; but we may infer, from the statement of Ammianus Marcellinus, which will be cited in its place, that they were used as quarters for exploratory parties by Theodosius in the reign of Valentinian.

From the reign of Severus the Roman power was fully established in Britain; the imperial commanders were satisfied of the worthlessness of further conquests, whilst the barbarians were deterred from renewed aggressions. Even the rebellion of Carausius, although for a time it isolated Britain from the rest of the empire, in no respect altered the condition of the natives. The Roman legions were still predominant, although they obeyed a master whose power was limited to the island. After the death of Carausius and Alectus the Brigantian city of Eboracum was again the seat of an imperial court. There Constantius died, and there Constantine assumed the purple.

In the reign of Constantius we first find the term Picts applied to the Caledonians and the neighbouring tribes, and in that of his grandson of the same name, it seems to have altogether superseded the earlier designation. In each of these reigns the northern barbarians gave some trouble; in the latter they were joined in their incursions by the Scots, a kindred people from the opposite coast of Ireland. In the reign of Jovian we read of a joint invasion by the Picts, Scots, and Saxons, to which are added another North British tribe, now first noticed, the Attacotti.^h Under Vespasian the evil became so alarming as to threaten the

^h St. Jerome notices the Attacotti as a British people, and describes them as feeding on human flesh. Bodies of them were incorporated in the Roman army, both in Gaul and Italy, at the period when the Notitia was compiled, and it was in Gaul that they were seen by Jerome.

stability of the Imperial dominion. In the year 368 the Franks and Saxons ravaged the coast of Gaul, whilst a simultaneous invasion of the British province was undertaken by the confederate bands of Picts, Scots, and Attacotti. The alarming intelligence was brought to the emperor that these savage tribes had overrun nearly the whole country, and were threatening London itself; that in successive engagements they had defeated and slain the two chief military officers, in whom was vested the command of all the garrisons in the island—the “Duke of Britain” and the “Count of the Maritime Tract,” or, as he was afterwards termed, of the “Saxon Shore.” Vespasian was in Gaul, which was itself menaced, and far from the seat of government, from which effectual assistance might have been sent. He endeavoured, however, to give such aid as was in his power in the emergency. The most pressing want was of an officer to take the command in the place of the deceased generals, and here he could only choose amongst his immediate attendants. From these he selected Severus, “the Count of the Domestics,” with general instructions to do the best he could under the circumstances. Severus was shortly afterwards superseded by Jovinus, but nothing of moment was effected till the celebrated Theodosius was sent for, and entrusted with the chief command. Neither Severus nor Jovinus appear to have been accompanied by any troops, and Theodosius only took over with him four corps of the “Palatine Auxiliaries,” one of Batavians, another of Heruli, the third called the Jovii, the fourth the Victores. Embarking at Boulogne, he landed at Richborough, from whence he marched to London. All that Jovinus or his predecessor seem to have attempted was to defend this important position till the arrival of reinforcements, for all the neighbouring country was in the hands of the enemy. On the arrival of Theodosius he formed his men into detachments, who, sallying forth, set upon the marauding parties of the enemy, whilst they were encumbered by the booty they had taken. In this way he defeated them in detail, and recovered an immense number both of prisoners and cattle. Then by a well-timed lenity, and the promise of pardon to all those who returned home, he succeeded in greatly diminishing the forces opposed to him. It was not, however, till the following year that he had sufficiently recruited his forces to enable him with confidence to take the field. His prudent measures were, however, crowned with complete success; the barbarians were utterly defeated, and the province recovered. Then “he restored anew the cities and fortresses (castra) suffering, indeed, from many injuries, but constructed for the maintenance of a long peace.”

Having so far triumphantly carried out the objects of his mission, his life was endangered by a conspiracy amongst some of the soldiers, who had been corrupted by Valentine, a man of high rank but infamous character, who, exiled from his country, had taken up his abode in Britain. Theodosius having fortunately obtained information of the conspiracy, caused Valentine and a few of the ring-leaders to be arrested and punished, but with equal policy and generosity declined to proceed against the subordinate offenders. Ammianus Marcellinus, who is our authority throughout for the above details, thus sums up his account of the actions of Theodosius in Britain:—"Hence, turning himself to the necessary correction of many things, all danger having been removed, since it appeared evident that good fortune deserted none of his undertakings, he restored, as we have said, the cities and garrisoned fortresses, and he protected the frontier (*limites*) with scouts (*vigiliis*) and pickets (*prætenturis*): having recovered a province, which had been given up into the hands of the enemy, he restored it to its pristine state, so that by his means it both acknowledged a lawful governor, and was afterwards called Valentia by the will of that prince, who thereby received a sort of ovation."

Now, looking at the first clause of the above quotation, it appears evident that the "cities and garrisoned fortresses," of which the author had before told us, are not described as being on "the frontier," but the "*vigiliæ*" and "*prætenturæ*" are; but Horsley has taken the whole together, as being on "the frontier," and argues (as in such case he very well might), that that frontier must have been bounded by the Wall of Hadrian, and not by the Vallum of Antoninus; for it is perfectly evident, by the remains of the latter, that there never can have existed there "cities and garrisoned fortresses, constructed (*fundata*) for the maintenance of a long peace." Those remains show that the Vallum must have been, as we know on the best authority it was, a mere earthwork. The unnecessary difficulty in which our great antiquarian would involve us is, that Valentia must thus have been within the Wall of Hadrian, and all beyond Pictish territory, which we know not to have been the case. The "cities and garrisoned fortresses" were doubtless the *Notitia* stations, as well on the Wall of Hadrian as elsewhere, whilst the *vigiliæ* and *prætenturæ* on the frontier were unquestionably on the line of Antoninus' Vallum. It does not, however, follow that Theodosius executed any works here, or that he ever caused a spade to be put into the ground within the limits of Valentia, for "*prætenturæ*," in its natural signification, applies as plainly as "*vigiliæ*" not to the station where exploratory duties were performed,

but to the parties who performed them ; nor does there appear to be authority for rendering "prætenturæ" forts, in any case, although Horsley has so translated it, and his interpretation has since been followed without examination.

The year 383 is memorable for the usurpation of Maximus, who was first proclaimed emperor of Britain, and passing over into Gaul was favourably received by the legions there, who were disaffected to Gratian on account of his injudicious preference of the barbarian warriors of the remote provinces to the Roman soldiers. Alarmed by the success of Maximus, whose reputation was founded on his service in Britain under Theodosius, Gratian fled towards Italy to seek a refuge with his brother Valentinian II., but was overtaken and slain by an emissary of the usurper. Whilst the two brothers, Gratian and Valentinian, shared the provinces of the western empire, the eastern was governed by Theodosius, the son of the former distinguished general of that name. To him Maximus addressed himself, extenuating his own misconduct, and attributing his elevation to the importunities of the troops, which it was neither easy nor safe to resist. His excuses were admitted, and he was allowed to retain the government of Britain, Gaul, and Spain, as the best means of securing to Valentinian, Italy and the other provinces which had fallen to his share. Even these terms, however, were insufficient to gratify his ambition, or to secure his quiescence. He aimed at the conquest of Italy and the possession of Rome, the capital of the world. In these objects he was successful, although his triumph was of brief duration, and cost him his life.

Gildas attributes the subsequent weakness and disasters of the British provinces to Maximus, who is said to have taken with him into Gaul, not only the military force, but all the native youth of Britain. There is nothing in the narrative of any of the imperial historians to lead to the belief that he was accompanied by any considerable number of troops ; nor had he time to collect, still less means to transport, the large military establishment which was then maintained in Britain. We know from Sozomen that he did largely recruit his army from this island, but that was not for the invasion of Gaul, but of Italy, four years later. During the whole of that time it is probable that levies were being raised, and withdrawn to the continent, and that there is no great exaggeration in the statement that all the native youth were abstracted. When the legions were afterwards withdrawn, it can not be doubted that the previous draught on the indigenous resources of the country must have been severely felt, and all those evils may have occurred which are so pathetically deplored by the British historian, although he is not strictly accurate

in the preceding details. The death of Maximus took place, A.D. 388, and Valentinian only survived him three years. Theodosius, who for a short period held undivided sway over both divisions of the empire, died in 395, leaving his vast territories to his two youthful sons, of whom Arcadius became emperor of the east, Honorius of the west. During all this period, from the rise of Maximus to the death of Theodosius, we have no notices of any events in Britain, except the incidental mention of the appointment of a governor, Chrysanthus, whose administration is spoken of in terms of approval. The first ten years of the reign of Honorius are equally barren of recorded events as regards this island.

In the year 406 Britain again appears, almost for the last time, in connection with the history of the empire of which it had so long formed a part, and which was now fast hastening to that dissolution to which it was destined from the continuous attacks of the barbarian nations on all sides.

“The Vandals,” says Zozimus, uniting with the Suevi and Alani, “greatly afflicted the Transalpine nations; and having committed much slaughter, caused so great consternation, even to the armies in Britain, as to compel them, lest they should reach even themselves, to elect an emperor of their own.” From this passage we learn that twenty years after the departure of Maximus there were still armies in Britain, and we may infer that they were not inadequate to defend the frontier from the Picts and Scots, or their apprehensions would hardly have been excited by dangers so remote as an invasion of the Vandals or Suevi.

To proceed, however, with our narrative, “The soldiers who were serving in Britain having revolted, placed one Marcus on the imperial throne, and obeyed him as ruler in that country. Having dispatched him, however, for not assenting to their practices, they brought forward Gratian, and putting on him a purple robe and a diadem, they gave him an imperial guard; but growing dissatisfied with him also, they deposed and slew him four months afterwards, and delivered up the empire to Constantine.” Orosius, who narrates these successive revolutions in nearly similar terms, describes Gratian as “*municeps hujus insulæ*,” that is, a citizen of a municipal town in Britain. Of Constantine he says, “He was selected from the very dregs of the army, not for any merit or virtue, but simply for the prestige of his name.” He appears, nevertheless, to have been a man of talent and promptitude, determined, at all events, to avoid the fate of his predecessors, by finding active employment for his disorganized followers. Crossing over to the continent, he succeeded in conciliating all the troops north of the Alps. He

had the address also, partly by good words, partly by his policy in detaining two kinsmen of the emperor as hostages, to obtain for a time the acquiescence of Honorius in his participation in the empire. Amidst great difficulties he maintained his precarious position four years, falling at last a victim to the revenge of his lawful sovereign, whose captive relatives, for some reason or other, he had put to death. One act of great imprudence contributed more than any thing to his downfall, namely, his quarrel with his general Gerontius. The particulars are unconnected with British history, but the result is memorable as the proximate cause of the severance of Britain from the Roman empire. The following details are from Zozimus: "Gerontius, deeply incensed, and having gained over the soldiers, urged the barbarians who were among the Celts, to revolt against Constantine, who was unable to oppose them in consequence of the absence of the greater part of his troops in Spain. The barbarians beyond the Rhine also, ravaging every thing at pleasure, compelled the inhabitants of the Britannic Islands, as well as some of the Celts, to revolt from the Roman empire and to live independent of it, no longer obeying the laws." "Thus the people of Britain, taking up arms and braving every danger, freed their cities from the invading barbarians. The whole of Armorica also, and other provinces of Gaul, imitating the Britons, liberated themselves in like manner, expelling the Roman prefects, and setting up a civil government according to their own inclinations. This defection of Britain and the Celts took place during the time of Constantine's usurpation, the barbarians rising up in consequence of the neglect of the government."

We have here a very distinct account of the downfall of the Roman power in Britain, by a revolution in which, for the first time, the legions took no part. The inference is irresistible that the last legionary had followed Constantine to Gaul. That absence of military protection which Gildas ascribes to the act of Maximus is consistent with the state of affairs under Constantine. In the mean time, however, a generation had grown up. Those who were too young for the conscription of Maximus were now adult; and this is the population which, although unused to war, "took up arms and, braving every danger, freed their cities from the barbarians."

This revolution is clearly attributable to the desertion of the Britons by Constantine, and not to any desire on their part to abandon their allegiance to the imperial government. On the contrary they appear to have been anxious to

leave themselves again under the protection of Honorius, from which they had been forcibly withdrawn, not by their own act, but by the mutiny of the legions, who then dominated over them. Honorius, however, was not in a condition either to covet extension of territory, or to afford them efficient assistance. He frankly renounced all claim to their future obedience, and counselled them in friendly terms to make provision for their own defence. "Honorius having sent letters to the states of Britain, counselling them to be watchful of their own security, and having rewarded his soldiers with the money sent by Heraclianus, lived in all imaginable ease." Such are the words of Zozimus, nor does any Greek or Roman historian notice any further intercourse between the imperial government and Britain after this memorable renunciation of sovereignty, which took place A.D. 410.

Our native historians mention three distinct applications to the Roman government for aid, all subsequent to the death of Maximus in 388, and one, if we are to credit the narrative of Gildas, as late as the third consulship of Ætius, A.D. 447. Two of these applications, we are told, were successful, the third was made in vain. On each of the former occasions a legion is reported to have been sent over, and afterwards withdrawn, but this assertion is made on the assumption already referred to that Britain was left by Maximus destitute of any military force. The circumstances which Gildas now relates are not, however, of a character to impress us with a favourable opinion of the authority of his previous statement, of the probability of which we have already expressed doubts. To the legion first sent he attributes the construction of the "turf-wall" across the island, which we know to have been built ages before in the reign of Antoninus Pius; to the second expedition he ascribes the wall of stone erected at a still earlier period by Hadrian, as well as the fortresses on the Saxon shore, which he describes as "towers erected at intervals along the southern coast, commanding a prospect of the sea for defence against the invasion of the barbarians." Nennius, or the history which goes under his name, mentions the three embassies to Rome, and the aid rendered, but whether once or more does not very plainly appear. He thus sums up his account: "Because of the oppression of the government the Britons slew the Roman commanders, and then they applied for aid. The Romans came to govern, to aid, and to avenge, and having despoiled Britain of her gold, her silver, and her brass, of costly apparel and of honey, they returned home with great triumph."

From such doubtful testimony it is satisfactory to turn to a contemporary document which describes the stations of the various divisions of the Roman army, not merely in Britain, but throughout all the provinces as well of the western as the eastern empires. Such a record we possess in the "Notitia Imperii," and if we were certain that the date ascribed to it ("ultra Arcadii Honorique tempora") were correct, the point in question would be at once settled, for the Notitia represents not the temporary sojourn of a single legion in Britain, but the continuous occupation of the island by a large military force. If we interpret the expression "beyond the times of Arcadius and Honorius" to imply a date after the decease of both these emperors, we are carried down to too late a period, for unquestionably no such force as is here represented existed in Britain in 425; but if we construe "beyond the times" to signify "after the accession, and during the joint reign" of Arcadius and Honorius, such an interpretation will be found consistent with the internal evidence afforded by the document itself.

This construction would fix the period of the compilation between the year of the accession of the two emperors in 395 and the death of Arcadius in 408. That it was written after their accession may be inferred from the fact that several bodies of troops are noticed in it which derive their designations respectively from Arcadius and Honorius. It is possible, indeed, in the eastern empire, where the titles *Arcadiani* and *Honoriani* occur five or six times each, and *Theodosiani* more than twenty times, that the whole may have been so named in compliment to Theodosius and his two sons, in the reign of the former. But the western empire was in the hands of Theodosius but a very short time before his death, and there we neither find his name nor that of Arcadius given to a single cohort, whilst that of Honorius occurs more than twenty times. It is impossible to escape the conviction that the list was framed after the accession of Honorius, to whom the western empire was allotted. Two or three corps in the eastern empire are styled *Theodosiaci*, which seems to have been a compliment paid to Theodosius the younger, those called after his grandfather being named *Theodosiani*. If this be so, the title would hardly be conferred before the year 402, when the infant prince was declared Cæsar in his third year; and the Notitia must have been compiled after that event. An examination of the movements of the legions usually stationed in Britain will perhaps enable us to approximate still more nearly to the true date. From the time of Antoninus Pius the number of these legions was three, the stated quarters of which, when not in active service, were originally at

York, Chester, and Caer-Leon, in Wales. The two latter stations had probably been abandoned as garrisons long before the age of the Notitia, for no portions of the island were less in need of military defence after the complete pacification of the province. One of these legions (the second) we find removed from Caer-Leon to Rhutupiæ, to guard the limit of the Saxon shore. The sixth legion, if not actually at York, was still in the northern province, under the command of the Duke of Britain; but the twentieth legion formerly quartered at Chester is nowhere to be met with in the Notitia, either in Britain, or in any other part of the empire. It is, however, very remarkable that the poet Claudian, in celebrating the Battle of Pollentia, mentions the presence of a legion there, which had been withdrawn from the defence of the outposts of Britain against the Picts. This must have been the missing British legion, which had been first removed from Chester to guard the frontier, probably to furnish the *Vigiliæ* and *Pretenturæ* of Theodosius; and next recalled by the necessities of the state to protect the soil of Italy. May we not then infer with some degree of confidence that the Notitia was compiled in or about the year 403, the date of the battle of Pollentia, after the twentieth legion was withdrawn from Britain, but before any other fixed quarters were assigned to it. The revolt of the army in Britain, and the elevation of Constantine to the purple, took place just three years later, when it is probable the new emperor withdrew the two remaining legions from the island.

Besides these, however, we have in the Notitia a list of 44 forts garrisoned by bodies of auxiliaries, 36 of which were within the province of Maxima Cæsariensis, if we have correctly defined its limits. Of these a large portion have been identified partly from the occurrence of the same names in the Itinerary, and to a much greater extent from inscriptions. Ample illustrations of these will be found in the last volume of Mr. Hodgson's History which he lived to publish, and which remains a monument of his industry and intelligence, and a storehouse of materials for future students in Roman antiquities.¹ Such inscriptions as have been since discovered will be noticed hereafter.

Whether the auxiliaries accompanied the legions on their departure from Britain may well be doubted. Many of them had occupied the same stations from the time of Hadrian, and must, by intermarriages and association, have become completely identified with the general population in feelings and interests, and it is probable that they were ultimately merged with the natives under the common name of Britons.

¹ Hist. North., Part II. Vol. iii., pp. 163-300.

Having said this much with regard to the *Notitia*, a few remarks on the *Itinerary of Antoninus* may not be inappropriate before concluding this notice of the Roman period. That it was compiled in the time of one of the Antonines is universally admitted, but this allows a margin of many years from the accession of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138, to the death of Elagabalus, in 222. Horsley, whose opinion is always entitled to respect, is inclined to attribute it to Caracalla, and gives his reasons as follows:—"Antoninus Pius and Caracalla are the two principal candidates, and I should chuse to give my vote to the latter. Caracalla was some years in Britain himself, and seems to have had the best opportunity of any of the Roman emperors of knowing this island. The limits that are settled in the *Itinerary* suit better the time of Caracalla, and the peace made by him than that of Antoninus Pius. For this latter built the Roman wall in Scotland, and yet we have no stations in the *Itinerary* which are within forty miles of that wall. The wall that was built by Severus, the father of Caracalla, is in the North of England, and there are not above two or three stations in the *Itinerary* advanced beyond this wall, and these too at no great distance from it." The first argument, derived from the local knowledge of Caracalla, would have had weight if the *Itinerary* had been confined to Britain, but can only have been urged by the able writer in momentary forgetfulness that the work extended to the whole Roman empire.

The real question at issue is, does the survey correspond more accurately with the state of the empire under Antoninus Pius, or Caracalla? Horsley assumes that Severus, in fortifying the frontier of Hadrian, abandoned the more extended limit of Antoninus, a view which for many years was adopted in deference to his authority, but which has few advocates at the present day. On no other assumption, however, can Caracalla's claim to the authorship of the *Itinerary* be maintained. On the other hand, although the limits of the *Itinerary* do not correspond with those of the British province at the close of the reign of Antoninus, we have much better evidence that they did so at its commencement, than at any period of the reign of any other emperor. The projection, moreover, of a general survey of the lines of communication throughout the Roman empire is surely more in accordance with the enlarged views of Antoninus than the brutal ferocity of Caracalla.

Whatever difference of opinion has existed as to the date of this record, there can be none as to its importance, presenting as it does the surest groundwork for the investigation of the Roman topography of our island. The Wall of Ha-

drian forms the general line of the northern boundary, but on each of the great roads are advanced posts considerably beyond. Both these roads, the one from Bremenium, the other from Blatum Bulgium, point to York, the grand centre of communication between the north and south of the island. The details of these routes, as well as the examination of another (the tenth Iter) which passes through Manchester in a northern or north-westerly direction, will be found in Mr. Hodgson's volume above referred to.^k Investigators are often disappointed in not finding traces of the stations on these lines of communication, even when there can be no doubt within a mile or two of their position; but it must be remembered that, although the routes, laid down in the Itinerary, passed through nearly all the principal towns and military posts, yet where a considerable distance intervened between town and town, it would be necessary to establish some accommodation for parties to halt and refresh themselves. These halting posts naturally find a place in the Itinerary, just as single houses, where the traveller had to change horses, were recorded in our modern road-books, as well as the towns which lay upon the line. Of the towns and military stations some remains are generally to be found, but we can not suppose that in the intermediate stages buildings of so permanent a character were erected, as to leave any trace of their existence after the lapse of so many centuries.

Great confusion has been created by the indiscriminate application of the term "Roman Station," to every place which has been occupied by the Romans, for whatever purpose. The *Notitia* stations were all strong garrisoned forts, and in most instances, except where their sites have been occupied by large modern towns, indubitable traces of their existence still remain, the difficulty generally being rather in the identification of the remains with the name in the *Notitia*, than in ascertaining the existence of a station. As regards the *Itinerary*, on the other hand, the geographical information was originally so precise, that, notwithstanding the endless corruptions in the numerals which represent the miles, there is seldom much difficulty in identifying any town exhibiting marks of Roman origin; but we seek in vain for enduring remains of every intervening post-house which has been dignified with the title of an *Itinerary Station*.

Equally fruitless is their search who expect to find visible indications of all the cities mentioned by Ptolemy. His enumeration, it must be remembered, was

^k Hist. North., Part II., Vol. iii., p. 160. See also the remarks of the same author in the notes to his poem of Longovicium.

intended to comprise the towns of the native tribes, not the settlements of the Roman conquerors. In many instances these are identical, as we may perceive by a comparison of Ptolemy with the *Itinerary*, and in a very few cases with the *Notitia*. Where this is not so, the indications to be sought for, if any remain at all, are of a very different character from the remains of a Roman town or a Roman villa. Earthworks, and sometimes the circular foundations of half underground cabins have led to the discovery of what has possibly been the rude capital of a British tribe; and a yet more faithful guide to the localities in which the natives congregated when living, exists in many cases in the yet unprofaned repositories of their dead.

It may be noticed, that no allusion has been made in the preceding pages to the commentaries which pass under the name of Richard of Cirencester, from which, if genuine, something might have been culled. On this head little need be added to what has been already advanced by Mr. Hodgson against the authority of that work.¹ One remark only may be hazarded, that whereas in other cases sufficient jealousy has been shewn as to the admission of any evidence without the amplest preliminary scrutiny, antiquarians have been content to assume the genuineness of this production until the contrary is proved. Silently and steadily, however, the conviction is spreading, that for upwards of a century many of the ablest writers on Roman antiquities in Britain, especially in Scotland, have been the dupes of an ingenious impostor.

P.S. On the 10th Iter of Antoninus. The consideration bestowed upon the 10th Iter by Mr. Hodgson was confined to the northern portion of its route, nor indeed up to the period when he wrote his last volume, had any difference of opinion been expressed as to its course from the southern boundary of ancient Northumberland, by Manchester and Ribchester, to Overborough, near Kirkby Lonsdale. The difficulties were assumed to be confined to the stations north of Overborough.

Manchester occurs in another Iter (the 2nd) as well as in the 10th, and is there designated Mamucium or Manucium, and described as 18 miles distant from Condate, the next station to the south. In the 10th Iter also Condate occurs, and the next station, at the same distance of 18 miles north, is Mancunium.

It is not wonderful, therefore, that Mancunium has been identified by all our elder antiquaries with Mamucium, and the site of each fixed at Manchester. Again, the next station but one to the north of Mancunium is Bretonacum, a name so nearly resembling Bretonracum, in the *Notitia*, that it is

¹ Hist. North., Part II., vol. i., p. 146.

difficult to divest oneself of the idea that the two names are substantially identical and both belong to the same place. Now *Bremetenraecum* of the *Notitia* is proved by an inscription to be at Ribchester, and a strong presumption is raised that *Bremetonacum*, of the *Itinerary*, is also there; especially as the actual distance from Manchester to Ribchester corresponds, with sufficient accuracy, with the *Itinerary* distance from *Mancunium* to *Bremetonacum*.

The recent investigations of two gentlemen resident at Warrington, Mr. Robson and Mr. Beamont, have fixed the site of *Condate* at a place called Stockton Heath, on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, at no great distance from the town in which they reside. Further than this, traces of a Roman road have been discovered at intervals nearly in the line of the modern highway which passes through Warrington, by Wigan and Preston, to Lancaster, and the claims of this road to be considered the true original of the 10th *Iter* have been enforced with great ability by Mr. Robson and others.

This theory involves the abandonment of the assumption that *Mancunium* of the 10th *Iter* is identical with *Mamucium* of the 2nd, and that *Bremetonacum* of the *Itinerary* is the same place as *Bremetenraecum* of the *Notitia*. It implies also the existence, on two nearly parallel lines of road, of two places whose names so nearly resemble each other as *Mamucium* and *Mancunium*; and again of two others so similar as *Bremetenraecum* and *Bremetonacum*.

These may not be sufficient reasons for rejecting Mr. Robson's views, but they are strong grounds for not admitting them without most careful scrutiny.

It is not enough to show a fair and well-defined Roman road, in order to claim for it a place in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus. On the contrary, some of the most magnificent specimens of the imperial highways are unnoticed in that document, and were undoubtedly of later construction. Of this we have a striking instance in the Roman road from Lincoln northwards to the Humber.

The oldest roads indeed were probably those which were least distinguished for their magnificence; they generally passed through an upland country, where the rivers were crossed with facility, near their sources, and costly bridges were thus avoided. In the long period of Roman domination, subsequent to the reign of Antoninus Pius, there was abundant time to substitute or to add level lines of coast road, where hilly tracts alone previously existed; and during that period it is probable the road by Warrington to Lancaster was laid out, after the resources of the country were developed, and the construction of bridges and other heavy engineering works no longer presented an insurmountable obstacle.

This opinion is further confirmed by the account furnished by Mr. Robson, of the formation of the road-way, which he represents as constructed of loose stones and gravel, whereas the majority at least of the older roads, wherever they are met with intact, present a paved surface.

On the whole, the balance of probability seems to be in favour of the views of the older antiquarians, who placed Manchester and Ribchester on the 10th *Iter*; but the balance of evidence may yet be reversed, if a line from Lancaster should hereafter be traced northward, agreeing with that *Iter* in its details, and it should be found impossible to connect Overborough with any corresponding northern route. Under any circumstances, the discoveries of Mr. Robson and other active members of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire are of great value, and will probably lead to the ultimate solution of this most difficult problem, by directing to it an amount of attention which has hitherto been dormant.

In endeavouring to render intelligible the merits of this controversy, it has been found convenient to

reverse the order of the stations as they occur in the Itinerary, commencing at the south end instead of from the north, and thus securing an ascertained starting point. With regard to the inscription by which Ribchester is identified with Bremetenracum, the editor may be permitted to refer to a paper of his own in the *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. iv. page 109, and to Dr. Bruce's remarks on the same inscription in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, vol. xii. p. 225-7.

As regards the Roman road from Warrington to Lancaster, the reader is referred for further information to a series of most interesting papers in the *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. ii. p. 27, vol. ii. p. 34, vol. viii. p. 127.

CHAPTER II.

WHEN AND BY WHOM WAS THE ROMAN WALL BUILT?

THE immense fortification known now as the Roman Wall must have materially influenced the destinies of the tribes in its vicinity for several centuries. The questions, When was it reared, and by whom was it planned? are of some importance in investigating the ancient condition of Northumberland. Various answers have been given to them. Horsley conceives that most of the stationary camps on the line of the Wall and the northern mound of the Vallum are to be ascribed to Agricola; the ditch of the Vallum and the ramparts to the south of it to Hadrian; and the stone Wall, with the ditch on its northern margin, to Severus. Other writers, amongst whom is Beda, relying chiefly upon the authority of Gildas, tell us that the Wall of Severus was not of stone, but a rampart "made of sods, cut out of the earth, and raised above the ground all round, like a wall, having in front of it the ditch whence the sods were taken, and strong stakes of wood fixed upon its top."^a "The strong stone wall," "which is still to be seen," he says, was built "not far from the trench of Severus," after the Romans had abandoned the island, by a Roman legion, who, at the earnest entreaties of the Britons, came to assist them in repelling the aggression of the Picts and the Scots.^b Another opinion has been entertained, and at this Mr. Hodgson arrived during the preparation of his last volume; it is, that the whole of the works, with the exception, perhaps, of a few of the stations, which may have been erected by Agricola, are the work of Hadrian.

The opinion adopted by Beda and most of the mediæval writers, that the stone structure, "the remains of which still astonish the beholder," was erected after the necessities of the imperial city had compelled the abandonment of Britain may at once be relinquished as unworthy of credit. The scheme is too vast in its

^a Beda's *Eccl. Hist.*, B. i., c. 5., Dr. Giles' Translation.

^b *Ibid.*, B. i., c. 12.

conception, and too difficult of execution, to have its origin in a period of such general and terrible disaster. We are the more entitled to do this, since Beda makes a similar statement respecting the wall between the estuaries of the Forth and Clyde;^c of which we have decisive proof, both from classic history^d and the testimony of inscriptions,^e that it was reared in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Confining ourselves, then, to the other opinions enunciated, let us first of all investigate the question, Were the stationary camps *per lineam Valli* the work of Agricola? Horsley says, "It is evident that there have been three different *prætenturæ* erected here at different times, and by different persons; the first of which was a series of forts, placed quite cross the country. And this, I apprehend, was done chiefly by Julius Agricola." . . . "The series of stations from beside Cousins's house to Bowness, was certainly prior to the walls; and the greatest part, though not all of them, were most probably built by Agricola." He goes on to establish his point thus: "It is certain, from the express testimony of Tacitus, that Julius Agricola built such a row of forts quite cross the country in Scotland. And it is certain that Antoninus Pius built his wall just along the same track. So Hadrian first, and then Severus, seem to have done the like here in the North of England, carrying on their walls along the series of stations or forts which had been erected before. For this reason we find the course of the wall directed, as much as it well could be, from station to station, and making some turns with no other view, but to come up to and fetch in a station; Severus's wall generally falling in with the north rampart and Hadrian's with the south; though sometimes both the one and the other fall in with the middle. In some particular cases they both keep on the north side, and touch not the station at all. . . . But, on the contrary, there is not one of these stations which is all of it on the north of Severus's wall, though the case be different in relation to Hadrian's. . . . There is another very strong argument to prove that the stations *per lineam Valli* were at least more ancient than Severus's wall; and that is, there have been inscriptions found in these stations of a more ancient date than the reign of Severus. So the curious inscription found in Benwell fort, was erected in the reign of Antoninus Pius, who is mentioned in it."^f

Horsley's argument for supposing the north *agger* of the Vallum to be the work of Agricola, is as follows: "The only appendage that could well be expected

^c Beda's Ecc. Hist., B. i., c. 12.

^d Capitolinus, quoted in the Monumenta Historica, p. lxxv.

^e Brit. Romana, p. 158.

^f Brit. Romana, pp. 98, 99.

to this *praetentura* of stations is a military way. And I think it can scarce be imagined that this could be wanting, especially if Julius Agricola (who is supposed to have laid most of our military ways) built those forts cross the isthmus. Yet I know not of any vestige or appearance of such a way (except from Walwick Chesters to Carvoran, and from Cambeck to Stanwix) unless we suppose the large *agger* on the north side of Hadrian's ditch to have been it. This is much broader than ever Hadrian's vallum seems to have been, and what I think remarkable and curious, though hitherto not observed, is the frequent coincidence of this *agger* with the military way belonging to Severus's wall."⁸

Before proceeding to examine Horsley's arguments, the modesty of his language is worth noticing. He states nothing dogmatically, but evidently seems to regard the whole question as being at best but a balancing of probabilities. If, therefore, in maintaining the position, that Hadrian is the author of the whole design, it should be found impossible to reconcile every fact with the theory, the theory need not on that account be rejected; it is but in the position which the more judicious advocates of the rival hypothesis admit theirs to be.

Horsley's position, that "the series of stations was certainly prior to" the stone Wall cannot be assailed. Several of the stations which remain in the most perfect state—such as Borcovicus, Æsica, and Amboglanna—have evidently been built before the Wall, and made independent of it. The corners at their north-east and north-west angles, where the great Wall joins them, are rounded off in the same way as their southern corners are, which are quite independent of it. The walls of the stations, too, are for the most part constructed of smaller stones than the great Wall. Whilst admitting the prior existence of the stations, it is not, however, necessary to suppose that they were reared one hundred and thirty years before the Wall. They may have preceded the Wall by but a very brief space. When the troops charged with the erection of the mural barrier took up their position in the country, it would be essential that they should erect fortresses for their own security. The construction of the stationary camps would be their first duty, and it being fulfilled, they could with comparative security and somewhat at leisure proceed with the mural line. The smallness of the stones of the station walls as compared with those of the great Wall is consistent with the supposition of their having been built in haste.

We may now ask is there any historical proof for supposing that Agricola

⁸ Brit. Rom., p. 99.

constructed a chain of forts across the mural isthmus? It was probably in the second year of Agricola's sojourn in Britain (A.D. 79) that he over-ran the district afterwards occupied by the Wall. The following passage in the life of Agricola by his relative Tacitus most likely refers to the forts of this district: "*Quibus rebus multæ civitates, quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant, datis obsidibus, iram posuere et præsiidiis castellisque circumdatæ, tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britannicæ novæ pars inaccessita transierit.*"^b "By these measures, many states which till that day had acted on the defensive, gave hostages, laid their hostility aside and were environed with stations and castles with so much calculation and care, that no part of Britain hitherto unnoticed could escape unmolested."ⁱ

This passage gives no authority for supposing that the strongholds erected by Agricola in his second campaign formed a *chain* across the isthmus of the north of England. It simply states that Agricola dispersed his forts in such a way as best to overawe the people whom he had subdued during the course of the summer. As his first campaign was spent in Wales, the second would be employed in subduing the more southerly as well as the more northerly portions of the region tenanted by the Brigantes. With so extensive a district to occupy he would not construct seventeen or eighteen forts on the line between the Solway and the Tyne. It may well be questioned whether he would have time to rear so many throughout the entire country of the Brigantes, and whether he would have troops to garrison them. Two or three, placed near the principal lines of march between the north and the south, would be as many as he would have time for in the immediate vicinity of the lower isthmus. Others would be planted to the south of it, probably on the great lines of road, and especially at those points (such as the passage of rivers) where the movements of a hostile force could be most easily impeded. The account which Tacitus gives us of the way in which the following winter was spent, confirms the view now taken. He tells us that the newly subdued people "were privately advised and publicly assisted in building temples, market places, dwelling houses." . . . "The sons of the chiefs were taught the liberal arts." . . . "By degrees they approached the charms of the vices—the porticos, the baths, the sumptuous banquets; and what these simple people called politeness, was only a link of their slavery."^k Although the stations on the Wall do contain some features approaching the elegant, their general character is rough and warlike. Security rather than luxury has been studied. In this

^b Vit. Agric., cap. 20.ⁱ Hist. Nor., II., iii., 157.^k Hist. Nor., II., iii., 157.

respect they contrast strongly with the stations in the south of the territory occupied by the Brigantes, such as Eboracum and Isurium. It is to these (amongst others) that Tacitus probably refers in the passage now quoted, rather than to camps such as Procolitia, Borcovicus, and Æsica.

Horsley seems to place no reliance upon this passage of Tacitus, for he does not quote it. He, however, refers to the practice of Agricola in the Upper Isthmus, and infers that what he did between the Forth and Clyde, he would do between the Tyne and the Solway. "It is certain," he says, "from the express testimony of Tacitus¹ that Julius Agricola built such a row of forts quite cross the country in Scotland. And it is certain that Antoninus Pius afterwards built his wall just along the same track. So Hadrian first, and then Severus, seem to have done the like here in the North of England, carrying on their walls along the series of stations or forts, which had been erected before."^m When Horsley is compelled to resort to analogy rather than to the direct testimony of Tacitus, it must be conceded that the historical evidence for a chain of forts built by Agricola is very feeble. But does Horsley suppose that all the stations (or the larger part of them) on the Antonine Wall were erected by Agricola, and that the connecting line of wall was all that Antonine did? The length of the line is about twenty-seven English miles,ⁿ and on it there are nineteen^o stations. Is it conceivable that Agricola, when contemplating the entire subjugation of Scotland, would plant forts so thickly upon this isthmus? A small portion of them would be sufficient to secure the safe conduct of his own troops northward and southward, and effectually to repress the movements of the enemy; and more than this, he would have no occasion to attempt, for whilst he continued his progress into the recesses of Scotland, the foe would be more bent upon the annihilation of the main body of his troops, than upon the recovery of territory which he had left in his rear. Numerous inscriptions have been found in the stations on the Antonine Wall, as well as upon the Wall itself, and their uniform testimony is, that Antoninus Pius was the builder of the one as well as the other. Whatever works, therefore, Agricola may have constructed upon the Upper Isthmus, they must have been insignificant in comparison with those afterwards reared

¹ *Clota et Bodotria... angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur, quod tum præsiidiis firmabatur... summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus*—For Clota and Bodotria are separated by a narrow space of land, which was then fortified with garrisons—the enemy being driven as it were into another island. *Vit. Agric.*, c. 23.

^m *Brit. Rom.*, p. 98. ⁿ *Stuart's Caledonia Romana*, p. 283. ^o *Stuart's Caledonia Romana*, p. 282.

by Lollius Urbicus, in the name of his imperial master, Antoninus Pius. If this reasoning be correct, analogy will not warrant us to expect, in the Lower Isthmus, a thickly set chain of forts reared by Agricola.

It is in vain that that we turn to other Roman historians for information upon this subject. Even Ptolemy in his Geography of Britain is silent respecting any chain of forts or barrier of any kind between the Tyne and the Solway. He does not name one of the *stationes per lineam Valli*.

We now turn to the nature of the works themselves. Horsley thinks they afford proof that the stations were erected prior to both Murus and Vallum. He says: "We find the course of the Wall directed, as much as it well could be, from station to station, and making some turns with no other view, but to come up to and fetch in a station; Severus's wall generally falling in with the north rampart and Hadrian's with the south."

Until the very accurate survey of the mural region made by Mr. Maclauchlan, under the auspices of the Duke of Northumberland, is published, it is necessary to discuss this subject with caution; but the great features of the line are sufficiently distinct to enable the ordinary wayfarer to understand them.

The first observation that will strike the student who is examining this subject, is that several of the stations are in situations which manifestly show that they were made for the Wall, and not the Wall for them. The stations of Procolitia, Borcovicus, and Æsica, in the centre of the line, can only have been erected for the accommodation of the soldiery manning the Wall. They possess no natural advantages beyond this purpose; they command no defile. Vindolana, which is situated in the same district, and is about a mile to the south of the Wall, may have been one of Agricola's forts. It is planted in a sheltered but strong position, and commands a pass of some importance. An active garrison stationed here would be able to keep in check all the enemies who were likely to enter that part of the country during Agricola's absence in Scotland.

Again, some of the stations are in such close contiguity with others, that we cannot conceive how they should have an existence during a period when the conquest of the island was but in progress. Segedunum, for example, at the eastern extremity of the Wall, is but three miles distant from Pons Ælii, and Condercum again is but two miles from Pons Ælii on its western side. Two at least of these three stations must owe their existence to the Wall. Were we to proceed in this manner throughout the whole of the *stationes per lineam Valli*, many links in Agricola's chain of forts would disappear.

Further, whatever may be said of an occasional divergence of the Wall from its natural course to meet a local difficulty, or to come up to a station, it cannot be doubted that it has, on the whole, been conducted according to a uniform principle from sea to sea. If we refer to Horsley's General Map of the Wall, opposite page 158 of the *Britannia Romana*, we will see at a glance that it has been the object of the engineer of the Barrier to carry his defences along the northern border of the river basins, communicating with the estuaries of the Tyne and the Solway. Another object kept in view by the engineer of the works, with which every one must be acquainted who has traversed the line, especially in its central parts, has been to take every possible advantage of the inequalities of the surface of the ground for strengthening his defences against the north. The works accordingly make for the basaltic ridge which, between Sewingshields and Carvoran, traverses the country. Here, though the Vallum pursues a comparatively humble and direct course, the Murus—the principal barrier against the North—pursues an ever-varying line, changing its direction without scruple whenever it is necessary, to seize the edge of a precipitous crag. Such seem to have been two of the principles acted upon by the engineer of the Wall, and we cannot doubt but that he would have made them the basis of his operations had Agricola not reared a single camp in the district. If, however, in carrying them out, he found a whole series of camps ready to receive the garrisons necessary to man the Wall, he must have been fortunate indeed.

The questions to be decided (according to the greater amount of probability attaching to each) are, Were the Vallum and Murus made to pursue their present route because Agricola had previously planted a chain of forts there, or were they taken over a line of country where they could best fulfil the purpose of their construction irrespective of any previous erections? It has indeed been said, that as the object of Agricola, Hadrian, and Severus, was the same, a similarity of policy would dictate a similar line of fortification. The remark would have force if the circumstances of the generals had been the same, and the means employed by them had been similar. Agricola, still pursuing a career of conquest, sought only to secure the country in his rear until his return, and, as is universally admitted, he made use of detached forts, not a continuous line of fortification. Hadrian, on the other hand, was dealing with a country which, for forty years, had been subject to Rome; and, his object being the solidification rather than the extension of his empire, he was at leisure to adopt more systematic

measures for suppressing intestine tumult and repelling foreign aggression, than it was possible for Agricola to do in his second or third campaign. The same observations apply to Severus, who attempted the subjugation of the whole of Scotland.

But we are not called upon by Horsley merely to suppose that Agricola, in the year 80, Hadrian, in the year 120, and Severus, in the year 207, severally hit upon the same line of fortification, but that Hadrian, in drawing his ditch and agger up to the previously existing chain of forts reared by Agricola, generally joined them at or about their southern ramparts, and Severus as uniformly brought his line of defence up to their northern ramparts. Is it not remarkable that in but few instances the Vallum ascribed by Horsley to Hadrian secures a station against northern aggression; and is it not equally remarkable, that in no one case does the Wall ascribed to Severus neglect to secure the whole or at least the greater part of each station from attack in this quarter? Does the passage of Tacitus, respecting the forts of Agricola in the Upper Isthmus, and does the fact, that the Wall occasionally makes "some turns with no other view but to come up to and fetch in a station," furnish us with sufficient evidence for crediting all that the theory requires of us? To most minds it will probably seem insufficient.

The circumstance that the Wall does not always come up in a direct manner to a station, must not be supposed to militate very seriously against the theory which ascribes all the works to one design? It is probable that unskilled labour was largely used in their construction—it is certain that forests covered large tracts of the country traversed by them, and we have sufficient evidence for supposing that the Wall was begun in several points at once;—can we be surprised then if the line had to be "helped" a little in some of its sectional parts as it came up to a terminal point? In many of our mediæval buildings there are occasional aberrations from strict rule where there can be no doubt of unity of plan. For example, in the chapel of the Norman Keep of Newcastle-upon-Tyne the ribs of the vaulted roof in several instances make but a distant approach to the corbels intended to support them.

But as though the probabilities of the case were not sufficiently strong against this theory, further demands are made upon our credence. A chain of forts extending from sea to sea could not exist without a road of communication between them. Horsley readily acknowledges this, and says: "I know not of any vestige or appearance of such a way (except from Walwick Chesters to Carvoran and

Cambeck to Stanwicks), unless we suppose the large *agger* on the north side of Hadrian's ditch to have been it." He then gives some reasons for supposing this to have been the case. Without entering, however, upon the minutiae of the point, an appeal may at once be made to the works themselves, which in many places still exist in a state approaching to perfection. It will be found that the north *agger* does not, in the majority of instances, differ in size or form or substance from the south *agger*—that in many places it is rough, and unfit to serve the purposes of a road—that, though, in many cases, it, as well as the south *agger*, consists of a mass of loose stone (the materials thrown out of the fosse), it is unpaved,—and that in form and construction it differs entirely from the military way which ran in a direct line from Walwick Chesters to Carvoran, and from that which still accompanies the Wall from Sewingshields to Walltown. Surely if it be essential to the theory that the stations on the Wall are the work of Agricola, that the north *agger* of the Vallum should be regarded as the military way belonging to them, there are considerable obstacles to its reception!

But we are not yet free from the difficulties of the case. If the southern mounds of the Vallum be the work of Hadrian—a work constructed independently of the stone Wall, and eighty years before it—a military way must be provided for this fortification.

Here, again, Agricola is supposed to come to the Emperor's help, and Hadrian has nothing to do but to adopt the road which Agricola had previously made! There is one obstacle to this supposition, which Horsley saw, and has fairly stated. He says, "The main objection against its (the north *agger's*) being a military way is, that it lies all the way on the north, or enemies' side, with respect to Hadrian's vallum and ditch." Is it necessary to pursue this subject further? Is not this objection fatal?

If the line of argument we have adopted be correct, Agricola's defences would not equal in number the stations on the line of the Murus, and, as has already been observed, they may be sought for on the great roads leading northward rather than on the basaltic heights in the centre of Northumberland. Cilurnum (Walwick Chesters), which is not far from the Watling Street or Eastern line into Scotland, may have been one of Agricola's stations, and Magna (Carvoran), which is upon the Maiden Way or Western line into Scotland, may have been another. Between these stations a Roman military way ran quite independent of the Wall, having the station of Vindolana (Chesterholm) in the centre of its route. By

means of these three forts the two great roads into Scotland would be protected, and the line kept open between the eastern and the western route. Whatever other stations Agricola may have planted in the isthmus, they would probably be erected in accordance with the principles now indicated.

Horsley's remark, that inscriptions have been found in some of the stations (such as that of the reign of Antonine at Benwell) prior to the time of Severus, though adverse to the supposition that the forts were built by Severus, does not militate against the claims of Hadrian. It may not be out of course, too, to ask why, if so many stone-built forts were erected by Agricola in the Lower Isthmus, has not a single carved line been found commemorating the name of his master? Several inscriptions exist in various parts of Europe bearing the names of Vespasian and Domitian, but none upon the line of the Roman Wall in England. At York a stone was lately found dedicated to the Emperor Trajan by the Ninth Legion (one of those which accompanied Agricola into Scotland), but no traces of any emperor anterior to the time of Hadrian have been found upon the Wall, or of any forces but such as are known to have been with him.

In our subsequent remarks we may confine ourselves to the respective claims of Hadrian and Severus.

In the following passage Horsley succinctly states the case of Severus as against Hadrian:—"I know 'tis the opinion of some ingenious persons that both the walls, with all their appurtenances, and the stations upon them, were the work of the same time, and the same person; and that the one is only an interior vallum or fosse to the other. But that this was not the original design of the vallum, though it might be so used by Severus, appears plain to me from the testimony of the Roman historians; nor does this notion suit the circumstances of the work itself as they yet appear. The coincidence of Severus's military way with the other, the exact parallelism of all the parts of Hadrian's work, and the very unequal distances that are between the two walls themselves, are to me convincing arguments that the walls have been erected at different times."^p

In following Horsley over the topics of investigation here indicated, our first duty is to examine the testimony of the Roman historians. It may be well, in the first instance, to cite all the important passages bearing upon the subject.

Dion Cassius flourished A.D. 230.^q That portion of his history which relates to

^p Brit. Rom., p. 124.

^q Mon. Hist., p. li. n.

Britain, during the period under review, is lost, with the exception of such parts as are found in an abridgement of his works written by Xiphiline, about the beginning of the twelfth century. Dion Cassius twice mentions the Wall. The following passage belongs to the reign of Commodus:—

“Τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐθνῶν ὑπερβεβηκότων τὸ τεῖχος τὸ διορίζον αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα, καὶ πολλὰ κακουργούντων, στρατηγόν τέ τινα μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὓς εἶχε κατακοψάντων, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κόμμοδος, Μάρκελλον Οὐλπιον ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν.”—“For some of the nations within that island having passed over the Wall which divided them from the Roman stations, and, besides killing a certain commander with his soldiers, having committed much other devastation, Commodus became alarmed, and sent Marcellus Ulpius against them.”

The other passage belongs to the reign of Severus:—

“Δύο δὲ γένη τῶν Βρεττανῶν μέγιστα εἰσι, Καληδόνοι καὶ Μαιάται· καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσρήματα (ὡς εἰπεῖν) συγκεχώρηκεν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν Μαιάται πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διατειχίσματι ὃ τὴν νήσον διχῆ τέμνει· Καληδόνοι δὲ, μέτ’ ἐκείνους.”—“Among the Britons the two greatest tribes are the Caledonians and the Meatae; for even the names of the others, as may be said, are merged in these. The Meatae dwell close to the Wall which divides the island into two parts; the Caledonians beyond them.”¹

Herodian flourished about the year 238.² The only reference which he makes to the Wall is in the following words:—

“Ὑπερβάντων δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὰ προβεβλημένα ρέματα τε καὶ χώματα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, συμβολαὶ καὶ ἀκροβολισμοὶ πολλάκις ἐγένοντο, τροπαὶ τε τῶν βαρβάρων.”—“His (Severus's) army having passed beyond the rivers and fortresses which defended the Roman territory, there were frequent attacks and skirmishes, and retreats on the side of the barbarians.”³

Spartian was a Latin writer, who flourished at the close of the third century. Speaking of Hadrian, he says:—

“Ante omnes tamen enitebatur ne quid otiosum vel emeret aliquando vel pasceret. Ergo conversis regio more militibus, Britanniam petiit: in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret.”⁴—Yet, above all men, he strove that he might not at any time purchase or maintain aught addicted to idleness. Therefore, turning about his soldiers in kingly fashion, he sought Britain; where he corrected many things, and first drew a wall for eighty miles to separate the barbarians and the Romans.

¹ Lib. lxxii, s. 12. Quoted in the Monumenta Historica, p. lix. The translation appended is that given in the Monumenta.

² Lib. lxxii., s. 12. Mon. Hist., p. lx. ³ Mon. Hist., p. lx. ⁴ Mon. Hist., p. lxii.

⁵ Lib. iii. Mon. Hist., p. lxiv.

⁶ Horsley translates the word “trenches,” no doubt, in the sense of ramparts. ⁷ Mon. Hist., p. lxiv.

⁸ De Hadr., c. ii. Mon. Hist., p. lxv.

Again, writing of Severus, he says :—

“ Britanniam, quod maximum ejus imperii decus est, muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem oceani munivit: unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit.”^a—He secured Britain, which is the chief glory of his reign, having drawn a wall across the island, to the boundary of the ocean, on either side; whence he also received the name of Britannicus.

In one more passage he mentions the Wall in connexion with Severus :—

“ Post murum aut^a vallum missum in Britannia, quum ad proximam mansionem rediret, non solum victor, sed etiam in æternum pace fundata, volvens animo quid ominis sibi occurreret, Æthiops quidam e numero militari, claræ inter scurras famæ, et celebratorum semper jocorum, cum corona e cupressu facta eidem occurrit. Quem quum ille iratus removeri ab oculis præcepisset, et coloris ejus tactus omine et coronæ, dixisse ille dicitur joci causa, ‘Totum fuisti, totum vicisti, jam Deus esto victor.’”^b—After the Emperor had passed the Wall (or Vallum) and was returning to the nearest station, not as a conqueror only, but as a founder of eternal peace, and was revolving in his mind what omen might present itself, an Ethiopian soldier, famous as a buffoon and noted for his jokes, confronted him on his way, *crowned with cypress*. The Emperor struck with the colour of the man and his [ill-omened] crown, was angry, and ordered him out of his sight. The fellow is thereupon said jestingly to have retorted—‘Thou hast been every thing—conquered every thing; now conqueror be a god.’^c

^a De Sev., c. 18 Mon. Hist., p. lxxv.

^a The reading here given is that adopted in the Monumenta Historica. Hodgson, quoting from the Bipont edition of the Hist. Aug. Script., 1787, reads, “Murum *apud* Vallum”—the Murus at or near the Vallum. Horsley also prefers this reading, and thinks it gives us “a plain intimation that Severus’s Wall was built near to Hadrian’s Vallum, nigh the same tract of ground, though not upon the same foundation” (*Brit. Rom.*, p. 62). It will be observed, however, that the historian is not treating of the Walls at all; he is telling us an anecdote of Severus, and mentions the Wall merely to fix the locality where the circumstance occurred. If the Vallum had been reared eighty years before the Wall, and had at this time become so inefficient (from whatever cause), that a new and more ambitious line of defence required to be raised, it would contribute little to the reader’s knowledge of the locality to tell him that the event occurred just after the Emperor had passed the Murus, which is near the Vallum. A modern chronicler might almost as well say, “After Queen Victoria had arrived at Salisbury, which is near Old Sarum.” The text seems to be in an unsatisfactory state, and Horsley probably exercises a wise discretion when, in his translation of the passage he altogether omits the clause, “*Apud Vallum,*” or “*Aut Vallum,*” and simply reads, “After the Wall was finished in Britain.”

^b De Sev., c. 22, Mon. Hist., p. lxxv.

^c This translation is founded upon Hodgson’s (*Hist. Nor.*, II., iii., 164). The first time that Hodgson quotes the passage he follows Horsley in translating “Post Murum aut Vallum *missum* in Britannia”—“After the Murus . . . was *completed* ;” but afterwards (p. 273) he inclines to the belief that the phrase should be rendered, “After he had *passed* the Murus.” There is little doubt that the latter

Julius Capitolinus (who flourished at the close of the third century), in recording the erection of the Antonine Wall in Scotland, refers to a previously existing wall, which is of some importance in the discussion of the question—

“Per legatos suos plurima bella gessit [Antoninus]. Nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit, alio muro cespiticio submotis barbaris ducto.”^a—Antoninus carried on many wars by his legates; for he conquered even the Britons by his legate Lollius Urbicus; having, after driving back the barbarians, constructed another wall composed of turf.”

The ecclesiastical historian Eusebius^c in a portion of his writings which exists only in the translation of Jerome, has the following passage—

“Clodio Albino, qui se in Gallia Cæsarem fecerat, interfecto apud Lugdunum, Severus in Britannos bellum transfert, ubi, ut receptas provincias ab incursione barbarica faceret securiores, vallum per c.xxxii, passuum millia a mari ad mare duxit.”^b—Clodius Albinus, (who had proclaimed himself Cæsar in Gaul) being killed at Lyons, Severus transfers the war to the Britons, where, that he might make the provinces he had recovered more secure from the invasion of the barbarians, he drew a rampart, 132 miles long, from sea to sea.

Sextus Aurelius Victor, who is supposed to have flourished about the year 360,^e has the following passage:—

“His majora aggressus [Severus], Britanniam, quæ ad ea utilis erat, pulsus hostibus, muro munivit, per transversam insulam ducto, utrinque ad finem oceani.”^b—He achieved greater things than these, for after repulsing the enemy, he secured Britain, which was convenient for such things,¹ by a wall drawn across the island to the ocean on either side.

In a work which chiefly consists of an abbreviation of Aurelius Victor's Lives of the Cæsars, by an unknown author,¹ we have the following account of the Wall:—

view is preferable, though neither is quite satisfactory. As has already been suggested, the passage is probably corrupt. The last clause (*Jam Deus esto victor*) is ambiguous; it may be rendered, “Now, conqueror, be a god”—or, “Now let God be conqueror.” If the first meaning be adopted, the buffoon pays Severus the very uncomfortable compliment of wishing him well out of the world, most of the Roman emperors being deified at death; if the other meaning be adopted, we have an allusion to the principles of the Christian religion, which must have made some progress in Britain at this time. The gist of the joke (or sarcasm) and the safety of the Ethiopian probably depended upon the ambiguity of the expression.

^a De Marco Antonino Philosopho, c. 8. Mon. Hist. p. lxxv.

^b He died about A.D. 340. Mon. Hist., p. lxx, n. ^c Lib. II. Severi An. xiv. Mon. Hist. p. lxxxix.

^e Mon. Hist. p. lxxi, n.

^b De Viris Illustribus, c. 78. Mon. Hist., p. lxxi.

¹ He probably refers here to the peculiar adaptation of the northern isthmus for such a purpose.

¹ See *Art. Victor, Sex. Aurelius*, in Smith's Dict. of Biog.

"Hic [Severus] in Britannia vallum per triginta duo passuum millia a mari ad mare deduxit."^k—He drew a rampart for thirty-two miles from sea to sea.

Eutropius, who flourished about the year 360,^l also ascribes the Wall to Severus—

"Novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit [Severus]: utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret, vallum per xxxii. millia passuum a mari ad mare deduxit."^m—He waged his last war in Britain; and that he might render the provinces which he acquired as secure as possible, he drew a rampart from sea to sea, thirty-two miles in length.

Cassiodorus lived in the sixth century. In his *Chronicon* the following passage occurs:—

"APER ET MAXIMUS. His coss. Severus in Britannos bellum movit, ubi ut receptas provincias ab incursione barbarica faceret securiores, vallum per C.XXXII. passuum millia a mari ad mare deduxit."ⁿ—In the consulship of Aper and Maximus he made war upon the Britons, and to render the provinces which submitted to him secure against barbaric invasion, he drew a Vallum from sea to sea, one hundred and thirty-two miles in length.

It would serve no useful purpose to quote from writers of a later date; their statements are but a repetition of those already given.

In weighing the value of these testimonies the experience of Horsley may preserve us from undue disappointment. Discussing the Roman Geography of Britain he says;—

"The accounts and descriptions of ancient authors must be of great use, and have been in many cases justly appealed to. It must be owned that the descriptions of these authors (the Classics, Roman historians, &c.) are often confused and obscure, and sometimes inconsistent with one another, which may lessen their authority; but yet they are in many cases our best guides."^o "Though indeed, after all the light which can be collected from these ancient writers, and other helps, we still find ourselves too often left in the dark. nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider the distance of time". . . .^p

We now examine the passages. The earliest writers who make any mention of a Wall in England are Herodian and Dion Cassius. Both of these writers were contemporaries of Severus, and both wrote copiously on his reign.^q Both of them describe his expedition into Britain; Dion does so diffusely.^r If Severus,

^k Epit. c. 4. Mon. Hist. p. lxxi.

^l Mon. Hist. p. lxxii, n.

^m Lib. VIII., c. 19. Mon. Hist. p. lxxii.

ⁿ Hist. Mon. lxxxii.

^o Brit. Rom. p. 354.

^p Brit Rom. p. 355.

^q Hist. Nor., II., iii., 164.

^r Hist. Nor., II., iii., 164.

therefore, built the Wall, we might expect to have some certain information respecting it from them. To the great surprise of Horsley, and others who think that Severus was its builder, they do not give us the least hint of the fact. Horsley thus expresses his astonishment: "It is strange that neither Herodian nor Xiphiline should mention the building of a Wall by Severus. Dion Cassius says, 'that the Mæatæ dwell near the Wall which divides the island into two parts,' but says nothing of its being built by Severus."^s

Both writers were, however, aware of the existence of a wall. Dion Cassius, it will be observed, twice mentions it. In the first instance, he says, that in the reign of Commodus the barbarous tribes "passed over the Wall (τὸ τεῖχος) which divided them from the Roman stations." The second instance belongs to the reign of Severus himself, and here the phrase is peculiarly emphatic. He says, "The Meatæ dwell close to the Wall which divides the island into two parts." The expression, πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διατειχίσματι is equivalent to the 'very' wall—the well-known wall.^t Much stress cannot be laid on the word τεῖχος which is used in the first instance and its compound διατειχίσμα in the second, as it is applicable to a wall of any description; but if there be any one term in the Greek language which expresses a *stone* wall, it is this word.

If, therefore, we had no other historical evidence but that which Dion Cassius supplies, we would certainly conclude that the Wall was built long before Severus landed upon our shores.

Herodian also recognizes the existence of fortifications in the vicinity of the rivers of the isthmus prior to the arrival of Severus. The expression which he uses is χόματα—ramparts, a word which *primarily* applies to mounds of earth rather than of stone. As he does not, however, speak of any other wall subsequently erected, we are entitled to conclude (so far as his testimony is concerned) that the fortifications to which he alludes are those of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus—consisting partly of earth-works and partly of a stone wall.

We now come to the testimony of Spartian. He three times mentions the Wall. In the first instance, he says most distinctly that "Hadrian first drew a wall for eighty miles to separate the barbarians and the Romans." Here let it be noticed that the term used is *murus*, the proper word for a stone wall, as *vallum*

^s Brit. Rom., p. 61.

^t See a similar construction in Luke x., 21, Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ᾠρᾷ.—"In that hour," or as it is given in Cranmer's Bible, "That same hour," and in the Rheims Testament "In that very hour."

is for an earthen rampart. Both words are frequently used very loosely, and are occasionally interchanged; still it might have been expected, had Hadrian only reared a sod fence, and Severus been the builder of a stone wall, that Spartian, in recording the labours of each, would have avoided using the same term (*murus*) in both cases, or have added some epithet in order to define his meaning.*

The second reference which Spartian makes to a wall in Britain, is in relation to Severus. He says of this emperor—"He secured Britain, which is the chief glory of his reign, having drawn a wall across the island to the boundary of the ocean on either side, whence he also received the name of Britannicus." Horsley, in common with nearly all who have written upon the subject,† have understood Spartian to say that the building of the Wall was the great glory of Severus's reign. We shall, probably, more correctly ascertain his meaning if we keep prominently in view the essential part of the sentence—"Britanniam, quod maximum ejus imperii decus est, munivit." The portion which relates to the Wall—"muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem oceani," is given parenthetically, and is obviously of secondary import. The erection of a wall eighty miles in length, could never be said to be the great glory of the reign of any man of talent and energy, who, for eighteen years, held the sceptre of universal empire; but he might boast (if he truthfully could) of the subjugation of the hostile tribes of Britain. Of the valour of the Britons, Severus had had experience in the battle of Lyons. And when the prefect of Britain sent him word that the barbarians were in a state of insurrection, he rejoiced; evidently feeling that they were a foe worthy of his steel. On his death-bed, he boasted of the pacification of Britain.‡ We may, therefore, readily suppose, that in the passage under

* In a subsequent passage he has the following sentence: "Stipitibus magnis in modum muralis sepis. . . barbaros separavit"—He separated the barbarians by means of large stakes. . . . after the manner of a mural hedge. Here the accompanying words define the meaning of the word *muralis*. In English we sometimes speak of a wooden mile-stone, but where some distinguishing epithet is not given we naturally consider the *milliarium* to be composed of the ordinary material. So in Latin, where there is nothing to show the contrary, we would expect *murus* to signify a stone wall, and *vallum* a wall of earth.

† The writer of this chapter includes himself in the category. The careful revision, which he has found it necessary to make, of all the authorities bearing upon the subject of the Wall, has led him, in some instances, as has already been seen, to modify his views of some of the passages.

‡ Spartian says—"Ultima verba ejus dicuntur hæc fuisse: Turbatam rempublicam ubique accepi, pacatam etiam Britannis relinquo." *C. 23, Mon. Hist.*, lxx.—"I received the empire in a state of universal confusion; I leave it in a state of repose, even as it regards the Britons."

review, the historian is more anxious to impress upon us the fact that Severus reduced Britain to a state of quiescence, than to direct our attention to any of the means which he adopted for the accomplishment of this end. If historians of great credit, like Herodian and Dion Cassius, who were contemporary with Severus, say nothing of any wall built by that Emperor; and if stony documents—the very autographs of the builders of the Wall, which, without the intervention of editors, or transcribers, or printers, have come down to our time—say nothing of Severus, but uphold the name of Hadrian, we can readily, without impeaching the veracity of Spartian, reconcile his statement with the facts. That Severus repaired the Wall, which had been broken through in the time of Commodus, and its stations ruined, is admitted by all; if, therefore, when speaking not so much of the Wall itself as of the crowning effort of the Emperor's life, to which it was subsidiary, he confounds the reparation with the original edification of the structure, he is guilty merely of a little indistinctness in the back-ground of his picture. We are compelled to suppose that the words of Spartian are to be received with some modification. What time had Severus for building the Wall, and what troops could he spare for effecting so great an undertaking? Dion Cassius tells us expressly that “he (Severus) returned not from the British expedition, but died there three years after he undertook it.”* A perusal of Herodian's account of his war against the Caledonians, leaves the impression upon the mind that it occupied the whole of the time between his arrival in Britain and his death. Dion Cassius does, indeed, speak of a peace which he compelled the Caledonians to submit to, and of a second insurrection which broke out before his death; but the account which he gives us of the “indescribable labours of Severus in cutting down woods, levelling hills, making marshes passable, and constructing bridges over rivers”; of the havoc committed upon his troops, not less than “fifty thousand of them perishing”; and of the Emperor's dogged perseverance in pressing on in defiance of all difficulties, “until he had nearly reached the extremity of the island, and most carefully examined the parallax of the sun, and the length of days and nights both in summer and winter,” may well induce us to suppose that the greater portion of the last three years of his life was spent in the northern division of Britain. Horsley admits this. He says, “There was perhaps scarce time for him to begin and finish the Wall between the conclusion of the peace and

* Horsley thinks that this expression must be understood with some latitude, so as to take in part of the fourth year.—*Brit. Rom.*, p. 56.

his death, and much less between the conclusion of the peace and his going to York."† If he did not construct the Wall on his return from his Scottish expedition, when did he do it? Not surely when he set out. He had made up his mind to subjugate the whole of Caledonia; the erection of a vast work like the Roman Wall, a hundred miles to the south of the Barrier of Antonine, if it could by any possibility have entered his mind, would, in such circumstances, have seemed an enormous waste of time and power. Not surely during the continuance of his struggle. He evidently was engaged in a desperate venture, and met with a resistance and endured losses such as he could not have anticipated. He would not venture, in such circumstances, to weaken his force by dispatching a large body of men to construct the Wall. That in his advance into Scotland he should have put into a state of repair all the works on his line of march, and that, on his return,

"Sith 't will no better be,"

he issued hasty orders for making good the whole line of the Lower Barrier, is extremely probable; but more than this—apart from the words of Spartian—the facts of the case do not warrant us in believing.

Spartian's third passage—"After Severus had passed the Wall (or Vallum)" on his way to York, requires no remark after the observations already made upon it.

Although the statements of Spartian have here been considered much in detail, it must not be supposed that he is an author of great authority.* In his day, too, when the empire was fast hastening to irretrievable ruin, and at his distance from the scene of action, it cannot be supposed that he would have many opportunities for accurately ascertaining the state of affairs in Britain during the

† Brit. Rom., p. 62.

* Of the collection (of which Spartian is one of the authors) commonly classed together under the title of "*Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores Sex*," Professor Ramsay thus speaks (*Art. Capitolinus*, *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*):—" . . . We find numerous repetitions of frivolous details, a strange mixture of what is grave and valuable with the most puerile and worthless rubbish, and a multitude of irreconcilable and contradictory statements freely admitted without remark or explanation." Pinkerton, speaking of him (*Enquiry into Hist. of Scotland*, v. i., p. 49), says;—"Spartian, a weak writer in the time of Diocletian, near a century after Severus, is the first who mentions it (that Severus built the Wall); and what the state of historical knowledge then was may be judged from the beginning of the life of Probus, by Vopiscus, in the same collection. Vopiscus is the best of these authors, and lived under Diocletian; and he says that, for want of writers, the actions and memory of Probus had almost perished! That is in a space of twelve or fourteen years."

residence of Severus. As, however, he is the historian on whose statements the advocates of Severus chiefly rely, it seemed proper to examine carefully the import of his words.

The reference which Capitolinus makes to the Wall of Hadrian, when recording the erection of the Wall of Antonine, has been thought decisive of the claims of Severus. Horsley says—"The expression of Capitolinus concerning Antoninus Pius's wall in Scotland, *alio muro cespicio ducto*, implies plainly, that one turf wall had been built before; which cannot well be supposed to have been any other than this of Hadrian."^a The phrase is not so express as Horsley supposes. The word, *alio*, may, without impropriety, be restricted to *muro*; and the expression equally well bears the translation "another wall, of turf," as "another turf wall." Capitolinus certainly means to intimate that Antoninus built another wall, but, further, gives us to understand that it was not like that already existing, of stone, *but* of turf. The passage makes as much for the one theory as the other.

Eusebius, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Cassiodorus, and other authors living in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, ascribe the building of the Wall to Severus. In the nature of things their testimony is only valuable so far as it faithfully reflects the testimony of their predecessors. How scanty the information handed down by the contemporaries of Severus or their immediate successors is, we have already had opportunities of seeing. As a means of testing the value of these late writers we may notice the inaccuracy of their estimates of the length of the Wall. Not one of them states it at all correctly. Eusebius says it is 132 miles long. Eutropius says it is 32 miles long. Cassiodorus brings us back to the larger number, 132.

We may now leave the historical part of the question. It is not so full or so satisfactory as we might have expected. This is in a great measure to be accounted for by the distance of Britain from Rome, and the terrific confusion in which the affairs of the empire were involved during the period when the later writers whom we have quoted flourished.

We now turn to the third branch of our inquiry, the evidence furnished by the works of the Barrier themselves as to their origin. Do the Vallum, the Stations, the Wall with its castles and turrets, and the Military Way, exhibit proofs of unity of design, or do they appear to have been the product of different minds

^a Brit. Rom. p. 117.

and of different periods? We have already seen that Horsley conceives that the stationary camps of the line preceded both the Vallum and the Murus, and we have examined the grounds on which he founds this opinion. In the following paragraph he gives us his views respecting the relationship between the Vallum and the Murus:—

“ I see no circumstances in the two works of Severus’s wall and Hadrian’s vallum that argue them to be done at the same time, or to have any necessary relation one to the other. The constant parallelism of the north agger, the ditch and the two southern aggers of Hadrian’s work, is a sure argument of their mutual relation. But this parallelism does not hold in the wall of Severus. Where they are most distant, there are no visible branches of any military way leading from the one to the other, whereby the communication between them might be more easily preserved. In some places there is a morass between the two walls, which must make a retreat from one wall to the other inconvenient, and is improper for a body of men to stand on.”^b

There is much force in these observations of our great antiquary. The parallelism of the lines of the Vallum is complete. They run side by side at precisely the same distance from one another; when the one turns, the other turns, and precisely at the same angle. The Wall does not maintain a uniform distance from the Vallum; it is sometimes so close to it as scarcely to allow room for the passage of the military way between it and the Vallum; and in one part of its course, in the mountainous district, it is nearly half a mile distant from the earthen rampart.

Again, the course of the Vallum is usually more direct than that of the Wall; it runs on in the same straight line for a longer course than the Wall does; it has about it a greater amount of mathematical precision—a greater amount of that unswerving straight-forwardness which is so characteristic of the Romans—than the Wall has. Further, when both works bend, they do not always bend at the same point and at the same angle. These are difficulties which every one who is familiar with the mural Barrier, and who is of opinion that the works are one, must have felt; and which, probably, he will feel yet more strongly when the anticipated “Survey of the Wall” lies before him. Still, some considerations may be adduced which will, in part, remove the difficulties. Though the works are not precisely parallel, they are virtually so. In relation to the whole distance run, they

^b Brit. Rom. p. 126

may be said to be in close companionship with each other the whole way. They are never so far removed that the one may not be seen from the other. Some reason, too, may usually be assigned for any departure from the normal distance. When they come closer together than usual, it is that both works may seize the summit of some hill over which their course lies. Their comparatively wide separation in the central region, is evidently owing to the nature of the ground. The Wall crowns the summit of the basaltic ridge, as the most efficient protection against the attack of a northern foe; the Vallum, as the best means of guarding against the treacherous onslaught of an enemy from within, runs at the foot of the southern slope of the hill. The nature of the material used in the construction of the one and the other, and the objects to be served by each, may account for some of the differences between them. The earth-work might well be carried forward with more decision and boldness than the stone wall, which entails in its execution a greater amount of labour and skill. And as the Caledonian foe was more to be dreaded than the subject Brigantes, the Wall must of necessity be made to seize every advantageous point, no matter how frequently it changes its direction, while the Vallum, as having a less arduous duty to fulfil, may be allowed to proceed for a considerable distance in the same straight line, irrespective of occasional disadvantages, provided its course on the whole be suited to its purpose.

But whatever difficulties may attend the theory which supposes that the Murus and Vallum are parts of one design, they are small in comparison with those which are inseparable from the supposition that the works belong to different eras.

1. If the Murus does not maintain the same accurate parallelism with the Vallum which the several parts of the Vallum do with one another, these two great works never cut in upon one another. The Murus never crosses the Vallum. If the Wall had been constructed nearly a century after the Vallum, and in consequence of the inefficiency of that rampart, would it not have pursued an independent course along the country;—sometimes crossing the Vallum in one direction, sometimes in another, occasionally diverging from it to a considerable distance? Different minds seldom take precisely the same view of a subject, and in so important a matter as the erection of a fortification, on which the security of a country was to depend, the engineer of Severus would surely feel bound to adopt the line which seemed to him to be the best, irrespective of the views of any of his predecessors.

The only way of avoiding this difficulty is to suppose that Severus did not intend to supersede the ancient lines of defence, but to add to them—that he intentionally drew his Wall side by side with the Vallum, in order to avail himself of the modicum of support which it afforded. Had the prior defence been a stone wall, and the additional fortification a rampart of earth, this idea might have been tenable; but we can scarcely conceive that when the later defence was by far the stronger and more important of the two, it would have been made subsidiary to the other. Besides, if we regard the Wall simply as a means of defence against the north, its erection would render the Vallum nearly useless—it would only be available as a momentary refuge when the soldiery had been driven by the enemy from their stronger position, the Wall; in such circumstances, the engineer might fairly dismiss it from his calculations. There is moreover something inconsistent with Roman vigour, and with the terrible energy of the character of Severus, in the idea of that emperor's making an old fortification the basis of a new one of his own. We see from Roy's maps how frequently a legion, when encamping upon ground that had been previously occupied, paid no heed to the ramparts that were still standing, but proceeded to form new ones as though the others had never been in existence. If Severus built the Wall—built it as an important means of securing the object with which he wished to gild the close of his military career—he would have built it independently of the lines of Hadrian, or any other man.

2. Another difficulty of, apparently, an insuperable character, attends the view that the Murus and Vallum are independent works. Whilst the ground along which the Wall runs is generally the strongest which could be chosen for a protection against the north, that over which the Vallum goes is better adapted for repelling invasion from the south than the north. In many instances the Vallum takes the southern slope of a hill when it might as easily have embraced its northern margin. One remarkable example of this is to be seen at Down-hill, about sixteen miles west of Newcastle, where the Vallum bends at an angle, and skirts the base of the hill in such a way as to place the fortification completely at the command of an enemy posted upon the hill. Again, throughout the entire distance extending from Sewingshields to Carvoran, the Vallum runs along the southern slope of the basaltic hills on the northern escarpment of which the Murus is situated, and is commanded throughout by the rising ground to the north. If the Vallum had originally been reared as an independent fortifi-

ation, and was chiefly intended to assist in stemming the tide of Caledonian invasion, why should these elevated positions have been left in the hands of the enemy? On the theory that the Vallum and Wall are separate works, and were reared at different times, no satisfactory answer can be given to this question; admit that they are one work, and that the Wall was chiefly designed as a protection against the north and the Vallum against the south, and all is easy. The point which we are now stating is so important—being in fact the one on which the whole question turns (apart from direct testimony)—that it may be well to state it in Horsley's own words. "It must be confessed," he says, "that the *southern prospect of Hadrian's work, and the defence on that side, is generally better than on the north; whereas the northern prospect and defence have been principally or only taken care of in the wall of Severus.*"^c The way in which our great Northumbrian antiquary attempts to meet this difficulty only shows how insuperable it is. He conceives that Hadrian was guided in forming his lines by the direction taken by the north agger of the Vallum. This agger, as we have already seen, he takes to have been the military way of Agricola. He thus proceeds—

"In a word, the north agger, or old military way, keeps just such a course and runs through such grounds as one would expect such a Roman way should do. And if it was determined that Hadrian's work should strictly accompany this, and keep all along an exact parallelism to it, they must then by this rule be tied down to these seeming irregularities and misconduct which appears in this work."

We have already shown that there are good grounds for believing that the north agger of the Vallum was an agger merely, and not a military way, but even though it had been, would Hadrian have sacrificed the strength of his fortress in order to avail himself of a ready-made road? No man of sense or vigour would?

3. The opinion that the Wall was not built until the time of Severus, is liable to the objection already brought against the theory that the stations of the line were the work of Agricola; namely, that though the north was the point from which danger was most to be dreaded, this is the side on which the earthworks of the Vallum give the stations the least support, leaving most of them entirely exposed.

We are thus driven by necessity to abandon the idea that the Wall and Murus are

^c Brit. Rom. p. 125. In penning these words, Horsley virtually surrenders the cause which he advocates.

^d Brit. Rom., p. 125.

separate works, erected at different periods. The whole works, consisting of Vallum and Murus, of military towers and subsidiary turrets, of military way and supporting stations, exhibit a completeness of purpose which we can only trace to unity of design. Each part has a special function to fulfil, and though perhaps weak in itself, lends its aid to the general strength. The stone wall is the barrier on the north, protecting the stations and covering the military way. The stations and mile-castles afford lodgement for the soldiery. The Vallum is a protection against an attack from the south, and covers the road in that quarter. Judging from present appearances, there has been but one military way accompanying the Barrier from end to end, and that one bears a much closer relationship to the Wall than the Vallum.* The Vallum and Murus, on the supposition of their being but parts of one work, required but one military way. It was essential that it should run between them, and keep as near as possible to the Wall, and to the barracks and guard chambers of the garrison. All this we find to have been the case. The stationary camps lie between the works, receiving support from both of them. The Vallum is destitute of any accommodation for the soldiery, excepting the stations; the Wall supplies an abundance, having guard-chambers at the distance of a Roman mile from each other, with three or four † smaller erections between each of them. The Vallum does not extend at either extremity of the line so far as the Wall. At the eastern end, the river between Wallsend and Newcastle would prove a sufficient protection against the south, but not against the north; at the western extremity a series of marshes, stretching some miles inland from the southern shore of the Solway, seems to have rendered the construction of the Vallum between Dykesfield and Bowness unnecessary. All this is in consistency with the idea that the works were one, and that each part had a function of its own to discharge. Occasionally a similarity in the mode of workmanship is apparent in the two parts of the Barrier. At Tepper-Moor, the ditches, both of the Murus and Vallum, have been cut through the summit of a basaltic hill with considerable difficulty. Masses of the upheaved rock lie on the surface of the ground in the vicinity both of the Murus and Vallum. So unusual a circumstance as this leads to the conclusion that both works were being carried forward at the same time, and by the same gang of workmen.

* As we have already seen, Horsley conceived that the north agger of the Vallum was a way. Although in one or two places it has something of this appearance, its general character is decidedly adverse to any such view.

† *Britannia Romana*, p. 120.

But however satisfactory the proof from the nature of the works may be, there are more direct evidences in store. It seems to have been the practice in ancient, as it is in modern, times to affix to important public buildings inscriptions giving some account of the structure, and of the period of its erection. Several slabs, of a form suitable for erection over a gateway, and bearing inscriptions more or less elaborate, have been found in the stations and mile-castles of the Wall, and in the supporting stations to the north and south of it. To these stony documents we turn with expectation. From them there can be no appeal. Their evidence is not circumstantial but direct. Nothing can be more conclusive than their testimony, except, indeed, the men who hewed the stones of the Wall, and laid them in the places where we still observe them, were to rise from their graves and tell us with living lips whether they acted in obedience to the orders of Hadrian or Severus. And what is the testimony of these inscriptions? Decidedly in favour of Hadrian. Though some slabs and altars, found in the out-stations, bear the name of Severus, not one has been found upon the Wall itself; but several have been found, in all parts of the Barrier, bearing the name of Hadrian. In that section of the Wall which is at present in the most perfect state, testimony after testimony has been exhumed, virtually according to Hadrian the honour of having been its builder. How is it that in the mile-castles, or in the stations, which confessedly are contemporaneous with the Wall, not a single slab bears the name of Severus, or of his prefects, or chief officers? But one answer can be given to this question—Hadrian built the Wall, not Severus. The utter absence of testimonies in favour of Severus, and their comparative abundance in favour of Hadrian, is the more remarkable when we consider that not only have the slabs erected in Hadrian's day been exposed to the action of the elements for nearly a century longer than those which were carved at the close of the reign of Severus, but that prior to the arrival of Severus in Britain, the works of the Barrier (of whatever kind they were) had suffered excessively from a successful onslaught of the Caledonians. During this irruption many inscriptions bearing the name of Hadrian would doubtless be injured or destroyed, and in the works which Severus subsequently ordered (whether, as we contend, connected with the reparation of the Wall, or, as some think, its original construction) many more would be used up. Notwithstanding several remain dedicated to Hadrian—not one on the Wall itself speaks of Severus. The importance of this part of the subject requires that we should go from end to end of the Barrier, and ascertain what stones discovered in its several parts have been dedicated to either of these emperors.

1. At Jarrow, near the mouth of the Tyne, and on its southern margin, there is strong reason to believe a Roman station existed. On a stone which, when the Roman dominion in England had ceased, was used in the formation of Beda's church, the remains of a Roman inscription appear; the following letters are distinct:—

OMNIVM FIL . . .
HADR
IANI

Though several letters have been lost entirely, and others are partially obliterated, the inscription has probably run in this form—*Pro salute omnium filiorum Hadriani*—For the safety of all the [adopted] sons of Hadrian.

2. At Procolitia, the modern Carrawburgh, the seventh station of the line, and one of those stations which are palpably contemporaneous with the Wall, an inscription has been found which indisputably belongs to the reign of Hadrian. It records the erection of some building by the First Cohort of the Aquitani, during the Proprætorship of Aulus Platorius Nepos. This cohort we know, from the Rivingling Rescript, was in Britain in the time of Hadrian, but seems to have left the island soon afterwards. Aulus Platorius Nepos was a great favourite of Hadrian's, and had the command of the province of Britain during his reign.

3. We now approach that part of the Wall in which, on account of its comparative completeness, we might expect to meet with some of the class of monuments of which we are in search; and we are not disappointed. In four of the mile-castles between the contiguous^s stations of Borcovicus and Æsica slabs or portions of slabs have been found, recording the names of Hadrian, and of his Proprætor, Aulus Platorius Nepos. That the mile-castles owe their existence to the Wall is certain, and as in this part of the line the Wall is further removed from the Vallum than usual, and stands upon a higher elevation, it is extremely improbable that these tributes to the memory of Hadrian can have been brought from the Vallum to it. That several of these slabs are in an imperfect and battered condition, conduces to the strength of the argument. In the time of Commodus the Caledonians, as has already been observed, came down upon the fortifications of the Barrier, defeated the troops that garrisoned it, and committed extensive ravages upon all the works of the Romans. Severus himself came to

^s Contiguous so far as the Wall is concerned. The station of Vindolana comes between Borcovicus and Æsica in the Notitia list, but it lies considerably to the south of the Wall. Borcovicus and Æsica are about four miles distant from each other.

Britain in consequence of the extraordinary success of the enemies of Rome. Had these inscriptions wholly escaped the disasters of the period, we should have been tempted to believe that they belonged to a later age. Only one of them is entire, but by it we are enabled to supply with certainty the portions of the others which are wanting. In the mile-castle a little to the west of Borcovicus, the modern Housesteads, one of these stones has been found ; it is much broken, but on it the name of the Second Legion and of Aulus Platorius Nepos, Hadrian's Proprætor, appear. It is now in the possession of Mr. Clayton, at Chesters.

4. In the next mile-castle, that opposite Hotbank, a precisely similar inscription has been found, but broken across the middle. One half of the stone is now at Matfen, the other at Durham.

5. The next mile-tower on our westward course is that which stands in the Castle Nick.^b Here the uninjured inscription was found, which is now preserved in the Castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. It bears, in distinct and boldly carved letters, the following inscription :—

IMP CAES TRAIAN
HADRIANI AVG
LEG II AVG
A PLATORIO NEPOTE LEG PR PR.

6. In the Cawfields Mile-Castle, near Haltwhistle Burn-head, a fractured stone has been found, which has evidently been the right hand portion of a slab, bearing the same inscription as the three last mentioned stones ; it retains from one to three initial letters of all the four lines. It is now in the antiquarian museum at Chesters.

7. These four stones have all been found in mile-castles which form an integral part of the stone Wall. The contiguous stations, too, have their testimony to bear to the influence of Hadrian. Opposite to Hotbank, to the south, is the station of Vindolana ; here the fragment of an inscription has been found, similar to those in the mile-castles, bearing the name of Hadrian and of the Second Legion.

8. At the station of Æsica a large slab has been procured, which bears the following inscription :—

IMP CAES TRAI[A]N HADRIA
NO AVG PP.

It is in the museum at Chesters.

^b See Catalogue of Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in possession of Society of Ant. Newcastle, p. 26.

9. The next station that we come to is Magna, the modern Carvoran. Here an altar has been procured (now in the Castle of Newcastle), dedicated to Fortune, for the safety of Lucius Ælius Cæsar. This personage was the adopted son of Hadrian, and died in the life time of that emperor. We have in this altar, therefore, a testimony to the period and the family of Hadrian.

10. Before reaching the next station, we have, at Chapel House (the site of a mile-castle), another slab bearing the name of Hadrian and the Second Legion.

11. On the Maiden Way, and some miles to the north of Birdoswald, is the supporting station of Bewcastle. Here, in Horsley's day, was a stone with a "curious inscription," though imperfect. He conceives it to have been "an honorary monument erected to Hadrian by Legio Secunda Augusta and the Legio Vicesima." It also contains the name of a Proprætor, which he thinks is most likely to have been that of Priscus Licinius, mentioned in an inscription in Hadrian's time.¹

12. The next station on the immediate line of the Wall, after leaving Birdoswald, is Petriana, the modern Walton House. Here is an altar, still preserved on the spot, inscribed DISCIPLINÆ AVGVSTI. As we meet with this legend on the reverse of several of the coins of Hadrian, and of his only, we are entitled to regard this altar as a memorial of his reign.

13. In several of the out-stations at the western extremity of the Wall, decisive evidence is borne to the influence of Hadrian. At Netherby a stone existed in Camden's day, similar in its character to those found in the mile-castles of the central region; it was dedicated to Hadrian by the Second Legion.

14. In the camp near Maryport an altar was discovered dedicated to Jupiter by the First Cohort of the Spaniards, under the command of M. Maenius Agrippa. This person lived in Hadrian's day, and was a favourite of the Emperor's. The altar is in the possession of Mr. Senhouse, of Nether Hall.

15. At Moresby, on the west coast of Cumberland, a slab has been found dedicated to Hadrian by the Twentieth Legion.

Such are the evidences of the presence of Hadrian and his officers in the region traversed by the Roman Wall, which the ravages of war, time, and ignorance have left us.

We now ask what memorials of Severus have come down to our day? As has already been observed, the mile-castles have not supplied a single slab carved

¹ Brit. Rom., p. 270.

with his name, neither have the stations immediately connected with the Murus. Some have, however, been found in stations which are not immediately connected with the Barrier.

1. At Hexham, which is about three miles to the south of the Wall, a slab has been found containing the names of Severus and his son Caracalla. An erasure appears on it, where, probably, the name of his son Geta was inscribed. There is another stone at Hexham with an inscription so imperfect that Horsley thinks nothing can be made of it, but he inclines to the conjecture that it referred to Severus and Caracalla.

2. At Habitancum, the modern Risingham, about fourteen miles north of the Barrier, some slabs have been found containing the names of Severus and his sons. One of these has adorned the south gateway of the station; the upper part of it, which probably contained the name of Severus, is lost; the remaining part contains the name of Caracalla, and a space from which doubtless the name of Geta has been erased.¹ Five other slabs, all of them too much injured to admit of individual description, contain the names of one or both of the sons of Severus.² To these may perhaps be added the fragment of an altar inscribed *IO M || IMP P*. found at the same place.

3. At Old Carlisle, which is about ten miles to the south of the Wall, an altar has been found dedicated to Jupiter, for the safety of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus. It is now in the possession of Sir James Graham, at Netherby. Another has been found at the same place, dedicated to the same deity, for the safety of Severus and his son Antoninus.

4. On the face of an old quarry on the river Gelt, about four or five miles to the south of the Wall, is an inscription purporting to have been made by a Vexillation of the Second Legion, in the consulship of Aper and Maximus. Aper and Maximus were consuls in the year 207.

These are all the traces of Severus that we meet with in any part of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus. Would this have been the case had he been the designer of a structure, the very ruins of which are majestic?

The inscriptions found at Hexham and Risingham may be accounted for on principles quite independent of his having had anything to do with the Wall.

See No. 20 in the Catalogue of the Newcastle Society's Collection of Roman Stones, and a learned dissertation upon it by the late Mr. Thomas Hodgson, in *Arch. Æl.*, vol. iv., p. 21 (Old Series).

² See *Cat. of Newcastle Antiquarian Society*, Nos. 24, 31, 32, 33, 37.

Risingham, let it be remembered, is on the Watling Street, and Hexham is in the immediate vicinity of this way, having probably communicated with it by a branch road. The energies of Severus, during the latter years of his life, were chiefly directed to the subjugation of Caledonia. The Watling Street, the main road leading from his head quarters at York to the northern division of the island, would necessarily obtain his attention, even before setting out on his expedition. Several circumstances induce us to believe that this was the case. The masonry of the station of *Habitancum* (Risingham) is different from that of the stations of the Wall, and is of a superior character. The facing stones are larger, more carefully squared, and the joints closer. The tooling upon them is also of a peculiar kind.¹ The same remarks apply to the more northerly station of *Bremenium*, which is also upon the Watling Street. The stones of which the crypt at Hexham are composed are of the same kind as those made use of at *Habitancum* and *Bremenium*. That Severus restored a considerable part of *Habitancum* is certain, from the inscription found near its south gateway, which contains the words *PORTAM CVM MVRIS VETVSTATE DILAPSI...RESTITVIT*. Analogy leads to the conclusion that he erected works at the other places.

The inscriptions at Hexham and Risingham, therefore, seem to establish the fact that Severus travelled in this direction when about to attack the Caledonians, rather than the theory that he built the Wall. Had he built the Wall, its masonry would have resembled that of these stations.^m Had he built the Wall, some slab would assuredly have recorded the exploit as carefully as the stone at *Habitancum* has recorded the comparatively insignificant work of the restitution of the gateway and walls of that particular station.

The inscription upon the Gelt quarry is thought to be of the more importance, inasmuch as Cassiodorus, writing in the sixth century, places the expedition of Severus under the precise date (that of the consulship of Aper and Maximus) named upon that rock. A very little reflection, however, will show us that the utmost which this inscription proves is, that the quarry (that part of it, at least, where the inscription occurs) was abandoned in the year 207, the first year of

¹ In *Plate II. vol. iv.* of the *Archæologia Æliana* (Old Series), is given an "elevation" of part of the Wall of *Habitancum*, "showing the worked masonry."

^m In some parts of the line, especially in Cumberland, stones are met with "tooled" in the same way as at these stations. These are, however, exceptional cases. It is not improbable that some portions of the troops of Severus marched to join the Emperor, by way of Wigton.

Severus's residence in Britain ! Unless, therefore, we suppose that Severus built the Wall in the short space of a few months, and before undertaking his expedition into Scotland, the inscription on the Gelt quarry is injurious rather than favourable to the supposition that he was the builder of the Wall. We have not thought it necessary to notice the rude letters carved upon the Combe Crag, which more probably were meant to commemorate a mechanic or a peasant than an emperor.

Throughout this chapter we have regarded Horsley as the chief advocate of the theory which views Severus as the constructor of the principal member of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus. It were unfair, however, to this great antiquary, to close our remarks without observing that the inscriptions on which the decision of the question chiefly turns have nearly all been discovered since his day. He was acquainted with the slabs dedicated to Hadrian which have been found at Netherby and Bewcastle ; but these stations are some distance from the Wall, and may have existed before it did. He had seen that portion of the Hotbank inscription which is now at Durham, but he knew not, with certainty, where it was found, and he had not the means of reading it correctly.^a With these slight exceptions, he was entirely destitute of that mass of evidence derived from inscriptions upon which modern antiquaries chiefly found the opinion that Hadrian built the Wall. No one knew the value of inscriptions better than Horsley, and no one, either before his day or since, has used them so successfully for the elucidation of the early history of our country. In the Introduction to that part of his volume in which he treats of this subject, he observes, " I am persuaded that fragments of Roman inscriptions will in time be as much esteemed, and as carefully searched for, as fragments of ancient authors."^b To his own labours we owe it, that that day has already arrived, and we cannot doubt that had he lived to see it, no one would have rejoiced more than he in the success of the explorations which we have witnessed, or yielded his candid and discerning mind with more satisfaction to the truth which those exhumed documents compel us to receive.

A few observations upon the correspondence of the character of Hadrian with the view which ascribes the building of the Wall to him, will fittingly conclude this chapter. All the historians of his reign speak of his extraordinary energy. Spartan in the very passage in which he records his visit to Britain, bears witness to the fact that he more than any other man scorned the seductions of indolence and ease.^c

^a Brit. Rom., p. 233.

^b Brit. Rom., p. 177.

^c Quoted p. 35.

He was eminently a great builder. He was early accustomed to the erection of military works. He accompanied his relative and predecessor Trajan in both his Dacian campaigns. Any one who examines the sculptures encircling the column of Trajan at Rome (which was reared to commemorate his victories in Dacia), will see what an important feature the labours of the mason formed in the operations of that expedition; camps, amphitheatres, watch-towers and walls to protect the soldiery when fighting—all formed of well-squared stones—are seen springing up in every direction under the immediate inspection of the Emperor and his chief officers. The “Wall of Trajan,” extending from the Danube to the Black Sea, would render him early familiar with this species of fortification. He was the first emperor who ordained that each cohort should be supplied with a band of masons and all kinds of workmen needed for the adornment of public edifices. In various parts of his empire he undertook architectural works of great magnitude. He constructed a magnificent basilica at Nismes. At Athens he reared numerous buildings, amongst them a temple to Olympian Zeus. Adrianople was one of the many towns constructed or re-edified by him. He undertook, and personally superintended the re-building of Jerusalem, which was called, after his own name, *Ælia Capitolina*. He built for himself a magnificent villa at Tibur, the ruins of which occupy even now a space equal to that of a considerable town. Taking into account the spirit and energy of the man, his whole history, and especially his love for architectural enterprises, we shall be prepared to receive with the greater confidence the more direct proofs which we have already considered, of his having built the grandest monument which time has left us, in the North of Europe, of the indomitable energy of the Romans.

CHAPTER III.
SAXON PERIOD.

HALF a century previous to the final abandonment of Britain by the Romans, the barbarous nations of Germany had commenced that series of marauding expeditions which resulted, at a later period, in the subjugation of the island. Foremost amongst these were the Saxons, who are mentioned in conjunction with the Picts, Scots, and Attacotti, as the perpetrators of frequent ravages in the reign of Jovian. We are not told that they took any part in that fearful invasion of the northern tribes which was suppressed by Theodosius in the succeeding reign; but they devastated the opposite shores of Gaul by a simultaneous incursion. There, indeed, they had been long known and dreaded, an officer having been specially appointed as early as the reign of Diocletian to guard those shores, and to clear the channel between Gaul and Britain from the piratical vessels which infested it. This officer was Carausius, who afterwards usurped the imperial power in Britain, and formed alliances with the very nations whom he had been appointed to oppose. Under Valentinian we find the task of defending the British coast entrusted to an officer entitled by Ammianus Marcellinus, "Count of the Maritime Tract," but who is described in the *Notitia* as "Count of the Saxon Shore." He was not, however, like Carausius, a naval commander, but had the charge of nine forts in strong positions along the coast, which were garrisoned by a legion and eight bodies of auxiliaries. The opposite coast of Gaul was also distinguished by the appellation of the Saxon Shore, and there also were placed a number of forts, some under the command of the "Duke of the Armorican Tract," others under the "Duke of Belgica Secunda." Whether the appointment of the Count of the Saxon Shore in Britain was made immediately after the re-annexation of that island to the empire, on the death of Allectus, the successor of Carausius, or whether it was in consequence of the ravages of the Saxons in the time of Jovian, is uncertain. Of the limits of his authority we have more precise information, the forts under his command being placed at intervals along the line of coast from Portsmouth to the extreme point of Norfolk. To the north of this no special provision

was made against maritime invasion, though many of the garrisons under the Duke of Britain were so placed that they might be applied to this service, as well as to the defence of the northern frontier.

The Saxons do not occur amongst the nations, the dread of whose invasion induced the legions to throw off the authority of Honorius, and to elect an emperor of their own within the island. The people who inspired this terror were, as we have seen, the Vandals, Suevi, and Alani. Neither are the Saxons specifically mentioned amongst the barbarians whose revolt, excited by Gerontius, was the cause of the final severance of Britain from the Roman empire. The ultimate predominance of this tribe has induced more recent writers to ascribe almost every naval expedition from the eastern shores of the German Ocean to them, but many others seem to have displayed equal alacrity in these piratical undertakings. Even amongst those who finally settled in Britain, we know that the Jutes and Angles were distinct tribes from the Saxons, although they are often confounded under one general designation. The incursions spoken of by Gildas and Nennius, after the departure of the Romans, and previous to the third consulship of Ætius, are confined to the Picts and Scots, but Beda mentions a Saxon invasion in connection with the celebrated Halleluiah victory, which must have been of earlier date, as it took place during the sojourn of Saint Germanus and Lupus in the island, which Prosper, a contemporary authority, places A.D. 429. It is true that Beda himself would date it twenty years later, in order to reconcile it with his other authorities, who knew nothing of any earlier Saxon invasion than that under Hengist and Horsa; but this is entirely inconsistent with the true era of Germanus's mission. The story itself of the Halleluiah victory is derived from the Life of the Saint by Constantine. The authority cited above for the date of the mission of Germanus and Lupus, is Prosper *Aquitanus*, who continued the Chronicle of Saint Jerome from A.D. 377 to A.D. 455. There is also another chronicle of doubtful authority attributed to Prosper *Tyro*, in which the following passage occurs under the year 441:—"The Britains (*Britanniæ*) heretofore stricken by various slaughters and calamities, are reduced under the dominion of the Saxons." This may be intended either to apply to Britany, the name of which is frequently written in this way in the plural, or to the island of Britain. On the latter assumption, the statement is at any rate grossly exaggerated. We might readily admit, in deference to a professedly contemporary authority, either that the Saxon colonization of some other districts of the island preceded the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in Kent, or that

the era of the Kentish invasion itself is placed by our ordinary computation twenty years too late; but to assert that the island of Britain, or any considerable portion of it, was reduced under Saxon domination as early as A.D. 441, is to ignore every authority on which our early history is based.

Gildas and Beda connect the advent of Hengist and Horsa with the third consulship of Ætius, A.D. 449; Nennius interposes forty years of discord and terror between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Saxons, which gives precisely the same date. Others adopt the year 429 in order to synchronise the arrival of Hengist with that of Germanus; but it is quite clear that Hengist could not have been the leader who fled before the spiritual weapons of Germanus. The former effected his original settlement, not by force of arms, but by subtlety, and it is certain, that at no period of his career, did he penetrate into the district to which the Halleluiah victory is assigned. Without an assumption then of absolute accuracy, we may fairly adopt the generally received date of the reception of Hengist and Horsa by Vortigern, A.D. 449; and this enables us also to fix within a very few years the era of the first Teutonic colony in Northumberland, which was founded by the countrymen of the Saxon, or rather Jutish, King of Kent, under the guidance of two of his near kinsmen.

The account transmitted to us in the History of the Britons which passes under the name of Nennius, is not perhaps in all particulars to be relied upon, but in its main features it is consistent with probability, and, in some points, it is supported by other testimony.

Vortigern, the predominant British king, is said to have married the daughter of Hengist, and to have by that means excited great indignation amongst his people, who were already exasperated by the employment of a large mercenary force, for whose maintenance they were heavily taxed, and for whose occupation they had been obliged to relinquish a large portion of fertile territory. Hengist perceiving the increasing discontent, counselled his father-in-law to put down all opposition by retaining a largely augmented auxiliary force. He suggested that whilst himself, and his followers who were already in Britain, should remain in Kent for the protection of the King against his own subjects, fresh levies should be invited from Germany for the defence of the northern frontier. These he proposed to place under the command of Oetha and Ebissa, his son and nephew. Vortigern accepted the proposal, and by his order Oetha and Ebissa were invited, and came over with forty ships. Having laid waste the Orkneys, they passed

the country of the Picts, and took possession of a large tract immediately adjoining. There can be no doubt that Lothian is the territory here indicated. Although Beda supplies no direct information as to the foundation of this northern colony, the account which he gives of the subsequent league between the Saxons and the Picts, against the Britons, is strongly corroborative of its reality. Any such league between the Saxons of Kent, and a people from whom they were separated by the entire length of the British possessions, must have been altogether nugatory; but such an alliance between a Saxon colony, immediately to the south of the Forth, and the barbarian population beyond, could not fail to be attended with the most disastrous effects to the Britons, who had with difficulty maintained their frontier against the attacks of the Picts alone.

On the death of Hengist, Oetha left his northern settlement to occupy his father's throne in Kent: of his successor in Lothian we know nothing. The duration of Hengist's reign was forty years, during a part of which Vortigern was the predominant British king, and afterwards Ambrosius. The latter was the head of a party opposed to Vortigern, whose fear of Ambrosius is assigned by Nennius as one reason which induced him to court the Saxon alliance. Gildas, who calls his opponent Ambrosius Aurelianus, says that he was the only surviving chieftian of Roman descent, and that his parents, who had perished in the intestine disturbances, had been invested with supreme power and wore the imperial purple. Under Ambrosius himself, he says, the first effectual check was given to the progress of the Saxon arms. It is probable that he did not long, if at all, survive Hengist, as shortly after the death of the latter, the extraordinary career of Arthur commenced, "who fought against the Saxons, with the kings of the Britons, but he was the chief commander in the wars."

Discarding the inflated fables of which Arthur has been made the hero in the apochryphal History of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the romances of his followers, nearly all that has been recorded of him are the names of twelve battles, in which he is said to have led the Britons to victory against the Saxons. This list of victories rests on the sole authority of Nennius. Henry of Huntingdon repeats the names, but professes his ignorance of the localities. If such battles took place at all, each of them must have been fought in or near one of the districts in which a Saxon settlement had been formed, or was in the course of formation. Now the only settlements in existence, at the end of the fifth century, were the kingdoms of Kent and Sussex, and the colony in Lothian. In the two former we look in

vain for places whose names bear the slightest similarity to those in the list of Nennius, nor has the idea ever been entertained that Arthur had any connection with these localities. With the northern region, the case is, as will be shewn, far otherwise. Too much stress should not be laid on indirect evidence, but still it is worthy of remark how very frequently the name of Arthur occurs in combination with the names of places in the North of England and South of Scotland. In Chalmers's *Caledonia* will be found a collection of instances in the latter country, amongst which one striking example is the term "Castrum Arthuri," which is applied to the rocky citadel of Dumbarton in a parliamentary record of the reign of David II. Arthur's Seat, near Edinburgh, is said to be a more modern name, but even that is mentioned by Camden. These instances, however, are the most worthy of attention when the name is not prefixed to, but incorporated in, the local designation, as in the case of Arthuret in Cumberland, within a few miles of the reputed residence of his court at "Merry Carlisle." Turning from this species of evidence, which is, after all, curious rather than satisfactory, it remains to compare the names in the list of Nennius and Huntingdon with the existing nomenclature of Lothian and Northumberland. The first battle was at the mouth of the river Glein; the second, third, fourth, and fifth, on another river called Dubglas, in the district of Linnuis; the sixth battle was on a river called Bassas; the seventh in the wood of Celidon. The last of these is certainly the Caledonian Forest of Ptolemy, and surely the Saxons who were pursued to this retreat must have been the most northern settlement of this people in Britain, against whom we may imagine their opponent issuing from his Castrum Arthuri at Dumbarton. The six previous battles comprise only three sites, as four of them were fought in one locality. The river Glein seems to be the Glen in Northumberland, a stream in after times of great celebrity, from the administration in its waters of the rite of baptism by Paulinus to his Northumbrian converts. Its notoriety from this circumstance was probably the reason why Nennius does not define its locality as he does that of the "Dubglas in the region Linnuis," in order to distinguish it from other rivers of the same name. The Dubglas has been placed by Geoffrey of Monmouth in Lincolnshire, in consequence of his confounding the region Linnuis with Lindsea, a district of that county. That it is really intended for Lothian, will hardly admit of a doubt; the ordinary name of that district in the twelfth century differing very little from the form in the text. In the treatise of Giraldus Cambrensis, "*De Instructione Principis*" we read of "Terra quæ

Leonis vocatur usque ad Mare Scoticum." In the Pipe Roll of the fourth of Henry II. we find "*Loeneis* in terra regis Scotiæ," and in the "*Chronica Normannicæ*," "Vicecomes Leonensis." It would not be difficult to multiply examples, but these will suffice; neither have we any difficulty within this region of "Linnuis," "Leoneis," or Lotbian, in identifying the "Dubglas" with the "Dunglas," an insignificant stream indeed, but affording a very strong position for the encampment of an army. "Bassas" should probably be written "Peassas," and referred to the neighbouring rivulet the Pease, which separates modern Lothian from Berwickshire, flowing through a ravine of which the banks are so steep and rugged, and the passage so difficult, that Cromwell, after a lapse of more than eleven centuries, on describing the defile in a despatch to the parliament, makes use of this remarkable expression respecting it, that here "one man to hinder were better than twelve to make way." This was the last battle previous to that in the Caledonian Forest, after which the sites of the remaining conflicts are certainly not to be sought in the North. If there is any truth in the statement of the supremacy said to have been conceded to Arthur by the other kings of the Britons, it probably refers to a period posterior to these seven battles, which appear to have been all fought for his own protection, or that of his immediate neighbours, against an isolated settlement of Saxon colonists. The distinction which he had thus won pointed him out as the natural leader when struggles of greater magnitude impended, and such were indeed at hand. The earliest assaults of Cerdic, who afterwards founded the kingdom of Wessex, were not directed against the seat of his future conquests, but against the eastern coast in the neighbourhood of Yarmouth. Here we find him landing, A.D. 495, just six years after the received date of the death of Hengist, in the immediate vicinity of the remains of the Roman "*Castellum Gariannonum*," which bears a striking resemblance to the name of the site of Arthur's eighth battle at "*Castellum Guinnion*." The remaining conflicts were, probably, as suggested by Mr. Sharon Turner, in the district of Wessex, the last at Mount Badon, being generally assigned to a well known locality in Somersetshire.

IDA.

Of the ultimate fate of the colonists of Lothian we have no distinct account from any early or reliable authority. From the fact of the last battle in which they seem to have been engaged, having taken place in the Caledonian Forest, we

might be led to surmise that the remnant of the followers of Oetha and Ebissa, driven out of their acquired territory into this inhospitable tract, were either annihilated by the victors, or dispersed amongst their allies the Picts. Nor is this inconsistent with the silence of the majority of our most trustworthy historians as to any previous Anglo-Saxon settlement north of the Humber, when they record the establishment of the kingdom of Ida. Malmsbury, indeed, and two or three others of inferior note, give a different account.

“Hengist,” we are told, “having settled his own government in Kent, sent his brother Oetha and his son Ebusa, men of activity and tried experience, to seize on the northern parts of Britain. Sedulous in executing the command, affairs succeeded to their wishes; for frequently coming into action with the natives, and dispersing those who attempted resistance, they conciliated with uninterrupted quiet such as submitted. Thus, through their own address and the goodwill of their followers, they had established a certain degree of power: yet never entertaining an idea of assuming the royal title, they left an example of similar moderation to their immediate posterity; for during the space of ninety-nine years, the Northumbrian Dukes, contented with subordinate power, lived in subjection to the Kings of Kent. Afterwards, however, their forbearance ceased; either because the human mind is ever prone to degeneracy, or because that race of people was naturally ambitious. In the year, therefore, of our Lord’s Incarnation 547, the sixtieth after Hengist’s death, the principality was converted into a kingdom. The most noble Ida, in the full vigor of life and strength, first reigned here.”

Brompton gives nearly the same account, but designates the intermediate rulers from Oetha and Ebissa to Ida, Earls (Comites) instead of Dukes (Duces). Later chroniclers, besides an indefinite number of these dukes or earls, find space for a long series of kings following each other in hereditary succession within this period of ninety-nine years. Of these John de Taxster gives a list of seven, and the *Scala-chronica* eight. The former adds—

“All these kings from Hying to Ida are either omitted by, or unknown to all our historians, and the record of their exploits has either been burnt or carried out of the country.”

On this passage the learned editor of a recent publication of Florence of Worcester, to which Taxster’s chronicle is appended as a continuation, observes in a note “A very remarkable passage.” It seems, however, only remarkable for its falsehood and absurdity. Ida is said by Taxster to have been the son of Emering, the son of Eppa, the son of Uppa, the son of Horsa, the son of Withgils, the son of Wodna, the son of Hying, all of whom were kings before him. To this list the

Scala Chronica adds another name, Barnac, which is interposed between Ida and Emering.

Some of the descendants of Oetha's followers may have been included amongst the subjects of Ida, but the latter was undoubtedly the leader of a new colony of different lineage. Oetha and his fellow-settlers were Jutes, the countrymen of Hengist; Ida and his companions were Angles.

None of the Kings of Bernicia are mentioned by Beda in the body of his Ecclesiastical History till the time of Ethelfrith; but in the recapitulation appended to it is a paragraph, which occurs also in an ancient Northumbrian Chronicle, to which it will be necessary to refer by and by, and likewise in the Saxon Chronicle. "In the year 547 Ida began to reign; from him the royal family of the Northumbrians derives its origin; he reigned twelve years." To this the Saxon Chronicle adds, "He built Bamburgh, which was at first enclosed by a hedge, and afterwards by a wall. Ida was the son of Eoppa; Eoppa of Esa; of Ingwi; of Angenwit; of Alsi; of Benoc; of Brond; of Beldeg; of Woden. Woden was the son of Frithowald; of Frithuwulf; of Finn; of Godwulf; of Geat." As regards Bamburgh (Bebbanburch), we are told by Beda, that it "had its name from a certain queen." Bebbra, however, after whom it was called, was not (as we learn from the Genealogies in Nennius) the queen of Ida, but of Ethelfrith, and the previous name of the city was Dinguayrði, or Dinguoarroy.

Although the capital of Ida was in Bernicia, the northern section of Northumberland, he has been very generally represented as the King of Deira also,^a and the Saxon Chronicle speaks of Alla as his successor, although the latter is known to have reigned in Deira only. Roger of Wendover would even lead us to believe that this province was his original conquest, and that Bernicia was a later acquisition, by representing him as landing his forces as far to the south as Flamburgh. His statement is as follows:—

"In the year of grace 548 began the kingdom of Northumberland, for the chiefs of the Angles having, after great and long continued toil, subdued that country, unanimously choose Ida, a noble youth, as their king. He had by his queen six sons, Adda, Etheric, Theodoric, Ethelric, Osmer, and Theodfred; and six by concubines, Oga, Alric, Eccha, Osbald, Segor, and Segother. All these came into Britain in sixty ships, and landed at Flamburgh (Flemmisburgh)."

If he really brought with him this numerous family, the expression "noble youth"

^a Regarding the limits of Bernicia and Deira, see hereafter.

in the text is hardly accurately applied to him, although he is described in similar terms (*juvenis nobilissimus*) by Henry of Huntingdon. Malmsbury speaks of him as of mature age (*ætate et viribus integer*), but gives us reason to conclude from his subsequent narrative, that he was at the commencement of his reign advanced beyond middle life. When his fourth son, Ethelric, ascended the throne, less than forty years afterwards, he is represented by the historian as in extreme old age (*extremâ canitie*), an expression which can hardly be understood to imply an earlier period of life than three score years and ten. If this be so, he must have been upwards of thirty, and his father between fifty and sixty, in 549.

A passage in Nennius has been cited in proof of the allegation that Ida ruled over both provinces, which has been supposed to mean, "he joined Bernicia to Deira"; but it is certain that the word which has been rendered Deira is really the British name of Bamburgh (*Dinguoaroy*), and there is reason to believe that the received reading is otherwise faulty. If instead of "junxit," which is itself only a conjectural emendation of the corrupt Latin text, we substitute "vixit," which is supported by the authority of one manuscript, or "rexit," we obtain a satisfactory interpretation—"He lived (or reigned) at Bamburgh." Still, the balance of testimony is rather in favour of the extension of Ida's power over both provinces, whilst the balance of probability is decidedly the other way. Florence of Worcester furnishes a somewhat longer, and in other respects rather different, genealogy from that given above from the Saxon Chronicle, making Ida the son of Eoppa; the son of Oesa; the son of Aethelbryht; the son of Ingengeat; the son of Angengeat; the son of Alusa; the son of Ingebrand; the son of Waegbrand; the son of Beornd; the son of Beorn; the son of Brand; the son of Baeldeag; the son of Woden. The Nennian genealogy is as follows: "Woden was the father of Beldeg; the father of Bearnac; of Gechbrond; of Vacuson; of Inguee; of Ædibritz; of Ossa; of Eobba; of Ida. He reigned twelve years.

THE SUCCESSORS OF IDA IN BERNICIA.

On the material points of the date of Ida's accession, the length of his reign, and the situation of his capital, all authorities are agreed. Beyond this we can only balance the relative probability of conflicting statements. The history of his immediate successors is involved in yet greater obscurity. Allusion has been already made to an ancient Northumbrian Chronicle. This venerable document

is appended to a manuscript of Beda, which bears internal evidence of having been transcribed within a very few years of his death, and brings down the series of Northumbrian kings to the year 737, to the close of the reign of Ceolwulf, the friend and patron of the ecclesiastical historian. In this list we find the names of six kings who reigned in the interval of thirty years between Ida and Ethelfrith, in Bernicia, and the same have been transferred, with trifling variations, to the genealogies annexed to Nennius, and to the histories of Symeon of Durham and Hoveden. The list appended to Nennius seems to have been an exact counterpart of the Chronicle, from which one reign of a single year has been accidentally omitted. Symeon and Hoveden assign thirty-four instead of thirty-three years as the aggregate length of the six reigns, whilst on the other hand they abstract one year from the reign of Ida. There are also some minor alterations in the figures, which balance each other, and do not affect the general result. Another class of writers, however, amongst whom Florence of Worcester is the earliest, present a different series, containing, indeed, with one exception, the same names, but variously transposed, and with considerable alterations in the lengths of the several reigns, though, here again, the total length of the period is the same. These variations will be best understood from a comparison of the following list:—

<i>Chron: Northumb.</i>	<i>Nennius.</i>	<i>Symeon and Hoveden.</i>	<i>Florence Wigon.</i>
Ida..... 12 years.	Ida..... 12 years.	Ida..... 11 years.	Ida..... 11 years.
Glappa 1 ,,	.....	Glappa .. 1 ,,	Adda..... 7 ,,
Adda..... 8 ,,	Adda.... 8 ,,	Adda.... 8 ,,	Glappa 5 ,,
Ethelric.... 4 ,,	Ethelric.. 4 ,,	Ethelric.. 7 ,,	Theolwulf.. 1 ,,
Theodoric .. 7 ,,	Theodoric. 7 ,,	Theodoric. 4 ,,	Frithwulf .. 7 ,,
Frithwald .. 6 ,,	Frithwald. 6 ,,	Frithwald. 7 ,,	Theodoric .. 7 ,,
Hussa 7 ,,	Hussa.... 7 ,,	Hussa .. 7 ,,	Ethelric.... 7 ,,
45	44	45	45

Comparing the Northumberland Chronicle with Florence, we find the same names in each, with the exception of Hussa, who occurs only in the former, and Theolwulf only in the latter. Of the claim of Theolwulf to a place in the series we know nothing, and one year only is assigned to his reign by Florence. Of Hussa, on the other hand, to whom seven years are assigned by the Chronicle, we have some additional particulars in Nennius, which render it impossible to omit his name.

* Hussa reigned seven years, against whom four kings made war, Urien, and Rideric, and Guallan, and Morcant. Theodoric also fought valiantly against Urien and his sons.

Sometimes the enemy, sometimes the citizens conquered; and he shut them up three nights in the island of Metcaud (Farne Island); and during that expedition he was slain, at the instance of Morcant, through envy, on account of his pre-eminent warlike qualities, in which he far excelled the other kings."

This passage seems substantially to confirm the accuracy of the names in the first list, but we have strong reasons for believing that they are not arranged in chronological order. The Saxon Chronicle, as well as Malmsbury, although they are silent as to all the intermediate names, both concur with Florence in making Ethelric the immediate predecessor of Ethelfrith; and, consequently, the last of this series, instead of being the third from Ida, as he is in the other lists. In these, the three sons of Ida—Adda, Ethelric, and Theodoric—are placed in the order of their seniority, instead of in the order in which they actually succeeded to the throne. Wallingford, a comparatively recent historian, with precisely the same materials before him, which we still possess, has arrived at the same conclusion, and has framed a list in which he has adopted the order in which the names are placed by Florence, but has substituted the name of Hussa for Theowulf, and has taken the duration of the several reigns from the Northumbrian Chronicle; his list is given below.

Ida reigned	12 years.
Adda reigned	8 "
Glappa reigned	1 "
Hussa reigned	6 "
Frithwulf reigned	7 "
Theodoric reigned	7 "
Ethelric reigned	4 "

ALLA.

Contemporary with the six successors of Ida in Bernicia, was Alla in Deira, who, like all the other Anglo-Saxon kings, affected to derive his ancestry from Woden. "Alla," we read, "was the son of Yffa, the son of Usefrea, of Wilgis, of Westerfalena, of Sefugl, of Sebald, of Sigegeat, of Swefdeg, of Sigear, of Wegdeg, of Woden." The only incident of his long reign which has attracted the notice of historians relates to some boys, natives of his dominions, who were sent to Rome to be sold as slaves, where their appearance is said to have excited the interest of Pope Gregory, and to have been the means of directing his atten-

tion to the spiritual destitution of the Anglo-Saxons, and to have led to the mission of Saint Augustine to Britain. The particulars are thus stated by Beda and Malmsbury :—

“Touched with pity by the abject appearance of the captives, he enquired, ‘Who are they?’ ‘Whence are they brought?’ He was told ‘they are *Angli*, of the province of *Deira*, subjects of King *Alla*, devoted to paganism.’ Moved by their sighs, he thus elegantly expressed himself to the bystanders. ‘These *Angles*, so like *Angels*, must be saved (*de irá*) from the wrath to come and taught to sing *Alleluiah*’”

Gregory had not at that time attained the Popedom, but was Archdeacon under Pope Benedict, whose permission he obtained for his intended mission to convert the pagan islanders. From this he was diverted by the entreaties and gentle violence of his fellow-citizens ; but when he was himself elevated to the apostolic chair, he promoted, through the mission of St. Augustine, the good work which he had been anxious to undertake in person. The ministry of Augustine, however, was confined to Kent, and it was not till another generation that the Angles of Deira reaped the fruit of his benevolent intention. Alla himself died a pagan. Malmsbury speaks of the custom of selling children into slavery as common amongst the early Northumbrians. “Nay,” he says, “even in our own days, they would make no scruple of separating the nearest ties of relationship, through the temptation of the slightest advantage.” The whole story was probably invented as a vehicle for a few wretched puns, but was eagerly adopted by Beda, who has collected every particular he could meet with relative to Gregory and Augustine in connection with the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons.

The Tees, according to Richard of Hexham, was the boundary between Bernicia and Deira, the former stretching northward to the Forth, the latter southward to the Humber. Even at this early period, it is probable that the entire sea coast within these limits was possessed by the Angles ; but their territories extended but a very short distance inland. Deira certainly did not include the West Riding of Yorkshire, within which was the British state of Elmete, which had a king of its own as late as the reign of Edwin, the son of Alla. In Bernicia we have seen, in a passage already quoted, Hussa and Theodoric hard pressed by the native population, and the latter driven for refuge to an insular appendage of his kingdom. Four kings are mentioned as warring against the Saxons ; of these the name of Urien of Reged is familiar to us as the favourite hero of the British bards. He is

supposed to have ruled over the descendants of the ancient Gadeni; and we may perhaps trace in the name of his capital, Re-Ged, some reference to its position on the river Ged or Jed, on which Jedburgh, formerly written Gedword, now stands. Mr. Sharon Turner has collected from the poems of Taliesen and Llywarch Hen many notices of Urien and his son Owen, who were engaged in perpetual conflicts with the Saxons, under a leader whom they distinguished as Flamddwyn (the Flame-bearer). This personage Mr. Turner would identify with Ida; but it seems more probable that the appellation was bestowed on Husa or Theodoric, both of whom we know as the antagonists of Urien. Llywarch Hen expressly states that Urien was victorious in the land of Bryneich (Bernicia). Morcant, by whose treachery Urien is said to have perished, is apparently the same as Morken, who occurs as King of Strathelyde at this period in Joceline's *Life of Kentigirn*.

It is remarkable that the capital of the Britons of Strathelye is beyond the limits which belonged to that people under the Roman government. In strict accordance with what we collect from the Roman historians, we are told by Beda, that "there is a very large gulf of the sea, which runs from the west very far into the land, which formerly divided the nation of the Picts from the Britons." "On this gulf," he adds, "stands to this day the impregnable city of the Britons called Alcluith." But Alcluith, or Dumbarton, is on the north or Pictish side of the Clyde, and must have been taken from that people by the Britons after the Roman abdication. Of this acquisition we have no account in any of our early historians; but Caradoc, of *Lancarvon*, in his *Life of Saint Gildas*, mentions a Scotch or Pictish king by name Nau or Caunus, who was a contemporary of King Arthur, and whose capital, according to another *Life of the same saint*, was at Arecluta, or Alclyde. This Nau had a son Hueil, who commanded his father's army, and was defeated and slain by Arthur. "At this," says Caradoc, "the British king greatly rejoiced, having thus freed himself from the most formidable of his enemies." If we could place any credit in this legend, we might assign this as the date of the acquisition of Alclyde, and account at the same time for the name by which it was known in after times of *Castrum Arthuri*.

The *Saxon Chronicle* gives thirty years as the length of Alla's reign, from A.D. 560 to A.D. 590. His death took place in the second year of the reign of Ethelric, in Bernicia, according to the computation of Wallingford. He left a son Edwin, and a daughter Acha, or Acca, who was married to Ethelfrith, the son of Ethelric. This near connection did not prevent Ethelric availing himself of the opportunity

of supplanting the infant heir, and uniting under his own government the two states of Bernicia and Deira. Over the consolidated kingdom, now first known as Northumberland, he ruled three years. Florence of Worcester extends his reign over the two provinces to five years; but this is inconsistent with the Saxon Chronicle, which gives the date of his death A.D. 593, just three years after that of Alla. Malsbury describes him as "a miserable prince, who, after a life spent in neglect and penury, succeeded to the throne in extreme old age." "His very name, he adds," "would have been consigned to oblivion, but for the splendour of the achievements of his son." His imbecility may perhaps relieve him from the moral guilt of his usurpation, in which he may have been merely the passive instrument of the ambitious Ethelfrith.

ETHELFRITH.

Historians concur in fixing the date of Ethelfrith's accession A.D. 593. Not contented with the limits of his kingdom, although these far exceeded those possessed by his predecessors, he determined to subjugate the neighbouring British states to his dominion. Of his signal success we are informed by Bede, who, for the greatness of his achievements, compares him to Saul King of Israel, "excepting only in this that he was ignorant of the true religion." "He conquered" we are informed, "more territory from the Britons than any other king or tribune; of this he colonized a portion with his followers, the remainder he left in the hands of its native possessors on payment of tribute." His successes in the West and North-west excited the alarm and provoked the indignation of Ædan, King of the Scots, who invaded his dominions with an immense army, and advanced as far as the confines of Liddisdale. Here he was met by Ethelfrith, who encountered him with a very inferior force at Degsastan, or Dauston, and defeated him, after a sanguinary combat, from which the Scotch King, with a very small portion of his army, with difficulty escaped. "From that time" says the venerable historian, "no king of the Scots has dared to come into Britain to make war upon the nation of the Angles unto this day." The loss of Ethelfrith also was considerable, and his brother Theodbald was amongst the slain.

The settlement of the Scots, a people of Ireland, in Britain was even more recent than that of the Anglo-Saxons, and their colonization up to this time was confined to a portion of Argyleshire. The reign of their first king, Fergus, the

son of Ere, is computed to have commenced A.D. 503. Ædan, the sixth in succession, reigned thirty-four years, from 571 to 605. Chalmers refers to three other battles between this king and the Saxons, but the authorities which he cites are very doubtful. Fethanlea was certainly not, where he would place it, on Stainmore, a barren tract between Westmoreland and Yorkshire, but must have been in the south of the island. The conflict at this place recorded in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 584, was between the West Saxons, under Ceawlin and Cutha, and the Britons. Neither Ædan nor the Northumbrian Saxons could by possibility be engaged in it. Three battles in which Ædan was engaged are recorded in the Annals of Ulster under the years 580, 582, and 590, in the second of which he was victorious; the results of the two others do not appear, nor are his opponents mentioned, but they were in all probability his neighbours the Picts, and not the Angles. Adanman, in his life of Columba, mentions a victory of Ædan over the barbarians, which he calls "Bellum Miathorum." This was probably one of the three referred to above. He also notices the death of his son Domangart in battle "in Saxoniâ"; this event is said in the Irish Annals to have occurred in 598 in the battle of Kirkinn. Ædan himself died in 605, two years after his defeat by Ethelfrith. The victory of Dauston, which was gained by Ethelfrith in the eleventh year of his reign, confirmed his power throughout the whole region of Northumberland. We next find him pursuing his conquests beyond the river Dee, within the boundary of what was afterwards known as the kingdom of Mercia. That kingdom indeed already existed, having been founded by Crida in the year 585, but its territory was as yet very contracted, and it acknowledged some sort of dependance on the kingdom of Northumberland, which was not thrown off till the reign of Penda, the grandson of the founder.^b Chester, the Legacaester of the Anglo-Saxons, and the Caerlegion of the Britons, was still in the possession of the latter people, and Ethelfrith, although a pagan, was regarded in this war, by the orthodox fathers of the Anglo-Saxon church, as an instrument of divine vengeance upon the christian but heretic Britons. When Augustine came over in 597 to convert the Anglo-Saxons, he found that the Britons, although they had long been professors of christianity, differed from the Roman church in many of their usages, and especially in the computation of Easter. Having in vain endeavoured, both by

^b For this fact we are indebted to Nennius, who tells us "Penda filius Pybba regnavit decem annis. Ipse primus separavit regnum Merciorum a regno Nordorum."

exhortations and commands, to correct their practice in these particulars, and also to secure their co-operation in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, he addressed them in a threatening manner, warning them that "if they would not join in peace with their brethren, they should be exposed to the aggression of their enemies; that if they would not preach the way of life to the Angles, they should receive at their hands the dispensation of death." His threats were, however, as ineffectual as his exhortations, and the missionary died without having made any impression on this inflexible people.

When the army of Ethelfrith approached Chester, they found a large force prepared to receive them, apart from whom were a body of men whose movements and intentions they were unable to comprehend. These consisted of the monks of Bancor and other monasteries, who were engaged in offering up prayers for their compatriots. When Ethelfrith was informed of this, he gave orders that the first attack should be made upon them; "for," said he, "if they cry to their God against us, although they bear no arms they still fight against us, because they oppose us by their prayers." So effectually were his orders obeyed, that of the assembled monks fifty only escaped, whilst twelve hundred were slain. Their protection had been specially entrusted to a chosen band under the command of Brocmail, a native chieftain, but he basely deserted his charge on the first attack. This slaughter of their spiritual guides was followed by the complete destruction of the British army, though not without a desperate resistance. "Thus," says Beda, "was fulfilled the prediction of the holy Bishop Augustine, that these perfidious men should feel the vengeance of temporal death, because they despised the offer of eternal salvation," a somewhat harsh judgment certainly on men, who, whatever might be their errors, were, at all events, wanting neither in patriotism nor religious devotion. The date of this memorable engagement is placed by the Saxon Chronicle A.D. 607, but the Annals of Ulster and the Cambrian Annals postpone it till 613.

Of the further operations of Ethelfrith, in this district, we know nothing. Our information respecting him is indeed almost exclusively derived from Beda, who only mentions such of his exploits as are in some way or other connected with the subject-matter of his Ecclesiastical History. The Genealogies appended to Nennius, furnish a few particulars relative to himself and his family, but are silent as to his exploits. They twice apply to him the affix or epithet of Flesaur, they mention his wife Bebbah, to whom he gave the city of Dinguo-roy, and

called it Bebbanburch after her name, but whether she is identical with Acca, or a second wife, is uncertain. They furnish besides, as do also the Saxon Chronicle and the genealogies of Florence of Worcester, the names of his seven sons, Anfrid (Eanfrid), Oswald, Oswi, Oswid, Oswuda, Oslaf, and Offa. Florence substitutes Oslac for Oswid, and informs us that all were by the same wife Acca.

Notwithstanding the uniform prosperity of Ethelfrith, and the success of all his undertakings, he was not exempt from grave anxiety for his future safety. Triumphant over all foreign enemies, he viewed with instinctive apprehension the ripening manhood of that near connection whom he had robbed of his paternal throne. Edwine, on the other hand, considered his life in jeopardy at his brother-in-law's court, and took an opportunity of privately withdrawing. After various adventures, he was hospitably received by Redwald King of East Anglia; but no sooner had the jealous enmity of Ethelfrith discovered his retreat, than he endeavoured to compass his destruction. Having in vain attempted, by embassies and presents, to induce Redwald to violate his faith, and to deliver up the fugitive prince, he threatened him with the vengeance of his arms; and now Edwine perceived the imminence of his danger. Desirous as Redwald was to protect him, he yet feared to provoke the enmity of so warlike and powerful a monarch, whose career of victory had hitherto been uninterrupted. He even promised compliance, though he hesitated to commit so gross a violation of hospitality. Under these circumstances, Edwine was counselled to attempt his escape by flight; but he preferred to appeal to the generosity and good feeling of his protector, in which he was seconded by the earnest intercession of the Queen. This appeal revived the dormant spirit of Redwald, who resolved not merely to protect, but energetically to assist his suppliant guest. So prompt were his measures, that he collected a numerous army in sufficient time to anticipate the invasion of his own dominions, and to meet the forces of the Northumbrian king in the intervening district of Mercia. An engagement ensued on the banks of the Idle, a small river in Nottinghamshire, which resulted in the complete victory of Redwald, and the death of his opponent, A.D. 615. The former had, however, to mourn the loss of a son slain in the encounter.

EDWINE.

The death of Ethelfrith opened to Edwine the succession, not merely to Deira, but to the whole of Northumberland, the sons of his predecessor being in turn,

driven into exile. The victory also led to the extension of the power and influence of Redwald far beyond those of any other king of East Anglia either before or after him. From a very early period the kings of the Anglo-Saxon states south of the Humber had been in the habit of electing one of their number to a certain sovereignty or pre-eminence over the rest. This dignity had been enjoyed in succession by Ælla King of Sussex, Ceaulin King of Wessex, and Ædilberet King of Kent. The last of these died A.D. 616, the year after the defeat of Ethelfrith, and Redwald was elected to the vacant office.

During his exile Edwine had married Quoenburga, daughter of Ceorl, King of Mercia, by whom he had two sons, Osfrid and Eanfrid. Ten years after his accession to the kingdom of Northumberland, he married Ædelberga, or Tata, daughter of Ædilberet King of Kent. This king was the first Anglo-Saxon sovereign who embraced Christianity, being converted by St. Augustine, the missionary sent over by Pope Gregory. He was succeeded by his son Æodbold, of whom Edwine demanded his sister's hand in marriage. The proposal was at first rejected, on the ground "that it was not lawful to marry a Christian virgin to a Pagan husband," but was ultimately accepted on the promise of Edwine, "that he would in no way interfere with the Christian faith which the virgin professed, but would give full liberty to herself and her attendants, men and women, with her priests and ministers, to follow their own faith, and worship after the manner of Christians." He even held out some hopes that he might himself be induced to embrace the same religion. On this understanding the marriage took place, Ædilberga being accompanied to her husband's court by her chaplain Paulinus.

The following year, during the residence of the King and Queen at one of the royal seats on the river Derwent, in Yorkshire, an ambassador was announced from Creichelm King of Wessex. This man, by name Eulen, was admitted into the King's presence, when, taking advantage of his opportunity, he drew out a poisoned dagger, intending to plunge it into the bosom of the unsuspecting monarch. A faithful servant, Lilla, saved his master's life by the sacrifice of his own. Promptly interposing his body, he received the stroke, but with such force was it directed that the weapon passed through him, and wounded the King. The same night being Easter Sunday, the Queen gave birth to a daughter, who was called Eanfleda. The King, in the presence of Paulinus, gave thanks to his gods for the Queen's safe delivery; Paulinus, on the contrary, offered his

thanksgivings to Christ, ascribing the auspicious event to his own prayers. The King, pleased with his fervour, promised that if God would grant him his life, and victory over the prince by whom the assassin was sent, he would renounce his idols and serve Christ; and as a pledge, he delivered over his infant daughter to be baptised. Having obtained the object of his prayers, both as to his own recovery and the punishment of his enemy, he yet hesitated to receive the Christian faith till his reason was satisfied, but he listened attentively and respectfully to the exhortations of Paulinus, backed, as they were, by epistles from Pope Boniface, and seconded by the entreaties of his Queen. He determined at length to submit the question to a solemn council, at which all his nobility and chief officers were invited freely to declare their opinions, so that an authoritative decision should be come to, binding upon all. The determination of the conclave was chiefly influenced by the sentiments of Coifi, the chief priest of the idol-worship of Northumberland. This man, long convinced of the folly of the ancient rites which he had administered, listened attentively to the arguments of Paulinus in favour of Christianity, and declared himself a convert. With the consent of the assembly, he undertook to be the instrument of the destruction of the idols. Rushing forth in execution of his voluntary mission, armed and mounted in a manner forbidden to a priest of the old religion, he was supposed by the people to be distracted; but once convinced of his sanity, they readily aided in the demolition, not only of the idols, but of the temple and its enclosures. The scene of this memorable work was still pointed out in Beda's time at a place called Godmundingham or, Godmanham, near Market Weighton, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. This account of the conversion of Edwine, extracted from Beda, is simple and credible, but the historian himself is not satisfied without the interposition of miraculous agency. He tells us that during his exile at the court of Redwald, twelve years previously, when that prince contemplated his betrayal, Edwine was comforted and sustained by a supernatural visitor, to whose spiritual influence he attributes the Queen's intercession, and the ultimate determination of the King actively to befriend him. In return, he was called upon by his mysterious visitor to give a constructive promise to embrace Christianity, as a type of which the sign of the cross was exhibited to him, but only fully comprehended at a long subsequent period, when the circumstances were brought to his mind, and the mystery in which they were enveloped was dispelled by the instructions of Paulinus.

Although we must reject this tale as fabulous, it is probably so far founded in truth, that Edwine may have received his first impressions in favour of Christianity in East Anglia, for Redwald was himself at one time a professing christian; nor does he appear ever to have altogether renounced his faith, although he weakly yielded to the influence of his Queen and the prejudices of his people, by countenancing the celebration of idol-worship. "In the same temple," we are told, "he had an altar for the sacrifice of Christ, and another smaller altar on which to offer victims to the Devil." The caution with which Edwine abstained from announcing his own conversion until he could carry his court and people with him, may fairly be attributed to his knowledge of the disgrace and difficulties in which his early friend had involved himself by pursuing a different course. Whatever obligation he owed to Redwald in this respect, he endeavoured to repay to his son and successor Earpwald, by undertaking the task of his conversion. Previous to the departure of Paulinus from Kent, he had been admitted into the episcopal order by Archbishop Justus; Edwine now appointed York as the seat of his bishopric. Here the King, with all his nobility and a multitude of others, was baptised in an oratory hastily erected for the purpose, on the twelfth of April, A.D. 627, being Easter Sunday, the anniversary of his attempted assassination, in the twelfth year of his reign, and the fortieth of his age. His sons Osfrid and Eanfrid were baptised with him; and the same rite was afterwards administered to Vuscfrea his son by Ethelberga, and two other children who died in infancy, Ethelhun and Etheldrith; also to Iffi, the son of Osfrid. On the site of this oratory, the foundations of a stately church of stone were laid, the completion of which was deferred, by the King's untimely death, till the reign of his successor Oswald.

The zeal of Paulinus, however, did not require the aid of temples built by human hands; but, prosecuting the work of conversion throughout Northumberland, he administered the rite of baptism in the open air, in the waters of the Glen in Bernicia, and the Swale in Deira; on the former of which stood the royal villa of Adgefrin, now Yeavinger, on the latter that of Catteric. On one occasion, during the residence of the court at Yeavinger, he was engaged catechizing and baptising from morning till night during thirty-six days; and at Catteric his converts were even more numerous. It is remarkable that in the compilation ascribed to Nennius, the baptism of Edwine and his court, and of the many thousands who received that holy rite, as well in the oratory at York as in the waters of the

Glen and the Swale, is ascribed, not to Paulinus, but to Rum, the son of Urien. It is possible that the two may have been identical; that Paulinus was a Briton by birth, who assumed the Latinised name under which he is known to us on his consecration to the service of the church. His patronymic designation of the "son of Urien" would further suggest that the zealous ecclesiastic, who laboured so diligently for the salvation of the Anglo-Saxon King, was sprung from a father who was the most formidable opponent of the extension of the Anglo-Saxon power in Northumberland. We are further told that Rum had a son Royth, whose daughter Riemmelth became the wife of Oswi, afterwards King of Northumberland, the son of Ethelfrith, and the nephew of Edwine.

It must be remembered that Paulinus was sent from Rome into Kent by Pope Gregory, to assist Augustine in the conversion of the people of that province, from whence he accompanied Queen Ethelberga to Northumberland. Now the following sequence of events is far from improbable:—That on the death of Urien of Reged, and the expulsion of his family from the throne, his son Rum retired to Rome, and there entered into holy orders; That when Gregory was looking about for missionaries to send to Britain, he should gladly avail himself of the services of a British priest highly connected, more especially when we know how anxiously Augustine strove, though without success, to obtain the co-operation of the British clergy in the work of converting the Anglo-Saxons; Lastly, that when the Kentish King had to select from the ecclesiastics about him a chaplain to accompany his daughter into Northumberland, he should make choice of a native of the district.

After the death of Redwald, Edwine was promoted to the supreme authority over all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, with the exception of Kent. This exception is said by Malmsbury to have been dictated by the delicacy of Edwine himself, who was at the time a suitor for the hand of the Kentish princess, whom he afterwards married. The superiority which he exercised as Bretwalda, was certainly not of an oppressive character; but, beside this general authority, he had hereditary claims to a more direct sovereignty over the neighbouring province of Mercia, whose rulers had always been dependant on the kings of Deira. Besides this, he gratified his ambition by the subjection of all the native British states, who had never before acknowledged an Anglo-Saxon superior. The vassalage of the Mercian kings does not previously occur as a subject of complaint. Crida, who founded the kingdom during the reign of Alla, the father of Edwine,

was probably a follower of that prince, and Ceorl, who succeeded him, was the father of Quoenburga, Edwine's first wife, and this connection would naturally soften the rigour of command on the one side and the feeling of dependency on the other. But Ceorl, as well as his daughter, was now dead, and Edwine had formed a new alliance, and adopted a new religion; whilst Penda, who had succeeded to the throne of Mercia, was a devoted adherent of the old. Under these circumstances, it is not extraordinary that the latter, a man of an enterprising and ambitious nature, should listen favourably to the overtures of Caedwalla King of the Britons, who invited him to form a league to effect the liberation of both their kingdoms from the thralldom in which they were held. Their united armies far exceeded any force which Edwine could in the emergency bring into the field, and the result of an engagement was the complete triumph of the confederates. The battle took place at Hatfield Chase, in Yorkshire, on the 12th of October, 633, when the King himself and his son Osfrid were slain, with the greater part of their followers, and the remainder were hopelessly dispersed. Eanfrid, the other son of Edwine, was compelled to throw himself on the mercy of Penda, by whom he was for a while entertained with a show of hospitality, but was ultimately perfidiously murdered. Paulinus fled with the Queen to Kent, whither they were accompanied by her son and daughter, Vusefrea and Eanfleda, and by Iffi, the son of Osfrid, under the escort of Bassus, a brave officer of the late King. Vusefrea and Iffi were afterwards sent to France by Ethelburga to be educated at the court of her cousin, King Dagobert, but they both died in childhood. Paulinus had the see of Rochester conferred upon him by Eadbald King of Kent, and discharged the duties of his episcopate till his death. On leaving Northumberland, he committed his church to the deacon James, whose usual residence was at a village near Catterick called after his own name, who discharged his duties with zeal and success. This holy man attained a great age, being mentioned by Beda as still living in his own time. He was famous as a singer, and indefatigable in imparting instruction in his art, as he had learned it after the orthodox fashion of Canterbury and Rome. Amongst the valuables taken with them by the royal party, Beda mentions a large gold cross and a golden chalice, which were still in use at the cathedral at Canterbury. In the meantime the state of affairs in Northumberland, is represented as truly deplorable—

“ A great slaughter was made in the church and nation; and the more so because one of the invaders was a pagan, and the other a barbarian more cruel than a pagan; for Penda, with all

the nation of the Mercians, was an idolator, and a stranger to the name of Christ ; but Caedwalla, though he was called and professed himself a Christian, was so barbarous in his disposition and behaviour, that he spared neither the tender sex of women nor the innocent age of children, but with savage cruelty put all to torturing deaths, ravaging for long the whole country, and resolved to cut off the whole English race within the bounds of Britain. Nor did he pay any respect to the Christian religion, which had newly taken root amongst them, it being to this day the custom of the Britons to make no account of the faith and religion of the English, nor to communicate with them otherwise than as with pagans."

Compare this picture with a view which is presented by the same authority of the condition of the country a few short weeks before :—

"Such perfect peace was there in Britain wherever the dominion of Edwine extended, that a woman with her new-born babe might walk throughout the island from sea to sea, if she would, without receiving harm. That king took such care for the good of his people, that in places where he had seen clear springs near the highways, he caused stakes to be fixed, with brass vessels suspended from them, for the use of travellers ; nor durst any man touch them, except for the purpose for which they were designed, either from dread of the king or affection for him. So great also was his dignity throughout his realm, that banners were borne before him not only in battle, but in time of peace, in his progress through the provinces to his cities and villas, in which he was attended by his officers and preceded by his standard-bearer."

On his death his body did not even obtain Christian burial, but his head was taken to York, and afterwards interred within the walls of the church commenced by himself and completed by King Oswald. The royal villa at Campodonum, or Donafield, supposed to have been at Tanfield on the Swale, was utterly demolished, with all the adjacent buildings, including a church of stone, the only one of a permanent character which had yet been completed within the kingdom.

In reflecting on the disasters by which the government and the whole people of Northumberland were thus suddenly overwhelmed, we cannot but be struck by the facility with which the revolution was effected. Whatever other causes may have co-operated, there is one very apparent, which must at all times have been a source of weakness and inquietude to this kingdom, but more especially when the assailant was a powerful British prince. Not more than half the Northumbrian territory was actually colonised by the Anglo-Saxons ; the remainder was still occupied by the original native population, who, although they had been reduced to a state of tributary subjection, were naturally hostile and disaffected to

the dominant race, to whom they were bound by no other tie than the yoke of conquest.

The narrow bounds of Bernicia and Deira, as enjoyed by Ida and Alla, have been already pointed out, and the extension of each, by the annexation, in the one case of Reged, in the other of Elmete. It is doubtful whether Reged was finally incorporated with Bernicia until the reign of Ethelfrith, and we know that Elmete was only absorbed in Deira by Edwine, at the close of whose reign we have not the slightest reason to suppose the Anglo-Saxon population had spread themselves at all beyond the range of hills which separates the eastern portion of England and modern Scotland from the west. The entire tract of country beyond, from the Clyde to the Mersey, although it owned the supremacy of the Northumbrian kings, was yet exclusively British as regards its inhabitants, who still retained a domestic government of their own.

If the Northumbrian Britons did not actually aid the invasion of their compatriot Caedwalla, we cannot suppose that they could be relied upon to assist in repelling it; and yet it is probable that levies from these subject states were resorted to in ordinary times for filling up the ranks of the Northumbrian armies. Against the neighbouring English kingdoms they might be trust-worthy associates, or even against the Picts and Scots, with whom they had ancient feuds of their own, but in a war with their own countrymen, their presence could only cause apprehension and distrust.

Another cause of weakness to Edwine was his imperfect title to one of the provinces over which he reigned, and the consequent existence of a party in that province hostile to his government. The Bernicians could have no sympathy with the ferocious Penda or the barbarian Caedwalla, but they might view with satisfaction the course of events by which a powerful usurper was driven from the throne, and an opening made for the restoration to their inheritance of the line of Ida. They could not foresee the terrible calamities by which the attainment of these objects would be attended, or the bitter cause they would have to regret the firm and moderate administration of the late King. Against the powerful combination which was arrayed against him, Edwine could only rely with entire confidence on the support of the inhabitants of his native Deira, who alone regarded him as the rightful occupant of the throne, and looked upon the expulsion of the family of his predecessor as the triumph of their own independence.

OSWALD.

During the late reign the sons of Ethelfrith had sought a refuge amongst the Picts and Scots, where they were instructed in the Christian faith according to the doctrines and usages of those nations. On the death of their hereditary enemy, they no longer feared to return to their own country, where the eldest, Eanfrid, obtained the throne of Bernicia, of which he was the true heir as the lineal representative of Ida. Deira was seized by Osric, the son of Ælfric, and nephew of Alla, to the predjudice of Yffi, the true heir, and of Eadfrid, who in the nonage of his nephew, had the second claim. Yffi, as we have seen, was placed beyond the reach of the jealous enmity of the usurper, at the court of France, but Eadfrid was compelled, as the less dangerous alternative, to take refuge with Penda, rather than trust himself within the power of Osric.

Osric, as well as Eanfrid, was a professing Christian, having been baptised in the reign of Edwine by Paulinus, but both kings, on their accession to the thrones of their respective kingdoms, with one accord repudiated the faith in which they had been instructed. They sought perhaps by their apostacy to conciliate the favour of Penda, but their conduct gave them no claim to the forbearance of Caedwalla, by whom they were both slain within a year of their accession. Osric had the temerity to besiege the British King in the city of York, and was defeated and slain with the greater part of his army by a sudden movement of the besieged, who sallied forth and took them by surprise. Eanfrid, with equal rashness, trusted himself to the good faith of the barbarian, before whom he presented himself with an escort of only twelve soldiers, to sue for peace. "After this, for the space of a year Caedwalla reigned over both provinces of the Northumbrians, not like a victorious king, but a rapacious tyrant, ravaging and destroying." This year includes the whole period from the death of Edwine till the close of the tyranny of Caedwalla, during a part of which Osric and Eanfrid maintained an ineffectual struggle within their respective provinces, and was terminated by an almost un-hoped-for victory obtained by a very inferior force under the command of Oswald, the brother of Eanfrid, at Dennisburn, or Dilston, on the Tyne. Caedwalla perished on the field, and the conqueror was proclaimed king of both provinces amidst the joyful acclamations of his people, who unanimously agreed "in their calculations of the reigns of their kings to obliterate the memory of these perfidious

monarchs, and to assign the past year to the reign of Oswald." Thus the commencement of his reign is dated A.D. 633, although he did not actually mount the throne till the following year. The victory was ascribed less to human valour than to the direct interposition of the Deity in answer to the prayers of the pious Oswald, who, previous to leaving his encampment to meet the enemy, erected with his own hands a cross at a place called Heaven-field, around which he made his whole army kneel, and offer up their united supplications for the success of their cause. Not only were these prayers efficacious as regarded their immediate purpose, but many miracles were related to have been worked in aftertimes in virtue of the cross before which they were offered. When Oswald was established on the throne of Northumberland, his first care was to procure for his people an efficient instructor in the truths of Christianity. Having been himself converted during his sojourn amongst the Scots, he naturally addressed himself to them, nor did they shew any backwardness in supplying him with the object of his search. The first missionary, however, was unable to make any impression on the stubborn intellects of the people amongst whom he was sent, and returned mortified and disheartened to his monastery of Iona. There he reported to the elders of the community the ill success of his efforts, which he attributed entirely to the barbarism and obtuseness of the Bernicians. The assembly were well nigh disposed to consider the case hopeless, when a thoughtful priest, by name Aidan, ventured to suggest that the cause of the failure might rest rather with the preacher than his hearers, and that the gentler method of persuasion might have been effectual, when harshness and dogmatism had failed to produce conversion. The idea was received with eager approval, and the speaker was urged to test the soundness of his own views by himself undertaking the abandoned mission. Having been duly consecrated, he hastened to enter upon the discharge of his episcopal functions. Oswald's chief residence being at Bamburgh, in his paternal province of Bernicia, the site of the new bishoprick was fixed in the immediate neighbourhood, at Lindisfarne, rather than at York. Here the King readily and zealously undertook the office of interpreter to the Bishop in his intercourse with the people. The accounts which we read of the marvellous results of the preaching of Paulinus, would almost lead us to conclude that the permanent conversion of the inhabitants of Northumberland had been effected by him; but it is clear that with the great body of the people, the feeling in favour of the new doctrines was as transitory as it was enthusiastic. In Deira, indeed, it was to some extent

kept alive by the ministration of James the Deacon, but in Bernicia it was all but extinct. Aidan's success was more gradual, but more lasting than that of his predecessor. His chief difficulty was his ignorance of the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and this might have proved insuperable, but for the personal assistance which Oswald did not disdain to afford. The foresight of the Bishop secured for the future a succession of well qualified instructors, by the establishment of a school in which he educated for the ministry twelve boys of English parentage, selected by himself. Meantime—

“Many of the Scots came daily into Britain, and with great devotion preached the word to those provinces of the Angles over which king Oswald reigned, and such of them as were priests administered the grace of baptism. Churches were built in several places; the people joyfully flocked to hear the word; land and money were provided by the king's bounty for building monasteries; and the English were by their Scotch teachers instructed in the rules and observances of regular discipline, for most of the teachers were monks.”

The credit which Oswald so well earned by his strenuous efforts to promote the cause of religion, has been somewhat unduly extended by his encomiast to his civil administration. He tells us that he succeeded by his management in “uniting and moulding into one people” the hitherto discordant provinces of the Bernicii and Deiri, whereas we know that, though, like his two predecessors, Ethelfrith and Edwine, he retained both provinces under his government during his own life, he was so far from effecting a thorough and permanent amalgamation, that they were separated into two kingdoms under distinct sovereigns within two years of his decease. It may well be doubted also whether his political importance has not been somewhat unduly exaggerated in consideration of his religious merit. We may readily believe indeed that the same compliment was paid to him, as to his predecessor, of electing him Bretwalda of the Anglo-Saxons, if that office was only honorary, though we can hardly admit that he was really the controuling spirit of the Heptarchy at a time when Penda was spreading terror and dismay through all the Christian states, and when his power was especially felt in Northumberland itself. Further than this, however, we are assured that Oswald extended his dominion over “all the nations and provinces of Britain, which are divided into four languages, including the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Angles.” Surely this is the language of exaggeration. History is altogether silent as to any wars of Oswald with the Picts and Scots, a portion only of whom are mentioned as having been subdued in the succeeding reign.

Oswald was twice married, but left issue by his first wife only, whose name and lineage are unknown. His second was a daughter of Cynegils King of Wessex, a convert from paganism, towards whom he stood in the double relation of son-in-law and godfather. Within two years of this alliance he was cut off by the arms of Penda, the same pagan King of Mercia whose hostility had already proved so destructive to both the royal houses of Northumberland. The battle in which he fell is stated by Beda to have taken place at Maserfelt, a locality not certainly known, although tradition points to Oswestry, in Shropshire, the church of which is dedicated to St. Oswald. His memory was regarded with great veneration by the Anglo-Saxon church, especially in Northumberland, although his fame was somewhat eclipsed by St. Cuthbert, who belonged to a more orthodox school, the faith and practice of St. Oswald being tainted by the errors which the Roman priesthood ascribed to the disciples of the college of Iona.

OSWI.

Oswald was succeeded in both provinces by his brother Oswi, who mounted the throne, A.D. 642, at the age of thirty. Two years after, however, notwithstanding the alleged successes of his predecessor in consolidating the union of the two states, the people of Deira revolted from him, and transferred their allegiance to Oswine, the son of Osric, their late apostate king. Oswine was as zealous in the cause of religion as his father was indifferent to it; and conciliated the good will of the religious portion of his subjects, especially of the holy Bishop Aidan, who dwelt with admiration on his virtues, but especially on the humility of his character. From the excess of his virtue, the good man foreboded his early death. "I know," said he, "that he will not live long; for I never before saw an humble king, and I am sure that his people are not worthy that he should remain with them." For seven years he maintained his position against all the efforts of Oswi, but at last, finding his resources unequal to the continuance of the struggle, he disbanded his forces, which were assembled at a place called Wilfarsdown, ten miles south-west of Catterick, and took refuge with a single follower in the house of Earl Hunwald, on whose friendship and fidelity he placed entire reliance. By this traitor he was delivered into the hands of Edelwine, the prefect of Oswi, by whom he was cruelly murdered at Gilling, near Richmond. Oswi himself did not escape the odium of this crime, which

Beda records as the only blot upon his character, whilst Oswine was exalted as a martyr and a saint. His friend Bishop Aidan survived him only twelve days.

The male descendants of Alla, the founder of the kingdom of Deira, were now extinct. Eadred, who took refuge with Penda, was murdered by that barbarian during the reign of Oswald, and his half-brother and nephew, Vusefrea and Iffi, had died in France. The collateral line of Ælfric had terminated with Oswine. The sole survivor of this royal race was Eanfleda, the daughter of Edwine. The marriage of Oswi with Riemmelth, the great-granddaughter of the British Urien, has been already referred to; but he was now a widower, and he eagerly sought the hand of the heiress of Edwine, who was residing with her mother's family in Kent. His proposal having been favourably received, he despatched, as his envoy to escort the princess to his dominions, a distinguished ecclesiastic, Utta, who is afterwards described as Abbot of the monastery of Gateshead. The voyage was a tempestuous one, and the safe return of the holy man and his illustrious charge is attributed to the miraculous effect produced on the troubled waters by a phial of consecrated oil, which had been presented to Utta by Bishop Aidan. Many other miracles are also ascribed to this prelate, who was succeeded in his bishoprick by Finan, who was, like his predecessor, a monk of Iona. Finan had the satisfaction of administering the rite of baptism to two royal converts, Pæda, the son of the formidable Penda King of Mercia, and Sigebert King of the East Saxons. On both occasions the solemnity was performed at Ad Murum, a royal villa whose site, as described by Beda, nearly coincides with the position of the present town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Pæda was Ealderman or Governor, under his father, of the province of Mid-Anglia, or South Mercia. Notwithstanding the bitter enmity of Penda, his family was already connected with that of Oswi, by the marriage of Alefrid, the eldest son of the latter, with the Mercian princess Cyneburga. Her brother Pæda now sought to cement the alliance by a marriage between himself and Alefleda, the daughter of Oswi; but could only obtain her father's consent on condition of his embracing Christianity. Although the attractions of Alefleda were thus the means of his being made acquainted with the doctrines of salvation, we are assured that he became a convert on conviction, chiefly through the arguments and instruction of her brother Alefrid. He gave, indeed, an earnest of his sincerity by the zeal and energy with which he set about and effected the conversion of his people. For this purpose he obtained from his father-in-law the

assistance of four ecclesiastics—Cedd, afterwards Bishop of the East Saxons; Adda, the brother of Utta, mentioned above; Betti; and Diuna. Of these, the last was a Scotch monk, the rest Angles. Penda offered no opposition to the inclinations either of his family or his subjects on religious matters; but he firmly maintained his own Pagan faith. Neither was he induced by the double connection between his family and that of Oswi to abstain from aggressions on the kingdom of Northumberland. During the episcopate of Aidan he had besieged the royal residence of Bamburgh, and failing to carry it by assault, he attempted to destroy it by fire. In this he had almost succeeded, when the city was saved by a change of wind, attributed by the enthusiasm of that age to the intercession of the prelate, who, seeing from his retreat in the island of Farne, the imminence of the danger, lifted up his voice in prayer, crying "Behold, Lord, how great mischief Penda does." Notwithstanding this intervention of providence, which warded off the immediate danger, Penda only withdrew his forces on conditions humiliating to Oswi, whose second son Egfrid was delivered as a hostage into the hands of Cynwise, the Mercian Queen. No efforts were spared by Oswi to propitiate his too powerful neighbour; but when gifts and promises were rejected with scorn, he determined to try his fortune in the field. With the aid of his son Alfrid, he collected a considerable army, though far inferior in numbers to that of his opponent. The forces of Deira, also, which, since the death of Oswine, had been under the government of Athelwald (called by Beda Oidilwald), the son of Oswald, were arrayed on the side of Penda, but fortunately stood aloof till the event of the battle was decided. This was unequivocally on the side of Oswi, whose victory was crowned by the fall of Penda. The conqueror bestowed the crown of Mid-Anglia on his son-in-law Pæda, who had already during his father's life reigned over it as vice-roy. The remaining provinces of Mercia proper and Lindsea he retained in his own hands. The conversion of Mid-Anglia has been already noticed; that of Lindsea was of much earlier date, having been effected by Paulinus. To these was now added the conversion of the metropolitan province by the preaching of Diuna, who was appointed by Oswi Bishop over the whole. Within a year of the death of Penda, Pæda was treacherously murdered, not without grave suspicions of the complicity of his wife, and the whole of Mercia was united under Oswi. This state of things was naturally distasteful to the Mercian people, who only waited a favourable opportunity of throwing off the foreign yoke. Wulfhere, the younger brother of Pæda,

united the suffrages of the entire people in his favour; and by a general movement he was raised to the throne, and Oswi driven forth to his own kingdom. Of the fate of Athelwald we have no details; but it is certain that he did not long retain his crown after the death of Penda. During the latter part of the reign of Oswi, his son Alcfrid was his colleague on the throne of Deira, and caused him much annoyance by his arrogant and overbearing temper, insomuch that Beda classes the troubles which the old King underwent from this cause in the same category with those which he had previously endured at the hands of Penda and Athelwald. Alcfrid, as well as Egfrid and Alcfleda, were the issue of his former marriage; but we afterwards meet with a son, Elfwine, and two daughters, Elfleda and Osthriþa, (the latter the wife of Ethelred King of Mercia, the brother of Wulfhere and Peada,) who were the children of Eanfleda, besides his illegitimate son, Aldfrid. The piety of Eanfleda induced her to use her influence with her husband for the erection of a monastery, as an expiatory offering, on the spot where the murder of her relative, Oswine King of Deira, had been perpetrated with his sanction, at Gilling. Oswi succeeded his brother Oswald as Bretwalda; but until the downfall of Penda his power must have been limited and precarious. To the latter part of his reign we must assign his victories over the Picts and Scots, by which a considerable part of both nations were reduced under his dominion. Of his warlike exploits, however, we have no particulars, as the religious dissensions which then prevailed were subjects of much greater interest to the ecclesiastical historians of the period, Eddius and Beda, than any struggles in the field. These originated in the different practice of the churches of Iona and of Rome relative to the celebration of Easter, the tonsure, and one or two other points. During the seventeen years that Aidan presided over the Northumbrian church, the usages of Iona were alone practised, except by the little flock who adhered to James the Deacon as their pastor. James, indeed, seems to have been a man of easy temper and limited capacity, who occupied himself less with these graver questions than with the due modulation of the Gregorian chaunt, on which his own reputation was founded. The piety, learning, and judgment of Aidan, his acknowledged zeal for the interests of the church, and the support of his royal patrons, secured him against any opposition, although strangers from Kent and from France denounced his practice as heretical. The ten years' episcopate of Finan was less tranquil. A countryman of his own named Ronan, who had been instructed abroad in the catholic view of the disputed questions,

entered into a violent controversy with him, in which, though the Bishop maintained his ground, his opponent appears to have had the better of the argument. The difficulty was greatly complicated by the marriage of Oswi with a princess educated in the orthodox faith, who kept "the true and catholic Easter" of the Roman church. It thus happened that Easter was held twice, in one year, at different times, at the same court, and that whilst the King was celebrating the festival with mirth and rejoicing, the Queen, with her chaplain Romanus, who had accompanied her from Kent, was still observing Lent with mortification and fasting.

At length matters reached a crisis when compromise was no longer possible. On the death of Finan, Colman, another Scotch monk, was appointed to succeed him; the King, who had himself received his religious instruction amongst the Scots, being perfectly satisfied with their usages. But Alcfrid had imbibed his religious opinions from Wilfrid, a wily and ambitious ecclesiastic, who had studied both in France and at Rome. Having founded a monastery at Ripon, which he originally filled with Scotch monks, he dispossessed them when they refused to recognize the usages of the church of Rome, and gave the monastery to Wilfrid. This promotion only whetted the ambition of the priest, who now aimed at supplanting Colman in the bishoprick. His schemes were greatly promoted by the arrival, on a visit to Alcfrid, of Agilbert Bishop of the West Saxons, a Frenchman by birth, with a priest named Agatho, both ardent partizans of the Roman practice. Harassed by the importunities of Alcfrid, Oswi consented to convene a synod for the determination of the question, which was held at Streonshal (Whitby), a monastery presided over by the Abbess Hilda, herself an adherent of the Scotch customs. The two kings, Oswi and Alcfrid, presided; and on the one side appeared Colman, with his Scotch clerks, on the other, Bishop Agilbert, with the priests Agatho, Wilfrid, James, and Romanus. With Hilda was the venerable Bishop Cedd, who, like her, entertained the views of the Scotch church, but who, on this occasion, took a perfectly impartial line, and acted as interpreter to both parties. Colman conducted his own case, but Wilfrid, as more conversant with the English language, was appointed by Agilbert to take the lead on the other side.

Oswi, at first favorable to Colman, was brought over to the opposite side by the citation of our Lord's declaration to St. Peter.—"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock have I built my church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against

it, and to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven." Colman having admitted the accuracy of the quotation, the King inquired, "Can you shew any such power given to your Columba?" and being answered in the negative, he said, "He that is doorkeeper will I not gainsay, but as far as I know, and am able, will I obey his decrees in all things, lest when I come to the gates of the kingdom of Heaven, there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is admitted to have the keys." This decision was at once assented to by all but Colman and his followers. Cedd conformed to the catholic doctrines, and returned to his see. He is the same priest whom we have seen employed with three others in the conversion of the Middle Angles. On the conversion of Sigebert, King of the East Saxons, he also applied to King Oswi for a missionary to preach the gospel amongst his people. For this work Cedd was selected, and being recalled from Mid-Anglia, he was sent amongst the East Saxons, and on their conversion became their first bishop.

On the announcement of the adverse decision, Colman at once withdrew from Northumberland, taking with him all his Scotch monks and thirty of their English brethren. They retired first to a small island on the coast of Ireland, called Inobisfinde. Here a dissension having arisen between the Scotch and English monks, the Bishop obtained a site on another island, called Mageo, where he erected a second monastery, exclusively for the English, whilst the Scotch occupied their old abode. Mageo was still in Beda's time a resort for English monks, the monastery "having grown up from a small beginning to be very large." He praises the exemplary discipline and conduct of the inmates, who were gathered from all parts of England, and supported themselves by the labour of their hands "after the example of the venerable fathers." Such of the English monks as chose to remain at Lindisfarne were placed under the government of Eata Abbot of Melrose, who was entrusted with the charge of both monasteries. Eata was one of the twelve boys educated by Bishop Aidan, and it was at Colman's particular desire that he was now selected for this duty.

The partizan bias of Beda in favour of his own church, does not prevent him doing ample justice to the devotedness and self-denial of the primitive monks of Northumberland. Speaking of their establishment at Lindisfarne, he says—

"There were few buildings found at their departure besides the church ; none indeed beyond what were absolutely necessary for shelter. They hoarded no money ; but only cattle for subsistence ; and if they received money from the rich, they gave it to the poor.

They had indeed no need to gather wealth or build houses for the entertainment of great men, for such never resorted to them, except to pray and hear the word of God. The king himself used to attend with only five or six servants, and having performed his devotions, departed; or if he stayed to take refreshment, he was satisfied with the plain food which constituted the daily meals of the brethren, whose whole care it was to serve God, not the world; to feed the soul and not the belly. For this reason the religious habit was held in great veneration, so that wherever a clerk or a monk came, he was joyfully received by all God's servants; and if they met him on the way they ran to him and bowed, rejoicing to receive his benediction either by word or sign. Great attention was paid to their exhortations; on Sundays the people eagerly flocked to church, or to the monasteries, not to feed their bodies but to hear the word of God. So free were the monks from worldly avarice, that they only received lands or money for building monasteries, when they were required to do so by the temporal authorities."

Colman, who had held his bishoprick three years, was succeeded by Tuda, a countryman of his own, but educated in the south of Ireland, where the catholic customs in regard to the tonsure and the observance of Easter prevailed. He held the see only a few months, falling a victim to a pestilence which prevailed throughout the island, A.D. 664.

In the mean time Alcfrid resolved to place Wilfrid at the head of the church in his own province of Deira, and with this view sent him to France to receive episcopal ordination at the hands of Agilbert, who had been raised to the dignity of Bishop of Paris. This intrigue was defeated by the promptitude with which Oswi proceeded to the nomination of Tuda, who was already a bishop. On the death of that prelate, Alcfrid's plans were again thwarted by his father, who not only made a different selection, but, exercising his paramount authority, fixed the seat of the bishopric at Alcfrid's own capital of York, instead of at Lindisfarne, thus precluding the possibility of his son making a separate appointment for his own province. His choice fell upon Chadd, the brother of Cedd, and so well were his measures taken, that the new Bishop was consecrated and in possession of his see before Wilfrid had returned from France. The latter, therefore, took up his residence at Ripon, with the title of Bishop, but without any recognised diocese. Chadd was, however, unequal to sustain the annoyance of a contest with his vigorous and persevering opponent, backed, as the latter was, by all the influence of Alcfrid. Having succeeded on the death of his brother Cedd to the monastery of Lastingham, he retired thither, leaving Wilfrid in undisputed possession of the "Bishopric of York, and of all the Northumbrians, and likewise

of the Picts, as far as the dominion of King Oswi extended." He was, however, soon drawn from his retirement, and a second time entrusted with an episcopal charge, on the death of Jaruman Bishop of Mercia.

Alefrid died before his father, but no particulars of his death are recorded by historians. It has been reserved for the antiquarian research of the present generation to discover the place of his sepulchre, by deciphering the time-worn inscription on the celebrated cross in the church-yard at Bewcastle in Cumberland, which turns out to be a monument erected to this prince.*

Wilfrid appears to have gained as great an ascendancy over the mind of Oswi, in his declining years, as he ever exercised over Alefrid. The King had prevailed upon him by large gifts to be his companion in a projected pilgrimage to Rome, where he hoped to end his days. His journey was, however, prevented by his seizure by a disease, which, in a few days, terminated his existence. He died on the fifteenth of February, A.D. 670, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his reign. He was interred at Streonshal, of the monastery at which place his daughter Elfleda was an inmate, and afterwards became abbess on the death of Hilda, being assisted in the government of the house by her mother, Eanfleda, who retired here. Hither also were brought the remains of King Edwine, and here ultimately were laid those of Queen Eanfleda and her daughter.

ECGFRID.

Oswi was the first king of Northumberland since the union of the provinces who died a natural death. Ethelfrith, Edwine, and Oswald fell in battle, and the lives of Osric, Eanfred, and Oswine were all cut short by violence.

For the first time also the succession, which by the death of Alefrid was vested in his brother Ecgfrid, was undisputed.

Ecgfrid had married Etheldrida, the daughter of Anna King of East Anglia, and the widow of Tonbert, the governor of one of the divisions of that kingdom. After an unfruitful union of twelve years, the marriage was dissolved, and the Queen retired to the monastery of Coldingham, and afterwards to that of Ely, of which she became the first abbess, and was renowned for her sanctity, and the

* See the very interesting paper of Dr. Haigh in the *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. i., New Series, in which he not only describes the monument of Alefrid at Bewcastle, but that of Bishop Tuda at Beckermont in the same county, and also of James the Deacon at Hauxwell, near Richmond, in Yorkshire.

miracles which were wrought at her shrine. His second wife was Eormenburga, the sister-in-law of Centwine, king of Wessex.

Wilfrid was the confidential adviser of Etheldrida, but did not enjoy the same amount of favor with her successor. His quarrel with Egfrid probably originated in his interference in the affairs of the royal household, but the cause of his ultimate expulsion from his bishoprick is involved in obscurity. He was not, however, of a disposition quietly to submit to the decision of his sovereign, but proceeding to Rome, he laid his case before the Pope. At that court his appeal was successful, but Egfrid refused to allow him to return to the discharge of his episcopal functions. Determined not only to resist the overbearing pretensions of Wilfrid, but to restrain the influence of his successors within due limits, he resolved, with the sanction of the Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury to divide the see. Bosa was made Bishop of Deira, and presided over the ancient church at York; to Eata was committed the pastoral superintendence of Bernicia, his place of residence being alternately at Lindisfarne and at Hexham. This division was effected A.D. 678. At the same time he made Edhed Bishop of Lindsea, which province he had taken some time before from Wulfhere King of Mercia. The very next year, however, Lindsea was recovered by Ethelred, the brother of Wulfhere, and Edhed was recompensed for the loss of his bishoprick by the grant of the abbey of Ripon, founded by Alcfrid, and adorned by the taste and magnificence of Wilfrid. In 681, a further division of episcopal districts was carried out. Tumbert was made Bishop of Hexham, whilst Eata was continued at Lindisfarne, and Trumwine was appointed Bishop of the Picts.

In the meantime the war between Egfrid and Ethelred King of Mercia, was terminated by the intervention of Archbishop Theodore. A great battle had been fought on the banks of the Trent between the forces of the two kings, A.D. 679, in which Elfwine, the half-brother of Egfrid, a youth of eighteen, was slain. The distressing circumstances of this catastrophe were aggravated by the near connection of the contending parties, Ethelred being the brother-in-law of Elfwine, whose sister Osthritha he had married.

“And now,” says Beda, “there was reason to expect a more bloody war, and more lasting enmity between the two kings, but bishop Theodore, beloved of God, relying on the divine assistance, by his seasonable admonitions extinguished the dangerous fire; so that the kings and their people on both sides being appeased, no man was put to death, *but only the ordinary mulct was paid to king Egfrid for his brother who was slain.*”

The conclusion of this peace enabled Egfrid to devote his attention to the condition of his own dominions, in which, as we have seen, large districts, still occupied by the tributary Britons, continued independent, as regarded their domestic government, of the controul of the supreme authority. Cumberland, Lancashire, and Galloway, were now incorporated with Northumberland, and if Egfrid's life had been prolonged, there is no doubt that the separate government of Strathelyde would also have been abolished.

Of this process of annexation, we have no particulars from historians, but we have abundant evidence that it was carried into effect. We find these provinces for the first time in the possession of the crown, by whom large grants were made to the church, both in Cumberland and Lancashire. In the former Carlisle, with the adjacent country for fifteen miles roundabout, in the latter Cartmel, "with all its Britons," were given to St. Cuthbert. In the city of Carlisle also, Egfrid founded a monastery, over which the sister of his queen presided. Henceforward the district, afterwards known as Galloway, is described by Beda as an integral portion of Northumberland. Thus he speaks of Candida Casa, or Whitherne, as within the province of the Bernicians; and of Cunningham, still further north, as in Northumberland.

This consolidation of territory within his own proper limits, conduced infinitely more to the real stability of Egfrid's kingdom, than the vaunted supremacy of any of his predecessors over distant states; and if he had rested satisfied with this substantial augmentation of power, his reign would have been recognized by posterity as the epoch of the greatest prosperity of his country, instead of being referred to as the commencement of her rapid decline. Unfortunately, the spirit of ambition tempted him to aspire to the specious glory of foreign conquest, in which, although he was at first successful, the terrible reverse of his fortune inflicted a blow on his people from which they never rallied.

His first expedition beyond the limits of his kingdom, since the close of the Mercian war, was directed against the neighbouring island of Ireland, and is censured not so much for its rashness, as for its injustice and cruelty. No provocation had been offered by the natives, who are described as a harmless people, especially well disposed towards the English. In vain did Egbert, a holy father of the church, whose age and sanctity gave him the privilege of remonstrating with princes, denounce the contemplated invasion, and predict a terrible retribution. The King was resolute in his purpose, and, though he did not command

the army in person, he entrusted it to Beort, his most experienced general. Not only did the invading forces "most miserably waste that harmless nation, but in their hostile rage they spared neither churches nor monasteries. The islanders, to the utmost of their power, repelled force by force, and imploring the assistance of the divine mercy, prayed long and fervently for vengeance," but their undisciplined valour was unable to offer an adequate resistance to the veteran troops of the invaders.

Next year the King, in person, led an army into the territory of the Picts, deaf to the admonitions of St. Cuthbert, and undismayed by the predictions of Egbert, and the dying imprecations of the slaughtered Irish. Having advanced far into the country without any opposition, and for a long time without seeing an enemy, he was at length inveigled, by the pretended flight of a large body of the natives, to pursue them into a narrow defile, between precipitous mountains, where an ambuscade was prepared to intercept him. Taken thus by surprise, no effectual resistance could be made to the unexpected attack. Hemmed in on every side, and unable either to advance or to retreat, the King perished with the greater part of his forces, on the twentieth of May, 685, in the fortieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign.

"From this time," says Beda, "the hopes and strength of the English crown began to waver and retrograde; for the Picts recovered their lands, which had been held by the Angles; and the Scots that were in Britain, and some also of the Britons, their liberty, which they yet enjoy after forty-six years."

The Britons here mentioned were undoubtedly the people of Strathelyde, of whom we have had so frequently to make mention. They had not, like the Picts referred to in the above extract, been driven from their country and despoiled of their lands, but had been suffered to hold them, though deprived of their liberty. They were, in fact, in precisely the same condition to which they had been reduced by Ethelfrith, and in which they had continued with little interruption for nearly a century. On one occasion, indeed, they seem for a while to have thrown off the Northumbrian yoke, at the time when that nation was subdued in spirit and depressed in power by the death of Oswald, and the tyrannical occupation of Penda, A.D. 642.

In that very year of grievous calamity, we find the Strathelyde Britons carrying on war, as an independent people, against the neighbouring Scots; and with so

much vigour and success that they defeated them in a pitched battle at Strathcarmaic, in which Donal Breck, the Scottish King, was slain. This was, however, a solitary exploit; and although we have evidence that they continued to be governed by kings of their own, the death of one of whom, Guiret, is noticed in the Annals of Ulster under the year 657, we have no further record of their deeds, a significant indication that they must have been restrained within their own territory on the one hand, and protected from invasion on the other, by the intervention of a paramount power. After the fall of Egfrid, we have frequent notices in the same annals both of the succession of their kings, and of the wars in which they were involved; but they form no part of Northumbrian history, except in the few instances where the two nations came into hostile collision, for they were never again under one government till the union of the whole island under the same sovereign.

The attention of Egfrid to the interests of religion, in the establishment of bishopricks in all parts of his dominions, has been already noticed, as also his immense donations to the church of Lindisfarne, in Cumberland and Lancashire, and the foundation of a monastery at Carlisle. In his reign also were established the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow by Benedict Biscop, to whom the land for their erection and endowment was the gift of Egfrid. This liberality was barely sufficient in the eyes of the monkish historians to atone for the opposition which he offered to the views of Wilfrid. His good deeds have consequently been but faintly commended, and his achievements inadequately recorded, whilst the fatal termination of his life and reign has been commented upon as the direct judgment of heaven on his cruelty and ambition.

ALDFRID.

Egfrid was the last legitimate male representative of Ethelric, the son of Ida, and of the great Ethelfrith. His half-brother Elfwine, who, in right of his mother, represented also the house of Alla, through his son Edwine, and thus united the conflicting claims to both provinces of Northumberland, had been long dead, and the order of succession was involved in much uncertainty. St. Cuthbert, the new Bishop of Lindisfarne, was consulted by Elfreda Abbess of Streonshal, the sister of Egfrid, who suggested Aldfrid, a natural son of her father, who, notwithstanding his illegitimacy, was yet recognised as the direct male descendant of Ida. This prince had been intended by Egfrid for a bishoprick,

and was at the time of his brother's death pursuing his studies in Ireland, where he had already acquired a character for great learning and a knowledge of the scriptures. Being called to the throne, he married Cuthburga, the sister of Ina King of Wessex; but after the birth of two sons, he arranged with his queen to spend the remainder of their lives apart in monastic celibacy. Beda says, "He nobly retrieved the ruined fortunes of his kingdom, though within reduced limits." The only military transaction of his reign, however, of which we have any record, was attended by disaster. An expedition was undertaken against the Picts by Beort, the general of the late king, in which he met with the fate of his former master, being defeated and slain A.D. 698.

Wilfrid was allowed by Aldfrid to return to Northumberland in the second year of his reign, but five years afterwards he was again expelled, nor would Aldfrid attend to the injunctions of the Pope, who directed his restoration. The best vindication of the behaviour of Egfrid towards this prelate, is to be found in the conduct of Aldfrid; almost an ecclesiastic himself, deeply imbued with scriptural learning, and zealous for the interests of the church, he seems to have considered the views of Wilfrid as incompatible with the well-being of the kingdom.

During this reign Adamnan, the celebrated Abbot of Iona, visited the Northumbrian court in the character of ambassador from Ireland. During his residence in England he was induced by the arguments of Aldfrid to adopt the catholic views with regard to Easter and the tonsure. These he propagated with considerable success in Ireland, although he failed to convince his own monks at Iona. Their conversion was afterwards effected by the old presbyter Egbert, under the abbacy of Dunchad, A.D. 716. Adamnan presented his book on the Holy Places to Aldfrid, who liberally rewarded him on his departure. None of our native historians inform us of the object of his mission; but we learn from the Irish annalists that he was sent to negotiate the restoration of the prisoners who had been taken in the invasion of Ireland during the late reign. The Annals of Ulster notice his return with sixty liberated captives. The "Four Masters" add that "having performed wonders and miracles before the Saxon hosts, they gave him great honor and respect, and restored to him every thing he asked of them." They mention also a grievous pestilence which raged for three years, and produced a frightful mortality, which was looked upon as a judgment from heaven on the impiety of Egfrid. This visitation is noticed by Adamnan in his *Life of Columba*, and he adds, that through the intercession of the saint, the Picts and

Scots in Britain were exempted from its devastations. The Irish writers describe a great slaughter of their countrymen, by the Anglo-Saxon invaders, at a place called Magh-Breagh, between the Liffey and the Boyne. From thence, we are told, they took with them many hostages and much spoil, with which they returned to their ships.

Having reigned nearly twenty years, Aldfrid was attacked by an illness which so much reduced his strength, that for many days he was unable to speak. He died at Driffield, A.D. 705.

EADWULF, OSRED.

The throne was usurped, after the death of Aldfrid, by Eadwulf; but he only maintained his position two months, when he was expelled, and the crown placed on the head of Osred, the son of Aldfrid, a child of eight years of age, who was slain after a reign of eleven years, being still under twenty. During his reign a victory was obtained by a general called Beretfrid (or, according to Wendover, Offa) over the Picts, of whom a very great slaughter was made. The engagement is stated in the Saxon Chronicle to have taken place between Heugh and Carron (Huntingdon says between Hæfeh and Cære), and its date is variously given A.D. 710 and 711. The deaths of Egfrid and his general, Beort, were thus avenged, and the military honour of the Northumbrians redeemed; but the long minority of the reigning prince was attended with the worst results to the social condition of the kingdom. Beda dates the civil and religious degeneracy of his country from the death of Aldfrid, as he does its declension in the scale of nations from the death of Egfrid. He especially deploras the laxity which had crept into the monastic profession, not merely as regarded the morals of those who had been regularly admitted, but with reference to the irregular admission of many who had no claim to the name or character of monks.

"These men," he says, "though they are themselves laics, and neither habituated to, nor actuated by, the love of any regular life, yet by pecuniary payments to the kings, and under pretext of founding monasteries, have purchased for themselves territories, in which they may have free scope for their vices. They are not monks whom they assemble here, but such as have been expelled from the true monasteries."

Some, also, he describes as mere laymen, and many with wives and children.

"Moreover," he adds, "many obtain grants for the foundation of monasteries for their wives, who, with equal folly, being lay women, take upon themselves to be the rulers of the

handmaidens of Christ. Thus since the death of King Aldfrid has our province been so demented by this mad error, that for the last thirty years there has scarcely been a single governor (prefectus) who has not, whilst in office, founded for himself a monastery of this description, and involved his wife in the same profanation. So prevalent has this vile custom become amongst the ministers and servants of the crown, that the same parties style themselves indiscriminately abbots and prefects, monks and servants of the king. Nay, such persons, at their own caprice, receive the tonsure, and by their own ordinance become not merely monks but abbots."

He even accuses the bishops of countenancing such practices for the sake of gain, being bribed to sign charters in favour of these irregular establishments.

After Aldfrid's death, Bishop Wilfrid was permitted to return to his see, but it would be unfair to hold him responsible for any of these irregularities. He was now an old man, and quiet had become necessary to him. He seems to have passed the succeeding four years in retirement; sometimes at his monastery of Oundle, at others at his favourite residence at Ripon. He died at the former place, but his remains were brought to Ripon for interment.

Malmsbury accuses Osred personally of the profligacy^d which Beda attributes to his reign, and adds that he was murdered by his own relations, his two successors, Coenred and Osric, being implicated in the deed. Beda merely mentions that he was *slain*, to which the Saxon Chronicle adds the locality of his death—"on the southern border." Roger of Wendover, who is much more trustworthy than Malmsbury during the Saxon period, and often supplies information on Northumbrian affairs not to be met with elsewhere, informs us that he was slain by the misfortune of war, in a battle fought on the sea-coast.

COENRED, OSRIC, CEOLWULF.

Coenred ascended the throne A.D. 716. Although he did not derive his genealogy from Ethelric, whose posterity had reigned in Northumberland without interruption since the accession of Oswald in 633, his claim was founded on his descent from Ida, through his illegitimate son Occa. Coenred was the son of Cutha, Cutha of Cuthwine, Cuthwine of Leodwald, Leodwald of Egwald, Egwald of Aldhelm, Aldhelm of Occa, Occa of Ida. Such is the genealogy furnished by

^d "Annis undecem regnum inumbrans, turpem-que vitam sanctimonialium stupris exagitans, tandem cognatorum insidiis cæsus, eandem fortunam in ipsos refudit."

the Saxon Chronicle, and adopted in his Church History by Symeon of Durham. Florence omits Leodwald from his list, and in another place mentions Coenred as the son, instead of the grandson, of the "renowned" Cuthwine. Nennius alone derives the family from Edric, another son of Ida, whom he makes the father, not the grandfather, of Egwald, or, as he calls him, Egwulf. Coenred reigned but two years, and was succeeded by Osric, the brother of Osred and son of Aldfrid. The year after Osric's accession, his mother, Cuthburga, retired to the monastery of Wimburn, which she had founded. She appears, from a passage in one of Boniface's Epistles, cited by Lappenburgh, to have been regent during the minority of her eldest son. Osric was now of mature age, and she felt herself at liberty to retire from temporal cares. By some of our historians she is erroneously described as the widow of Egfrid; by others, of his elder brother Alefrid, who has been repeatedly confounded with Aldfrid. The relationship of Osric to Osred is mentioned only by Symeon, and seems to have been unknown to Malmsbury. After an uneventful reign of eleven years, the last male descendant of Ethelric died on the ninth of May, 729, leaving the kingdom to Ceolwulf, the brother of Coenred, and representative of the line of Occa.

To this prince, whom he calls "the most glorious Ceolwulf," Beda dedicated his Ecclesiastical History. The epithet, if applicable at all, must refer to the religious character, and not to the political or military renown of this king, whose reign was far from a brilliant one. In the third year of his reign, and the very year after this laudatory dedication was penned, he was for a time driven from the throne, and compelled to adopt the profession of a monk. He almost immediately recovered his kingdom, but only to resign it, and voluntarily to embrace the monastic profession five years afterwards. He retired to Lindisfarne, which he liberally endowed with the manor of Warkworth and other possessions.* Here he spent the last twenty-seven years of his life, and died A.D. 764. At the commencement of his reign he appointed to the see of York his kinsman Egbert, in whose favour the archiepiscopal dignity was restored, after an interval of a century since the flight of Paulinus, the only previous bishop of the diocese who had been so distinguished. To this prelate the Venerable Beda addressed a letter of advice and exhortation, from which have been already cited the particulars re-

* Besides Warkworth he granted to them Woodchester (Woodhorn?) Whittingham, Edlingham, and Eglingham. To his residence amongst them they were also indebted for the indulgence of drinking ale, in substitution for milk.

specting the corruption prevalent since the death of Aldfrid, and the establishment of monasteries in lay hands. Having urged the reformation of these and other abuses, he speaks confidently of the ready co-operation which may be expected from Ceolwulf, and of the zeal of that king for the interests of religion. Towards the close also of his Ecclesiastical History, he gives a much more hopeful view than previously of the prospects of Northumberland under his government.

“ In the province of the Northumbrians where King Ceolwulf reigns, four bishops now preside ; Wilfrid in the church of York, Ethelwald in that of Lindisfarne, Acca in that of Hexham, Pecthelm at Whitherne, which from the increased number of believers, has recently been made an episcopal see, and has him for its first bishop. The Picts also are in amity with the nation of the Angles, and rejoice in their union in peace and truth with the whole catholic church. The Scots in Britain, likewise, satisfied with their own territories, meditate no hostilities. Even the Britons, although for the most part they are inspired with an innate hatred of the Angles, and obstinately and wickedly oppose the customs of the whole catholic church as regards the observance of Easter, are unable to disturb the general tranquillity ; for though in part they are their own masters, they are elsewhere subject to the Angles. Such being the peaceable disposition of the times, many of the Northumbrians, as well the upper as the lower ranks, laying aside their weapons, are inclined to dedicate themselves and their children to the tonsure and monastic vows, rather than to the study of warlike arts.” “ How all this will end,” he adds, “ the next age will show.”

The historian himself survived but four years, dying two years previous to the abdication of Ceolwulf, on the 26th of May, 735, being Ascension Day.

EADBERT, OSULF.

Ceolwulf was succeeded by his cousin Eadbert, the brother of Archbishop Egbert, A.D. 738. He was the son of Eata, called by Nennius Eata *Glinmaur*, the son of Leodwald, and brother of Cuthwine. The first enterprise of the new king was directed against the Picts, from whose territory he was recalled by the intelligence that his own kingdom was invaded by Ethelbald King of Mercia. Of the cause of this hostile movement we are uninformed. Ceolred, the preceding King of Mercia, had indeed a dormant claim to the crown of Northumberland, as the son of Osthritha, the sister of Egfrid ; but Ceolred was the representative of a different line, a descendant not of Penda, but of his brother Eva. Whatever were the pretensions of the Mercian King, they were successfully opposed by

Eadbert, who, by his policy and valour, not only excited the admiration of all his insular neighbours, Angles, Picts, Scots, and Britons, but, if we are to believe Symeon, was held in the highest respect by Pepin King of France, who sought his friendship, and propitiated him with presents.

Baffled in his attempts on Northumberland, Ethelbald turned his arms against Cuthred King of Wessex, and afterwards against the Welsh, over whom, in conjunction with the same Cuthred, now his ally, he obtained a signal victory A.D. 743 or 744. In the meantime Eadbert was left for some years in the enjoyment of uninterrupted tranquillity; disturbed at last by domestic troubles, the particulars of which we very imperfectly collect from the confused and somewhat contradictory statements in the Church History of Symeon, and the Chronicle attributed to the same writer. Offa, the son of Aldfrid, a man of royal lineage, having sought refuge at the shrine of St. Cuthbert, at Lindisfarne, was pursued thither by his enemies, torn from the sanctuary, and slain A.D. 750. In connection with this transaction, Bishop Cynewulf incurred the displeasure of the King, but whether for receiving the fugitive, or for failing to afford him efficient protection, is uncertain. The former seems the more probable view, if Offa was the son of the former King Aldfrid, and probably a competitor for the crown, and this appears to be the meaning of the Chronicle, whilst the Church History conveys an opposite impression. Whatever was the nature of Cynewulf's offence, he was seized by the King, and imprisoned at Bamburgh, the affairs of his see being in the meantime entrusted to Frithubert Bishop of Hexham until the suspended prelate was restored to favour.

The same year Eadbert was engaged in a war with the Strathclyde Britons, from whom he took the district of Kyle, in Ayrshire. This was apparently only the recovery of a territory which had been taken from himself or his immediate predecessor, as Cunningham, which lies to the north of Kyle, is mentioned by Beda as within the limits of Northumberland.

In 756, in alliance with his former antagonists the Picts, under their King Ungus, he besieged the citadel of Alelyde, and reduced it to submission. Ten days afterwards, however, the invading army was almost totally destroyed "between Ouoma and Niwenbireg," on the 10th of August. This reverse had probably some influence in determining him to abandon the cares and turmoils of his station, and to seek for the repose which his predecessor had found in a cloister. Two years afterwards he carried this resolution into effect, regardless of the en-

treaties of the neighbouring sovereigns, who, in order to induce him to forego his purpose, are said to have proposed that each of them should give up a portion of their own territory to enlarge a kingdom already too extensive for the energies of an old man weighed down by the cares of royalty. He passed the remainder of his life in the monastery at York, surviving his abdication ten years, and was buried in the porch of the cathedral by the side of his brother Archbishop Egbert, who died three years before him.

He left his kingdom to his son Osulf, an unfortunate prince, who was murdered by the members of his own household, after a reign of a single year, at a place called Mickle Wongtune, on the 24th of July, 759.

MOLL-ETHELWOLD, ALCRED.

The successor of Osulf was Ethelwold, surnamed Moll. Hitherto, since the re-establishment of the kingdom of Northumberland by Oswald, all the kings had been of the race of Ida; but as we have no notice of the genealogy of this king, it is probable that he was not of royal extraction. His wife's name was Etheldrytha, to whom he was married at Catterick in the third year of his reign, but his son Ethelred must have been the issue of a previous marriage. About the same time a rebellion broke out, the leader of which, Oswine, is described by Huntingdon as the most powerful of the nobility. An engagement took place at Eildon, near Melrose, which was continued with great obstinancy for three days, and terminated at last in the defeat and death of Oswine. A new opponent, however, sprung up, with far superior pretensions. This was Alcred, who traced his descent from Ida, not through the illegitimate branch of Occa, but as the representative of Etheric, one of the six sons of the founder of the kingdom who were born in wedlock. Ethelwold is recorded to have "lost his kingdom" at Pincaheal, or Wincaheal, an ambiguous phrase, which has occasioned a difference of opinion, whether he was vanquished in battle or deposed by a synod. The latter view originates in the fact of a synod or council being held in this place, and the assumed probability that it was a usual locality for such assemblies. Such an interpretation, however, seems inconsistent with the statement of Huntingdon, that his life and reign were terminated together.

Alcred reigned eight years, from 766 to 774. In 769 he married Osgearn, the daughter of Eadbert, and sister of Osulf. The following year was disturbed

by rebellion and tumult, in which the royal residence of Catterick was burnt. The author of this outrage is described in Symeon's Chronicle as "Earnred the Tyrant," and he is said "by the judgment of God to have miserably perished by fire the same year." In 774 we read of the death of a Northumbrian Duke or Ealderman, called Eadulf, and at the same time of the deposition of Alcred, who, "deserted by the royal family and the nobility, by the general consent of all was driven into exile. First he retired to Bamburgh, then to Kenneth King of the Picts, with few companions of his exile." Such is the account of Symeon; the Saxon Chronicle says "at Easter-tide, this year, the Northumbrians drove their King, Alcred, from York, and took Ethelred the son of Moll to be their lord."

ETHELRED, ALFWOLD, OSRED, ETHELRED RESTORED.

Ethelred was destined to experience even greater vicissitudes of fortune than any of his predecessors. In the fourth year of his reign a tragedy was perpetrated, the particulars of which are thus given by Huntingdon and Wendover, the result being the temporary expulsion of the King.—

"Ethelbald and Herebert, officers of the king, rebelling against their master, slew Aldulf the son of Bosa, the general of the royal army, in a battle at Conniscliffe; afterwards they slew Cynewulf and Egga, also royal officers, in a great battle at Halathyrn: King Ethelred deprived at once of his officers and his hopes, fled before the rebels, who raised Alfwold to the throne."

The account in the Saxon Chronicle is substantially consistent with the above, but more brief; whilst Symeon represents the circumstances under quite a different aspect. Ethelbald and Herebert are said to have acted under the King's orders, instead of being in rebellion against him. He also speaks of the death of the three officers as happening on the same day, September 29th, 778, and dates the expulsion of Ethelred in the following year.

Alfwold was the son of Osulf, and grandson of Eadbert, and is emphatically characterised by Symeon as a pious and upright king. The change of rulers, however, effected no alteration in the barbarous disposition of the leaders of the contending parties. "In 780, the generals Osbald and Athelheard, having assembled an army, burned Bearn the Ealderman in his own house at Silton." Huntingdon calls Bearn the King's justiciary, and attributes this infliction of summary vengeance to his undue severity. These atrocities furnish a melancholy

comment on the words with which the venerable Beda qualified his anticipations of social improvement.—“How all this will end, the next age will show.” Eight years later, Alfwold himself fell a victim to this spirit of reckless turbulence, being slain at a place called Scytlescester, near “the Wall”, by his general, Siga. Siga himself avenged his own crime by suicide, A.D. 793, and was buried at Lindisfarne. “On the spot where the murder was committed, a marvellous light is reported to have been seen by many, the strangeness of which prodigy induced the faithful to build a church there to the honor of God, St. Cuthbert, and St. Oswald.” The vacant throne was occupied by the youthful Osred, who had a double claim as the son of Alcred and the nephew of Alfwold; but all respect for legitimate succession had been lost in the recent anarchy, and a powerful party still adhered to the banished Ethelred. Scarcely had a year elapsed, when the new king, betrayed by his own adherents, was driven unwillingly into a monastery, and compelled to assume the cowl at York. Escaping from thence, he took refuge in the Isle of Man; but was lured from his retreat by the oaths and protestations of his former friends, who again deserted him in his necessity. Left thus to the mercy of his rival, he was slain at Aynburgh, and his body was taken to Tynemouth for burial. “Truly it is said,” observes Huntingdon, “‘How blind to the future is the mind of man.’” When the young Osred, with a light step and merry heart, ascended the throne, he little thought that within two years he should vacate the royal seat, and in four years should lose his life.” His two cousins, Alf and Alfwine, the sons of Alfwold, had previously met a similar fate at the hands of the usurper. Enticed from the sanctuary at York by falacious promises of security and protection, they were removed to a distance, and murdered at Windermere.

Of all the descendants of Ida, but one is known to have been in existence at this time, Alcmund, the brother of the late king, and he had been carried for safety beyond the limits of the realm. No one was at hand to dispute the kingdom with Ethelred, whose title was superior or even equal to his own; and so firmly did his power appear to be established, that Offa, the powerful King of Mercia, did not hesitate to bestow upon him his daughter Elfreda. The marriage was celebrated at Catterick, which appears at this time to have been the principal royal residence.^f With a view to this alliance, Huntingdon asserts that the King

^f Besides the capitals of Bernicia and Deira at Bamburgh and York, the Northumbrian kings had, as we have seen, as early as the reign of Edwine, a country residence in each province, at Yeavinging

put away a former wife, and Wendover goes so far as to state that his violent death, which did not take place till five years afterwards, was owing to the indignation of his people at this conduct. Symeon is silent on the subject, and the Saxon Chronicle merely says that he took a *new* wife, an expression which does not necessarily imply that he repudiated an old one, although it is probably the sole foundation for the statements of Huntingdon and Wendover to that effect. Symeon, indeed, designates him "this most impious King," but the perjuries and murders of which he was guilty abundantly justify this epithet, without the addition of bigamy to his offences.

Of the particulars of his fate we only know that he perished at Corbridge, by a conspiracy of his nobles, A.D. 795, the actual perpetrator of the deed being Aldred, who perished four years afterwards by the hand of Thorthmund, a retainer of the deceased king, who maintained his fidelity to an unworthy master.

OSBALD, HEARDULF, ALFWOLD.

In the absence of any legitimate claimant, the vacant throne was seized by Osbald, an officer of the court. Unable, however, to conciliate the support of his former equals, who looked on his elevation with a jealous eye, he resigned the empty title within a month of its assumption, and retired to Lindisfarne, from whence he escaped by sea, and took refuge at the Pictish capital, the ordinary asylum of fugitive princes. Here he did not long remain, but adopting the monastic profession, he died at York three years afterwards, having attained the rank of abbot.

A general feeling now manifested itself in favour of Heardulf, a man of great eminence, who enjoyed a high official position under Ethelred. Having incurred the displeasure of the tyrant, he was condemned to death, and was preserved under circumstances so extraordinary as to induce the belief in miraculous interposition in his favour. The executioner had performed his office, and his body was left apparently lifeless before the gates of the monastery of Ripon. From hence it was conveyed into the abbey church amidst the solemn chanting of the

on the Glen, and at Tanfield on the Swale. The former had, we know, been removed to Milfield, a more sheltered situation on the same river; and it is probable that Catterick had been substituted in the same way for Tanfield, as both places stand on the Swale within a few miles of each other. Ad-Murum, on the Tyne, is mentioned as another royal villa in the reign of King Oswi.

monks, and decently laid out before they retired to rest. In the morning they were filled with grateful enthusiasm when they found the supposed martyr to a tyrannical decree restored to life and health. Henceforward he was regarded as under the immediate protection of Heaven, and the proposal of raising him to an earthly throne was received with general favour.

A year elapsed between the death of Ethelred and the coronation of Heardulf, which was solemnized at York by Archbishop Eanbald, assisted by the Bishops of Lindisfarne, Hexham, and Whitherne, on the 25th of June, 796. The circumstances of his election, his high character, and the superstitious veneration with which he was regarded by the multitude, all promised a tranquil reign; but the spirit of turbulence and insubordination was too deeply rooted in the nobility for them long to acquiesce in the supremacy of any sovereign, although he owed his elevation to their own choice.

The same party who had plotted the destruction of Ethelred now sought to dispossess Heardulf of the crown, but, in this case, they adopted the bolder course of open rebellion instead of secret assassination. Alric, the son of Herebert, was the principal conspirator, and with him was joined Wada, a Duke or Ealderman, who commanded the royal army in Lancashire. The other malcontents repaired to his camp, and raised the standard of revolt at Whalley. The energy of the King defeated their measures; assembling a large force, he engaged and vanquished the rebels. The loss was heavy on both sides, but especially on that of the insurgents. Alric was slain, and Wada sought safety in flight. The latter is probably the same as Eda, Duke of the Northumbrians, who retired to a monastery under the assumed name of Edwine, and died an abbot A.D. 801.

In the same year in which the battle of Whalley was fought, a synod was held at Pincanheale, under the presidency of Archbishop Eanbald, at which many salutary regulations were made, as well relating to ecclesiastical affairs, as for the reformation of the civil government. The authority of the crown and the wisdom of councils were, however, alike unavailing to correct the evil passions of the nobility and people, or to arrest the decay of the kingdom. The family of Ethelred, for a while thrown into the shade by his disgraceful and disastrous end, again became formidable, and one of them, called, like the founder of his house, Moll, threatened the security of the throne. In destroying his own enemies at Whalley, the King had removed those who were also most opposed to his present rival. The danger could only be averted by further bloodshed, and Moll was despatched "by the earnest command of Heardulf."

Again fresh apprehensions were occasioned by the return from banishment of Alcmund, the son of Alcred, and brother of Osred, the legitimate heir to the crown. The jealous King had employed spies to watch his movements. By these he was surprised and taken, and his death immediately followed. During his residence in the land of the Picts, whither he had accompanied his father on his expulsion from the throne, he had acquired so high a reputation for sanctity, that after his violent death he was canonized as a saint, and an annual commemoration of his virtues appointed for the 19th of March.

Having thus defeated three attempts to deprive him of the throne, Heardulf was left for a time without a competitor, and availed himself of the opportunity to turn his arms against Kenulf King of Mercia, whom he had found ever ready to give countenance and support to the various conspiracies against his government and life. A terrible struggle impended, but was averted by the mediation of the fathers of the church, by whose interposition a peace was concluded, and the agitated kingdom enjoyed five years of repose. At the end of that period a more fortunate competitor prevailed, and Heardulf was for a while driven from the throne. His successful opponent was Alfwold, whose name seems to imply a connection with the ancient royal race, probably a son of the murdered Alcmund.

Although obliged to bow to a storm which he could not resist, Heardulf did not resign himself to the retirement of a private station, but concerted measures for the recovery of the throne. This he effected, not by arms, but by diplomacy. Visiting the courts of Charlemagne and of Pope Leo, he secured the powerful assistance of the Emperor, and the sympathy of the sovereign Pontiff. By their co-operation his authority was re-established, after an interval of two years.⁵ Of the fate of Alfwold we have no particulars. Heardulf did not long survive, but had the felicity of transmitting his power to his son Eanred, and of founding a new dynasty of sufficient stability to deserve the name and reputation of a royal race, in contradistinction to other pretenders to the dignity.

During the reign of Heardulf, the province of Galloway, of which for some time the kings of Northumberland had a very precarious hold, appears to have been

⁵ These curious particulars, unnoticed by our own historians, are derived from the contemporary memoirs of Charlemagne, by his secretary Eginhard. The following corroborative notices are from the *Chronicon Bononiense*, published by the Caxton Society:—

“A.D. 808. Harulfus Rex Nordanhumbroborum, patriâ pulsus ad regem venit.”

“A.D. 809. Harulfus Rex Nordanhumbroborum in regnum suum reductus est per legatos Imperatoris.”

severed from their dominions. A bishoprick had been established in this district, as we have seen, in the time of Beda; and six bishops in succession had exercised their episcopal functions at Whithern, of whom the last, Baldulf, was consecrated in 791. This prelate assisted at the coronation of Heardulf in 796, after which his name does not again occur. When we next hear of Galloway it was no longer a Northumbrian province, but was emphatically distinguished "as the land of the Picts." Its occupation by this people was no doubt the cause of the termination of the line of Saxon prelates. The bulk of the population of Galloway was undoubtedly British, and we have no reason to suppose that they would offer a very determined opposition to the Picts, a congenerous race, in favour of their Anglo-Saxon conquerors, when the latter were disabled by internal dissensions from maintaining their supremacy. In the case of a people too weak to assert their own independence, a revolution involved only a change of masters, and seems, in this case, to have been effected without any violent struggle. The details, at all events, have escaped the notice of historians.

EANRED.

Eanred ascended the throne A.D. 810, and his reign extended over more than thirty years, during which the West-Saxon Egbert acquired that pre dominance which has secured to him from posterity the title of the first monarch of all England. Eanred had no means of offering an adequate opposition in the field, but he had the good sense to avert, by timely concessions, the evils which he could not have failed to bring upon his subjects by an ill-judged and ineffectual contest. Wendover indeed says that "Egbert having possessed himself of all the southern kingdoms of England, led a mighty army into Northumberland, committing terrible ravages in that province, and putting King Eanred under tribute"; but this is contrary to the testimony of all our earlier historians. The Saxon Chronicle thus records the circumstances:—"In the year 827, King Egbert conquered the kingdom of the Mercians, and all that was south of the Humber; and he led an army to Dore against the Northumbrians, and they offered him obedience and allegiance, and with that they separated." Malmsbury is still more explicit as to the submission being made in anticipation, not in consequence, of a devastating invasion. "In the same year the Northumbrians perceiving that themselves only remained, and were a conspicuous object, and

fearing lest Egbert should pour out his long cherished anger upon them, at last, though late, gave hostages, and submitted to his power." The place of meeting, where this submission and allegiance were tendered, has generally been referred to Dore, near Dronfield, in Derbyshire, within the limits of Mercia; but the *Scala-Chronicon* gives a different reading, substituting for "Dore," the water of "Done," that is the river Don, which is crossed at Doncaster by the great road leading from the South into Northumberland, a few miles within the boundary of that kingdom. This is the one act which is recorded of the long reign of Eanred, which appears to have been tranquil rather than glorious.

ETHELRED, REDWULF, OSBERT, ELLA.

Ethelred succeeded his father Eanred A.D. 840, but was driven from his throne four years after, by Redwulf. The latter is unnoticed by any of our historians except Wendover and his copiest Matthew of Westminster, but his occupation of the throne is placed beyond doubt by the existence of his coins, many of which have been found. Of his lineage and pretensions we know nothing.

Hardly was he seated on the throne, when he was called upon to resist an invasion of the Danes, in a battle with whom, at a place called Aluthelia, he was slain, with his general, Alfred, and the greater part of his forces, and the exiled Ethelred was restored. The latter terminated his unimportant reign in 848, being also slain in battle. He was succeeded by Osbert, a member of the royal family, but whether a son or a brother of his predecessor is uncertain. After reigning fourteen years, he was driven from the throne, and Ella substituted for him. Osbert is always spoken of as a legitimate king, whilst Ella is denounced as a usurper, and described by Asser and in the Saxon Chronicle as not of the royal race. In the curious ancient tract called the *History of St. Cuthbert*, which is more properly a record of the possessions of his church, Osbert and Ella are spoken of as brothers; but this must either be understood as brother-kings or as brothers in iniquity, as they are mentioned together in connection with acts of sacrilegious spoliation. Five years after Osbert's expulsion, the whole kingdom of Northumberland was panic-stricken by another Danish invasion. Osbert had raised an army to re-assert his right to the crown, whilst Ella had levied all his forces to oppose him. Alarmed at the common danger they mutually agreed to postpone the settlement of their respective claims, and to unite their resources for the protec-

tion of their common country. The Danes were assembled in the neighbourhood of York, whither the confederate kings hastened to attack them. The enemy retired within the city, but the Northumbrians threw down the walls by a fierce assault, and eagerly pursued them into the interior. Here a confused conflict took place, in which those who had first possession, and an opportunity of choosing the positions for resistance, had decidedly the advantage. Both kings were slain, with eight of the principal nobility, and an immense multitude of inferior rank. The victorious army, issuing from their stronghold, overran without opposition the whole country northward to the Tyne, subverting the established government, and ordering every thing according to their own pleasure.

Thus perished the Anglo-Saxon dynasty in Northumberland, three hundred and twenty years after the establishment of the kingdom of Ida, and upwards of four hundred years after the first settlement under Oetha and Ebissa. Henceforth we meet with, not only a Danish government, but to a great extent a Danish people; for these bold adventurers colonized as well as conquered, re-enacting in Northumberland the part which had been played by their Anglo-Saxon predecessors throughout England. It is true that in a corner of Northumberland a succession of two or three petty Saxon princes for a while held the empty title of royalty, under the dominating superiority of their Danish masters; but with the slaughter of Osbert and Ella at York, the Anglo-Saxon sway was virtually extinguished A.D. 867.

Two tables are appended to this chapter, in order to render as clear as possible the somewhat intricate succession of the Northumbrian kings. The first shews the regnal series from Ethelric, the son of Ida, to his last legitimate descendant, Ecgfrid: the second continues it from the death of Ecgfrid to the slaughter of Osbert and Ella, and the subversion of the government by the Danes.

The reigns of Ida, and his immediate successors, who held Bernicia, whilst Alla ruled in Deira, have been already presented in a tabular form; and a copy has been inserted of the apocryphal list of Saxon kings, who are said to have reigned in Northumberland before Ida, commencing with Hying.^b It may be remarked here that in one of the copies of the Saxon Chronicle, the name of Hying or Hering occurs, not as a remote predecessor of Ida, but as the son of one of his successors, and the contemporary of his grandson, Ethelfrid. Hying,

^b See pages 63, 64.

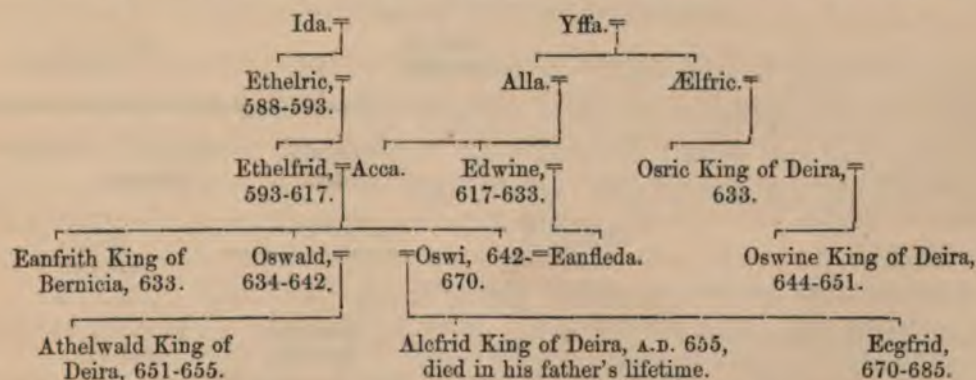
the son of Husa, we are told, brought the army of Aidan, King of Scots, into this kingdom, in that memorable invasion which terminated in his defeat at Dauston.¹ The other names seem to have been taken at random from the genealogy of the Kentish and Bernician kings. From the former are introduced Withgils and Horsa, the father and brother of Hengist, and Emering or Eormering; from the latter Eppa, Uppa, and Barnac, corruptions of Essa, Eoppa, and Benoc. The only other name is Wodna or Woden, which figures in every royal pedigree of the Anglo-Saxon and other Northern races, but is here introduced somewhat out of place, a generation lower than Hyring.

¹ From this passage we may infer that besides their conflicts with the Britons, the Northumbrian Angles were engaged in civil wars amongst themselves. Husa was probably not of the race of Ida, and hence excluded from the list of kings furnished by Florence of Worcester. On his death or expulsion, his son invoked foreign aid against the dominant family and the inroad and defeat of Aidan were the results.

TABLE I.

KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

From the union of the two provinces of Bernicia and Deira, under Ethelric, to the death of Ecgfrid, the last legitimate descendent of that prince, showing the genealogy of each from Ida or Yffa.

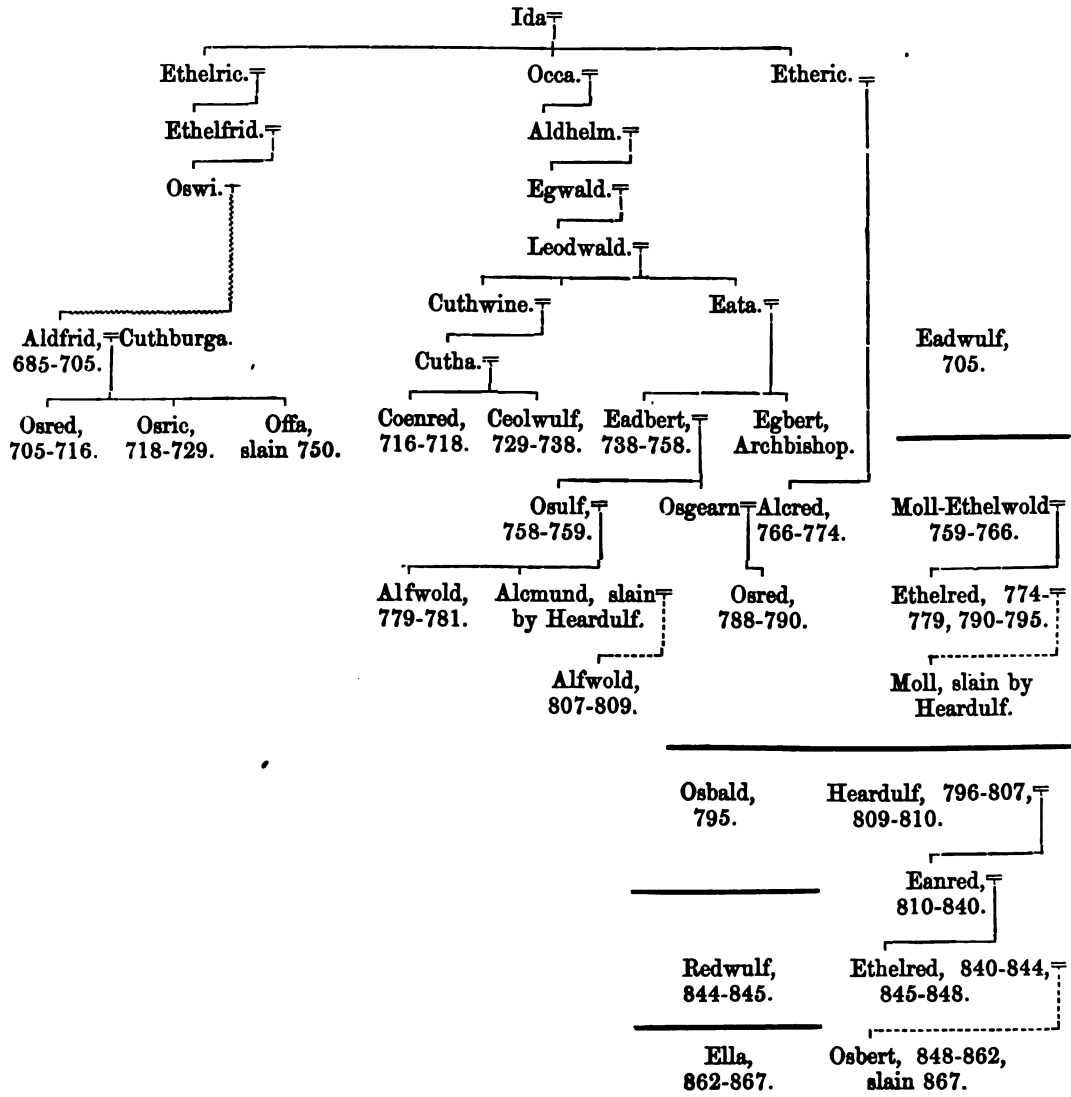


The above is not intended as a complete genealogy of the descendants of Ethelric or of Edwine, during the period to which it refers, but only of those who attained the crown, and their direct ancestors. Those who were kings of Bernicia or Deira only, are so stated. The others, which have dates after their names, were kings of both provinces during the periods so indicated. Oswi is inserted as King of Northumberland and not merely of Bernicia, because the contemporary kings of Deira appear to have been subordinate to him, although not always alive to their obligations.

TABLE II.

KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

From the death of Ecgfrid to the Danish Conquest, shewing the genealogy of such as were descended from Ida.



CHAPTER IV.
DANISH PERIOD.

THE earliest invasion of England by a Danish force is assigned by our annalists to the year 787, and is thus described by Ethelward, who, on this occasion, supplies, in his own peculiar style, several particulars which are omitted by other historians :—

“ During the reign of the most pious Byrhtic, king of the West Saxons, the people spreading abroad in innocency, gave their labour in calm tranquillity to cultivate the furrows of their neglected fields ; and the burden-bearing oxen submitted their necks to the yoke with pleasure. A sudden invasion of the Danes took place, with a small fleet of only three ships ; this was their first descent. When the news arrived, the King’s-reeve happened to be staying at Dorchester. He immediately mounted his horse and rode to the port with only a few attendants, supposing the strangers to be traders and not plunderers : then issuing his commands, he ordered them to be taken to the king’s town ; but they slew both himself and his followers ; and the reeve’s name was Beaduheard.”

The Saxon Chronicle speaks of the arrival of “ three ships of the Northmen from Hæretha-land,” and describes the slaughter of the reeve and his men, but without mentioning his name or the locality of the transaction, further than that it occurred within the territory of the West Saxon King. Gaimar calls the invaders Danes, “ from the country of Gwenelinge ” or “ Wellinge.”

“ After the death of the reeve,” he says, “ they overran the land, and did much evil in the country, although they had only three ships. Then returning home, they assembled their friends, and endeavoured to persuade them to invade Britain and take it from the English, for, said they, it is our rightful heritage, which many of our progenitors have enjoyed, who came before the Angles. We know that a Danish king, born in Denmark, held the kingdom before any Saxon inhabited it ; so did Ailbrith and Haveloc, and others who might be named.”

The names of these fictitious princes are derived from the romance of "Haveloc the Dane," which Gaimar had previously incorporated as genuine history in his metrical annals. The particulars contained in it are of no historical value, and probably the romance itself is not much older than the time of Gaimar, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century; but the story is sufficiently curious to justify the insertion of a brief abstract.

The legend, divested of its preternatural embellishments, runs thus:—In the days of Constantine, the nephew of King Arthur, there reigned in Norfolk a certain king, of great influence and wealth, by name Adelbrit; by birth a Dane. In the land of his nativity he possessed four rich counties: in Britain, besides Norfolk, he held Colchester and the adjacent country by right of conquest. His position was further strengthened by an alliance with Edelsi, the British King of Lindsea, whose sister, Orwaine, he had married. His prosperity was uninterrupted, till at length he was seized by a fatal illness, which put a period to his existence at his capital at Thetford. From thence his remains were conveyed to Colchester for interment.

He left an only daughter, Argentille, the rightful heiress of all his possessions. This young maiden was carried by her mother into Lindsea, and committed to the guardianship of her uncle, King Edelsi. The Queen herself, bowed down by her sudden affliction, lived barely long enough to perform this duty to her daughter, and breathed her last twenty days after the death of her husband. Argentille had no relative on her father's side to look after her interest, and was thus entirely in the power of her uncle; who, violating the sacred trust reposed in him, seized on her paternal heritage. Fearing that she might form an alliance with some one powerful enough to assert her rights, he determined to marry her to a menial in his own household. The husband, whose hand he compelled her to accept, was called Cuheran, and discharged the humble duties of cook; but even in that servile position had acquired a distinguished reputation. Argentille found him, notwithstanding the baseness of his origin, the reputed son of an old fisherman and salt merchant, Grim of Grimsby, to be possessed of many amiable and agreeable qualities; and when the reserve and awe with which he at first regarded her were subdued, by somewhat forward advances on her part, the apparently ill-assorted union was productive of mutual affection and regard.

The princess, however, urged him to abandon his menial position at court, and to settle amongst his humble but independent relatives at Grimsby. Grim was

himself dead, but Cuheran found Kelloc, the only daughter of the old man, married to a person who, like her father, followed his vocation on the deep as a fisherman. Claiming her as his sister, Cuheran presented her to his wife, for whom, as well as himself, he begged her hospitality, and that of her husband. This was readily accorded, but the plea of relationship was disavowed, and the supposed fisherman's son was surprised by the intelligence that he was the representative of a royal race. "Your father," he was told, "was a great king; he had Denmark by inheritance, as his father and his forefathers had; his name was Gunter, and he married Alvive, the daughter of King Gaifer."

Gunter, it appears, had had the temerity to refuse the payment of tribute demanded by King Arthur, and expiated the offence with his life. His widow, Queen Alvive, fled by sea, with her infant son, in the vessel of Grim the fisherman, whose daughter Kelloc, the narrator of the tale, had been her confidential attendant. On the voyage they were taken by pirates, and none escaped with their lives but Grim, his daughter, and two sons, and prince Haveloc, the son of Gunter and Alvive, who was brought up by the fisherman as his own child under the name of Cuheran. The remainder of the story is soon told. By the aid of an aged nobleman, Sigar, who had held a high position at his father's court, Haveloc, having passed over into Denmark, was enabled to raise a large army, defeat Edulf who had usurped the crown, and to establish himself on the throne of his ancestors. Afterwards, collecting a great fleet, he sailed for England, and demanded of King Edelsi his wife's inheritance. This the British king would not yield without a struggle, and a desperate engagement took place, which lasted from morning till night without any decided advantage to either party. On the following day, however, the nobles of Edelsi's host refused to renew the contest, and the usurper was compelled to resign the kingdom to Argentille, who, on her uncle's death, five days afterwards, succeeded as his heiress to Lindsea also.

Reverting from this episode, to the Danish invasion in the latter part of the eighth century, we find that for six years after the death of Beaduheard no further attempts were made by these barbarians on the coast of Britain; but at the end of that period they recommenced their attacks on a more formidable scale, and the kingdom of Northumberland was now the scene of their operations. The terror which they inspired may be collected from the narrative of the Saxon Chronicle, the compiler of which has thought it necessary to herald their approach with omens and prodigies.

“In the year 793 dire forewarnings came over the land of the Northumbrians, and miserably terrified the people; these were excessive whirlwinds and lightnings: and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air. A great famine soon followed these tokens; and a little after that, on the 6th of the Ides of January, the ravaging of heathen men lamentably destroyed God’s church of Lindisfarne.”

Symeon adds—

“They trampled on the sanctuary with polluted feet; they cast down the altars, and carried off the treasures of the holy church. Of the brethren, some they slaughtered; others they carried off in chains; very many with ignominy they cast forth naked; and many they drowned in the sea.”

The amount of booty tempted them to a repetition of this adventure. The following year they entered the Tyne and sailed up to Jarrow; but here they were not permitted to perpetrate their work of murder and sacrilege without resistance. Their leader was slain, and his band was driven back to their ships. A storm arose as they were leaving the port, the vessels were stranded, and such of the crews as reached the shore were despatched without mercy by the exasperated inhabitants, who gave thanks to St. Cuthbert for a retribution which they attributed to his protecting influence. The locality of this occurrence has been by many of our historians assigned to Wearmouth, the twin monastery, founded, like Jarrow, by Benedict Biscop, on land furnished by the liberality of King Egfrid.

The Saxon Chronicle describes it as “King Egfrid’s monastery at the mouth of the Don,” and Symeon as “the monastery at the mouth of the Don in King Egfrid’s port, that is Jarrow.” The Don has been unaccountably confounded with the Wear, to which the name has infinitely less resemblance than to the Tyne on which Jarrow is situated. The true reference, however, is neither to the Tyne nor the Wear, but to the little river Don, which discharges itself into the Tyne immediately contiguous to the site of the monastery, where it forms an estuary of no inconsiderable extent, and formerly of much greater depth than at present. On this subject the testimony of Leland is particularly valuable, who says “*Portus Egfridi* is a tideway (sinus) which penetrates inland from the Tyne to Jarrow, and did penetrate inland to Bilton (Hilton), nearly three miles above Jarrow, to which vessels formerly penetrated. A little stream enters this tideway.” Gaimar, deceived by the name of the river Don, supposes

the Danish fleet to have entered the Humber, and to have sailed up to the confluence of the Yorkshire Don. In his account of the devastations of the former year he also fixes on the Humber as the site, confounding Lindisfarne with Lindsea.

The repulse of the Danes at Jarrow seems to have had a salutary effect in checking their incursions, of which we hear nothing for nearly forty years, when they again appear in the south of England. In the interval from 833 to 843 frequent attacks are recorded on the banks of the Thames, on the south coast, and also on the east coast as far north as Lindsea; but none in Northumberland. In 844 that incursion took place in which King Redwulf perished, as has been already related. Again, in 867, an invasion on a much larger scale resulted in the deaths of the two Northumbrian kings, Osbert and Ella, and the utter disruption of the Anglo-Saxon government in the North. It is very remarkable, that this well organized expedition did not sail direct for Northumberland, but landed in the first instance in East Anglia, where they spent the winter, not in marauding forays in the neighbourhood of their encampment, but in systematic preparation for the ensuing campaign. For the first time we see a deliberate purpose of territorial conquest, to effect which strenuous endeavours were made to procure horses and to equip a large body of cavalry. "A great heathen army," says the Saxon Chronicle, "came to England, and took up their winter quarters amongst the East Angles; and there they were *horsed*, and the East Angles made peace with them." Gaimar states the number of the invaders to have been more than twenty thousand. The whole force of horse and foot were embarked at Grimsby in two divisions, one of which was conveyed by water to York, the other merely crossed the Humber, and then proceeded by land. The same authority attributes this invasion to the revenge of a powerful nobleman called Buern the Buzecarle, whose wife had been violated during his absence at sea by King Osbert. By the aid of his friends, Buern is said to have expelled Osbert, and raised Ella, who is described as a knight, to the throne. Having thus avenged himself for the injury he had sustained, the motive is not very clear which induced him to invite the Danes in opposition not merely to Osbert, but to Ella, unless, indeed, he apprehended a compromise between the two rival pretenders to the crown. Such a compromise did actually take place, but then it was brought about by Buern's own act, being consequent on the Danish invasion, the success of which was looked upon with equal apprehension by both the competitors. Gaimar's account of the

catastrophe of the two kings also differs from that given by our other historians, who describe them as having both fallen in an attack made simultaneously on the Danes with their united forces. Gaimar, on the contrary, represents Ella as engaged in a hunting party in the forest, when he was informed of the death of Osbert. In the generally received account the Danes appear to have possessed themselves of York, without any opposition from either of the kings, who are said to have marched together to the city after it was in the possession of the enemy. Gaimar's statement seems more probable, that the city was originally garrisoned by the troops of Osbert, but lost by his imbecility; and that Ella perished in an attempt to recapture it. Orrum, a nephew of Ella, was slain at the commencement of the engagement, after setting an example of desperate valour, which, if his life had been spared, might have turned the fortune of the day. After the death of Orrum, Ella lost all self-command, and seemed to court his fate. A cross was erected to mark the spot where he fell, and the place was called Ellacross. Other authorities ascribe the outrage which occasioned the invitation of the Danes to Ella, and not to Osbert, and designate the injured husband, "Earnulf the Seafarer," instead of "Buern the Buss-carle." *Buse-carle* and *Seafarer* are indeed almost synonymous terms. Fishing vessels are to this day called "busses," and the word is even rendered classical by the authority of Johnson, who derives it from a German root. Buss-carle may thus be rendered ship-owner, or ship-master. The tale of Earnulf and his wrongs is printed at length in the *Monumenta Historica* of Mr. Petrie, from a manuscript in the library of C. C. College, Cambridge; an abstract of the same story is also inserted in *Leland's Collectanea* (vol. iii., p. 366). The anonymous author confounds the offending party with Ælla or Alla, the first king of Deira, and represents the Saxons, no less than the Danes, as heathens at the period to which his narrative refers.

Without attempting to determine the question, whether the weight of evidence presses more strongly against Osbert or against Ella, as the immediate cause of the disasters of their country, we must turn our attention to circumstances of a totally different character, from which the most painstaking historian of this period, Mr. Sharon Turner, is disposed to deduce the true motives of the leaders of this invasion, rather than ascribe it to be the influence either of Buern or Earnulf. During the first half of the ninth century flourished a Danish chieftain, Regnar Lodbrog, whose marauding exploits, as well in the Baltic as on the coasts of France and Britain, have furnished the theme of many a northern saga.

Amongst other adventures, he boasted of an invasion of Northumberland, in which the Anglo-Saxon leader, Walthiof, fell. This may be but another version of the death of Redwulf in 844, of which Regnar was not improbably the author, for we know that about this period some of his most daring actions were performed. The following year he sailed up the Seine, and plundered Rouen and Paris. Northumberland, which had been the scene of his former triumph, was destined to witness his death, by a cruel and lingering process. Having built two ships of unusual magnitude, he coasted along the shores of Scotland, intending to make England the object of his attack. A storm, however, having arisen, his large vessels became unmanageable in the hands of crews who had only been accustomed to the navigation of petty barks. His little band was cast on shore without the means of retreat. Ella was then on the Northumbrian throne, which fixes the date between the years 862 and 867. Informed that the formidable enemy whose deeds had spread terror through the country was in his power, Ella hastened to meet him with an overpowering force. Having defeated and taken him after a desperate resistance, the English king cast him into a dungeon filled with venomous snakes, from the wounds inflicted by which he perished; not, however, if we are to believe the traditions of his countrymen, until he had immortalized the incidents of his long career in a poem, written amidst the protracted agonies of his barbarous punishment. This poem, by some attributed to his wife, is still extant, and is well worthy of preservation for its intrinsic merits as a composition, although we may refuse implicit credit to its alleged authorship. By whomsoever written, it is probably nearly co-eval with the events which it records, and there is no reason to doubt that the narrative, although in a poetic form, is, in its chief particulars, worthy of credit. It is known to the public by more than one version; and the portions of it which especially refer to this country, have been extracted by Mr. Turner, and inserted in his history.

The leaders of the Danish forces which landed in East Anglia in 866, and overran Northumberland the following year, were Ingwar and Ubba, and these we learn from Northern authorities, as well as some of our own historians, were the sons of Regnar Lodbrog, animated by a desire to avenge their father's death. If this were so, we need seek no further for the motives of this invasion, so systematically planned and so successfully carried out. Buern or Earnulf may have been urged by the injuries they had sustained to aid the enemies of their country against the perpetrator of their individual wrongs; but the sons of Regnar had a

feud of their own, which imperatively called them to the shores of England, to take what in their eyes was a sacred and righteous vengeance. Nor would that vengeance have been complete, if Ella had been allowed to die in torments less excruciating than those to which he had subjected his victim. The tortures described by the Danish annalists as inflicted upon Ella are truly horrible. Tearing his ribs asunder, they folded them backwards till, in the phraseology of the narrators, he presented the appearance of a spread eagle, and then the raw and reeking flesh was sprinkled over with salt, to increase the intensity of the inflammation. Happy indeed was his lot, if we may believe our native historians, that he fell on the field of battle, and thus escaped the horrible retribution which, if it was not inflicted, was doubtless prepared for him.

All Northumberland south of the Tyne was given up to the depredations of the invading host, who ravaged and plundered at pleasure, without giving the unfortunate natives the protection which a regular government, however arbitrary and tyrannical, must have offered. Beyond the Tyne, they allowed Egbert, an Anglo-Saxon, to assume the crown, and to direct the executive machinery, under the paramount authority of the conquerors. The following year, the greater part of the Pagan army was withdrawn from Northumberland into Mercia, and their head-quarters established at Nottingham. In 869 they returned to York, and remained there an entire year; at the expiration of which they repaired to East Anglia. Having exhausted the resources of one district, their plan was to remove for subsistence to another, but their established rendezvous seems to have been at York, to which they repeatedly returned, and where, it is probable, they always maintained a garrison. During their residence in East Anglia, they had several encounters with the inhabitants, in one of which King Edmund was slain. Falling in battle with a Pagan force, his memory was revered, as of a saint and martyr.

This occupation of East Anglia in 870 is described by Wendover as the result of a fresh invasion under Inguar and Ubba, whom he supposes to have arrived in England at this period. This error seems to have originated in a misunderstanding of the Saxon Chronicle, which, in this year, for the first time, speaks of these chieftains by name, referring to them, however, not as recently arrived, but as the generals of an army which had been several years on the island. It would hardly have been necessary to have noticed this trifling discrepancy, except in connection with a legend related by Wendover, which affords a totally different version of the

story of Regnar Lodbrog, and connects his death with East Anglia instead of Northumberland, and makes Edmund, not Ella, the object of his son's revenge. Lodbrog is described as a member of the royal family of Denmark, who was accidentally cast on the coast of East Anglia, having been surprised by a storm whilst in pursuit of sea-birds, with his hawk, in a little boat, amongst the islands which environ the shores of his native land. He was honourably entertained by King Edmund; with the splendour and grace of whose court, the perfection of his military establishment, and the accomplishments of the sovereign himself, he was so much pleased that he asked permission to remain. This was readily conceded, and he was specially consigned to the charge of Berne, the royal huntsman, under whose instructions he became such an adept in field sports of all descriptions, as to excite the admiration of the King, and the jealousy of Berne himself. Exasperated by this feeling, Berne determined to rid himself of the object of his envy, whom he treacherously slew, and hid his body in a thicket. The body having been found, Berne was suspected of the murder, and submitted to the judgment of providence by being sent adrift at sea in the same boat which had conveyed Lodbrog. It chanced that he was cast on shore in Denmark, and taken to Inguar and Ubba, the sons of Lodbrog, whose boat had been recognized. They questioned him as to their father. Berne told them of his arrival in East Anglia, his residence at Edmund's court, and his death, charging the King with the murder which he had himself committed. So artfully was his tale framed, that the two exasperated youths were at once satisfied of Edmund's guilt, and made immediate preparations for the equipment of a large fleet to invade his territories and inflict summary vengeance. Their force consisted of twenty thousand men, and Berne accompanied them as a guide. By contrary winds they were driven, according to our author, to Berwick-upon-Tweed, instead of the coast of Norfolk, but at length reached their destination, ravaging the country as they passed. The circumstances of Edmund's death are then told, and various miracles which were wrought in consequence. Godrim, a Dane, was placed on the throne of East Anglia.

To this year, 870, Wendover ascribes the destruction of the monasteries of Lindisfarne and of Jarrow and Wearmouth, and the nunneries of Tynemouth, Streonshal, and Coldingham. At the latter he describes with warm eulogium the conduct of the nuns, who, following the example of their Abbess Ebba, mutilated their faces, that they might not by their charms excite the passions of the barba-

rous Danes. By this course they preserved their chastity at the expense of their lives, the whole company being slain by the incensed Pagans.

Ebba, the first Abbess of Coldingham, was the daughter of Ethelfrid, and the sister of the two Kings Oswald and Oswi; but of this second Ebba, in the ninth century, nothing is known, and this story of the martyrdom of the nuns, rests on the unsupported testimony of Wendover. None of our older historians mention any ravages of the Danes to the North of the Tyne until several years later. In 872, the Northumbrians beyond that river expelled their King, Egbert; and Archbishop Wolfere was at the same time banished from York. The latter was shortly afterwards restored, but Egbert died the year after his expulsion, and was succeeded by Ricsig, who reigned three years.

In the meantime Ingwar died A.D. 871, and was succeeded in Northumberland by his brother Halfdene, Ubba being engaged in a more extended warfare in the south of the island against the great King Alfred, whose tenure of power seemed almost as precarious as that of the petty kings who held a tributary jurisdiction over the northern corner of Northumberland. The death of Ingwar is recorded in the Irish Annals, in which he is described as "King of the Northmen in Ireland and in Britain." Symeon gives the title of king to Ubba as well as Ingwar, and several other Danish chieftains appear to have assumed it about the same period. In the Saxon Chronicle, besides Godrim of East Anglia, mentioned above, and Halfdene, we read of Bagesec, Oskytel, and Anwynd, all styled kings; and of the following dukes and earls, Sidroc the elder and Sidroc the younger, Osborn, Frana, and Harold. Halfdene's name first occurs in the year 871, when he was present at the great battle of Reading, where the Danish forces were defeated by Ethelred and Alfred. In 873 further devastations are recorded in Northumberland, but the Pagans withdrew for the winter into Lindsea. In 875 Halfdene established his winter quarters for the first time on the Tyne. "And the army subdued the land, and oftentimes spoiled the Piets (of Galloway) and the Strathclyde Britons." The following year "he divided amongst himself and his followers the country of the Northumbrians. Ricsig King of the Northumbrians died, and Egbert the Second reigned over the Northumbrians beyond the river Tyne." For this information as to the two Egberts and Ricsig, we are indebted to Symeon. From Wendover we learn that the first Egbert and his Archbishop found refuge, after their expulsion, at the court of Buthred King of Mercia.

We have now arrived at the disastrous era of the destruction of Lindisfarne, and the final extinction of the bishoprick at that place. The early history of this foundation, under bishops in communion with the church of Iona, has been so fully detailed that it is only necessary here to recapitulate their names, with the dates and duration of their episcopates.

Aidan.....	from A.D. 634 to 651.
Finan.....	from A.D. 651 to 661.
Colman	from A.D. 661 to 664.

Tuda only held the bishoprick a few months, after whose death the episcopal see was removed to York; and Lindisfarne, with the remaining members of the establishment, was consigned to the charge of Eata, as Abbot.

On the expulsion of Wilfrid, and the division of Northumberland into two dioceses, A.D. 678, Eata was promoted to the see of Bernicia, residing alternately at Lindisfarne and Hexham. Three years later a further subdivision of episcopal duties was effected, and Tumbert was appointed to the new diocese of Hexham, whilst Eata's charge was confined to Lindisfarne and the Northern district.

In 685 Tumbert was deposed, and the celebrated St. Cuthbert was elected Bishop of Hexham in his place. Cuthbert's predilections, however, were strongly in favour of the Northern diocese in which he had been brought up, and where his life had hitherto been spent; and an exchange was effected by which Eata was translated to Hexham, and Cuthbert installed at Lindisfarne. Some accounts represent the saint as a native of Ireland, and of royal lineage; it is more probable that his parents were peasants on the banks of the Leader in Roxburghshire. Here we find him tending a flock of sheep at the time of Bishop Aidan's death, and reporting to St. Boisel, the Prior of Melrose, a vision with which he had been favoured when so employed, of the ascent of the Bishop into heaven. The result was his dedication to a religious life, under the auspices of St. Boisel, and his superior, the Abbot Eata. When the latter was appointed by King Alefrid, the son of Oswin, to the charge of the monastery of Ripon, he took Cuthbert with him; but both returned to Melrose in 661, making way for Wilfrid and a body of monks, who agreed in the canonical observance of Easter. During Eata's absence, Boisel had discharged the duties of Abbot, but he now cheerfully resumed his old office of Prior, in which he was succeeded on his death, three years afterwards, by St. Cuthbert. When Eata assumed the office of Abbot of Lindisfarne, he was accompanied by Cuthbert as Prior, who retired two years

afterwards to the solitude of the island of Farne, which was his usual abode until his appointment to the bishoprick. He enjoyed his new dignity, which he most reluctantly accepted, little more than two years, returning, for the last two months of his life, to his hermitage of Farne, where, notwithstanding the exhaustion of his system, he continued to practise those austerities of discipline for which he had ever been distinguished. Through his interest with King Egfrid, he obtained large endowments for his church, Crake, Cartmel, and Carlisle, besides land within the city of York. His successors were—

Eadburt.....	from 688 to 698.	Egbert	from 803 to 821.
Eadfrid.....	from 698 to 724.	Heathured	from 821 to 830.
Ethelwold.....	from 724 to 740.	Egfrid.....	from 830 to 845.
Cynewulf	from 740 to 781.	Eanbert	from 845 to 855.
Higbald	from 781 to 803.		

Eardulf was consecrated in 855, and had exercised the episcopal office twenty years at the time of Halfdene's invasion. More than eighty years had elapsed since the former destruction of the monastery, and its present inmates knew of the horrors of that massacre only from the traditions of a generation which had passed away. The excesses, however, which had been committed by the Danish forces in the southern part of Northumberland, and in other districts of England, within the last eight years, abundantly proved that no amelioration had been effected in the lawless habits of the barbarians, and that it was vain to expect consideration or mercy at their hands. The only chance of safety was in flight; but before coming to a final resolution of abandoning a spot hallowed by so many religious associations, the Bishop determined to take counsel of one on whose judgment he placed the utmost reliance, and who was inspired, like himself, with sentiments of unbounded reverence for their common patron St. Cuthbert. With this view he summoned to him Eadred, surnamed *Lulisc*, or *of Carlisle*, from *Luel*, the ancient designation of that city. This holy man had been educated in the school which the saint had there established, had passed his life in the monastery he had founded, and had now in his old age attained the dignity of Abbot of that house. Exchanging their opinions, and comparing their recollections of the traditions of their predecessors, they arrived at the conclusion, that the course most acceptable to St. Cuthbert himself, was neither to await their own certain destruction, nor to leave his remains to desecration, but to seek safety elsewhere, carrying with them the sacred relics of which they were the appointed guardians.

"Raising, then," says Symeon, "the holy and uncorrupt body of the father, they placed beside it, in the same shrine (as we find it recorded in old books), the relics of the saints; that is to say, the head of Oswald, king and martyr, a part of the bones of St. Aidan, together with the venerable bones of those revered bishops, the successors of St. Cuthbert, Eadbert, Eadfrid, and Ethelwold.* Having collected these relics, they fled before the barbarians, and abandoned that noble pile, the mother church of the nation of the Bernicians, which had been the residence of so many saints. This occurred in the year of our Lord's incarnation 875, being 241 years since the foundation of the church by King Oswald and Bishop Aidan, and 189 years from the death of father Cuthbert, in the twenty-second year of the episcopate of Eardulf, and the eighty-third year since this church was devastated under Bishop Higbald."

"No sooner had the bishop abandoned the island and its church, than a fearful storm swept over that place, and, indeed, over the whole province of the Northumbrians, for it was cruelly ravaged far and wide by the army of the Danes, under the guidance of King Halfdene. Everywhere did he burn down the monasteries and the churches; he slew the handmaidens of God, after having exposed them to many indignities, and, in a word, fire and sword were carried from the eastern to the western sea. Hence, it was that the bishop and those who accompanied the holy body nowhere found any place of repose, but going now forward now backward, hither and thither, they fled from before the face of these barbarians."

The wanderings of these pious enthusiasts has afforded a subject for the pen of more than one of the northern monastic historians. Crossing over into Cumberland, they proposed to pass from the haven at the mouth of the Derwent into Ireland, but a sudden storm convinced them that such was not the will of the saint. They then sought refuge in Galloway, and there tarried amidst sufferings and privations until the death of their arch-enemy Halfdene emboldened them to return to the eastern district of Northumberland, though not to their former exposed habitation at Lindisfarne. They succeeded in restoring a church and a bishoprick to Bernicia; but her monastic establishments were extinguished, not again to be revived till Saxons and Danes had equally succumbed to the vigour and policy of a Norman conqueror.

The enormous proportions of this systematic destruction can only be fully

* A stone cross, of peculiar delicacy and beauty, which had been erected by Bishop Ethelwold, was reluctantly left behind, and was sacrilegiously mutilated by the heathen invaders. It was afterwards repaired, and accompanied the body of the saint, in all its subsequent peregrinations, being ultimately placed in the cemetery of the cathedral of Durham.

realized by a statement, somewhat in detail, of the various religious foundations which had sprung up in Northumberland during the Saxon era.

The first and largest endowment was that settled on Bishop Aidan, and his fellow monks, by the pious charity of King Oswald, A.D. 635.

This consisted of three portions; the first of which lay to the south of the Tweed, extending from the mouth of that river along the coast to Warren-mouth, near Bamburgh; thence following the course of the rivulet of Warren to its source at Hebburn-Bell; and then taking a line northward to the Tweed, so as to include the entire valley of the Bremish and Till; the second lay to the north of the Tweed, including the whole district between the Eder,^b or Adder, (a name still preserved in its two branches, the White-Adder, and the Black-Adder) and the Leader: the third lay to the north of the Lammermuir Hills; extending from their base to the river Esk, which discharges itself into the Frith of Forth at Musselburgh, near Edinburgh. The possession by Aidan and his brethren of these immense tracts accounts for the rapid influx of the Scotch monks. Under a system, which ignored the hoarding of money, and multiplied cattle only for the consumption of the establishment, and not for profit, the number of missionary colonists was limited only by the capacity of the district to supply the simple wants of the settlers, and it is not to be wondered that the monks were, as they appear to have been, numbered by hundreds, if not by thousands.

In each of the three districts we have evidence of the early existence of a distinct monastery; in the first, south of the Tweed, at Lindisfarne; in the second, between the Eder and Leader, at Melrose; in the third, north of the Lammermuir Hills, at Tynningham.

I. The earliest augmentations of the endowment of Lindisfarne appear to have been the grants of Ecgfrid to St. Cuthbert, including the ville of Craik, near Easingwold, with all the country within a circuit of three miles; Carlisle, with a circuit of fifteen miles; Cartmel, "with all its Britons," and the ville of South Gedluit; also Carham on the Tweed; besides a mansion at York, and grounds extending from the church of St. Peter to the city wall. Ceolwulf was the next

^b This reading, which identifies the Eder with the united stream of the White-Adder and Black-Adder, is here adopted in deference to a high authority, not, however, without some misgivings that *Eder* has been merely a mistake of a transcriber for *Eden*, the name of a small river which falls into the Tweed, between the towns of Coldstream and Kelso. On the latter supposition, the superficial extent of the territory of St. Cuthbert, on the northern margin of the Tweed, would be diminished about one half.

benefactor, and his grants comprised the manor of Warkworth, and the four villes of Woodchester (Woodhorn?), Whittingham, Edlingham, and Eggingham. During the episcopacy of Bishop Ecfred, and either by his own gift or by his procurement, the possessions of the church of Lindisfarne were further augmented by the acquisition of the two Gedworths, with a large tract of country in Tiviotdale, and the entire district between the Wear and Tees, and three miles to the south of the latter river. This bishop removed the church erected by Aidan at Lindisfarne to Norham, and rebuilt it at the latter place. Hither also, according to the ancient *History of St. Cuthbert*, he translated the bodies of St. Cuthbert and King Ceolwulf; but Symeon mentions that of Ceolwulf only. In the district south of the Wear he founded the villes of Billingham, Cliffe, and Wycliffe. He also consecrated churches at Woodchester, Whittingham, Edlingham and Eggingham. Previous to the second destruction of Lindisfarne by the Danes, the possessions of the church had been diminished by the sacrilegious impiety of the two Kings Osbert and Ella, whose destruction by the Pagans was looked upon as a fitting punishment. Osbert seized on Warkworth and Tillmouth; Ella on Billingham, Cliffe, Wycliffe, and Craik. With these exceptions, the immense grants to the church of St. Cuthbert remained intact when the invasion of Halfdene drove the terrified monks from their time-hallowed settlement.

II. Melrose was founded during the life-time of Bishop Aidan, whose pupil, Eata, was its first abbot. During St. Cuthbert's residence here, he received from King Oswi a grant of the valley of the Bowmont, with certain villes. These were, as far as can be made out from the vitiated text of the *History of St. Cuthbert*, Sugeriple(?) Hesterhob (Hetherhope), Gistatedun (Gateshaw), Waquarton (Whitton), Clifton, Merbedle (Morbottle), Colwell, Elterburn, Thornburn, Scottadion (Shotton), Gatham (Yetholm), and Minthrum (Mindrim.) Of these, Shotton and Mindrim are within the modern limits of Northumberland, the remainder are in Roxburghshire, in the parishes of Hownam, Morbottle, and Yetholm, the whole of which were probably included in the grant. The supposed site of the monastery at Old Melrose is not strictly within the territory originally conceded by King Oswald, between the Eder and the Leader, but on a nearly isolated promontory on the opposite side of the Tweed.

III. The monastery of St. Balther of Tynningham is mentioned in the *History of St. Cuthbert*. Balther, who died here in 756, is described as an anchorite, but

besides his hermitage, there must have been a regular monastery here, which existed as early as the time of Beda, when Herebald presided over it as abbot. There are, indeed, two religious foundations mentioned by Beda, both of which are described as at the mouth of the Tyne; this monastery of Herabald, and a nunnery on the site of a former establishment of monks. One is admitted to have been on the rivulet which gives name to Tynningham, the other on the more important stream which divides Northumberland from Durham; but there has been some difference of opinion as to which of these sites was occupied by the nunnery, and which by the brethren presided over by Herebald. Dr. Smith, the learned editor of Beda, is disposed to place the nunnery at Tynningham; but the circumstances mentioned by his author, in his *Life of St. Cuthbert*, seem to forbid this allocation. He talks of the monks, who preceded the nuns in this retreat, being employed in bringing timber up the river in ships. This can only apply to the Northumbrian river; for the streamlet in Lothian has certainly never been navigable.

IV. The next religious establishment of which we have any particulars is the monastery of Lestingham, near Kirby Mouside, in the southern province, the foundation of which by Cedd, in the reign of King Oswi, on land given him by Ethelwald, the contemporary King of Deira, has already been noticed; as also the residence here of Ceadda or Chad, the brother of Cedd.

V. Hartlepool was founded by Heiu, the first female who devoted herself to a religious life in Northumberland, being consecrated thereto by Bishop Aidan. From hence she retired to Calceceaster (supposed to be Tadcaster); but whether a nunnery was there established, or she merely resided as a solitary recluse, is uncertain. At Hartlepool she was succeeded by Hilda, who is described by Beda as the daughter of Hereric, the nephew of King Edwine. Her original settlement was on the north side of the Wear, on land given her by Bishop Aidan. Here she remained one year, and then took up her abode at Hartlepool, after it was vacated by Heiu. Previous to the decisive battle between King Oswi and Penda King of Mercia, in which the latter fell, Oswi vowed, in the event of a victory, to dedicate his infant daughter Elflada to God; and also to devote twelve estates, calculated for the support of ten families each, to the endowment of religious houses, six of such estates being afterwards allocated in each province. Elflada, then scarcely a year old, was given in charge to the Abbess Hilda, and there is

little doubt that Hartlepool had a share of the royal bounty on the distribution of the twelve estates, as we know that Streonshall afterwards had on the removal thither of Hilda with her royal charge.

VI. Streonshal occupied the site now marked by the ruins of the abbey of Whitby. The original endowment consisted of an estate of ten families, being, as has just been stated, one of those apportioned by King Oswi. Besides the parent establishment, St. Hilda founded at a later period a cell at Hackness, near Scarborough.

VII. The foundation of Ripon was in the first instance entrusted to Eata, but on his declining to conform to the catholic celebration of Easter, he was ejected with his followers, and the monastery, with its revenue of thirty family lands, was conferred by King Alefrid on Wilfrid, afterwards Bishop of York.

VIII. Ingethling, or Gilling, in Richmondshire, was the locality at which Oswin King of Deira was slain, in the reign of Oswi; in expiation of whose crime in assenting to the murder, the latter was induced by Queen Eanfleda, a near relation of the murdered prince, to make a grant of land at the place where the atrocity was committed, for the erection of a monastery, where prayers should be continually offered up for the salvation of both kings, as well the murderer as the victim. Trumhere, afterwards Bishop of Mercia, was the first abbot.

IX. Gateshead is mentioned as early as A.D. 653, in connexion with its Abbot Utta.

X. Wilfrid is generally regarded as the founder of the monastery of Hexham, of which he was the munificent patron, as well by procuring, for its endowment, the immense tract of country which is still known as Hexhamshire, as by the erection of a church unrivalled by any previous structure on this side of the Alps. The monastery, however, existed previous to his connection with Hexham, and was assigned as a residence, jointly with Lindisfarne, to Eata, on his appointment to the see of Bernicia.

XI. Tynemouth has been already adverted to, as the site of a monastery at the mouth of the Tyne, originally inhabited by monks, and afterwards by a sisterhood of nuns. Roger of Wendover refers the destruction of the nunnery here, as well as of that at Streonshal, to the year 870. The story of the burial of the head of St. Oswin at this place is a tale utterly unsupported either by testimony or probability. In 792 Osred King of Northumberland was, according to Symeon,

“buried in the church of the noble monastery at the mouth of the Tyne.” Tradition may first have confounded the names of Osred and Oswin, but a fictitious vision was necessary in order to turn the mistake to advantage.

XII. Coldingham had, for its first abbess, Ebba, the sister of the Kings Oswald and Oswi. Her retirement from the world was certainly not until the reign of the latter, as it was subsequent to that of Heiu. Neither is it likely that she was established at Coldingham at the time of Oswi’s vow, or he would no doubt have entrusted his infant daughter to the charge of his sister, rather than to that of a distant relative. In a manuscript *Life of the Saint*, she is said to have founded a monastery at Ebchester, on the Derwent, on land presented to her by her brother Oswi. It is more probable that she originally settled at Ebchester, but that it was her monastery at Coldingham which was founded on the land given by King Oswi. Ebchester is not elsewhere mentioned as the site of a nunnery.

XIII. The monastery of Corbridge is unnoticed by Beda, although it probably existed in his time. At all events we have no record of its foundation at a later period. Symeon mentions it as existing A.D. 786.

XIV. In addition to these monasteries on the main land, it remains to notice Coquet Island, at the mouth of the river of the same name. In his *Life of St. Cuthbert*, Beda says, “this island was also remarkable for the number of its monks,” and this at a period antecedent by some years to the grant of Warkworth, to which it appertains, by Ceolwulf.

XV. In the reign of Egfrid, the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow were founded, as a joint establishment, by Benedict Biscop, on land presented by the King, seventy hides at Wearmouth and forty at Jarrow. Considerable additions were afterwards made to this endowment; and on the close of the abbacy of Ceolfrid, in 716, we find the extraordinary number of six hundred monks domiciled in the two monasteries.

XVI. On each of the territories, for such they may be designated, rather than estates, given by Egfrid to St. Cuthbert, at Craik, Carlisle, and Cartmel, a religious establishment was founded. At Craik were settled an abbot and monks, and although their possessions were usurped by King Ella, they were afterwards restored, as, on the return of the brethren of Lindisfarne from their wanderings with the body of St. Cuthbert, we find them hospitably entertained here by the Abbot Give.

XVII. At Carlisle a nunnery was established, over which the sister-in-law of

King Eogfrid presided, and where the Queen herself awaited the result of her husband's fatal expedition against the Picts. Here, also, St. Cuthbert founded a school, the reputation of which was still maintained at the period of the Danish invasion under Halfdene, when Eadred Lulisc presided as abbot over the whole establishment. Of the destruction of Carlisle we have no details, but we know that it occurred about this time, as we are told that, previous to its restoration in 1092, the city had remained in ruin and desolation upwards of two hundred years.

XVIII. At Cartmel St. Cuthbert settled "the good Abbot Cineferth, the son of Cygenec."

XIX. Inderwood or Beverley is mentioned by Beda as the seat of a monastery in connection with the miracles of John, successively Bishop of Hexham and of York, but better known as St. John of Beverley.

XX. Wetadun or Watton occurs at the same time as a nunnery presided over by the Abbess Hereberga.

XXI. York, where the first Christian temple was erected, was amongst the last places in Northumberland where a monastery was founded. There is no trace of such an establishment previous to the time of Archbishop Egbert, during whose episcopate his royal brother Eadbert retired to the cloister in that city. Here, we are told, were laid side by side, in one porch, the remains of the two brothers, the one the temporal, the other the spiritual head of the Northumbrian people.

Such is a view, so far as materials remain to us, of the Anglo-Saxon monasteries of Northumberland, during the two centuries and a half which intervened from the settlement of Aidan at Lindisfarne, to the flight of Eardulf. The number of monks ascertained to have resided within the walls of Wearmouth and Jarrow, may furnish some idea of the multitude of persons of both sexes, devoted to a religious life, who occupied the twenty-one establishments enumerated above. Reckoning the twin foundations of Benedict Biscop as separate monasteries, and assuming that the number of inmates in each furnishes a fair average of the religious houses in Northumberland, we arrive at the conclusion that the total number exceeded six thousand. It is true that some of the foundations were on a much smaller scale than those of Wearmouth and Jarrow, but on the other hand these last were exceeded in a much greater degree by the gigantic establishments of Lindisfarne, Melrose, and Tynningham, whose endowments comprised whole counties, as well perhaps as by the sumptuous institutions at Hexham and Ripon.

Within a few years all the monasteries in Bernica were utterly exterminated, and such of those in the sister province of Deira as escaped destruction were exposed to all the calamities incident to the supremacy of a barbarous and heathen people. Of the latter, indeed, some survived till better times, and the revival of religion; but many were only known to succeeding generations through the medium of the Ecclesiastical History of Beda.

In the year 877 Ubba, the Danish leader, was slain in Devonshire. The Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, and Huntingdon, do not mention his name, but describe him as the brother of Ingwar and Halfdene. In one of the chronicles attributed to Symeon, Ingwar and Halfdene themselves are erroneously stated to have fallen on that occasion; Ethelward gives the name of Halfdene instead of Ubba, and Wendover records the death of all the three brothers. We have already seen that Ingwar died six years previously, and we have equally conclusive evidence that Halfdene did not die until four or five years later. For this information we are indebted to the ancient *History of St. Cuthbert*, which is followed by Symeon in the work of which he really was the author, the *History of the Church of Durham*.^o

The particulars derived from the *History of St. Cuthbert*, and adopted by Symeon, are as follows:—

“Then Halfdene King of the Danes entered the Tyne, and sailed from thence along the coast to Warkworth, laying the whole country waste, and cruelly outraging St. Cuthbert. Presently, however, the anger of God and the saint overtook him with fearful maladies, both of body and mind. Such was the raving of his insanity, such the noisome exhalations from his diseased frame, that the whole army drove him forth, and chased him into the sea; nor was he ever more heard of.”

On Halfdene's death we find the second Egbert ruling over the district north of the Tyne; but the southern province, as well as the Danish army, was left without a head. By a compromise between the Christian inhabitants and the Pagan invaders, a countryman of the latter, but a convert to Christianity, was raised to the throne. The new King is described as Guthred, the son of Hardacnut, probably of that Haurda-Knute who appears in the lists of the Danish kings as the second in succession to Regnar Lodbrog. There is little doubt that Guthred was believed to be of royal lineage, or he would hardly have obtained the general suffrage of his countrymen; but he was up to the period of his elevation in servi-

^o Respecting the several works attributed to Symeon, see the note appended to this chapter.

tude, having been sold to a widow resident at Whittingham. From this he was redeemed by Eadred Abbot of Carlisle, who had returned with his companions and the body of their patron saint, on hearing of the death of Halfdene, after an absence of seven years. This fixes the date of Guthred's accession A.D. 882. He was presented by Bishop Eardulf to the army at a place called Oswindun, or Oswin's Hill, and was unanimously acknowledged as their sovereign. The arrangement was sanctioned, if not suggested, by King Alfred, whose recent victories enabled him to dictate terms to the Danes throughout England. In a spirit of prudence and moderation he had allowed the Danes of East Anglia to remain under the government of a king of their own race, only stipulating that he should embrace Christianity, and should acknowledge his own paramount authority. In Northumberland he found a Dane whose pretensions were acceptable to his own countrymen, and who was already a Christian. The settlement hardly seems to require the intervention of preternatural agency; but the whole is, notwithstanding, attributed by the historian of St. Cuthbert to the intervention of the saint, by whom Eadred was instructed in a vision. Neither was he forgetful of the interests of his own church, but lost no time in communicating to the new king his injunctions that he should add to its endowments the entire country between the Tyne and the Wear. In this district a resting place was found for the body of St. Cuthbert, at Chester-le-Street, whither it was removed from Craik, after the Bishop and monks had for six months experienced the hospitality of Give, the Abbot of that place.

Neither were the care and influence of St. Cuthbert confined to the petty King of Northumberland, but the prosperity of Alfred himself is attributed to his protection. In the *History of St. Cuthbert* will be found the original narrative of the vision in which the saint promised his aid and support to the disheartened monarch. This has been copied by several historians; but Symeon in this, as in some other instances of a similar nature, contents himself with a reference to his authority, omitting the recital of marvels in which, notwithstanding a reasonable amount of credulity, it is probable his faith was not implicit.

During the decline of the Northumbrian kingdom, the Danes were not the only enemies who took advantage of the weakness and distraction of the government, to invade its territories and plunder its resources. Kenneth MacAlpin, the founder of the Scottish monarchy, six times invaded Lothian, burnt Dunbar, and plundered Melrose. These devastations were renewed in the reign of Guthred by his

contemporary Gregory or Grig, a prince, respecting whom the statements of the Scottish chroniclers are strangely discordant; some extolling his exploits beyond all reasonable limits, whilst others deny him any place in the royal series. In one of the old Chronicles, published by Innes, he is said to have conquered the whole of Ireland and almost all England; in another he is represented as merely the guardian of Eocha, the son of Kun King of Strathelyde, who was the true heir to the Scottish throne, in right of his mother, who was the daughter of Kenneth. Fordun appears to have extracted the truth from these conflicting statements, when he describes Gregory as wearing the crown of Scotland in his own right, and exercising the authority of regent over the Strathelydians, who voluntarily placed themselves under his protection. Neither need we refuse all credit to the accounts of his conquests in England, although their extent is grossly exaggerated. Symeon informs us of one expedition, in which a Scottish king at this precise period traversed Lothian, and crossed the Tweed with an immense army, against which Guthred opposed the forces of his little kingdom. The victory is attributed to the supernatural agency of his patron St. Cuthbert; but this does not detract from the value of the historical evidence of an invasion. With some inconsistency, indeed, the historian describes the invaders as menacing the monastery of Lindisfarne, an establishment which had ceased to exist; but another Durham Chronicle of great antiquity places the site of the engagement, not at Lindisfarne, but at a place called Nundingdene (Newbiggen), one mile south of Norham, a district equally under the protection of the saint.

Although Guthred himself was a loyal vassal of King Alfred, and a faithful servant of the church, he was unable to controul the turbulent spirit of his followers, or to restrain their sympathy with their heathen countrymen. In the latter part of his reign, A.D. 893, occurred the memorable invasion of Hastings, who for three years maintained a contest of doubtful issue with the great Alfred. Throughout the entire enterprize, the Danes as well of East Anglia as of Northumberland, although bound to the English monarch by the most solemn oaths, did not hesitate to give all the aid in their power to his opponents. They fitted out the immense number of one hundred and forty ships, and not only co-operated with the invaders, but undertook by themselves several important enterprizes. They besieged Exeter, and another fortified position on the coast of Devonshire; and when they were compelled to abandon these attempts, they avenged themselves for their failure by ravaging the country about Chichester.

In the third year the arms of Alfred were everywhere triumphant. The enemy were driven across the island to Bridgenorth, separated from their wives, whom they had left for safety in East Anglia, and their ships were captured or destroyed.

In the meantime Guthred died on the 21st of August, 896, and his remains were interred within the cathedral at York.

"The following year," says the Saxon Chronicle, "the army broke up, some for East Anglia, some for Northumberland; and they who were moneyless procured themselves ships there, and went southwards over sea to the Seine."

Even after the partial relief of these departures to France, the resources of the two provinces were totally inadequate to the support of the additional population thus thrown upon them. A predatory expedition was accordingly organized. Vessels called "esks," built many years previously, were fitted out, and sailed for the coast of Wessex. To oppose these, Alfred ordered ships to be built of much larger dimensions, and so successful were his operations, that during the four remaining years of his reign the shores of his kingdom were unmolested by similar attempts, either by the insular or continental Danes.

Huntingdon gives a singular account of the government of Northumberland at this period: "The Danes reigned in a confused manner; sometimes there was a single king; at others two; sometimes even more." This state of things was interrupted by the death of Alfred, which took place on the 28th of October, 901, and the accession of his son, known in history as Edward the Elder. His claims were at first disputed by Ethelwold, the son of Ethelred, the elder brother of Alfred, who failing to make good his pretensions to the crown of Wessex, withdrew to Northumberland, where he was favourably received by the petty kings who divided the sovereignty amongst them, and acknowledged as "King and Prince of the Kings" of that province.

Huntingdon seems on this, as on many other occasions, to have been in possession of materials for a much more minute and accurate detail of Northern affairs than any which were accessible to our earlier authorities. The Saxon Chronicle ignores the existence of any Danish kings in Northumberland for some time after the death of Guthred, representing the province as under the immediate government, first of Alfred, and then of Ethelwold.

Four years later (A.D. 905), Ethelwold, in conjunction with Eric King of East Anglia, led an army into Mercia, and plundered the whole country to the Thames.

On their return they were pursued by King Edward to the East Anglian fens, and Ethelwold and Eric both fell in an engagement which was attended by much slaughter on each side.

The sub-kings, who had acknowledged Ethelwold as their lord, now reigned without the controul of any superior. The names of three of them, all reigning at the same time, Eowils, Halfdene, and Ingwar, are mentioned by Ethelward, a nearly contemporary writer, who thus confirms Huntingdon's statement as to the number of kinglets who divided the government amongst them. The Saxon Chronicle notices only Eowils and Halfdene, whom Florence of Worcester erroneously supposes to have been brothers of Ingwar, the scourge of the previous generation; but the Halfdene as well as the Ingwar of that day had, as we have seen, been long dead, and their namesakes who now occur were probably their sons or nephews.

In 906 Edward concluded a peace with both the Anglo-Danish states; but in 910 and 911 hostilities were renewed with Northumberland. In the former year "King Edward greatly spoiled the army of the North, both of men and of every kind of cattle, and slew many of the Danish men;" in the latter, "the army among the Northumbrians broke the peace, and despised whatever peace King Edward and his wittan offered them." To this statement of the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelward adds, "The barbarians broke their compact with King Edward, and also with Ethered, whom he had made governor of Northumberland as well as Mercia." We have here probably the true ground of quarrel. The Danish princes had been constrained to admit the paramount authority of Edward, as they had before done that of Alfred; but when he attempted to place them under the government of his viceroy, the Ealderman of Mercia, they revolted against the degradation intended for them.

"Having laid waste the lands of the Mercians on all sides as far as the river Avon, which forms the boundary between the West-Saxons and the Mercians, the tumultuous host passed westward to the Severn, and obtained no small booty by their ravages. They next withdrew homewards, rejoicing in the richness of their spoil, and passed over a bridge in regular order, on the eastern bank of the Severn, called Cantbridge. The troops of the Mercians and West Saxons suddenly confronted them in battle array—an engagement ensued, and the Saxons obtained the victory on the plain of Wodensfield. The Danish army fled, being overwhelmed by darts. These events are recorded to have happened on the fifth day of August (A.D. 911), and three Danish kings fell there in the tumultuous contest, Halfdene, Eowils, and Ingwar."

The Saxon Chronicle, whilst it omits the name of Ingwar, mentions amongst the slain—Ohter the Earl, Scurf the Earl, Othulf the Hold, Osferth the Collector, Gurferth the Hold, Benesing the Hold, Anlaf the Black, Thurferth the Hold, Agmund the Hold, and a second Gurferth. The power of the Northumbrian Danes seems to have been completely humbled, nor is it probable that they could ever again have renewed the contest with the Anglo-Saxons, if they had depended on their own resources ; but fresh swarms of their countrymen were yearly leaving their native shores, more than sufficient to supply the void made from time to time by successive disasters.

At this period the history of the Danes in Northumberland is so interwoven with that of their countrymen in Ireland, that it is impossible to remove the obscurity which clouds our domestic annals, without first taking a review of the events in the neighbouring island, in which the same parties were actors. From the period of the repulse of the Danish marauders at "Ecgfrid's Minster," A.D. 794, they appear, as has been already related, to have abstained from any renewed assault against the shores of England for 38 years, whilst the Northumbrian coast was unmolested for 53 years. In the meantime, however, the invaders had not laid aside their piratical habits, but only exercised them in a different direction. The very year after their disaster in Northumberland, they appeared for the first time off the coast of Ireland. In 795 we read in the annals of that country, "Rachraine was burnt by the Gentiles." In 797 they wasted St. Patrick's Island, violated the shrine of St. Dochanna, and carried on a system of piracy in the narrow seas between Scotland and Ireland. In 801 the holy isle of Iona was desolated, and 68 individuals, clergy and laymen, were slaughtered. In 811 they penetrated as far as the lakes of Killarney and the wild tract of Connamara, where several battles are recorded with varying results. These inroads had now become habitual, and were continued with little intermission, but we do not read of any actual settlement in Ireland till 833, when we find a party of "Gentiles," issuing from their stronghold at *Inbher-Deaa*, in Wicklow, and plundering Kildare. The next year they became masters of Dublin. Up to this time the invaders, whom we are in the habit of calling Danes, were more correctly Norwegians, styled by the Irish writers *Finghoile* (White Gentiles), but from the year 847 there were frequent arrivals of marauding bands from Denmark proper, who are denominated *Dubhghoile* (Black Gentiles). These two "Gentile" races seem for

some time to have carried on hostilities between themselves, not less perseveringly than against the natives, "so that they convulsed Ireland between them."

In 851 Anlaf, son of the King of Norway, came over to Ireland, and effected a reconciliation between the contending tribes, both of whom submitted to his authority. He is said to have exacted tribute from the native Irish, in whose domestic quarrels we find him on several occasions taking part.

Contemporaneous with the Norwegian Anlaf, from 856 to 861, we meet with the Danish Imhar or Ingwar, afterwards so fatally connected with Northumbrian history. In two campaigns, in 857 and 861, we find Anlaf and Ingwar acting as joint leaders of the Northmen, but to neither of them is conceded the title of king. Of Ingwar we have nothing further in the Irish annals, till A.D. 871, when his death is recorded, as "King of the Danes in Ireland and England." In the intervening period his exploits in the latter country were performed, but whether he died in England or Ireland is uncertain. Of Anlaf we have no notice later than 867, when he plundered and burned the city of Armagh. On his decease it is probable that Ingwar assumed the title of king.

Of the relationship to Ingwar of the Kings of Northumberland who succeeded Guthred we have no information, but from the names of two of them, Halfdene and Ingwar, it is more than probable they were his sons or nephews. However this may be, he left two sons in Ireland, Godfrey and Sitric.

Godfrey fell by the hand of his brother in 888, and Sitric was slain by his own countrymen, apparently to avenge his fratricide, in 896. A short time before his death he led a marauding expedition against the shores of Northumberland, the particulars of which are thus given by Ethelward, the only historian by whom they are recorded. "At this time Sigeferth, a pirate, is carried along the coast of Northumberland in his daring fleet, and ravages the coast twice, and then bends his course to his own country." The year after the death of Sitric, the Northmen, left without leaders, were driven from Dublin and from Ireland, nor did they renew their incursions during the next thirteen years.

Sitric is not known to have left any descendants; but Godfrey had four sons, Anlaf, Godfrey, Ragnal, and Sitric. An old author, Adam of Bremen, notices Anlaf, Ragnal, and Sitric, as the sons of Godfrey, on the authority of a work not now known to exist, intitled *Gesta Anglorum*,^d without mentioning the parentage

^d This work was probably identical with the Chronicle *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, &c., which forms the basis of the compilation attributed to Symeon of Durham, respecting which the reader is again

of Godfrey, whom Dr. Lappenberg, in the absence of the information supplied by the Irish Annals, has confounded with Guthred the late King of Northumberland, who was the son of Haurda-Knute, and not of Ingwar. The mistake has involved the history of the period in much obscurity, as it presents the devoted servant of St. Cuthbert as the father of the deadliest enemies of the Christian religion, and of the rights of his own peculiar church. On the other hand, every trait which is inconsistent with what we should expect in the sons of Guthred, is only too characteristic of the heathen progeny of Ingwar.

Anlaf was slain in battle a few years after his father's murder, and his brothers were probably minors at the date of the expulsion of the Danes from Ireland, as their names do not occur on that occasion, or for some years afterwards. In 910 a fresh band of "Gentiles" arrived in Ireland, and established themselves in Waterford, which they fortified the following year, having been reinforced by a large body of their countrymen. In 915 the two brothers, Sitric and Ragnal, the sons of Godfrey and grandsons of Ingwar, landed, one in Kildare the other in Waterford, and assumed a joint command. Dublin was not recovered till 918, when it passed into the possession of Godfrey, the son of the former chieftain of that name, and brother of Sitric and Ragnal. Godfrey, who is henceforward described as "Lord of the Gentiles," has no connection with Northumbrian history, but died in Ireland A.D. 932.

In 916 Sitric, called for distinction's sake Sitric Gale, defeated and slew Nial, the paramount native King of Ireland. The old Chronicle ascribed to Symeon, as well as some of the copies of the Saxon Chronicle, exhibit a singular inaccuracy in reference to this occurrence, which has been suffered to pass undetected by succeeding historians. Nial is represented as the brother of Sitric, by whom he was slain, as if a domestic tragedy were necessary in each generation of this sanguinary race. The pure Irish name of Nial or Neil should of itself have excited suspicion that the bearer could hardly be of Danish descent, and the mistake would have been at once rectified by a reference to the Irish Annals. The signal defeat of the Northumbrian Danes, and the slaughter of their three kings, A.D. 911, seems to have established the authority of the Anglo-Saxon

referred to the note at the end of this chapter. Symeon's copy is manifestly imperfect, and the complete work in all probability contained not only those particulars which Adam of Bremen refers to the *Gesta Anglorum*, but those details respecting Northumbrian affairs which we find in Huntingdon and Wendover, but are unable to trace to any earlier authority.

monarch and his vice-roy, Ethered, Duke of Mercia, over that province. Ethered died the following year, and was succeeded in his government by his widow Ethelfleda, the daughter of King Alfred. This extraordinary woman maintained her position with singular vigor and ability, defeating the Mercian and East-Anglian Danes in repeated engagements, and building fortresses to restrain their rebellion in future, at Tamworth, Stafford, Warwick, and other places. In 916 she undertook an expedition against the Welsh, in which she stormed their capital, and took their queen a prisoner. The following year the Danes, who still held the towns of Northampton, Leicester, and Derby, were again in arms, but her operations against them were attended with her wonted success, and Leicester and Derby fell into her hands.

In 918 she marched northward to York, where the Northumbrians "covenanted with her, some having given a pledge, and others having bound themselves by an oath, that they would be at her command." Her career of victory was closed by her death the next year, and the descendants of Ingwar were emboldened to attempt the recovery of Northumberland. An incursion was made by Ragnal, or as he is called in the Saxon Chronicle, Regnold, in 923, in which he succeeded in gaining possession of York. Symeon places this event four years earlier—in the very year of Ethelfleda's death. Either date is consistent with the Irish Annals, which do not speak of any exploit of Ragnal in that country after 915. In 924 he was received into the favour of Edward the Elder, to whom he tendered his submission, in company with Constantine, King of Scotland, Ealdred of Bamburgh, and the King of Strathclyde, with all their people, Scots, Saxons, Danes, Norwegians, and Britons.

Ealdred of Bamburgh was the son of Athulf or Eadulf, who is described by Ethelward, who notices his death A.D. 912, as Duke of Bamburgh. These princes were no doubt the successors of those Anglo-Saxon kings, who ruled the country beyond the Tyne, in subordination to the Danes, during the reigns of Ingwar, Halfdene, and Guthred. In the ancient *History of St. Cuthbert* is a curious account of the invasion of Ealdred's territory by Ragnal with a large fleet.

"Ealdred being driven forth, retired to Scotland, and sought the aid of Constantine, whom he conducted to Corbridge. In the battle which ensued, for what sin I know not, the Pagan king conquered, put Constantine to flight, routed the Scots, and slew Elfred and all the English nobles, except Ealdred and his brother Uchtred."

The same engagement is described in the *Annals of Ulster*, from which we learn

that the Scotch and English forces were successful in the first attack, but were ultimately overpowered. The loss seems to have fallen chiefly on the Northumbrians, as the Scotch consoled themselves under their defeat with the reflection that neither king nor maormor had fallen in the conflict. The Pictish Chronicle, in Innes, even claims the victory for its countrymen. The site of the battle is there called Tynemoor, which Chalmers erroneously locates on the Clyde, and the date is given A.D. 924, the very year of the general submission of all the contending parties to King Edward. By the interposition of that prince it is probable that Ealdred was restored to his dominions, and Ragnal confirmed in the possession of the southern district of Northumberland. The historians of St. Cuthbert vehemently denounce the latter for his violence and cruelty, and especially for his sacrilegious appropriation of the patrimony of the saint, which he lavishly distributed amongst his heathen followers. Of these, two are mentioned, who participated largely in the spoils of the church, Scula and Onlafbal. The latter is said to have expiated his daring impiety by a death of excruciating agony, through the direct interposition of the saint. "After having undergone many torments, he was compelled to make public confession of the sanctity of the most holy confessor, and then he yielded up his wicked spirit." Terrified by this judgment, "none of the others dared, from that time forward, on any pretext whatever, to seize any of the lands or other property which rightfully belonged to the church." The same authority notices somewhat more in detail than our general historians, the original descent of Ragnal, whose name is written Reingwald, and his occupation of York. "Having landed on the Northumbrian shores with a large fleet, without delay he broke in upon York, and either killed or drove out of the country the more influential of the inhabitants." This king is said by Gaimar to have been only "half Danish," his mother being of Anglo-Saxon descent; but the statements of this writer are worthy of little consideration, especially about this period of his narrative, in which endless inaccuracies may be detected.

On the accession of Athelstan to the throne of England, Ragnal was deprived of his kingdom, and the government transferred to his brother Sitric, in order to secure the fidelity of whom, Athelstan bestowed upon him his own sister Edgitha in marriage. Sitric died the following year. His baptism was made a condition of his elevation to the throne, but Wendover says he relapsed into idolatry and repudiated his wife, for which impiety his speedy death was looked upon as a well-merited retribution.

The Irish Annals concur with our English authorities in referring the death of Sitric to the year 925. They take no notice of his occupation of the Northumbrian throne, but describe him as Lord of the *Black and White Gentiles*. Gaimar, adopting Symeon's version of the murder of Nial by Sitric, adds, "King Edward avenged his death, and with a sword slew Sitric." He further represents Sitric as King, not of Northumberland, but of a portion of Mercia, during the period when Ethelfleda governed the remainder of that province. It is not impossible that he may have been the leader of the Mercian Danes in some of their encounters with that princess; but Gaimar's statement is unsupported by any other authority. Between the date of his victory over Nial in Ireland in 917, and his assumption of the sovereign power in Northumberland, our only authentic notice of his proceedings is a brief intimation in the old Chronicle of Symeon, that in the year 920 "King Sitric took Devonport by storm."

Sitric left two sons, Guthred and Anlaf, who were driven out of Northumberland by Athelstan. Their expulsion, however, does not appear to have followed immediately on their father's death, but two years afterwards, being placed by the Saxon Chronicle A.D. 927. In the meantime Guthred occupied the throne, but does not occur in the list of princes who submitted to the English king in 926, These were Constantine King of Scotland, Ealdred son of Eardulf of Bamburgh, Hual King of the West Welsh, and Uen King of Gwent. Florence says that Athelstan routed them in battle, and deprived them of their kingdoms, which he afterwards restored to them, and Malmsbury even professes to report the sentimental phrase, which he used on the occasion, that "it is more glorious to make a king than to be a king." The simple statement of the Saxon Chronicle merely implies that Athelstan, on his accession, called on the princes who had formerly owned the supremacy of his father, to make the same acknowledgment of his own, and that those whose names are mentioned complied with his demand. Guthred's refusal was punished by the loss of his throne, and Athelstan annexed Northumberland to his own dominions, determined henceforth to govern its unruly inhabitants without the intervention of any subordinate king.

When we last had occasion to advert to the affairs of the Strathclyde Britons, that people had just placed themselves and their infant sovereign under the protection of Gregory King of Scotland, and the words in which the circumstance is narrated by Fordun seem to imply that the submission was not confined to Strathclyde. He speaks of "the indigenious inhabitants of certain provinces," which

would seem to include not this little kingdom only, but the "indigenæ" of the neighbouring provinces of Galloway and Carliol also. We know, at all events, that these were consolidated with Strathelyde into one state, under the name of Cumbria, and in close alliance with Scotland, within a very few years of this transaction.

On the death or expulsion of Gregory in 893, he was succeeded by Donal IV., contemporary with whom was another Donal King of Strathelyde. Donal of Scotland died in 904, and was succeeded by Constantine III., who again, on the death of Donal King of Strathelyde, procured the election of his own brother Donal to the vacant throne. This Donal, like his predecessor of the same name, is described simply as "King of the Britons," and whether the kingdom of both or either of them was confined to Strathelyde, or whether it included the two other provinces, is uncertain; but we are under no such uncertainty as to the next king, Eugenius, the son and successor of the second Donal, who is always mentioned by the English and Scotch historians as King of Cumbria, a district which we know from precise documentary evidence to have included the entire country from the Clyde to the confines of Lancashire.* Fordun tells us that this territory was given to Eugenius by his uncle Constantine, who regarded him as the presumptive heir to his own crown, and further that he ordained, that it should be always so held by the proximate heir to the kingdom of Scotland, who should resign it to the next in succession upon his own elevation to the superior throne. This statement of Fordun's might have passed without challenge if Eugenius had really been the presumptive heir of Constantine, but we know that the latter had at this time, at any rate, two sons of his own, one of whom fell at the battle of Brunanburgh; the other, at a later period, actually inherited the Scotch throne, though not in direct succession to his father. Eugenius undoubtedly enjoyed Strathelyde, if not the whole of Cumbria, as heir to his father Donal; and if he owed any territorial possessions to his uncle, the grant must at any rate have been confined to the addition of Galloway and Carliol. At the time of the expulsion of Guthred and Anlaf, Constantine was King of Scotland, and Eugenius of Cumberland. At the same period, Anlaf, the son of Godfrey, reigned over the Danes in Ireland. The fugitive princes accordingly took refuge, Guthred at the court of Scotland, and

* The following return, made by the convent of Carlisle, in answer to interrogations addressed to them by Edward I., thus defines the limits of Cumbria at this period: "Cumbria dicebatur quantum modo est episcopatus Karliolensis, et episcopatus Glasguensis, et episcopatus Candidecasæ, et insuper ab episcopatu Karliolensis usque ad flumen Dudden."

Anlaf with his cousin and namesake in Dublin. The latter was altogether beyond the grasp of Athelstan ; but no sooner did that monarch hear of Guthred's place of retreat, than he sent ambassadors as well to Constantine as to Eugenius, demanding the surrender of the fugitive, and threatening hostilities in case of refusal. Unprepared for resistance against such an antagonist, both princes promised compliance, and hastened to meet their imperious neighbour at Dacre, in Cumberland. An opportunity, however, was afforded to Guthred of making his escape, of which he promptly availed himself. Hastening to York, he endeavoured, both by entreaties and threats, to induce the citizens to receive him, but all his overtures were rejected, and he was compelled to withdraw. For these particulars Malmshbury is our sole authority ; the remainder of the story is added in his own words.

“ Not long after, being shut up in a castle, with a single attendant, Turfid, they effected their escape, having eluded the vigilance of their guards. Turfid loosing his life shortly afterwards by shipwreck, became a prey for fishes. Guthred suffering great extremity both by sea and land, at length came a suppliant to court, where he was favourably received by the king, and hospitably entertained for four days. At the end of that time, like a fish accustomed to live upon the water, he returned to his ships, an incorrigible pirate. In the meantime Athelstan levelled with the earth the castle which the Danes had formerly erected at York ; and the immense booty which he found, he divided in equal portions amongst his army.”

Constantine's submission had only been made to ward off present danger and to gain time, which he employed in strengthening his position. To secure the co-operation of Anlaf, who, under the protection of his cousin, had himself become a chieftain of some pretensions in Ireland, he gave him his daughter in marriage, and confident in this alliance, and in the support of the Danes and Cumbrians, he did not hesitate to violate the treaty into which he had entered. Either, however, he miscalculated his resources, or underestimated the promptitude and energy of Athelstan.

Assembling with all speed his army and fleet, he invaded Scotland both by land and sea, and ravaged a great part of it. With his army he penetrated to Dunfoeder and Wertermore, whilst by sea he extended his devastations to Caithness. The Saxon Chronicle gives the date of this expedition A.D. 933, Florence and Symeon 934. Constantine was compelled to purchase peace by presents and concessions, and to give his son as a hostage for his future fidelity. His desire of independence, however, prevailed over his regard for his engagements ; and

now, as before, he only observed the terms of peace till a favourable opportunity presented itself for renewing hostilities. Having concerted his plans with his son-in-law, Anlaf, the latter entered the Humber with an immense fleet, and was there joined by the land forces of Constantine and Eugenius. An engagement took place at Brunanburgh, of which we have the following particulars from an ancient metrical narrative, which is embodied in the Saxon Chronicle :—

“ Greater carnage has not been at any time, since the Angles and Saxons came hither from the East. Five youthful kings lay on the battle-field, seven also of Anlaf’s earls, and countless multitudes both of the sea-farers and of the Scots. There was made to flee the Northman’s chieftain, by need constrained. The bark floated, the king departed, his life was saved. Thence also fled to his northern land the sage Constantine, the hoary warrior. He had no cause to exult, the old deceiver, his kindred band of friends o’erthrown. His son also he left on the slaughter-ground, mangled with wounds, young in the fight. He had no cause to boast, neither had Anlaf. The Northmen departed, in their nailed barks ; they hastened to Dublin, o’er the deep water. Here King Athelstan, and also his brother, Edward the Etheling, immortal honour won, in the bloody fight.”

The poem is of considerable length, but the above extracts contain all the historical facts which can be collected from it. The narrative of Florence is exclusively derived from this source ; and Huntingdon presents a paraphrase in Latin prose. Ethelward, from whom we might have expected additional particulars, only tells us that the engagement was still referred to in his time as “ the great fight.” The old Chronicle ascribed to Symeon alone mentions the presence of the King of Cumberland, if we except the supposititious Ingulf. He describes Anlaf’s fleet as consisting of no less than six hundred and fifteen ships. Malmsbury deviates in some respects from the received accounts, and gives some additional particulars, but they are neither of much importance, nor altogether to be relied on. He includes Constantine instead of his son in the list of slain, which is certainly erroneous, and describes twelve earls as having fallen instead of seven. The following anecdote of Anlaf, the son of Sitric, seems to be founded on one better known, but perhaps equally apocryphal, which is related of Alfred :—

“ Athelstan’s last contest,” we are told, “ was with Anlaf the son of Sitric, who with Constantine had entered his territories with the hope of gaining the kingdom. The bold youth, meditating unlawful conquests, had advanced far into England, when he was opposed at Bruneford by the most experienced generals and most valiant forces. Aware, at length, of his danger, he assumed the character of a spy. Laying aside the ensigns of royalty, and

taking a harp in his hand, he proceeded to our king's tent, Here he entertained the king and his companions for some time with music, carefully examining every thing, whilst so employed. On departing, he received the recompense of his song, but disdainingly to take it away, he hid the money in the earth. This was remarked by one who had formerly served under him, and recognised his person, and the information was immediately conveyed to Athelstan. The king blamed the man exceedingly, for not having seized his enemy, and brought him to him; but he replied, 'The same oath, oh king! which I have lately made to you, I formerly swore to Anlaf, and if you had found me violate it towards him, you might have expected similar perfidy towards yourself: but condescend to listen to the advice of your servant, and remove your tent hence, remaining in another place till the rest of your army come up.' The king approving the advice, removed to another place, and so escaped destruction. Anlaf profiting by the information he had obtained, advanced to the place where the king had been encamped, but which was now occupied by a certain bishop, who having just arrived, knew nothing of what had passed, and pitched his tent in what appeared a favourable position. Having slain the bishop and all his followers, he proceeded to where the king actually lay, who, little thinking his enemy capable of such an attack, had indulged in profound repose. Roused from his couch by the clang of arms, his sword fell by accident from its sheath. Nothing dismayed, he invoked the protection of God, and of his own relative St. Aldhelm; then replacing his hand on the scabbard, he found a sword, which is kept in the king's treasury, in testimony of the miracle, to this day. It is said to be partially chased, but can neither be inlaid with gold or silver. Confiding in this divine gift, and day at the same time having begun to dawn, he continued the battle unwearied throughout the day, repulsing the Norwegian, and putting him to flight with his whole army. There fell Constantine King of the Scots, a man of treacherous energy and vigorous old age; five other kings, twelve earls, and almost the whole host of barbarians. The few who escaped were preserved to embrace the faith of Christ."

This famous battle, which confirmed the supremacy of the West-Saxon monarchs, is assigned by the Saxon Chronicle and Symeon to the year 937. Florence makes it a year later, and Huntingdon gives the obviously erroneous date, A.D. 945. The place where it was fought is called Brunanburgh by the Saxon Chronicle and Florence, Brunandune by Ethelward, Bruneshburgh by Huntingdon, Bruneford by Malmsbury, Bruneshwerch by Gaimar, and Bruneberih by Wendover. In Symeon's Chronicle it is called Wendune, which, we are told in the *History of the Church of Durham*, is only another name for Brunnanwere or Brunnanbyrig. None of these authorities give us any information as to the locality, and Camden is disposed to place it at Broomridge, whilst Mr. Turner suggests Brunton, both in the northern district of the present county of Northumberland; but the attack

was surely directed against the hereditary possessions of Athelstan, and not against Northumberland. The site was no doubt well known to our earlier historians, and its very notoriety probably prevented them from describing it. Peter Langtoft, however, who flourished about the close of the thirteenth century, expressly says that it was upon the Humber; no doubt upon its southern shore.

“According to the Scandinavian accounts of the battle of Brunnanburgh,” says Dr. Lappanburg, “on which, however, no implicit reliance can be placed, some Northern mercenaries, led by Egil and Thorolf, were in the pay of Athelstan, who, by annihilating the Irish auxiliaries, mainly contributed to the victory: and if credit may be given to Egil’s Saga, Eric Blodox, the son of Harold Harfager by the fair Hewa, had some time before the battle been invested by Athelstan with the kingdom of Northumbria, on condition of defending it against the Scots and Irish, and receiving baptism. But on this point not only are all the English chroniclers silent, but an event hereafter to be mentioned, which took place ten years later, under the second successor of Athelstan, appears to have occasioned the cession to him of that country.”

The circumstance here referred to will be noticed in due course, but it is only necessary here to express an opinion in coincidence with that of the acute historian just quoted, as to the worthlessness of the early Norwegian sagas as historical materials.

The only other account of the battle of Brunnanburgh which remains to be noticed, is that contained in the work attributed to Ingulf. The spuriousness of this work is now generally admitted, and in no part of it is the deception more apparent than in the details of this event, which are evidently taken in the main from William of Malmsbury, a writer who flourished long after the death of the assumed author. Malmsbury has given an untrue statement of the death of Constantine King of Scotland, but the Chronicle of Ingulf improves upon this statement, giving minute particulars of the circumstances under which he fell, and attributing his fate, and the consequent flight of Anlaf, and victory of Athelstan, to the prowess of the chancellor Turkytel, the chief patron of the house of Croyland, over which Ingulf presided as abbot, and by the monks of which the forgery was undoubtedly committed.

Within three years of this signal triumph died Athelstan, the first English sovereign who had reduced the kingdom of Northumberland under his own immediate authority; and the very next year “the Northumbrians, preferring disloyalty to the fealty which they owed to his successor Edmund, the magnificent King of

the Angles, chose Anlaf King of the Northmen, for their king." The old chronicle of Symeon gives a somewhat more detailed account of this revolution. "Anlaf having come to York, advanced southward and besieged Northampton, but failing in that enterprise, he proceeded to Tamworth, and plundered all the surrounding district. From thence he returned to Lincoln, whither Edmund marched with an army to meet him." Here the effusion of blood was prevented by the interposition of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Oda and Wulstan, and an arrangement entered into for the division of the kingdom between the Anglo-Saxon and Danish competitors, by which the entire district north of the Watling Street was ceded to Anlaf, whilst Edmund retained all the country to the south. Thus was Anlaf put in possession of a territory far more extensive than had ever been enjoyed by any one Danish sovereign in Britain, including not only Northumberland and East Anglia, but great part of Mercia. The northern portion of Northumberland, which had been under the government of the Anglo-Saxon kings or dukes of Bamburgh, does not appear to have voluntarily submitted to this arrangement. Into this district Anlaf carried fire and sword, plundering the church of St. Balther at Tynningham, and burning the surrounding buildings. For this sacrilege, however, he paid the penalty of his life, being slain on his return. His death did not check the barbarous ravages of his followers, who "wasted the island of Lindisfarne and slew many."

The death of Anlaf is placed by Symeon A.D. 941, by the Saxon Chronicle a year later: the latter is probably the true date. Edmund now claimed, as of his own right, the entire territory which had been divided between himself and the deceased king, but in this he met with a formidable opponent in Anlaf, the son of Sitric, who vigorously asserted his title to the dominions of his namesake, a large portion of which had previously been enjoyed by his father. Ragnal, also, of whom we have heard nothing for many years, renewed his pretensions.¹ Edmund, immediately on Anlaf's death, wrested from the Danes their five Mercian boroughs,

¹ Ragnal's absence from Northumberland extended over a period of nearly twenty years, during which our English annalists are altogether silent as to his proceedings. In the meantime, however, as we learn from the Norman historians, he was far from inactive, being engaged in a career of conquest and devastation in the interior of France, where he settled with his followers on the banks of the Loire. Here, after the deposition of Charles the Simple, he aided Rollo in his wars with Raoul; and hither he seems to have returned after his final expulsion from Northumberland. A grotesque stone head was long exhibited at Fleury, which was supposed to have belonged to the effigies on his tomb. See Palgrave's *Normandy and England*.

Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Stamford. The following year the younger Anlaf took Tamworth by storm: "There was great carnage on both sides, but the Danes obtained the victory, and carried away much booty." They also recovered Leicester, in which Anlaf and Archbishop Wulstan were besieged by Edmund, and so hard pressed that they were glad to escape by flight. The alliance between the Archbishop and the Danish prince, who is still represented as a Pagan, against the Christian monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, is somewhat singular; it is probable, however, that Anlaf was already a convert, although his public baptism was deferred to a somewhat later period. A peace was shortly after concluded, when Edmund became sponsor at the baptismal font, not only to Anlaf, but to his uncle Ragnal. There is no reason, however, to believe that the territory which was now confirmed to the Danish princes, extended at all to the south of the Humber. Mercia, at all events, was annexed to the English monarchy, and apparently East Anglia also.

Huntingdon tells us that these conversions were due rather to policy than to conviction; at all events, the formal profession of Christianity does not appear to have worked any change in the hearts of those subtle and treacherous Northmen. The very next year Edmund, having discovered fresh plots, expelled both kings from Northumberland.

Three years after the death of Athelstan, his indefatigable opponent Constantine retired to the cloister, "in decrepid old age, *committing*," as we are told, "the kingdom to Malcolm, the son of Donal." This was in the year 943. The resignation of Constantine was probably not voluntary; at all events he does not seem to have been consulted in the choice of his successor, as he had at least one surviving son, who actually attained the crown at a later period. Malcolm was not even the son of his brother, but of another Donal, who had been his own predecessor on the throne, being indeed the representative of a rival branch of the royal family. The new king was as intimately connected with Edmund as Constantine had been bitterly opposed to his predecessor. Without his neutrality, indeed, if not his active assistance, it is doubtful whether the expulsion of the Danish Kings of Northumberland could have been effected.

Possessed of Northumberland, and united by a mutually advantageous alliance with Scotland, on terms of friendly connection with the petty princes of Wales, there was but one quarter of the island to which Edmund could look with jealousy or alarm—the indigenious kingdom of Cumberland. The extent and population of

this state, although by no means inconsiderable, could never of themselves render it a formidable antagonist, but its harbours lay immediately opposite to that part of Ireland which was colonized by the Danes, and afforded ready facilities for invasion. A Danish army landed in Cumberland had on the one hand the fullest means of communication and co-operation with their countrymen in Northumberland, and on the other a most advantageous basis for hostile operations against the central districts of England. Even without the provocation of actual aggression, motives of precaution alone might have tempted Edmund to effect the reduction of Cumberland, but, under Eugenius, provocation had not been wanting, ever ready as that king had proved himself to second the ambitious projects of the restless Constantine.

Of the fate of Eugenius we know nothing, nor does his name occur again after the battle of Brunanburgh; but in the year 945 his throne was occupied by Dunmail, probably his son, as this seems but another form of Donal, a name of such frequent occurrence in his family. Against this king, Edmund now turned his arms, and, in the words of the Saxon Chronicle, "wasted all Cumberland, and gave it to Malcolm King of Scots, on this condition, that he should be his ally by land and sea." To this statement Wendover adds, that having, by the aid of Leoline King of South Wales, plundered that province of all its wealth, he deprived the two sons of Dunmail of sight. The absence of any mention of the fate of Dunmail himself seems to favour the presumption that he escaped; but for many years we have no traces of his adventures. At length, after a lapse of nearly thirty years, we find in the Cambrian Annals a notice of a British prince called Dunwallen, who performed a pilgrimage to Rome, and there died. This prince has been generally held to be identical with Dunmail, but it has been objected that he is termed the Prince, not of Cumbria, but of Strathelyde. It has, however, escaped the notice of these objectors, that after Strathelyde was merged in Cumberland, the name of the smaller state continues to be applied in these annals to the more extended territory, and especially in describing this very devastation of Edmund, it is said to have been committed in Strathelyde, although in this case we know that the whole of Cumberland must of necessity be implied.

King Edmund perished by the hand of an assassin A.D. 946, and was succeeded by his brother Eadred. "He subdued," says the Saxon Chronicle, "all Northumberland under his power; and the Scots gave their oaths that his will should be theirs."

At Tadden's-cliff Archbishop Wulfstan and all the Witan of Northumberland swore allegiance, but a brief space was sufficient to shew how little dependance was to be placed on this treacherous prelate and his followers. In the year 947 they were again in rebellion, having chosen Eric, the son of Harold, King of Denmark, for their king. This prince is confounded by the northern historians with Eric Blodax, the son of Harold Harfager King of Norway, whom, as we have seen, they represent as occupying the Northumbrian throne at the epoch of the battle of Brunanburch. Adam of Bremen, as cited by Dr. Lappenberg, informs us that Eric (or, as he calls him, Hiring) was sent by his father to conquer England. He naturally selected Northumberland as the most favourable field for the commencement of his operations, nor did he overestimate the warmth of the reception which awaited him amongst a kindred people. Eadred, however, was not unprepared for the emergency, but marching without delay into Northumberland, he ravaged the whole province, not even sparing the churches and monasteries, of which the destruction of Ripon by fire is a memorable instance. On his return the Danes assembled a numerous army at York, with which they followed him to Chesterford, and there attacking his rear, made great slaughter. For this outrage he contemplated a deep revenge; "so wroth was he, that he would have led his forces back again, and utterly destroyed the land," but this extremity was averted by the Northumbrian Witan, who, abandoning the sovereign whom they had so recently chosen, again submitted to Eadred, and tendered him satisfaction for the loss he had sustained. No sooner, however, was one opponent disposed of than another appeared in the same field. Eric retired in 948, and in the following year Anlaf renewed his pretensions, and was again received with a cordial welcome by the fickle Northumbrians. "This year," (A.D. 949) says the Saxon Chronicle, "Anlaf Cuaran came to Northumberland." From the date of his restoration he occupied the throne nearly four years, giving place to Eric, who a second time obtained this precarious sovereignty. The revolution, though described as the act of the Northumbrians themselves, who are said to have expelled Anlaf, was probably owing to the measures adopted against his confederate, the veteran traitor Wulfstan. "In the year 952 King Edred commanded Archbishop Wolfstan to be brought into the fastness at Jedburgh, because he had been often accused to the King, and in this year also the King commanded a great slaughter to be made at Thetford, to revenge the death of the Abbot Edelm." The second reign of Eric was almost as brief as the former. "In 954 the Northumbrians expelled Eric,

and Eadred obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians. This year also, Archbishop Wulfstan again obtained a bishoprick at Dorchester." The elevation of Wulfstan, thus narrated in the same paragraph with the expulsion of Eric, again suggests a connection between the two events, and points to the Archbishop as an agent in the transaction; thus regaining the favour which he had forfeited by one act of treachery by the perpetration of another. The chief promoter, however, of the revolution is stated by Wendover to have been the Earl Osulf, "by whose treachery," we are told, "King Eric was slain by a nobleman called Macon, together with his son Henry and his brother Reginald, in a lonely region called Stainmoor.

With Eric was extinguished the Danish authority in Northumberland, nor did any one hereafter bear the title of King of that province, although some of the Earls who succeeded enjoyed an amount of power almost as extensive.

During the period through which we have just passed, it is not always very easy to discriminate between persons bearing the same name, the constant succession of Guthreds or Godfreys, Sitrics, and Anlafs being truly perplexing. To obviate as much as possible this difficulty, a genealogy of the Dano-Northumbrian kings is appended to this chapter. A mistake as to the parentage of Sitric and Ragnal, the sons of Godfrey, and grandsons of Ingwar, has been already explained. The confusion at a later period, from the frequent recurrence of the name of Anlaf, has been pronounced inextricable, and doubts have been entertained, whether *two* or *three* kings of that name reigned in Northumberland between the death of Sitric in 926, and the final extinction of the kingdom in 954. It is necessary, therefore, to state the grounds upon which their number is here confined to two, Anlaf the son of Sitric, and Anlaf the son of Godfrey, and of the assignment of the several particulars recorded of them, to one or the other. These particulars are as follows:—

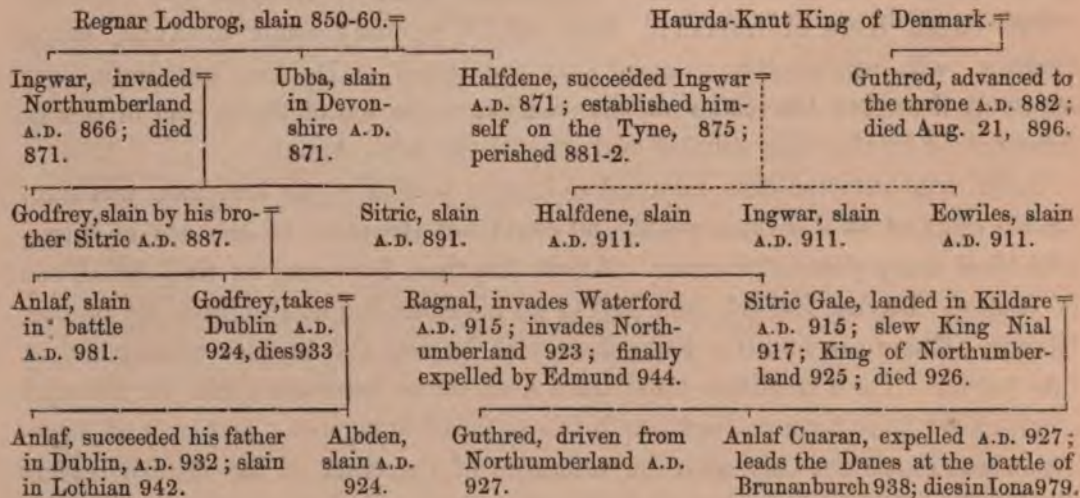
- A. D.
 927. Guthred and Anlaf, the sons of Sitric, expelled by Athelstan.
 937-8. Anlaf, with Constantine, King of Scotland, defeated by Athelstan at Brunanburch.
 939-41. Division of England between Edmund and Anlaf.
 941. Anlaf plunders Tynningham.
 942. Death of Anlaf.
 942. Anlaf storms Tamworth.
 943. Reconciliation of Edmund and Anlaf; the latter baptized.
 944. Anlaf expelled.
 949. Anlaf received by the Northumbrians as king.
 952. Anlaf expelled.

All our historians mention the expulsion of Guthred, the son of Sitric, but of the more ancient, Malmsbury only notices that of Anlaf. Of his expulsion, however, there can be no doubt. Anlaf, who commanded the Danish forces at Brunanburg, is called, in the Saxon Chronicle, "Anlaf of Ireland;" by Florence, "The Pagan King of Ireland;" titles which properly apply to Anlaf, son of Godfrey, who at that time reigned over the Danes in Dublin; but Malmsbury expressly describes the leader on this occasion as the son of Sitric, and in this he is confirmed by the more reliable authority of the Irish Annals.

Anlaf, who extorted from Edmund so large a portion of his kingdom, was slain after a reign of two or three years, and could not therefore be the son of Sitric, who lived many years afterwards. About this time, however, we find Anlaf, son of Godfrey, leaving Ireland, and giving up his command at Dublin to his brother Blacair. There can be little doubt, then, that he was the invader of England at this period. The expedition must have been on an immense scale, or Edmund would never have been coerced into terms so disadvantageous; and such an expedition was consistent only with the resources of the chief of the Danish leaders in Ireland. These arguments are here urged, because it is not sufficient to shew that it was not the son of Sitric, in order to prove that it was the son of Godfrey, as there were other leaders of the name of Anlaf in Ireland at this time.

Anlaf, who succeeded his namesake in 942, and was expelled in 944, was certainly the son of Sitric, for this is expressly stated by Florence of Worcester; but it has been doubted whether it was himself, or another of the same name, who was received by the Northumbrians as their king in 949, and expelled in 952. The individual who reigned between these dates is called by the Saxon Chronicle Anlaf Cwiran, and is no doubt the same as Anlaf Cuaran, whose name occurs several times in the Irish Annals, and the question arises, Was Anlaf the son of Sitric identical with Anlaf Cuaran? This question is solved in the affirmative, by a reference to those annals under the years 978 and 979, in the former of which we read that Anlaf Cuaran retired to Iona; in the latter, that Anlaf, the son of Sitric, died there. During the long period of 30 years, from his expulsion to his death, he was perpetually engaged in those conflicts of which Ireland was the scene, and at length ended his life in the exercise of that religion in which he had been instructed by Edmund, being memorable as the first Christian convert amongst the Danes in Ireland.

GENEALOGY OF THE DANISH KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.



NOTE ON SYMEON OF DURHAM, REFERRED TO IN PAGE 132 AND PAGE 138.

The religious establishment to which Symeon belonged was originally founded at Jarrow, in 1073, by Aldwine, its first Prior, under the auspices of Walcher Bishop of Durham, by whose successor, William de Carilepho, it was removed, ten years afterwards, to the episcopal city, from whence the secular clergy, who had hitherto ministered in the cathedral, were expelled, and their place supplied by the monks. It is probable that Symeon was a resident in Durham previous to this change, and that he joined the new foundation on its removal thither. He speaks, from his own recollection, of the way in which the cathedral service was performed in the time of Bishop Walcher, who was murdered in 1080, and we may hence infer that he had at all events attained the age of manhood in 1083.

In one of the copies of his Church History, we are told that the number of monks who entered the priory at Durham in that year was 30; and as Symeon stands the 38th on the list of monks, commencing with Aldwine, we may fairly assume, making allowance for deaths and removals during the intervening ten years, that he was one of the thirty who were received into his church by Bishop William. The date of his birth cannot therefore be placed much later than A.D. 1060.

This date is consistent with the fact, related both by himself, and by an historian of the succeeding age, Reginald of Coldingham, that he was present at the examination of the remains of St. Cuthbert

in 1104, and officiated as one of the senior monks on the occasion. Two, indeed, of the seniors whose names are mentioned by Reginald, appear to have been of inferior standing to Symeon.*

The *History of the Church of Durham* attributed to Symeon terminates in the year 1096, nor does it contain any allusion to any more recent event than the inspection of the remains of St. Cuthbert in 1104, already referred to. There exists, however, a chronicle, or rather an historical collection, which is also ascribed to Symeon, from the rubric prefixed to which it would appear that the author continued his labours till the year 1164, at which date he must, if he were also the author of the Church History, have been upwards of 100 years old. Assuming this latter work to have been his production, and assuming also the correctness of the rubric, Selden, in a very elaborate argument, undertook to prove, not only that the Church History was not written by Symeon, but that it was actually written by Prior Turgot, the superior of the monastery. This assumption was effectually disposed of by Rud, in a dissertation prefixed to Bedford's edition of the Durham History, in which he shews, that even supposing Symeon to have been the author of the other work, there was no reason on that account to dispute his claims to the authorship of the Church History; for although the rubric prefixed to the former would lead us to believe that it is carried down to the year 1164, the work itself only extends to 1130, at which time, supposing, on the data given above, that Symeon was born in 1060, he would not be more than 70 years of age. The publication of Reginald's *Miracles of St. Cuthbert* has proved the correctness of Rud's conclusions beyond the possibility of doubt, whilst the general accuracy of Symeon's list of monks has been established by the publication of the *Liber Vita*, in which (p. 44) a similar list occurs. The chronicle, or collection, on which Selden founded his argument contains a variety of very miscellaneous matter, comprising a miraculous legend relative to S. S. Ethelred and Ethelbert, a paraphrase in a very bombastic style of the ancient Northumbrian chronology from Ida to Ceolwulf, with copious extracts from Beda, Asser, and Malmsbury. Its principal contents, however, consist, *first*, of a brief chronicle relating chiefly to Northumbrian events from the death of Beda, in 735, to the accession of Ethelred King of England, in 957; and, *secondly*, of a somewhat abbreviated transcript of Florence of Worcester from A.D. 849, with numerous interpolations, and a continuation to A.D. 1130.

The first of these may properly be distinguished by the title, bestowed by the rubricator on the whole compilation, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum et Dacorum*; the second may be referred to as the "Interpolations to Florence."

I. *Gesta Regum Anglorum et Dacorum*. Mr. Hardy, in his Preface to the *Monumenta Historica*, has adduced strong grounds against assigning the authorship of this Chronicle to Symeon. It is undoubtedly the work of a much earlier age, founded apparently on contemporary annals. The earlier portion, indeed, is derived in a great measure from the chronology appended to many of the MSS. of Beda, the three or four first sentences of which were probably penned by the venerable historian himself, as they occur in all the best copies, and relate to events which occurred between the close of his History and his death. A gap occurs in the chronology between the years 801 and 888, which has been supplied by a paraphrase of Asser, evidently by the same hand which had previously operated on the Chronicle of the early Kings of Northumberland. From this date, a few brief particulars are recorded, under various years, down to A.D. 978.

* The following is a list of the senior monks present on the occasion. The numerals denote the order in which their names occur in the roll of the brethren, from their first establishment at Jarrow.

Turgot, the Prior (6)	Osburn (24)
Aldwin, Sub-Prior (48)	Henry, Archdeacon (32)
Leafwin (4)	William, ditto (35)
Wiking (17)	Algar (49)
Godwin (11)	Symeon (38)

The *Gesta Regum*, though not the work of Symeon, has evidently been in his hands, and has furnished him with much of the material for his Church History during the period to which it relates.^b Indeed, it is not difficult to trace all his authorities, from the time where Beda's narrative fails him till the latter end of the tenth century. These are chiefly the little Chronicle now under consideration, and the ancient *Historia Cuthberti*, printed by Twisden, with occasional aid from the Saxon Chronicle. In several instances, where the same information might have been obtained from the Saxon Chronicle as from the *Gesta Regum*, we may still satisfy ourselves that the latter was the authority on which Symeon relied, from the peculiarity of expression which he has adopted from it.

The following instances of identity of diction will be sufficient to show that the coincidence is not fortuitous:—

1st. Describing the elevation of Egbert Bishop of York to the archiepiscopal dignity, A.D. 735, the following words are used in the *Gesta*; the same are adopted by Symeon: "Primus post Paulinum, accepto ab apostolicâ sede pallio, genti Northanhymbrorum in archiepiscopatum confirmatus est."

2nd. Speaking of the death of Balther of Tynningham, A.D. 756, the words in the *Gesta* are, "Viam sanctorum patrum est secutus, migrando ad eum qui se reformavit ad imaginem filii sui." Symeon adopts the same words, substituting only "ingressus est" for "est secutus."

3rd. In reference to the retirement of King Eadbert to a cloister, we read in the *Gesta*, "In clericali dei omnipotentis servitio." Symeon has the same words, transposing only "dei" and "omnipotentis."

4th. In reference to the destruction of Lindisfarne, A.D. 793, Symeon copies from the *Gesta*, with very slight verbal alterations, first, the description of the island and monastery; secondly, the account of the prodigies which preceded its destruction; and lastly, the particulars of the catastrophe.

5th. The account given in the *Gesta* of the attack, by the Danes, on the monastery at the mouth of the Don is copied verbatim by Symeon; but the latter adds the explanation, which was probably unnecessary in the earlier writer, that "Portus Egfridi," was a term applied to Jarrow.

If it be objected, that it is possible that the author of the *Gesta* may have copied from Symeon, and not Symeon from him, the answer is supplied by Symeon himself, who tells us that he borrows his description of Lindisfarne from a previous writer. If, indeed, the *Gesta* had been written by a subsequent author, with the work of Symeon open before him, it is impossible to doubt that he would have availed himself of the historical matter which the latter has culled from the *Historia Cuthberti*.

The same consideration is conclusive against the supposition, that Symeon was himself the author of the *Gesta*. If this had been so, we cannot doubt that he would have given here, as well as in his Church History, a prominent place to the narrative of the elevation of King Guthred, who was raised from slavery to a throne by the interposition of St. Cuthbert.

Interpolated with our copy of the *Gesta*, are certain legends relating to the early Bishops of Hexham, which must have been introduced after the publication of Symeon's *History of the Church of Durham*. The latter enumerates amongst the relics which were removed from other places to Durham, the bones, or a portion of them, of Acca and Alemond, Bishops of Hexham; whereas the burden and object of these legends is to prove, by miraculous evidence, that not a bone of either of these saints had, or could have, been removed from Hexham; but that the whole were deposited in the church of the recently restored monastery, built on the site of the ancient episcopal fabric. As the priory of Hexham was not founded till A.D. 1113, these interpolations must have been inserted subsequently to that date, by which time, no doubt, Symeon's History was well known and widely circulated in the North.

^b The *Gesta Regum* seems also to have been in the hands of Henry of Huntingdon, and Roger of Wendover, but their copy must have been fuller than the existing text, as many particulars are given, especially by the latter, which are not to be met with in our copy. It was probably a perfect copy of this work which is cited by Adam of Bremen, under the title of *Gesta Anglorum*. His reference to that work applies to the portion of the ninth century in which the unfortunate hiatus mentioned above occurs. See above, under the year 896.

II. *The Interpolations of Florence of Worcester.*—As the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* was one of the principal sources from which Symeon drew the materials for his *History of Durham*, so that History, in turn, afforded the same assistance to the interpolator of Florence in the earlier portion of his labours. Numerous inaccuracies, however, will be found in the latter from which Symeon's real work is altogether free. Inconsistencies between the two narratives may also be detected, of a nature which renders it impossible to consider both the work of the same author. For an examination of these discrepancies and errors, the reader is referred to the next chapter, where, under the year 1070, several instances are cited in the text and accompanying note.

The constant reference to original authorities, and comparison of their details, which has been necessary for this compilation, have convinced the editor that no portion of what is generally called the Chronicle of Symeon can have been the work of that author. The earlier portion, indeed, to which the title *Gesta Regum* has been here confined, may, in conjunction with the ancient *Historia Cuthberti*, so often referred to, be fairly entitled the *Collectanea* of Symeon, in the sense in which that title is applied to a portion of the labours of Leland; but with the interpolated text of Florence he has no connection, except in so far as the additions are derived from his Church History.

If this conclusion be a correct one, we are not only relieved from the difficulty of the hypothesis that Symeon lived and wrote so late as the year 1164, but we cease to have any ground for believing that he survived so late as 1130; or, indeed, any long time after he assisted in the translation of St. Cuthbert's remains, A.D. 1104. If he really lived till 1130, and brought down a Secular History to that date, how are we to account for his leaving to other hands the continuation of his more elaborate Ecclesiastical History from A.D. 1096?¹

The other works ascribed to Symeon are a short History of the Archbishops of York, in the form of a letter to Hugh, Dean of that church, and a History of Uchtred and the succeeding Earls of Northumberland, to which frequent reference will be made in the next chapter.

Of these, the former is of little value, but it is authenticated by the name of the author, not merely in the rubric, but at the commencement of the work itself. The latter contains many details not elsewhere to be found, except in the pages of the interpolator of Florence, to which they have been transferred.

A new edition of Symeon of Durham would reflect credit on any of our numerous publishing societies. If such a work should ever be attempted, the editor would venture to suggest the following arrangement.

I. History of the Church of Durham.

II. Opera Minora, containing the Histories of the Archbishops of York and the Earls of Northumberland.

III. Collectanea, containing the *Historia Cuthberti* and the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*.

IV. Appendix, containing—1st. The Interpolations of Florence, with the Continuation, omitting the repetition of Florence's own text, of which we already possess an excellent edition. 2ndly. The Legend of Ethelred and Ethelbert, which, although of little value, have been associated with the *Gesta Regum* from an early period.

The extracts from Bede, with the bombastic paraphrases of the Northumbrian Chronology and of Asser, should be altogether omitted.

¹ Although the records of his favourite church are silent as to the year of Symeon's death, we learn from an ancient obituary, published by the Surtees Society in the Appendix to the *Liber Vite*, that his obit was annually celebrated on the 14th of October.

CHAPTER V.

THE OFFICIAL EARLDOM.

IN comparing the local nomenclature of Northumberland, north of the Tyne, with that of Yorkshire and other counties, which were occupied by the Danes, we cannot fail to be struck with the relative paucity of names of Scandinavian origin in the former district. Nor is this inconsistent with the history of the Danish conquests and settlements in the North, as detailed in the last chapter; for whilst Yorkshire was parcelled out amongst the invaders, and adopted as their home, modern Northumberland was left in a great measure in the hands of its Anglo-Saxon inhabitants, who were even permitted to live under rulers of their own race, in subordination to the Danish kings.

Of these chieftains, who held their petty court at Bamburgh, under the title of Kings, Dukes, or Earls, we have nearly a complete list, which it may be convenient to recapitulate here, as judging from the recurrence of the same family names, they appear to have been the progenitors of the Earls of Northumberland, whose history must now engage our attention.

A.D.	A.D.	
867	872	Egbert reigned over the Northumbrians, north of the Tyne, " <i>sub dominio Dacorum.</i> "
873	876	Ricsig died during Halfdene's occupation of Northumberland.
876	—	Egbert II. was still on the throne on the accession of Guthred in 883.
—	912	Eadulf, Duke of Bamburgh. His death is recorded by Ethelward.
912	—	Aldred, son of Eadulf, submits to Edward in 924, to Athelstan in 926; defeated, with his brother <i>Uchtred</i> , by Ragnal, at the battle of Tynemoor or Corbridge.
—	954	Osulf betrayed King Eyríc.

Osulf seems to have been already in possession of the Earldom of Bamburgh at the time of his treachery, as he is then designated *Earl* Osulf by the only writer who makes any reference to his connection with the deposition of Eyríc. He was rewarded by Eadred with the Earldom of Yorkshire, his government being thus extended over all that remained of the ancient kingdom of Northum-

berland. Henceforth the northern earldom, of which Bamburgh was the capital, and to which the name of Northumberland was afterwards limited, appears to have descended in his family, as he himself probably enjoyed it, by inheritance; whilst the government of Yorkshire was bestowed at pleasure by the Saxon and Danish monarchs of England. He was himself deprived of the latter before his death, by Edgar, the nephew and successor of Eadred, but continued to retain Northumberland.

Osulf was succeeded in Yorkshire by Oslac, who in turn was banished in 975. His reverse of fortune is deplored in a wild poem preserved in the Saxon Chronicle under that year.

In the same year Eadulf was seated at Bamburgh as the successor of Osulf in the northern earldom. Up to this period Lothian, with the exception of Edinburgh, which had been ceded by Eadred to Malcolm King of Scotland, twenty years previously, continued to form a portion of Northumberland. In the year 975, however, as we learn from Wendover,

“Bishop Alfsey and Earl Eadulf conducted Kenneth King of Scotland to King Edgar, who made him many presents of his royal bounty. He gave him, moreover, the whole district, called Laudian in the native tongue, on this condition, that every year on certain festivals, when the king and his successors wore the crown, he should come to court and celebrate the festival with the other nobles. The king gave him besides, many mansions on the road, that he and his successors might find entertainment in going and returning; and these houses continued to belong to the kings of Scotland until the time of Henry II.”

Towards the close of his career, Eadulf became feeble and inactive, content to provide for his own safety within the walls of his stronghold at Bamburgh. Here he was blockaded by a hostile army, and his territory to the south left open to invaders from any quarter. Of these circumstances the Scots were ready to avail themselves, and a large force, assembled under the command of Malcolm, the son of Kenneth McAlpin, laid siege to Durham. The date assigned by Symeon to this invasion, in the only existing MS.* (A.D. 969), is obviously corrupt, coupled as it is with the reign of Ethelred and the episcopacy of Aldune, and equally inconsistent with the era of Malcolm and Eadulf. The concurrence of these

* The particulars here cited are found in a little tract which occurs amongst the works of Symeon of Durham, entitled, “De obsessione Dunelmi, et de probitate Uchtredi Comitum, et de Comitibus qui ei successerunt.” From hence the narrative has been transferred to the chronicle erroneously assigned to Symeon, which is based on Florence of Worcester’s history.

names not only points out the error, but enables us to rectify it with a tolerable approximation to accuracy, placing the occurrence about a quarter of a century later. The Saxon Chronicle fixes the precise year, not indeed noticing the siege of Durham, but assigning the blockade of Bamburgh, out of which the other arose, to the year 993. In that year Eadulf was an old man, and his son Uchtred in his prime; Aldune had presided over the migratory church of St. Cuthbert about two years; and Ethelred had been King of England fourteen. Malcolm did not indeed attain the crown of Scotland till ten years later; but his father Kenneth was then on the throne, and he was himself King of Cumberland, and as the immediate heir to his father, the natural leader of the Scottish forces.

Reverting to the Saxon Chronicle, we find that the assault on Bamburgh proceeded not from the Scots, but from the Danes, that ultimately "the castle was taken by storm, and much booty with it." Whether Eadulf perished in its fall we are not informed; but he was still alive, and his fortress untaken, at the time when Symeon describes the march of the Scottish army to Durham. Under these circumstances, Uchtred, taking upon himself the duty which his father was unable to perform, assembled the strength, not only of Northumberland, but of Yorkshire, and attacking the Scots, defeated them with immense slaughter, their leader escaping with a small band of fugitives. For this service Uctred was rewarded by Ethelred, not only with his father's earldom of Northumberland, but with Yorkshire also. At a later period, when he had advanced more and more in military renown, the same king gave him his daughter Elfgiva in marriage; but this must have been some years afterwards, for Ethelred himself at the time of the defeat of the Scottish army at Durham, was but twenty-five years old, having succeeded to the throne at the early age of eleven. This was Uchtred's third marriage. His first wife was Ecgfrida, the daughter of Bishop Aldune, with whom he received six manors belonging to the church, which the Bishop thought himself justified in bestowing as a dowry on his child. His second wife was the daughter of a wealthy citizen, Styr, the son of Ulf, who only consented to the marriage on condition that the suitor should first rid him of his most hated enemy, called Turebrand. This stipulation was fulfilled, and the damsel, by name Sigen, was bestowed on him. He had previously repudiated the Bishop's daughter, returning to her father the dowry he had received with her. She was married a second time to a Yorkshire Thane, Kilvert, the son of Liulf, by whom she had an only daughter, Sigrida, when she was again divorced, and afterwards,

by her father's command, took the veil, finding in a cloister the repose which she had twice in vain sought in wedlock. On the close of her chequered life, her remains were laid in the cemetery at Durham.

During the usurpation of Sweyn, A.D. 1013, when Ethelred himself abandoned his kingdom and fled to Normandy, "Uchtred the Earl and all the Northumbrians" were compelled to submit to the conqueror; but on his death, six months afterwards, none were more ready to welcome the return of their native sovereign.

But a short interval of repose was, however, allowed either to the King or his people, as the success of Sweyn was vigorously followed up by his son Cnut, the result of whose invasion, so far as regards Northumberland, is thus stated in the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1016:—

"Then rode the Etheling Edmund into Northumberland to Uchtred the Earl, and every man thought they would assemble forces against King Cnut. They marched into Staffordshire and into Shropshire, and to Chester; and they plundered on their part and Cnut on his part. He went through Buckinghamshire into Bedfordshire, and so into Northamptonshire, and through the fens to Stamford; and then into Lincolnshire, and thence into Nottinghamshire, and so to Northumberland towards York. When Uchtred heard this he left off plundering, and hastened northwards, and submitted from need, and all the Northumbrians with him; and he delivered hostages; but notwithstanding this, they slew him, through the counsel of Eadric the Ealderman, and Thurcytel the son of Nafena, with him.

Symeon says he was slain by Turebrand the Hold, probably a son of that Turebrand who was slain by Uchtred, at the instance of his father-in-law Styr. He further tells us that the Earl refused to submit to Cnut whilst Ethelred lived, declaring that he should be the basest of men, if he deserted his benefactor, his king, and his father-in-law; but that after his death he tendered his submission, and received a safe conduct to come to the Danish King to arrange an accommodation. Presenting himself on the appointed day, he was treacherously slain by Turebrand in the royal presence, with forty of his chief officers, at a place called Wihael. He left issue by each of his three marriages. By Ecgfrida he had a son Aldred. By Sigen he had two sons, Eadulf and Gospatric, the former of whom married Sigfrida, the daughter of the repudiated Ecgfrida by her second husband Kilvert. By Elfgiva he had a daughter Aldgitha, who was married to Maldred, son of Crinan the Thane. These particulars are all derived from Symeon, and will be found, with many other genealogical details from the same source, exhibited with great perspicuity in a tabular pedigree compiled by Mr. Hodgson, and inserted in his History, Part II., vol. iii., page 12.

All our historians concur in assigning the death of Uchtred to the year 1016. Cnut appointed as his successor Yric, a countryman of his own, but his authority certainly did not extend to the northern earldom, which was enjoyed by Eadulf Cudel, the brother of Uchtred.

The late Earl, amongst his other exploits, seems to have wrested Lothian, which had been given up in his father's time, out of the hands of the Scots, and Eadulf Cudel is represented as indolent and cowardly, because he suffered them to regain possession of it; but it must be borne in mind that he did not, like his brother, wield the resources of both earldoms, nor could he hope for assistance from the Anglo-Danish monarch, against whom, on the contrary, he maintained himself with difficulty in his northern citadel. Neither did he yield Lothian without an attempt to maintain it by arms, but after one of the most disastrous defeats that is recorded in history. Symeon, in his Church History, gives an account of this battle, fought at Carham on the Tweed, A.D. 1018. A levy had been made of the whole population between the Tees and the Tweed, capable of bearing arms. Of these by far the greater part perished in the conflict with the Scots, including especially the older men, whose services on ordinary occasions would have been dispensed with. So overwhelming was the calamity, that the venerable Bishop Aldune died of grief, and Eadulf seems to have had no alternative but to agree to any terms which were offered to him. If blame is justly to be attributed to him, it must be for his conduct during the engagement, or previously, of which we know nothing. The author of the additions to Florence, erroneously ascribed to Symeon, whilst he adopts the date of the battle mentioned in the Church History, represents Uchtred, and not Eadulf, as the leader of the English, although he must have read in the author whom he interpolates, that Uchtred had been two years in his grave. From this period the Tweed became the recognized limit between the eastern marches of England and Scotland. On the western side the little state of Cumberland, extending from the Clyde to the Dudden, was still interposed between the two larger kingdoms, by which it was destined ultimately to be absorbed in unequal portions.

During the reign of Ethelred, and whilst Uchtred held the two earldoms of Northumberland, we have one brief notice respecting it; and that, like most of those which have preceded it, is written in letters of blood. In the year 1000, we are told, "the King went into Cumberland, and ravaged it well nigh all." To this Huntingdon adds, "There was the chief resort of the Danes, whom he

vanquished in a great battle." It was not, then, as has been supposed, a wanton aggression on the inoffensive Cumbrians, but a measure of self-defence against the most implacable enemies who ever infested the shores of England. If Ethelred had shown on other occasions the same energy and promptitude that he displayed on this, it is possible that the disastrous conclusion of his life and reign might have been averted. Fordun, it must be stated, gives a different version, but he is unsupported by any other authority. He tells us that the Cumbrians excited the animosity of Ethelred by refusing to contribute to the fund collected for the inglorious object of purchasing the forbearance of the Danes. We know that about this period such an unworthy expedient was resorted to, and on this fact Fordun has founded his superstructure, so flattering to the indigenous inhabitants of the province.

Eadulf Cudel did not long hold the earldom; but was succeeded on his death by his nephew Aldred, the son of Uchtred by Egfrida the daughter of Bishop Aldune. This new Earl avenged his father's death by the slaughter of Turebrand the Hold, falling himself, a short time afterwards, by the hand of Carl, the son of his victim; nor did the series of homicides terminate even here, but was swelled, at a later period, by the massacre of the sons of Carl by Waltheof, the grandson of Aldred, who, though but a child at the time of the murder, cherished the bloody spirit of revenge till he arrived at manhood, and attained the earldom. Uchtred, as we have seen, had himself no feud with the elder Turebrand, but slew him to propitiate his father-in-law, Styr the son of Ulf. His own life, by a retribution of which he at least had no reason to complain, fell a sacrifice to Turebrand the Hold, who, again, was slain by Aldred. The death of the latter by the sword of Carl is the fourth act in this dismal tragedy, to which the wholesale butchery of the sons of Carl formed a fitting sequel.

The death of Aldred was accomplished by the most refined treachery on the part of Carl. For some time neither party disguised his enmity, but each openly sought the life of the other; then a reconciliation, brought about by the interposition of friends, was succeeded by a close apparent intimacy. To cement the amicable relations thus ostensibly formed, the two parties agreed to make a joint pilgrimage to Rome, but the execution of their project was delayed by unfavourable weather. In the meantime, Earl Aldred was sumptuously entertained by Carl at his own mansion, and being decoyed thence into a wood called Risewood, was there barbarously murdered. The place of his death was marked long afterwards by a stone cross erected on the spot.

He was succeeded by his half-brother Eadulf, who is remembered chiefly for the atrocities which he committed in his incursions on the territory of the Britons. He held his earldom three years, during which he seems to have maintained, like his two immediate predecessors, a precarious independence, unrecognized, but unmolested by the Anglo-Danish kings. At length, in 1041, he made offers of submission to Hardicnut, which were favourably received, and a meeting appointed. "In this year," says the Saxon Chronicle, "Harthacnut betrayed Eadulf the Earl whilst under his protection, and he became then a believer of his word." Symeon attributes his murder to Siward, who already held the southern earldom, and coveted the possession of the northern province. Yric, who had been made Earl on the death of Uchtred, was afterwards banished by his patron Cnut, with whom Malmsbury says he wished to place himself on a footing of equality. Wendover gives the date of his expulsion A.D. 1021. Whether Siward was his immediate successor is uncertain, the first notice of this Earl in any authentic history being in connection with the death of Eadulf; after which his name frequently occurs. He had an adverse claim to the northern earldom in right of his wife Elflæda, the daughter of Aldred, the elder brother and predecessor of Eadulf. This lady, moreover, claimed as her own the manors which her mother Sigfrida inherited, and which were given, as before stated, by Bishop Aldune to his daughter Egfrida, the mother of Sigfrida, and grandmother of Elflæda, and these were appropriated by her husband to her separate use.

The following table will illustrate the succession of the Earls of Bamburgh or Northumberland, and of Yorkshire, from Oslac to Siward.

A. D.	
954	Oslaf in Northumberland.—The same in Yorkshire.
959	. . . . . —Oslac in the place of Osulf.
975	Eadulf in Northumberland.—Oslac expelled; his successor unknown.
993	Uchtred in Northumberland.—The same in Yorkshire.
1016	Eadulf Cudel. in Northumberland.—Yric in Yorkshire.
1021	Aldred in Northumberland.—Yric expelled; successor uncertain.
1038	Eadulf in Northumberland.—Siward in Yorkshire.
1041	Siward in Northumberland.—The same in Yorkshire.

The name of Siward, immortalized by Shakespear in the tragedy of *Macbeth*, was from an early period invested with a peculiar interest from the marvellous traditions which were associated with it. Huntingdon describes him as "a giant in stature, whose vigour of mind was equal to his bodily strength;" and Brompton

has a story of his descent from a Danish princess, whose paramour was a bear. His father, the son of this lady, although in other respects shaped in human form, was adorned, in token of his origin, with a pair of shaggy bear's ears. We do not learn, however, that this characteristic descended to Siward, who was no monster, but a noble specimen of humanity.^b His celebrated expedition into Scotland is thus narrated in the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1054.

"This year went Siward the Earl with a great army into Scotland, both with a shipforce and with a land-force, and fought against the Scots, and put to flight King Macbeth, and slew all the chief men in the land, and carried thence much booty, such as no man before had obtained. But his son Osbarn, and his sister's son Siward, and some of his hus-carls, and also of the king's, were there slain on the day of the Seven Sleepers."

Huntingdon speaks of two expeditions; the first, which was unsuccessful, being

^b The following particulars, founded also on the authority of Brompton, are given in the words of Dugdale, whose quaint style is better suited to the romantic incidents he details, than the language of a modern translation. "This stout Earl Berne had issue a son named Siward, who, after quitting his paternal inheritance in Denmark, took shipping, and, with fifty of his retinue, arrived in the island called Orchades, where meeting with a fierce dragon, he conquered him in single combat, and forced him to flee the land. Having so done, he put to sea again, and landed in Northumberland to seek another dragon; where walking in a wood, he met with a reverend old man, who told him that he sought that dragon which he could not find; but, said he, get you to your ship again, and sail southwards to the mouth of the river Thames, which will bring you to the wealthy city of London. And so parting with him, gave him a standard called Ravelandey, which signifieth, *The Raven of Earthly Terror*. Who thereupon, coming safely to London, was nobly received by King Edward the Confessor, with promise of no small honour, if he would stay with him. Whereunto Siward consenting, after thanks given to the king, departed the court; but meeting with Tosti, Earl of Huntingdon, upon a certain bridge, was by him most unworthily affronted, by soiling with dirt; yet Siward, though he took that usage very disdainfully, did not then lift up his hand against him; but upon his return (meeting him in the same place), he cut off Tosti's head, and carried it to the king, who hearing the truth of that passage, gave unto Siward the Earldom of Huntingdon, which Tosti had possessed.

"Not long after this, the kingdom being much infested by the Danes, the great men of the land, consulting with the king, did advise, that the little Devil should be first exposed to the great Devil, meaning that this Earl Siward should be placed upon that part of England, which was most like to be invaded by the Danes. Whereupon the king committed to his charge the counties of Westmorland, Cumberland, and Northumberland; under which title of Northumberland he had the administration of that earldom from Humber to Tweed."

The above is interesting, as perpetuating an early popular legend, but as material for genuine history, we can no more receive the story of the decapitation of Tosti, than the tale of the slaughter of the dragon. Neither is there any ground for believing that either Cumberland or Westmorland were included in Siward's earldom. A similar legend is preserved in the ancient *Life of Waltheof*, printed by the Caxton Society, with some additional matter, and some slight variation in the details.

led by Siward's son, who was slain, the second by himself. He has also preserved the memorable words of the old warrior on being informed of his loss: "Was his death-wound before or behind?" "Before." "Then I am more than satisfied; no other death was fitting either for him or for me."

The following year, "died Siward the Earl at York, and he lies at Galmaho, in the minster which he himself caused to be built, and hallowed in God's name and St. Olave's." Hundingdon adds—

"Perceiving that his end was approaching, he exclaimed, 'Shame on me that I did not die in one of the many battles I have fought, but am reserved to die with disgrace the death of a sick cow! Put on my armour, gird my sword by my side, place my helmet on my head, my shield in my left hand, and my battle-axe in my right, that at least I may die in a soldier's harness.' So saying, and being armed according to his wish, he gave up the ghost."

Both earldoms were now bestowed by Edward the Confessor on Tosti, the son of Earl Godwin, not only to the prejudice of Waltheof, the son of Siward, but of the numerous male descendants of the ancient lords of Bamburgh. Under Tosti, the government was administered by Copsi, or Coxo, a Yorkshire Thane, whose name is perpetuated in that of the village of Coxwold, in the North Riding, around which his possessions in the time of King Edward are recorded in *Doomsday-book*. The same venerable document enumerates the immense possessions of Earl Tosti in Amounderness and Furness. These were probably the lands which were wrested from the Britons, who were long the possessors of that portion of ancient Northumbria, by his predecessor Earl Eadulf, whose atrocities in that quarter have been already noticed. Tosti and his wife Judith, the sister of Baldwin Earl of Flanders, as well as Copsi, are commemorated by Symeon as liberal benefactors of the church of Durham. The Saxon Chronicle and Florence inform us, that Tosti and Judith made a pilgrimage to Rome in the year 1061. They were accompanied by Aldred Archbishop of York, who received his pall from Pope Nicholas. The Chronicle further states that the Earl and Bishop suffered many hardships on their return. To these particulars the author of the Interpolations of Florence attributed to Symeon, makes the following addition, which is copied by the Melrose Annals, Hoveden, and Gaimar, but unsanctioned by any independent authority: "Meanwhile Malcolm King of Scots furiously ravaged

* The church of St. Olave lies immediately adjacent to the grounds of the abbey of St. Mary at York.

the earldom of his sworn brother Tosti, and violated the peace of St. Cuthbert in the island of Lindisfarne." The government of Tosti was little acceptable to the Northumbrian nobles, who were treated with great rigour, and restricted in the exercise of the liberties which they had immemorially enjoyed, and which had been confirmed to them by the laws of Cnut. For ten years they submitted to his exactions, but at length they resolved to redress their own wrongs. The details of their proceedings are given more fully by Florence of Worcester than by any of our other historians, whilst in all essential particulars he is corroborated by the narrative in the Saxon Chronicle.

Soon after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, on Monday the 3rd of October, 1065, the Northumbrian thanes, Gamelbearn, Dunston son of Athelneth, and Glonicorn son of Heardulf, entered York with two hundred soldiers, to avenge the murder of the noble Northumbrian thane, Gospatric, who was treacherously killed by order of Queen Edgitha, at the King's court, on the fourth night of Christmas, for the sake of her brother Tosti; as also the murder of the thanes Gamel the son of Orm, and Ulf the son of Dolfin, whom Earl Tosti had perfidiously caused to be assassinated in his own chamber at York, the year before, although there was peace between them. The insurgent thanes were also aggrieved by the enormous taxes which Tosti unjustly levied through the whole of Northumberland. On the day therefore of their arrival, they first seized his Danish hus-carls, Amund and Ravenswart, as they were making their escape, and put them to death without the walls; and the next day they slew more than two hundred of his attendants on the north side of the Humber. They also broke open his treasury, and carried off all that belonged to him. After that, nearly all the men of his earldom assembled in a body, and going to Northampton, met Harold Earl of Wessex, and others, whom the King, at Tosti's request, had sent to make peace between them. There first, and afterwards at Oxford on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, when Earl Harold and the rest again endeavoured to restore peace between them and Earl Tosti, they unanimously rejected the proposal, and declared him outlawed, and all who had prompted him to enact his oppressive laws. And after the feast of All Saints, with the assistance of Earl Edwin, they banished Tosti from England."

The Saxon Chronicle says, that after the proceedings at York detailed above—

"All the thanes in Yorkshire and in Northumberland sent after Morcar son of Earl Algar, and chose him for their Earl, and he went south with all the shire, and with Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire and Lincolnshire, to Northampton, and his brother Edwin came to meet him with the men of his earldom, and many Britons also came with him. There came Harold the Earl to meet them, and they laid an errand upon him to King Edward, and also sent messengers with him, and begged that they might have Morcar for their Earl; and the King assented.

Malmsbury asserts that Tosti himself was in the power of the insurgent thanes ; but that, respecting his rank, they suffered him to escape, contenting themselves with putting to death the advisers and instruments of his oppression. "Gospatric, the noble Northumbrian Thane," whose murder was the primary cause of the insurrection, appears by the genealogical details supplied by Symeon to have been the son of Uhtred and brother of Eadulf the late Earl.

Tosti retired with his countess to the court of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Flanders, brooding on the injuries he had sustained, and planning schemes of vengeance against his brother Harold, whom he suspected to have been no unwilling agent of his degradation and the advancement of Edwin, whose sister Harold had married.

In the meantime a great change was brought about by the death of King Edward and the elevation of Harold to the throne, but Tosti's feelings remained unaltered. The death indeed of the late King rather tended to remove a restraint to which he was previously subject, and left him at full liberty to shape his own course. Collecting a fleet of sixty ships, he sailed for the Humber, determined, apparently, to dispute on his own account his brother's accession to the throne. His reception, however, was anything but encouraging. No demonstration was made in his favour by the people whom he had lately governed ; and on the appearance of Earl Edwin with a large force to oppose his landing, he was deserted by the greater part of his fleet. Sailing with only twelve ships to Scotland, he fell in with Harold King of Norway, with a fleet of three hundred sail. Baffled in his own views, he did not hesitate to offer his services to the Norwegian, pledging himself to forward to the utmost of his power his pretensions to the crown of England.^d Success at first attended their joint efforts. Entering the Humber, they sailed to York, where they engaged and defeated the forces brought against them by Edwin and Morcar ; but their triumph was of short duration, for Harold

^d Gaimar represents Copsi to have taken part in this expedition, having joined Tosti with 17 ships. Ordericus gives a somewhat different account of Tosti's proceedings. He represents him to have left his wife with her brother Baldwin Earl of Flanders, but to have proceeded himself to the court of William of Normandy, whom he encouraged to assert his pretensions to the crown of England. On the death of King Edward, he adds, he sailed to England in concert with William, and in aid of his cause, but failed in effecting a landing. Baffled by the vigilance of Harold's fleet, he altered his course, and made for Norway, where he sought out the King, and incited him to the invasion, transferring to him the fealty which he had previously sworn to William, but from which he considered himself absolved by the ill-success of his first attempt to serve him.

himself, informed of their descent, came upon them unawares with a large army. An engagement took place at Stamford Bridge, which terminated in the complete defeat of the invaders, and Tosti and the King of Norway were both numbered with the slain.

It is foreign to our purpose to trace the movements of Harold from Stamford Bridge to Hastings, or to record his defeat and death. Neither Edwin nor Morcar were present at the decisive battle, which transferred the crown of England to a new dynasty, and their absence has been attributed to interested considerations. They are also accused by Malmsbury of endeavouring to turn the death of Harold to their own advantage, by soliciting the citizens of London to advance one or other of them to the throne, and thus preventing a general union in support of the claims of Edgar Atheling, by supporting whom they might yet have retrieved the fortunes of England, and successfully opposed the invader. This plausible story has been very generally received as authentic, but it is, nevertheless, opposed to the testimony of all our most trustworthy historians.

The Saxon Chronicle, after a brief notice of the battle of Hastings and the death of Harold, goes on to say, "Then Archbishop Aldred and the citizens of London would have Edgar Atheling for king, as was his true natural right: and Edwin and Morcar vowed to him that they would fight together for him." The language of Florence is equally precise, and Ordericus Vitalis has a statement to the same effect, except that he substitutes the name of Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury, for that of Aldred of York. He mentions also the absence of Edwin and Morcar at Hastings, but implies no censure on that account, Malmsbury further alleges that the two brothers, disappointed in their selfish designs, retired into Northumberland, under the impression that William would never follow them there. This statement is as unfounded as the rest. They remained, on the contrary, in London, with Edgar and the two Archbishops, until, disappointed in the co-operation which they anticipated, and alarmed by the approach of William with his conquering army, they were compelled to abandon all ideas of resistance, and to tender to him their submission and allegiance. "They submitted," says our trusty guide, the Saxon Chronicle, "for need, when the most harm was done; and it was very unwise, that they had not done so before." An interview took place at Berkhamstead, where William received the deputation with fair words, "promising that he would be a loving lord to them." He was not, however, so rash as to continue the two Earls in their governments, or to suffer them to return to the

North, but, under the guise of courtesy, he detained them about his own person.

These great events were crowded into a very short interval. The battle of Hastings was fought on the 14th of October, 1066, and William was crowned on the following Christmas-day. In the meantime, amongst others who came to him to tender their services, was Copsi, who had acted as the lieutenant of Earl Tosti during his ten years' government of Northumberland, and who is described by Ordericus as "a nobleman of singular courage and prudence." During the brief rule of Earl Morcar, Copsi had been deprived of his authority, the Earl performing in person the duties of his office in Yorkshire, whilst he gave up the government of Northumberland to the representative of its hereditary chieftains, Osulf, the son of the late Earl Eadulf, the predecessor of Siward.

The arrival of Copsi was singularly opportune, for the King was contemplating a visit to his continental dominions, and had no leisure to undertake in person an expedition against the yet unconquered northern district. Accepting with avidity the proffered services of the late lieutenant of Northumberland, he committed to him the government of that province, trusting to his experience and local connection to overcome the difficulties of reconciling a high-spirited and turbulent people to his sway.

Copsi entered on his government early in February, and during Lent the King crossed over to Normandy.

"Earl Copsi," says Ordericus, "one of the most distinguished of the English nobles, both for birth and power, and still more for his prudence and integrity, faithfully adhered to King William, and zealously espoused his cause. His followers, however, were very far from pursuing the same course, being determined supporters and friends of the malcontents. These, therefore, assailed him in every way, with prayers, threats, and protestations, to induce him to desert the party of the foreigners, and to second the views of the chiefs of his own race and nation. Finding his mind too firmly fixed in the right course, to be diverted from its purpose, the people of the neighbouring country rose against him, and he was treacherously slain as the reward of his fidelity."

To this statement of Ordericus, which is taken throughout from the Chronicle of William of Poitiers, a contemporary writer, the following particulars are added from Symeon:—

"Osulf being driven from his earldom by Copsi, was reduced to the utmost extremity of penury and famine, and constrained to conceal himself in the woods and mountains. At length, having collected a band of associates as desperate as himself, he issued from his

hiding-place and surrounded Copsi, who was partaking of a banquet at Newburn. Thus surprised, he fled for refuge to the church, but was quickly dislodged by firing the building. Rushing to the porch, as soon as he shewed himself, his head was severed from his body by the hands of Osulf, on the 12th of March, in the fifth week of his government. Osulf himself perished in the autumn of the same year, having transfixed himself with the spear of a robber, against whom he rushed with incautious precipitancy."

The wild patriotism of Osulf was perhaps after all as worthy of commendation as the servile fidelity of Copsi to an alien sovereign, but the eulogiums of historians have been all reserved for the latter.

These circumstances had probably some influence in hastening the return of the King, who arrived most unexpectedly at Winchelsea, having crossed the channel during the night. He kept the feast of Christmas in London, treating the English bishops and nobles with great courtesy. Amongst those who waited on him was Gospatric, who purchased from him for a large sum of money the earldom of Northumberland, to which he had well founded hereditary claims, being descended in the female line, from the great Earl Uchtred, by his third wife Elfgiva, the daughter of King Ethelred. The issue of this marriage was an only daughter Aldgitha, who married Maldred son of Criman the Thane, and became the mother of Gospatric.

On his recent visit to Normandy, the King, "by a courteous policy," as it is aptly termed by the Norman chronicler, took with him, "in honourable attend-ance," Archbishop Stigand, Edgar Atbeling, the Earls Edwin and Morcar, Waltheof Earl of Huntingdon, the son of Siward, and several others, "thus preventing these great lords from plotting a change during his absence, and rendering the people powerless in the absence of their chiefs." It was a policy, however, that the nobles determined should not be repeated; and accordingly in the following year, A.D. 1061, Edwin and Morcar broke into open rebellion.

After their former submission, William sought to conciliate them by the promise of the hand of his daughter in marriage to Earl Edwin; but the alliance was so distasteful to the Normans, that he was induced to retract his word. This affront was keenly felt, not merely by the party immediately concerned and his family, but by the whole English nation, who were thus branded by their conquerors as an inferior people, not only in political power, but in social station.

The family insulted was the most illustrious amongst them, having enjoyed for several generations the earldom of Mercia, to which, in Morcar's case, had been

added the dignity and power of the earldom of Northumberland. Nor were their secular honours all that endeared them to the people: the piety of their ancestors, and their munificent endowment of religious houses, was remembered with yet warmer veneration.*

Besides the immense personal and hereditary influence of the two brothers in England, they were allied to the royal family of Wales by the closest ties, their only sister Edith or Aldith,[†] the widow of King Harold, having been previously the wife of Griffith, king of that country, over which his son Blethyn now reigned.

“At the time when the Normans had thus crushed the English, and were overwhelming them with intolerable oppressions, Blethyn came to the aid of his uncles, at the head of a large body of Welsh. A council was now held of the chiefs of both people, at which universal complaints were made of the outrages and tyranny to which the English were exposed from the Normans and their adherents; and messengers were despatched to all parts of Britain, to rouse the natives against their enemies. All joined in a firm league and bold conspiracy for the recovery of their ancient liberties, and the rebellion broke out with great violence in the provinces beyond the Humber. The insurgents fortified themselves in the woods and marshes, and near the estuaries of the tidal rivers, and some also in the towns. York was in a state of the utmost excitement, which the Archbishop in vain attempted to allay. Many of the citizens lived in tents, disdaining the shelter of houses, as tending to enervate them, and these were stigmatised by the Normans as savages.”

William displayed in the emergency those wonderful resources of policy which distinguished his career, whenever occasion called them forth. Instead of opposing his troops to the vastly superior numbers which were arrayed against them, he contented himself with ensuring his position by the erection of castles at War-

* Edwin and Morcar were the sons of Earl Algar, and grandsons of Leofric and Godiva, the munificent founders of the stately monastery of Coventry. The father of Leofric was Leofwine, also Earl of Mercia, descended from Leofric, Earl of Chester in the reign of King Ethelbald. Ordericus describes Edwin and Morcar as “youths of great promise,” and adds, “they were zealous in the worship of God, and friendly towards all good men. They were eminently handsome, their relations were numerous and of the highest rank, their estates vast, their power immense and their popularity unrivalled. The clergy and monks offered continual prayers on their behalf, which were seconded by the gratitude and good wishes of the poor.”

† In the History of Croyland attributed to Ingulf, Lucia Countess of Chester is represented as another daughter of Algar, but Ordericus distinctly informs us that Edith was an only daughter. Further, we are told in the Croyland History that Lucia succeeded to the immense estates of her brothers Edwin and Morcar. Ordericus, on the other hand, says that they were distributed by William amongst a multitude of his followers, and this statement is corroborated by *Doomsday*.

wick, Nottingham, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, leaving the northern district in the indisputed possession of the insurgents, until he found means, by insidious diplomacy, of breaking up the confederacy of his opponents. In Egelwin Bishop of Durham, he found a ready instrument. This prelate had joined the conspiracy, but seeing an opportunity of securing the royal pardon, he not only deserted his associates, but persuaded Malcolm King of Scotland, who had agreed to support the insurgents, to withhold his aid. Archill also, who is described as the most powerful of the Northumbrian nobles, sought the King's favour, giving up his son as a hostage for his future fidelity. The citizens of York were seized with a panic, and made a hasty submission, delivering up the keys of the city to the King, and offering him hostages. "Edwin and Morcar themselves, also, considering the doubtful issue of the contest, and not unwisely preferring peace to war, sought the King's grace, which, in appearance at least, was conceded to them." The details of this rebellion are given only by the Norman chronicler, Ordericus Vitalis, but our own historians relate the retreat into Scotland of several distinguished persons, who seem to have been compromised in it. Amongst these were Edgar Atheling, Merlesweyne, Gospatric the newly appointed Earl, and "all the best men of Northumberland." Edgar Atheling was accompanied by his mother Agatha, and his two sisters Margaret and Christina.

"Now it was," says the Saxon Chronicle, "that Malcolm desired to have Margaret to wife, but Edgar and all his men refused for a long time, and she herself was also unwilling, desiring to serve God only; but the King urged her brother until he consented, and indeed he did not dare to refuse, for they were now in Malcolm's kingdom. The King therefore married her, though against her will, and was pleased with her, and thanked God, who had given him so good a wife. And, being a prudent man, he turned himself to God, and forsook all impurity; as St. Paul the apostle of the Gentiles says, 'Full oft the unbelieving husband is sanctified and healed through the believing wife.'"

From Ordericus, it appears that Malcolm was at all events betrothed to Margaret in the preceding reign, by her uncle King Edward, to whom, as he is himself represented to state, he, at the same time, did homage for Lothian. In the statement of this previous marriage, or betrothal, Malmsbury also concurs.⁵

William determined to confer the earldom which Gospatric had forfeited by his

⁵ Malmsbury's testimony is not so direct as that of Ordericus, but the obvious inference from his statement is, that the hospitality afforded by Malcolm to Edgar was the consequence, and not the forerunner, of this marriage.

treason on one of his own countrymen, and selected for the office Robert Cumin, or De Comines. Ordericus calls him Earl of Durham only, but no doubt his authority was intended to extend over the whole province, although he never got further than Durham, where he arrived on the 28th of January, 1069. So great was the terror inspired by his approach, that the first impulse of the people was to betake themselves to flight, leaving their houses and their property, rather than subject themselves to the vengeance of the tyrannical Norman. The execution of this design was frustrated by a heavy fall of snow, and it was then resolved to screen themselves from harm by making away with the new governor; and this they mutually pledged themselves to effect, or to perish in the attempt. This disposition of the people was communicated by the Bishop to Cumin; but the latter treated the intelligence with contempt, and scornfully refused to adopt the Bishop's counsel to save his life by a timely retreat. He even increased the excitement by the wanton outrages which he suffered his followers to commit, in the course of which they put to death several peasants belonging to the church lands. Entering Durham with seven hundred men,^b he conducted himself with the greatest insolence to the inhabitants, quartering his attendants at will throughout the city. At daybreak, however, on the following morning, a large body of Northumbrians appeared before the gates by a preconcerted arrangement, and traversing the streets, slew the followers of the Earl wherever they found them. A considerable force still defended the house where the Earl himself lodged; but these were speedily overpowered, and the house set on fire. So great was the violence of the flames, that the church of St. Cuthbert itself, which was in the immediate vicinity, was in danger, and its preservation was attributed to the active interference of the saint. Cumin perished in the fire, and of all his followers but one escaped, wounded and weary, to report the tale of horror. This tragedy was followed by the slaughter of Robert Fitz-Richard, the governor of York, with many of his followers.

"Confidence," says Ordericus, "was now restored to the English in resisting the Normans, by whom they were so grievously oppressed. Oaths, fealty, or a regard for the safety of their hostages, were of little weight with men who were infuriated by the loss of their patrimony, and the murder of their countrymen and kindred.

^b The Saxon Chronicle says 900; Ordericus 1000; the number in the text is taken from Symeon, the only authority who supplies us with any details of this sanguinary transaction.

Gospatric, the expatriated Earl of Northumberland, if he had no part in the counsels of the insurgents, resolved at any rate to profit by their acts, which afforded so fair an opportunity for the recovery of his government. Nor were his views confined to the northern province only; but being joined by Edgar Atheling, Merleswyne, Archill, and the four sons of Carl, he boldly marched to York, where he was reinforced by a large party amongst the citizens, and by the peasantry of the surrounding country. William Malet, the Sheriff of Yorkshire, and commander of the garrison, was forced to retire into the castle, and to address to the King an earnest request for reinforcements, without which he found it impossible to maintain his position. The King marched to his relief in person, with such promptitude as to take the assailants altogether by surprise, falling upon them at the head of a large force, routing them with great slaughter, and effectually dispersing them. He remained in the city eight days, during which he superintended the erection of additional fortifications; after which he returned in triumph to Winchester, and there celebrated the festival of Easter. His departure encouraged the malcontents to reassemble and renew the assault; but he had left behind him a distinguished soldier, William Fitzosberne, who not only maintained the city committed to him, but, surprising his opponents as they lay encamped in a neighbouring valley, defeated them, and put them to flight.

The King had now leisure to organize an expedition against the bishoprick of Durham to avenge the death of Cumin, against whose murderers he was exasperated in the highest degree. Before, however, the army which he sent on this vindictive mission had advanced as far as Northallerton, they were enveloped in a dense fog, which rendered it impossible for them to distinguish the road, or even to see one another. There were of course not wanting those who seized on the opportunity of explaining this phenomenon as the work of the holy patron of the church of Durham, and enlarging on his care for his servants, and the speedy vengeance with which he never failed to visit their assailants. The credulous general to whom the conduct of the expedition had been entrusted, terrified at this indication of the saint's displeasure, hastily withdrew his forces, and the Bishop and his clergy were not aware of the danger which threatened them till they were at the same time informed of their deliverance. Such is the narrative furnished by Symeon of the discomfiture of this hostile armament. It is possible, indeed, that a Danish invasion which took place at this time may have been the true cause of the recall of the army for the defence of York. This invasion was no mere marauding

foray, but was fitted out by Sweyn King of Denmark on a scale of national magnitude, to assert his own pretensions to the throne of England, as the heir of the Anglo-Danish sovereigns. Having equipped a fleet of three hundred sail, he gave the command to his brother the Earl Osborn, with whom sailed the King's sons Harold and Knute—(some authorities mention a third, but not by name)—and the Earl Thorkill, with two other earls and two bishops. The forces were collected, not only from the Scandinavian states, but from Poland, Frisia, Saxony, and the neighbouring provinces of Germany. After several unsuccessful attempts on various parts of the coast between Dover and Yarmouth, the fleet entered the Humber, when they were immediately joined by the chieftains who had been engaged in the late rebellion; in addition to whom, we hear for the first time of the complicity of Waltheof the son of Earl Siward, Elnoc, and Siward-Barn. Waltheof was one of the noblemen who was made to attend King William on the occasion of his first visit to Normandy after the conquest of England, on which occasion he is mentioned with the title of earl, being already in possession of the earldom of Northampton and Huntingdon, though not of Northumberland. The conflicting claims to the latter earldom of Morcar, Waltheof, and Gospatric, no doubt prevented any very cordial union among them against the usurper, their common enemy. Their efforts were always more or less isolated, when the only hope of success lay in a strenuous united effort. On this occasion Waltheof and Gospatric at length agreed to act together; but Morcar, who, with his brother Edwin, had made their own terms after their first rebellion, leaving Gospatric and his associates to their fate, still held aloof, thus preparing the way for their own ruin at no distant date.

King William was hunting in the Forest of Dean when the intelligence reached him of the disembarkation of the Danes, of which he sent immediate notice to the garrison of York. His officers in that city, overestimating their resources, assured him that they needed no assistance, but were amply provided to resist any attack, and could hold out for a twelve month, if necessary. Their confidence, indeed, appears to have been not altogether groundless, if they had acted with ordinary prudence; but, emulating the exploit of William Fitz-Osborne during the former siege, they determined to abandon the advantages of their fortifications, and to sally forth against the enemy, who occupied the suburbs. In so doing, they miscalculated the numerical strength of their opponents, who encountered them with an overwhelming force, and slew or made prisoners the

entire garrison. The forts were thus left without defence, and were occupied without further resistance by the Danes and their allies. Such are the details given by Ordericus; our English historians furnish some additional particulars, of which those given by Florence are the most complete. He mentions the death of Archbishop Aldred, on the 11th of September, three days after the landing of the Danes, but before their arrival at York, from panic and agitation, and his burial in the church of St. Peter the following week.

“The Normans,” he adds, “who garrisoned the forts, set fire to the adjacent houses, fearing that they might be used by the Danes as materials for filling up the trenches, but the flames spreading, destroyed the whole city, together with the monastery and church of St. Peter. On Monday (two days after the Archbishop’s funeral), before the city was altogether consumed, the Danish fleet arrived—the forts were stormed, and more than three thousand Normans slain, the ships drawing off laden with plunder. The lives of William Malet and of his wife and two children were spared, but few others escaped. When the news was brought to King William, he assembled an army, and hastened into Northumberland, where he spent the whole winter laying waste the country, slaughtering the inhabitants, and inflicting on them, without intermission, every sort of evil. Meanwhile he sent envoys to Osborn, promising to pay him secretly a large sum of money, besides giving him free leave to plunder the whole coast throughout the winter, provided he would abandon his enterprize and return home in the spring. This proposal, to his utter disgrace, he accepted. In consequence of the ravages of the Normans, so severe a famine prevailed throughout the kingdom, but chiefly in Northumberland and the adjacent provinces, that men were driven to feed on the carcasses of horses, dogs, and cats, and even on human flesh.”

The interpolator of Florence enlarges on these horrors.

“It was dreadful,” we are told, “to behold human corpses, rotting in the houses, streets, and highways, reeking with putrefaction, swarming with worms, and contaminating the air with deadly exhalations; for all the people being cut off by the sword or by famine, there were none left to bury them. For nine years was the land, deprived of its cultivators, a dreary waste. Between York and Durham there was not one inhabited town or village; dens of wild beasts, and haunts of robbers were alone to be seen.”

To this Malmsbury adds:—

“Thus were the resources of a once flourishing province cut off by fire, slaughter, and devastation; and the ground for more than sixty miles (about the distance from York to Durham) totally uncultivated and unproductive, remains bare to the present day.”

Gaimar says the devastation extended to the Tyne. Ordericus estimates the

mortality at one hundred thousand of both sexes, and of all ages. The same author elsewhere describes the remorse of William on his death-bed for these enormities, putting into his mouth the following confession, in which he first enumerates the provocations he had received.

“The Deiri and other tribes beyond the Humber, called in the forces of Sweyn King of Denmark, as auxiliaries against me; they put to death Robert Comyn, and a thousand of my soldiers within the walls of Durham; others also of my barons and most esteemed knights they slew in various places. These provocations inflamed me to the highest pitch of resentment, and I fell on the English in the northern counties, like a raging lion. I commanded their houses and their barns, with all their corn, their implements, and their furniture, to be burnt without distinction, and their horses and their cattle to be destroyed wherever they were found. Thus did I wreak my vengeance on multitudes of both sexes, by subjecting them to the horrors of a cruel famine; and by so doing, became, alas! the barbarous murderer of thousands upon thousands, both old and young.”

The account furnished of the disasters and distresses of the invading Danes is scarcely less appalling.

“These were now exposed to great perils, having become wandering pirates, tossed by the winds and waves, suffering not less from famine than from storms. Many perished by shipwreck; the rest sustained life on a loathsome diet, and these not merely the common men, but princes, earls, and bishops. At length provisions, musty and putrid as they had long been, failed altogether. They did not venture to land in search of plunder, or even to touch the shore, so great was their terror of the inhabitants. At length the small remnant of that powerful fleet sailed back to Denmark, and carried to Sweyn, their king, a miserable account of their disasters, of the savage ferocity of the enemy, and of the loss of their comrades.”

Our author then gives an account of the King's return from the Tees to York, “by a road hitherto unattempted by an army, where the peaked summits of the hills, and the deep glens, are often covered with snow at a season when the neighbouring plains are clothed with the verdure of spring.” On this route he places Hexham (Hagustald), doubtless in mistake for Helmsley (Hamelac), which is on the direct line from the lower valley of the Tees to York, and reposes under the dreary summits of the Hambleton range, to which the above description unquestionably refers.

Having satiated himself with carnage and devastation, William kept his Christmas amidst the ruins of York, scarcely cold after the recent conflagration.

Hither he sent for his crown and his plate, that he might observe the festival with due state, directing his attention at the same time to the restoration of the dismantled defences.

Here Waltheof waited on him, to sue for pardon, which was cordially granted to him. He appears, indeed, by his frank behaviour, to have won the esteem of his sovereign, who was predisposed to pardon his rebellion in consideration of the valour and prowess which he had displayed. Further to ensure his loyalty, he gave him his niece Judith in marriage, and confirmed to him the earldom of Huntingdon and Northampton, which he had enjoyed under Edward the Confessor.

Gospatric also received a formal indemnity. This, however, he thought it more prudent to solicit by his envoys than to ask in person, feeling himself safer in his rocky citadel of Bamburgh, than at the court of a sovereign to whom he had given such frequent provocation. For the present, at least, he was confirmed in the earldom, in which he had once been superseded, and which he had recovered and retained by the sword.

He contrived also, in another way, to turn William's mission of vengeance to his own advantage. Representing to Bishop Egelwin the disfavour in which he stood with the King, who had always suspected him of being privy to the death of Cumin, he advised him to retire with his brother to the ancient seat of the bishoprick at Lindisfarne, at the northern extremity of his diocese, as a place of safety until the storm was passed. Then triumphing in the Bishop's simplicity, he took advantage of his absence to appropriate to himself the portable riches of the church, taking care at the same time to keep himself out of the way of the royal progress. Of this enormity, Symeon informs us, he afterwards repented; but the curse of sacrilege still clung to him, and he fell, as we shall presently see, from his former state of splendour and prosperity, which he never regained.

The journey of Egelwin and his followers occupied four days of the dreary month of December. The first night they rested at Jarrow, the second at Bedlington, the third at Tughall. On the close of the fourth day they arrived at the margin of the channel which separates Lindisfarne from the mainland of Northumberland; and here, to their dismay they found their further progress stopped by the sea at high flood, and the wretched prospect was before them of passing a winter's night, frail and weary as they were, without shelter, on the bleak and dreary waste. The protection of the saint, however, whose body they reverently carried along with them, did not fail them in their extremity; for, "lo! the

waters suddenly withdrawing, left them free access, the waves, as they advanced, following in their rear; now quickly, as they hastened, impelled by fear; now slowly, as exhaustion compelled them to pause. At length, when they had reached the wished-for shore, the sea closed behind them, covering the sands over which they had so recently passed dry-shod."

On the King's departure to the south, the fugitives returned to Durham. Egelwin, however, determined to relinquish his bishoprick, and to leave a country which afforded so little prospect of repose to his declining years. With this view, he took shipping for Cologne, carrying with him a large portion of the treasure of his church. His sojourn at Lindisfarne had been upwards of three months, and before the preparations for his voyage were completed, the season was far advanced, and the weather again tempestuous. Driven out of his course by a storm, he was obliged to seek shelter in Scotland, where he was hospitably received by Malcolm, and spent the winter of 1070-71 at his court.

The latter year is memorable for a renewed rebellion, which proved fatal in its results to the Earls Edwin and Morcar, the former of whom lost his life, and the latter was consigned to a hopeless captivity.

Malmsbury speaks of these two noblemen as if they had been joint rulers of Northumberland, and had retained their government up to this time, whereas we know that the earldom was conferred on Morcar alone in the last year of Edward the Confessor, and was taken from him in the first year of King William. He further ascribes their continued resistance within this northern territory until the period at which we have now arrived, whilst all other writers limit their rebellion to a few months of the year 1068. Since that time they had lived at court under the jealous eye of their suspicious master. As little will the following statement of this brilliant but flippant author bear to be tested by the authority of our more sober and trustworthy historians.

"Often had they been taken captive, and often had they surrendered themselves, but they were always dismissed with impunity, from pity to their youthful elegance, or respect to their nobility. Slain at length, neither by the force nor the craft of their enemies, but by the treachery of their partizans, their fate drew tears from the King, who would long ago have allied them by marriage with his own family, and honoured them with his friendship, if they would have accepted terms of peace."

Instead of this we find them, after their original submission, goaded into rebellion by the restraint to which they were subjected, having first been lulled into a false

confidence by the delusive promise of a royal alliance, which was made only to be broken. Foiled in their first attempt to regain their liberty, they seem to have abandoned all further efforts, and quietly to have resigned themselves to a submissive inactivity, until they were again roused by apprehensions for their own safety, and designs against their personal liberty.

Ordericus and Florence of Worcester, though they differ in some of the details, agree in ascribing this revolt, not to the premeditated design of the two earls, but to the perfidy of the King. Ordericus, who seems to derive his authority from a portion of the work of William of Poitiers now lost,¹ says that William, without provocation, and in violation of his pledged faith, shut up Earl Morcar in the Isle of Ely; that the latter, instead of defending himself, or effecting his escape by sea, trusting in his own innocence and the King's justice, presented himself at court ready to vindicate his conduct. William, however, fearing that he would take another opportunity of avenging the outrage to which he had been subjected, cast him into prison, without examination or form of trial, and there incarcerated him for life.

When Edwin heard of his brother's fate, he resolved to relieve him, or, if that were impossible, to avenge him. For six months he sought aid of the Scotch, the Welsh, and the English, but without adequate success. At length he was betrayed to a party of Normans by three brothers, who were amongst his personal attendants, and in whom he placed the utmost confidence. Attacked by a superior force whilst he was waiting till the fall of the tide allowed him to cross an estuary which impeded his progress, he valiantly defended himself, with the aid of only twenty men at arms, until he was cut in pieces, with his devoted band. Florence says that Edwin and Morcar, finding that William had determined to

¹ Our existing copies of the History of William of Poitiers terminate with the death of Copsi, but Ordericus himself informs us that he carried down his work to the close of the rebellion of Morcar. Up to this period the notices of Northern affairs in Ordericus' own work are exceedingly minute and circumstantial, and as they cease almost altogether from this date, we may fairly conclude that he was indebted for them to the older historian, as we know he was for the particulars of Earl Copsi's fate. Ordericus, indeed, although born in England, spent his maturity in Normandy, with the exception of a visit of a few months' duration to this country. William of Poitiers, on the other hand, accompanied his sovereign to England, and remained here in the capacity of his secretary, and had thus abundant opportunity of becoming acquainted with the internal affairs of the country, even in its most distant provinces. The two authors together give us more particulars of Northern transactions during the reign of William the Conqueror than all our other historians united, with the exception only of Symeon.

arrest them, had fled from court, and for some time maintained themselves in arms against him. Unable longer to hold their ground, Edwin resolved to seek a refuge in Scotland, whilst Morcar, with Egelwin Bishop of Durham (who had quitted the court of Malcolm), Siward-Barn, and Hereward, a man of great bravery, with many others, took ship for the Isle of Ely, intending to winter there. This author places the betrayal and death of Edwin previous to the capture of Morcar. He explains also the reason that the latter neither efficiently defended himself, or effected his escape by sea, William commanding the access to the isle by means of a bridge or causeway which he had erected, three miles in length, on the western side, whilst he blockaded the eastern with a fleet of boats. Hereward alone escaped, with a few followers, through the fens. The Bishop was imprisoned at Abingdon, and died the same winter. Of the rest, some were deprived of their hands or eyes; the others, amongst whom were Morcar and Siward-Barn, were imprisoned. William on his death-bed directed their release. The mandate, however, came too late; his authority was disregarded by his successor, and Morcar ended his days in prison.

Although Egelwin, the last Anglo-Saxon Bishop of Durham, was sacrificed to the resentment of a usurper, he has little claim to our sympathy on the ground of patriotism. His motives seem to have been invariably selfish. Fond of intrigue, he never hesitated to ensure his own safety by the abandonment of his associates. His entire freedom from complicity in the death of Cumin may be doubted, although Symeon readily absolves him of this charge. The same historian, however, urges against him, as a much heavier crime, the abstraction of the treasure of the church. Of this sacrilege, his miserable death is looked upon as the merited retribution. After his decease, the see remained vacant an entire year, when it was filled by the appointment of a foreign ecclesiastic, Walcher, a native of Lorraine. Symeon lauds him as "noble by birth, and well read both in divinity and secular learning; of venerable age, soundness of morals, and integrity of life, worthy of the dignity to which he was raised." He entered upon his episcopal functions A.D. 1072, at the period of Mid-Lent, being escorted from York, by the King's command, by Earl Gospatric.

The same year Gospatric was deprived of his earldom, on a twofold charge; first, that he had aided and abetted the murderers of Cumin at Durham; and secondly, that he had taken part with the insurgents at York, at the time of the

Norwegian invasion. For the second act, as we have seen, he had previously received the royal pardon, as well as Earl Waltheof, who was now appointed his successor.

William had probably been all along satisfied of the perfidy of Gospatric, but had the policy to temporize with him, knowing the support which he would receive from Malcolm of Scotland, and the strength of his own impregnable fortress of Bamburgh, to which he could retreat in case of need. This year, however, William had led an immense army, attended by a powerful fleet, into Scotland, and enforced the submission of the King. On his return, he no longer delayed to inflict on Gospatric the punishment of his repeated acts of rebellion. Malcolm was not in a position to brave the revenge of his powerful neighbour, by espousing the cause of the banished Earl, but he shewed his good feeling by offering him an asylum in his kingdom, where he endowed him with large possessions in Lothian, which became hereditary in his family under the title of the earldom of Dunbar.

At the time of William's former visit to Durham, the church was deserted, during the absence of Egelwin and his clergy at Lindisfarne, whither it was no doubt generally known in the district, they had carried with them the body of their patron saint. The rumours which the King had heard on that occasion, and the firm belief which he found universal in the incorruptability of the sacred remains, seem to have excited his curiosity, rather than to have awakened any more reverent feeling; and he resolved, on his return from his Scottish expedition, to test the truth of what he had heard, by the evidence of his own senses. The body had been restored to its former resting-place, the position of which was well known, and William would listen to no arguments or persuasions which were addressed to him in order to divert him from his design. The Bishop and clergy looked upon the contemplated exhumation of the remains, for the mere gratification of the unhallowed curiosity of the royal sceptic, as an act of daring impiety, which they were bound to the utmost to resist. All their efforts, however, were unavailing.

“The King determined to satisfy himself of the truth by ocular demonstration, and commanded the bishops and abbots to assist him in the investigation, intimating at the same time his determination, that if the body was not found in the state represented, the older and more distinguished members of the establishment should lose their heads. Whilst all present were overwhelmed with fear, and earnestly entreated the protection of St. Cuthbert, during the celebration of mass by the Bishop, on the feast of All Saints, the King, at the

very moment which he had appointed for the trial, was seized with such a burning heat as he found to be intolerable. Rushing from the church and leaving the profuse banquet which was prepared for him, he mounted his horse with all haste, and urging him to full speed, never slackened his pace till he had reached the Tees. Satisfied by this sign, he acknowledged his conviction that God's great confessor, St. Cuthbert, rested there, and that his repose was not rashly to be disturbed."

Another miracle of a somewhat similar character is described by Symeon as having occurred about the same time. In this case, however, the saint's interposition had reference to the temporal concerns of his church. An officer of the crown, named Ranulph, having been sent down in violation of the ancient immunities of St. Cuthbert's patrimony to enforce the payment of taxes, was warned in a vision of the enormity of his contemplated offence, the saint brandishing his pastoral staff with an energy and determination which was not to be disregarded. On awaking, the tax-collector found himself in a raging fever, which was only assuaged on his humble submission and his expressed intention of desisting from the exaction of the unhallowed tribute. It need scarcely be added that the collector as well as his sovereign were ever afterwards devoted servants of the holy father. Ranulph presented an offering at his shrine, whilst the King confirmed the privileges of the church, and restored a benefice which had been abstracted from it.

The events of the last three years, so far as they relate to Northumberland, have been given in considerable detail, chiefly from the Saxon Chronicle, Florence, and Symeon, including from the latter the legends just narrated, which, although the alleged miraculous agency may excite a smile, are yet of value, as evincing the resolution of the King to expose, what he considered the fallacious traditions of the church of Durham, and to abolish her immunities; and as recording his defeat in both attempts.

There are, however, other particulars referring to the year 1070, usually ascribed to Symeon, which can neither be received as authentic history without investigation, nor yet be rejected in silence. These are to be found amongst the interpolations of Florence so often referred to, and they are here extracted at length, that the reader may have an opportunity of comparing them with the preceding narrative, and of forming a judgment as to their authenticity. To some extent, indeed, they will be found merely a repetition of what has been already related, but it is difficult to separate those portions, and at the same time sufficiently to

preserve the continuity of the narrative, to enable us to arrive at a just conclusion.

These particulars occur also in the Chronicle of Melrose, in Hoveden, and in other more recent writers; but this must not be taken as evidence in their favour, for these works are mere copies or abridgements of that ascribed to Symeon, as regards the period over which the latter extends, and can no more be urged in corroboration of the statements, than parallel passages from Rapin or Hume, or any other modern historian of England, who derives his narrative from the same source.

“Bishop Egelwin,” we are told, “having returned from flight, now meditated a final escape, determining to resign his bishoprick, and to seek a place of refuge abroad. A ship, therefore, with the necessary supplies, lay ready in the harbour of Wearmouth, waiting for a fair wind. There also, at the same time, lay other ships under the orders of Edgar Atheling, with his mother Agatha, and his sisters Margaret and Christina; with whom also were Siward-Barn, Merleswayne, Alfwin the son of Norman, and many others, who, after the storming of the castle of York, and the return of their allies, the Danes, to their own country, dreaded the King’s anger, and were preparing to go into exile in Scotland, and were awaiting a favourable opportunity.

“At the same time a countless multitude of Scots, under King Malcolm, marched through Cumberland, and turning eastward, ravaged all Teesdale and the neighbouring country. When they came to a place called in English *Hundredeskeld*,^k that is the *Hundred-springs*, having slain some of the English nobles, and taken an immense booty, the King divided his army, retaining a part, and sending home the remainder in charge of the spoil. By this device he designed to deceive the wretched inhabitants into the belief that their persecutors were altogether withdrawn, that so they might leave their hiding places, and be taken unawares. Nor was he disappointed in the result; for having laid waste great part of Cleveland, and ravaged Holderness, he suddenly returned to the territory of St. Cuthbert, seizing all the property on which he could lay hands, and depriving many of their lives. The church of St. Peter at Wearmouth was burnt under his own eye. He also burnt other churches, with those who had taken refuge in them. As he was riding along the banks of the river, gazing from an eminence on the cruelties perpetrated on the unhappy English, and feasting his mind and eyes with the spectacle, he was told that Edgar Atheling and his ships lay in the harbour, and that with him were his sisters, of royal lineage and great personal attractions, with many other fugitives of rank. When they came to him to seek his protection, he received them graciously, and promised to afford to themselves and their friends an asylum in his kingdom as long as they required it.

^k Hundeskelfe, now Castle-Howard, in Yorkshire.

“ Whilst the Scots were engaged in these devastations, Earl Gospatric, having collected a considerable force, made a furious incursion into Cumberland, spreading slaughter and conflagration on all sides. Returning thence with much spoil, he shut himself up in his strong fortress of Bamburgh, from which making frequent sallies, he weakened the forces of the enemy. Cumberland at this time was under the dominion of Malcolm, not as a rightful possession, but subjugated by force. Having heard, whilst still gazing on the flames which glared round the ruins of St. Peter’s church, of the retaliation which had been committed by Gospatric, scarcely able to contain himself for fury, Malcolm ordered his troops no longer to spare any of the English, but either to slay them or carry them off as slaves.”

Having given a most revolting description of the massacres perpetrated by the Scots, “ who, more savage than wild beasts, delighted in this cruelty as an amusing pastime,” he adverts to the great number of men, women, and children who were carried into captivity; “ insomuch that Scotland was filled with slaves and bond-women of the English race, to such an excess that no village, nay not a cottage, was without one of them,” even at the time when the author wrote.

“ After Malcolm’s return to Scotland, when Bishop Egelwin was commencing his voyage to Cologne, a contrary wind drove him back to the shores of Scotland. Thither also were borne, by a favourable breeze, Edgar Atheling with the companions of his voyage. King Malcolm, with the consent of her relatives, took in marriage Edgar’s sister Margaret, a woman noble by her royal descent, but much more noble by her wisdom and piety. By her care and labour, the King himself was brought to lay aside the ferocity of his manners, and became gentle and civilized. She bore him six sons, Edward and Edmund; Edgar and Alexander, both afterwards Kings of Scotland; Ethelred; and David, afterwards King; besides two daughters, Matilda, who became Queen of England, and Mary, who was married to Eustace Count of Boulogne.”

The first thing which startles us on the perusal of this narrative, is the circumstance of the author placing contemporaneously the flight of Edgar with his mother and sisters to Scotland, and the embarkation of Bishop Egelwin for Cologne, and assigning as a common date the year 1070. This date is correct as regards the departure of the Bishop, but all our authorities, including Florence, with whose work the above quotation is interpolated, agree in fixing the flight of Edgar into Scotland, and the marriage of his sister to Malcolm, at all events two years previous.

It is strange also that, if Malcolm were really the perpetrator of the wanton outrages here attributed to him, extending, as they are represented, over so wide

a tract of country, the fact should have escaped the notice of all other historians : still more strange, if the writer of this account were really Symeon, that he should record here the utter devastation of the territory of St. Cuthbert, and take no notice of it in his History of the saint's own church.

Again, can we believe, if Gospatric had so incensed Malcolm by laying waste an entire province, as to bring upon his people the frightful retribution which is here recorded, the Scotch King would not only have received him in his distress, but have advanced him, after so short an interval, above his native-born subjects both in estate and honour ?

All other writers represent Malcolm and Gospatric as connected throughout by bonds of the strictest amity, nor do they give the least intimation of any predatory attack by the Scots on the earldom of Northumberland during his government. Many circumstances concur in suggesting the probability that the additions to Florence were written by a monk of Hexham, and not of Durham, and that they were compiled considerably later than the time of Symeon. The identity of description of the cruelties ascribed to Malcolm here, and to David I. by the Hexham historians, tends to confirm this view.

Before quitting the subject, we must refer to one incident, trifling in itself, but important, as furnishing evidence against the truth of this narrative, and especially against the assumption of Symeon being its author. This incident is the alleged destruction by fire of the church of St. Peter at Wearmouth, which, as we collect from the narrative, must then have been in a state of repair, and used for the celebration of divine worship. If we turn, however, to the History of the Church of Durham, by the true Symeon, referring to a period a few years later, we find indeed that the walls [of the old church described by Beda still existed without a roof ; but that so far from the fabric having been in a state of repair shortly before, the site both within and without the walls was overgrown with timber and brushwood, which had to be cut down and removed with much labour before a roof could be put on.¹

¹ The inaccuracies of this writer are by no means confined to the present year, but extend to a large portion of the interpolations. A few of the most prominent will be here pointed out, especially those which exhibit a marked discrepancy when compared with the History of the Church of Durham, of which Symeon is now universally recognized as the author.

I. Symeon, as we have seen, under the year 1018, gives an account of the disastrous battle of Carham, without mentioning the name of the commander on either side. The interpolator copies this notice, but mentions Earl Uchtred as the Northumbrian leader, forgetting that, in the preceding page,

Although William had adopted the bold measure of expelling Gospatric from his earldom, the recollection of the fate of Cumin seems to have deterred him from sending down a Norman governor. The appointment of Waltheof could hardly fail to be popular with the Northumbrians. Through his mother he was descended from their ancient lords, and his father, although of foreign extraction, had ruled over them for many years, with a reputation at least equal to that of any of his predecessors. His own personal qualifications were of the highest order, as described by Malmsbury:—

“ His arms were muscular, his chest brawny, his whole person tall and robust, resembling in this his father Siward, who was called by the Danes *Digera*, which signifies in their language, *strong*. He had slain many of the Normans with his own hand during the conflict at York, striking off their heads one after another, as they entered the gate. After the fall of his party, he voluntarily surrendered himself, and was honoured by a marriage with Judith, the King's niece, and with his personal friendship. His former offences were forgotten, or were attributed rather to his high spirit than to disloyalty.”

He is called by William of Jumieges, Earl of Huntingdon; by Ordericus, Earl of Northampton, previous to his elevation to the government of Northumberland. Huntingdon and Northampton were no doubt both included in the earldom, which was indifferently called by either name.

Ordericus says that it was bestowed upon him by William at the time of his marriage with Judith, but the Peterburgh Chronicle informs us that he enjoyed it in the time of Edward the Confessor, by whom it was given to him, in compensa-

he had copied from Florence of Worcester an account, in which all our historians concur, of the murder of that nobleman two years previous. He mentions, at the same time, an imaginary Eugenius King of the “*Lutinenses*,” as present with the Scottish forces.

II. Reference has been already made to the interpolator's account of Malcolm's ravages in Northumberland, and especially his violation of the peace of St. Cuthbert in the holy island of Lindisfarne, during the absence of Earl Tosti at Rome A.D. 1061, of which no mention is made by Symeon in his History of the saint's own church.

III. The pseudo-Symeon, in noticing the foundation of the new building of the cathedral of Durham, represents King Malcolm as present and assisting in the ceremony with Bishop William and Prior Turgot. The true Symeon, describing the same ceremony, at which he was doubtless present, omits all mention of the attendance of Malcolm, whom, on the contrary, he refers to, at an earlier period, as a bitter persecutor of this very Turgot, during his residence at Melrose with his former superior Aldwine.

IV. Minor discrepancies occur in the enumeration of the possessions of the church of Lindisfarne, A.D. 854; in the narrative of the pilgrimage of Aldwine in 1074; and the details of Walcher's murder in 1080.

tion for his father's earldom of Northumberland, which, according to Huntingdon, was considered at that time too weighty a trust to be committed to his youthful hands. The two statements, as Dugdale remarks, are not irreconcilable; the truth being that the dignity which had been conferred upon him by Edward, on his father's death, was restored by William, after he had forfeited it by his rebellion. That Siward himself ever enjoyed the earldom of Huntingdon is more problematical, resting as it does on the questionable authority of the legend already cited, from which it has been transferred to the pages of other writers, scarcely more credible.

The interpolator of Florence describes Waltheof as acting, during his tenure of the earldom of Northumberland, in the most cordial manner with Bishop Walcher, insomuch that, sitting with the Bishop in the synod of the clergy, the Earl humbly and obediently carried out within his earldom whatever was ordered by the Bishop for the correction of Christian manners. Unlike his immediate predecessor, but following in the footsteps of some of the earlier earls, he was a liberal benefactor of the church of St. Cuthbert, as well as of other religious foundations. The only blot upon his character admitted by his eulogists is the massacre of the sons of Carl, which is ascribed to the year 1073. This took place at Settington, near York, the seat of the eldest of the four brothers, of whom mention has so often been made. One of the four, Somerled, was fortunately absent, and another, Cnut, was spared "out of regard for his amiable qualities;" the other two, with their families, were slaughtered by a band of assassins sent to surprise them at a banquet.

Waltheof held his earldom less than three years, being executed on a charge of conspiracy in 1075. The circumstances are thus briefly related by Huntingdon:—

"In the ninth year of King William, Ralph, who had been made Earl of East Anglia, conspired with Earl Waltheof and Roger (Earl of Hereford), son of William Fitz-Osbert, to dethrone the King. Earl Ralph had married Roger's sister, at whose nuptials the plot was concerted. But the principal men of the realm strenuously opposed it; and Earl Ralph, embarking at Norwich, sailed for Denmark. When the King returned to England, he threw his kinsman Earl Roger into prison, but Earl Waltheof was beheaded at Winchester, and was buried at Croyland."

Florence says, that during the festivities, "Earl Waltheof was inveigled and overpersuaded to join in the projected treason. As soon as he was able he repaired

to Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, and receiving absolution at his hands from his compulsory oath, hastened, by his advice, to King William in Normandy, and discovering the whole project, threw himself on his mercy." The King, however, was obdurate, threw him into prison, and ultimately, as we have seen, ordered him to be executed at Winchester.

"Here," says Florence, "he was cruelly and unjustly beheaded, and his body thrown into a hole on the spot; but in the course of time, by the providence of God, his body was exhumed, and conveyed with great honour to Croyland, where it was entombed." His memory was held in the utmost veneration by the native ecclesiastics as well as the common people, who regarded him as a saint and a martyr; and numerous miracles are recorded to have been wrought at his shrine. The Countess Judith, on the other hand, was an object of general execration, being accused of betraying her husband, by reporting, in an aggravated form, unguarded expressions which had fallen from him.^m

The vacant earldom of Northumberland was conferred on Walcher Bishop of Durham, but Ordericus, a well-informed and impartial historian, informs us that he was indebted for this distinguished appointment, neither to his own merits, nor to the favour of his sovereign, but to the influence of a large pecuniary offering at the royal exchequer. That he did enjoy a considerable share of favour and confidence is nevertheless certain, for he first came to England by William's special invitation, and was afterwards appointed to the see of Durham on his direct nomination.

A former bishop, Edmund, the immediate successor of Aldune, having been elected by the clergy, had his appointment confirmed by Knut, who then held the throne of England, but in Walcher's case, the election is described as the act of the King (*ab ipso rege eligitur*). On Edmund's death, Eadred, who was next in rank of the clergy of the cathedral, purchased the vacant bishopric of King Hardienut for a large sum of money, abstracted from the treasury of the church, but a divine judgment prevented the completion of this simoniacal transaction.

The next bishop, Egelric, being expelled from his see in consequence of an

^m Ordericus, who brings this charge against Judith, ascribes also to her the removal of her husband's body, for which she had obtained the King's permission, to Croyland, fifteen days after his execution. Notwithstanding the interval which had elapsed, not only were there no symptoms of decay, but the blood with which the body was smeared was as fresh as if he were just dead—a recognized token of superior sanctity in those times. The lamentations of the English over the grave of this last great noble of their nation were loud and universal.

undue and compulsory election, appealed to Earl Siward, "who having just slain Earl Eadulf, governed the whole province of the Northumbrians from the Humber to the Tweed." His support having been secured by the same means which in Eadred's case had prevailed with Hardicnut, the clergy were deterred from carrying their resistance further; but were ultimately relieved from the control of a prelate whom they both hated and despised, by his voluntary withdrawal, taking with him, however, whatever he could appropriate of the spoils of the church. Previous, also, to his departure, he contrived to secure the election of Egelwin, his own brother, which was confirmed "by the most pious King Edward," through the influence of Earl Tosti, the successor of Siward. Malmsbury speaks of the high favour in which Tosti stood with King Edward, and the reluctance with which he consented to the banishment of his favourite, and the substitution of Morcar; and great indeed must Tosti's influence have been, when he was able to obtain the consent of "the most pious King" to such an arrangement as that described by Symeon, whose impartiality in recording the evil as well as the good deeds of the prelates of his church, is truly remarkable.

Egelwin, as we have already seen, after the lapse of many years, followed the example of his brother, in deserting his charge, imitating him also in carrying with him a portion of the accumulated treasure of his cathedral.

Walcher is described as a man of great sagacity and experience, and of a mild and gentle disposition, but his vigour and activity were impaired by age, and he proved inadequate to the discharge of the duties of his office. Even his encomiast, Symeon of Durham, admits that he failed to check the violence and oppression of his subordinates, and that the fearful tragedy by which his life and government were closed was provoked by the misconduct of his officers, and the impunity which they enjoyed. In the History of the Church of Durham, we are merely told in general terms that "the soldiers of the Bishop conducted themselves with excessive insolence to the people, whom they frequently plundered, and even slew some of the most influential, which ill-deeds the Bishop neglected to punish; and thus, as Eli died for the sins of his children, so did he suffer for the transgressions of his people, and they and he perished together!"

In the Chronicle which also passes under the name of Symeon, a more circumstantial and somewhat different account of the immediate cause of the catastrophe is given.

Amongst the most distinguished noblemen of the province was Ligulf, a man of

large possessions, not only in Northumberland, but in various parts of England. Having retired to Durham as a place of refuge from the tyranny to which the native nobility were subjected at the hands of the Normans, he secured the regard and confidence of Walcher, who consulted him in all secular matters. This favour excited the jealousy of Leobwine, the Bishop's chaplain and spiritual adviser, who menaced and insulted him on all occasions, even in the presence of the Bishop. Irritated by this conduct, Ligulf was provoked to retaliate with equal vehemence of language, and Leobwine determined on revenge. In this he solicited and secured the co-operation of Gilebert, a relation of Walcher, and entrusted by him with the office of sheriff. Collecting his own soldiers, and those of the Bishop and of Leobwine, he attacked Ligulf by night in his own house, and slew himself and nearly all the members of his family. Walcher was both distressed and disconcerted by this atrocious conduct of his deputy, but he had not resolution to bring him to punishment, contenting himself with disavowing all participation in the crime, and promising to banish the murderer and his accomplices. He further proposed an amicable meeting with the relatives of the deceased, which was agreed to be held at Gateshead. The Bishop, with his barons and clergy, assembled in the church; the relatives of Ligulf, with a tumultuous concourse of their partizans, were collected outside. Several overtures were made by the former, but all attempts at conciliation failed, when it was known that subsequent to the murder Gilebert had not only been entertained by Leobwine, but had even been received by the Bishop. Terrified by the menacing attitude of the crowd, Walcher determined to sacrifice Gilebert; but the concession came too late. He was instantly slain, with the soldiers who attended him; still the vengeance of the excited multitude was unsatiated: they demanded the death of Leobwine also; but no commands or exhortations of the Bishop could induce him to go forth to certain destruction. At length Walcher shewed himself at the door of the church, and only begged that his own life might be spared. Neither his prayers, however, nor the sanctity of his office, produced any effect on the infuriated mob, who were convinced that the murder had been committed by his orders. Despairing of mercy, he threw his robes over his head, and rushing forth, was instantly despatched." A loud cry was then raised for Leobwine, but

* Wendover accuses the Bishop himself of the greatest cruelty and extortion; that he refused to determine pleas in the county court without the previous payment of illegal and exorbitant fees, on one occasion stated by the historian to have amounted to "four hundred pounds of the best money."

he still clung to the ineffectual shelter of the church. When it was found impossible to dislodge him by other means, the walls and roof were set on fire; but still for a long time he maintained his position; apparently fearing the devouring element less than the excited fury of his pursuers. At length, in the words of the chronicler, "when he was half burnt, he broke forth, and being hewed to pieces, he perished miserably, paying the penalty of his offences." The leader of this insurrection is stated to have been Eadulf Rus, the grandson of that Gospatric who was slain by Earl Tosti, and the great-grandson of the great Earl Uchtred. His father's name was also Uchtred.

The episcopate of Walcher is chiefly memorable for the revival of monachism in the North. In the year 1074 Aldwine Prior of the monastery of Winchcome, deeply impressed with the accounts which he had read in the Ecclesiastical History of Beda of the numerous monasteries which existed in Northumberland in his time, and by the knowledge of their utter destruction afterwards, and their desolation in his own day, determined to undertake a pilgrimage to that province, and if possible to revive the flame of religious devotion so long extinct. With this view, he proceeded first to Evesham, where he prevailed upon two of the brethren, with the consent of the Abbot, to accompany him. These pious pilgrims first established themselves at Monkchester (the present Newcastle), but afterwards removed, on the invitation of the Bishop, to Jarrow. A second establishment was formed at Wearmouth, and the inmates of both were afterwards settled at Durham, though not till after the death of Walcher.

The horrible murder of that prelate roused the indignation of the King, who sent Odo Bishop of Bayeux with a large army to ravage Northumberland. In the autumn of the same year King William sent his son Robert into Scotland against King Malcolm, who during Walcher's government had invaded Northumberland, and "laid waste the country as far as the great river Tyne, slaying many of the inhabitants, and capturing more, and returning home with an immense booty." Robert advanced as far as *Egglesbreth*, but the expedition was without results. On his return he built a strong castle on the banks of the Tyne, which gave the name of Newcastle to the site previously occupied by Monkchester.

The same author has preserved the cry, which, issuing from the lips of their leaders, excited the infuriated mob to wreak their vengeance on their oppressor: "Schort red, god red (short reckoning, good reckoning), "slae ye the bischop." This appalling outrage was perpetrated on the 14th of May, 1080.

The earldom was now conferred on Alberic, or Albrius, a Norman, who being found unequal to the task, was deposed, and retired to his own country; not, however, before he had entitled himself to the gratitude of the monks of Durham by confirming to them the church of Tynemouth, which had been granted by Earl Waltheof to their infant community at Jarrow.

The successor of Albrius was Robert de Mowbray. This is distinctly stated by Symeon; but Dugdale would interpose Geoffrey Bishop of Coutance, Mowbray's uncle, "for being," says he, "one of the witnesses to the foundation charter of the abbey of St. Mary at York, it is said *eo tempore* (circa 1088) *Northymbrorum consulatum regebat.*" This statement is not quite correct; for the words are not appended to his name in attesting a foundation charter, in which case they might be regarded as an authentic description of his official *status*, but they are applied to him in a monastic chronicle of no great authority, in reference to his presence as a spectator when the foundation stone of the new abbey was laid. Even if they had been used as a formal description, they would have been quite as applicable to him if he had administered the affairs of the province as sheriff under the Earl, as Morel did at a somewhat later period. In two charters published in the Appendix to the Durham Historians, we find Mowbray's name and that of his uncle together as witnesses, and in each case the former signs as Earl of Northumberland, the latter simply as Bishop of Coutance. In two of later date Mowbray occurs as Earl (*Comes*), and Morel as Sheriff (*Vicecomes*); but Morel's name never appears with this title along with that of Bishop. The inference appears to be, that he was appointed after the Bishop's death for the performance of those functions which were previously discharged by the latter, and that the words quoted by Dugdale might be applied with equal propriety to each of them in succession, although neither held the earldom (*consulatum*) in his own right.

In the account of the proceedings against William Bishop of Durham appended to Symeon, William de Merley deposes to Bishop William's retainers having "carried off from my lord the Bishop of Coutance two hundred head of cattle;" and Mr. Stevenson infers from the expression, that the deponent, who was a baron of Northumberland, owed service to the Bishop of Coutance as Earl. It does not, however, seem any unusual courtesy to speak of any prelate as *My Lord* the Bishop, irrespective of any feudal obligations.

Mowbray, and his uncle Geoffrey, were amongst the nobles who espoused the cause of Robert Duke of Normandy, as a claimant to the throne of England,

against his brother, William Rufus. Both were engaged in the rebellion which was headed by Odo Bishop of Bayeux, in 1088, on which occasion the former is emphatically styled in the Saxon Chronicle, "Robert the peace-breaker." Ordericus by a singular mistake includes him amongst the "loyal and experienced barons" who adhered to William. His share indeed in the insurrection was confined to plundering the city of Bath, with Berkeley and the adjacent part of Wiltshire, from whence he conveyed the spoil to his uncle's castle of Bristol. The part taken by William Bishop of Durham, the successor of Walcher, threatened more serious results. This prelate was the confidential minister of the King, who justly complained of his treachery, which deprived him, in a time of great peril, of all aid from the northern provinces. On the suppression of the rebellion, he boldly denied any complicity with its authors, but was nevertheless banished the kingdom, by sentence of the King before his assembled council. Three years afterwards he was restored to his bishoprick, as the reward of good service done to the King in Normandy, where he relieved a royal garrison, which was besieged, and on the point of capitulating.

In 1091, Malcolm King of Scotland, not considering the treaty made with the late King of England binding towards his successor, whom he regarded as a usurper, made another inroad into Northumberland, committing great ravages, but he was ultimately repulsed. William was at this time in Normandy; but, on hearing the intelligence, he hastened back, accompanied by his brother Robert, with whom he was now on terms of amity. Having fitted out a fleet as well as an army, he set out for Scotland, but nearly all his ships were lost in a storm a few days before Michaelmas. He proceeded, however, with his army, and Malcolm having collected his troops, marched "out of Scotland into Lothian" to meet him. The hostile forces faced each other on the opposite sides of the "great river called in the Scottish tongue Watra," by which the Forth is generally supposed to be meant; but if, as stated by the Saxon Chronicle, Malcolm was already in Lothian, we must rather understand the Tweed. Whatever the river was, it was for the time impassable to an army, and this fortunate circumstance allowed time for negotiations, which were conducted through the mediation of Duke Robert, and Edgar Atheling, who was then residing with his brother-in-law in Scotland, to a satisfactory result; Malcolm, at the solicitation of Robert, agreeing to transfer that homage which he admitted to be due to the latter, as the representative of his father, to his brother William. The account given of this treaty by

Ordericus is very important, as explaining the international relations of England and Scotland, and clearing up the doubt as to the territory in respect of which homage was due by the latter. "I readily admit" says Malcolm, "that when King Edward gave me his niece Margaret in marriage, he conferred on me the county of Lothian. King William afterwards confirmed what his predecessor had granted, and commended me to you as his eldest son. The engagements made with you I am ready to keep, but I owe nothing to your brother." The generous good offices of Robert surmounted this difficulty; the two kings disbanded their armies, and William returned to England. Edgar Atheling, also, was reconciled to King William, at whose court he, as well as Robert, remained till near Christmas, when they embarked together for Normandy.

By the late treaty, the southern portion of the ancient kingdom of Cumberland, which now forms the county of that name, but which for many years afterwards was only known by the name of its capital, Carlol or Carlisle, seems to have been surrendered by Malcolm to the King of England, who took possession of it the following year. The interpolator of Florence mentions it as still in the hands of the Scots as late as 1070, and to this extent we have no reason to question his authority; neither is there any subsequent notice of its alienation until the period at which we have now arrived, A.D. 1092, when we read in the Saxon Chronicle that "King William went northward with a large army, to Carlisle, where he repaired the city and built the castle. And he drove out Dolfin, who had previously governed the country; and having placed a garrison in the castle, he returned south, and sent a great number of English husbandmen thither, with their horses and cattle, that they might settle there, and cultivate the land." Dolfin seems to have been the son of Gospatric, the exiled Earl of Northumberland, for though the name was by no means uncommon, we know of no other who occupied any public position. This view is further confirmed by the fact, that another son of Gospatric, Waldieve, afterwards held large possessions in Cumberland, which were granted to him by Henry I., apparently in satisfaction of his family claims on that county, in the same way as Gospatric, the eldest brother, had the barony of Beanly in Northumberland, as a compensation to some extent for the loss of that earldom.

Florence, in recording the renovation of Carlisle, adds, "this city, like most others in that quarter, had been laid in ruins by the Northern Danes, two hundred years before, and had been uninhabited up to this time."

A similar statement occurs in nearly all our historians, and is copied, amongst others, by Matthew of Westminster, who nevertheless talks of Carlisle as a flourishing city twenty years previous; at which time, he tells us, it was taken by William the Conqueror from Ranulf de Micenis. This writer is throughout his work a servile abbreviator of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris; and in the very few passages derived from other sources, his testimony is utterly valueless. Ranulf de Micenis certainly held Cumberland during the greater part of the reign of Henry I. His appointment was probably made by William Rufus after the expulsion of Dolfin, but certainly not earlier.

The following year "the King of Scotland sent ambassadors to William, demanding the performance of certain stipulations," which probably comprised some equivalent for the cession of Carlisle, on which, says the Saxon Chronicle—

"The King summoned him to Gloucester, and sent hostages to him in Scotland; and afterwards Edgar Atheling and others met him, and brought him with much honor to the court. But when he came there, he could neither obtain an audience of the King, nor the performance of the stipulations; and he departed in great wrath. Then King Malcolm returned to Scotland, and assembling his troops invaded England, ravaging the country with relentless fury. And Robert Earl of Northumberland lay in wait for him with his men, and slew him unawares. He was killed by Morel of Bamburgh, the Earl's deputy, and his own *godsib*."

Edward, his eldest son, and heir to his kingdom, was slain with him, and his queen, Margaret, died of grief on receiving the fatal intelligence. Florence says that William sought to compel Malcolm to do him homage in his own court, and to abide the judgment of the English barons. Malcolm, on the other hand, refused to do homage, except as his predecessors had done on the borders of the two kingdoms, and according to the judgment of the barons of both realms. Ordericus, differing from all other historians, states that Malcolm was slain when returning peaceably from Gloucester, and not in a subsequent hostile incursion. The tragic event took place on St. Brice's day, November 13th, 1093, on the banks of the Alne. The interpolator of Symeon, who mentions the locality, goes on to say—

"A portion of his army died by the sword of the enemy, and those who escaped the sword were drowned in their retreat, in attempting to cross the rivers, which were unusually swollen by the winter rains."

The body of the deceased King was carried in a cart by two countrymen to Tyne-mouth, and there interred.

“On five occasions,” says our authority, “he had afflicted Northumberland with dreadful ravages, and carried off its wretched inhabitants into slavery : first, in the reign of King Edward and the episcopate of Egelwin, during the absence of Earl Tosti at Rome ; the second time in the reign of King William, when he wasted Cleveland ; thirdly, in the same reign, whilst Walcher was Bishop, when he laid waste the country to the Tyne, slaughtering multitudes of human beings, and burning their dwellings, returning with an immense booty ; the fourth time in the reign of William the younger, when William was Bishop of Durham, on which occasion he got as far as Chester-le-Street, but was driven back. The fifth incursion was that just noticed, in which the aggressor perished.”

It is unnecessary to repeat here the grounds on which doubts have already been expressed as to the occurrence of the two first of the invasions here recapitulated.^o The same suspicion does not attach to the three last, as we know that the relations between Malcolm and the two Norman Kings were very unsettled and precarious.

The death of Malcolm was followed within two years by the fall of Mowbray, an event of no slight importance in the Northumbrian annals, leading as it did to the incorporation of the earldom with the realm of England, of which it had hitherto been a dependent feof.

The Earl, according to Ordericus, had seized four large vessels, called canards, which had come from Norway to England, laden with merchandise, and had violently deprived the peaceable merchants of all they possessed. In this outrage, Morel, who is described as the nephew of Mowbray, was implicated. On the complaint of the merchants, the offenders were commanded to make restitution ; but the order was treated with supreme contempt, and Robert was summoned by the King to attend his court, and answer for his conduct. This summons was also disregarded, although twice repeated. This contumacy is explained by Florence, who informs us that the Earl was engaged in a conspiracy with William d’Eu and many others to take the King’s life, and to raise his cousin Stephen d’Aumale to the throne. Being thus set at defiance, William collected a large force, and marched northwards to Northumberland. On the confines of the county he had nearly fallen into an ambuscade prepared for him in a large wood ;

^o See pages 166 and 186-7-8.

but was preserved from this danger by the timely warning of one of the conspirators, Gilbert de Tunbridge, who repenting of his treason, threw himself at the King's feet, and imploring his pardon, revealed the snare which was laid for him. Changing his course, he arrived by a detour at Tynemouth, where he took the castle, and made prisoner a brother of the Earl. Marching thence to Newcastle, he made himself master of that place also, in which were all the best soldiers of the Earl. Bamburgh was now the only fortress which remained in the power of the rebels, and this the King resolved to reduce as speedily as possible; but finding it impregnable, he was compelled to have recourse to a blockade. With this view, he erected a temporary fort, which was aptly called *Malvoisin*, or the *bad neighbour*, immediately opposite to the castle, and commanding a complete view of the operations of the besieged. From hence missiles were hurled at the garrison as often as any of them shewed themselves on the walls. Many of the conspirators, anxious to conceal their own share in the plot, diligently assisted the besiegers. Provoked by this double treachery, Robert, who was in the castle, called to them by name, and loudly reproached them for their perfidy. His unceasing menaces only excited the derision of the royal forces, whilst the companions of his guilt redoubled their exertions against him, in order to merit their own pardon. At length, tempted by a pretended invitation from the garrison of Newcastle, offering to receive him in their fortress, he sallied forth by night, accompanied by thirty soldiers. His proceedings were, however, betrayed to the besieging army, and messengers were sent to prepare the garrison of Newcastle for his arrival. Here, discovering too late the deceit which had been practised upon him, he barely escaped capture, and sought refuge at the monastery of Tynemouth, where he made a resolute, but unavailing resistance.^p He was himself severely wounded in the leg, whilst bravely opposing himself to superior numbers, many of whom were slain or maimed by his single arm. At length, when all his followers were killed or made prisoners, he sought refuge in the church, from which he was dragged forth, and secured. His discomfiture at this place was looked upon by the monks of Durham as an instance of special retribution for the injury which he had inflicted on their house, by transferring the church of

^p Gaimar represents him to have escaped from Bamburgh to Tynemouth by sea. This writer relates the capture of the castle of Morpeth by the King. We know from records that the Barony of Morpeth was granted to the Merleys in the preceding reign, but this is the earliest mention of the castle, of which William de Merley is stated to have been the owner.

Tynemouth, which had been conferred upon them by Waltheof, and confirmed by Albrius, to the abbey of St. Alban.

On the establishment of the blockade, William had returned south; but being informed of the capture of Mowbray, he ordered him to be taken to Bamburgh, where the castle was still held by his wife and his kinsman Morel, with directions to put out his eyes unless it were instantly surrendered. This threat had the desired effect, and all resistance terminated with the reduction of this stronghold. Mowbray was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Windsor, where he survived thirty years. Morel was compelled to divulge the secrets of the conspirators, many of whom suffered in consequence of his disclosures. He was afterwards permitted to withdraw from England, and, wandering in many lands, he grew old in exile and died in poverty and disgrace.

The following portraits of Robert de Mowbray and of his uncle Geoffrey Bishop of Coutance, are from the pen of Ordericus Vitalis :—

“ Robert, son of Roger de Mowbray, was distinguished for his great power and wealth; his high spirit and military daring caused him to hold his fellow nobles in contempt, and inflated with empty pride, he disdained obedience to his superiors. In person he was of great stature, bulk, and strength, with a swarthy complexion and shaggy beard; his disposition bold and crafty, his features stern and harsh. He thought much, but spoke little, and seldom smiled when he spoke. He possessed two hundred and eighty manors in England, which the great King William had granted to Geoffrey Bishop of Coutance.”

“ This bishop prided himself on his noble birth, and was more distinguished for his skill in war than his knowledge of divinity; better able to array men-at-arms for battle, than to instruct cowed clerks in the chants of the church. He was, therefore, often engaged in conflicts with the English and Danes, and when the enemy was subdued, obtained vast possessions, which, at his death, he bequeathed to his nephew Robert Earl of Northumberland.”

All these vast possessions, as well as the earldom, were lost by this rash and ill-considered rebellion. It is probable indeed that the latter would not again have been granted to a subject, and that the forfeiture of Mowbray only accelerated by a few years its union with the crown of England, to which it remained attached during the remainder of this reign, and through the whole of that of Henry I.

CHAPTER VI.

NORMAN PERIOD.

DOWN to the Norman Conquest, and the deprivation of Morcar, Yorkshire, as well as Northumberland, was governed by Earls, though the same individuals had not always the charge of both provinces. The brief rule of Copsi, as the vice-roy of the Conqueror, seems to have extended from the Humber to the Tweed; but after his violent death no more earls were appointed over Yorkshire, which was reduced to the condition of the other counties of England, and its affairs administered by a sheriff. Thus at the time of the northern insurrection in 1069, we read of William Malet, Sheriff of Yorkshire, who, with his wife and children, were spared in the general slaughter of the Normans at York. Again, when Aldwine, the pious monk of Winchcombe, was pursuing his weary pilgrimage to the Tyne, he was furnished with information as to his route by Hugh Fitz-Baldric, the Sheriff of Yorkshire, in 1074. Hugh the Sheriff is also mentioned in *Doomsday*. Gospatric and Waltheof were Earls of Northumberland only, north of the Tees, and within the same limits the authority of Walcher was restricted.

Symeon usually speaks of the northern earldom as the country beyond the Tyne, and of the southern as Yorkshire, as if the intermediate district between the Tyne and the Tees was all along an ecclesiastical palatinate, independent of either. We have, however, no evidence that the bishops of Durham had any palatine jurisdiction previous to the time of Bishop Walcher, although they certainly claimed extensive privileges of exemption from taxation within their own liberty.

Walcher, in the first instance, was precisely in the same position as his predecessors, and we have even seen that the King attempted in his time to exact payments from which the territory of the church had previously been exempt. This seems to have been during the vacancy of the earldom, after the expulsion of Gospatric. On the appointment of Waltheof, the Bishop's privileges were scrupulously respected, and his spiritual decrees enforced by the temporal power

of the Earl; but no accession of authority was given to him until he was promoted to the earldom, and exercised it under a separate title. His successors in the bishoprick undoubtedly enjoyed within their own limits all the rights which the Earl, and afterwards the Crown, possessed without; but still the bishoprick was not regarded as without the earldom, but only as a privileged jurisdiction within it. At the southern extremity, indeed, of the present county of Durham, there existed a large tract (the Wapentake of Sadberge), which did not till long afterwards belong to the bishoprick. So late as the reign of Edward I., the palatinate of Durham, as has been shewn by Mr. Hodgson, from the Hundred Rolls, was still regarded as within the county of Northumberland; just as was the liberty of Hexham a possession of the Archbishops of York, with privileges and jurisdiction almost as independent. As the Tees is stated, on the competent authority of our local historian, Richard of Hexham, to have been the ancient boundary between the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira; so it seems in later times to have marked the limit between the earldoms of Northumberland and Yorkshire. During the Danish supremacy, indeed, when the Saxons were confined to the district beyond the Tyne, the limit was for a time changed, as Halfdene and Guthred held all the country to the south of that river, whilst the two Egberts and Ricsig were confined to the North. The fact, however, just advanced, that Sadberge was long afterwards treated as a part of Northumberland and not of Yorkshire, proves that the boundary must have been afterwards re-adjusted.

During the reign of William the Conqueror and the early part of that of William Rufus, the Crown did not, except on special occasions, interfere with the civil administration of Northumberland, beyond the appointment of the Earls, to whom the country was granted rather as a fee than a trust. Of these Earls an account has been given in the last chapter, and little remains to be added here.

Three of them, as we have seen, Copsi, Cumin, and Walcher, perished in popular tumults; Waltheof died on the scaffold, and Osulf by the hands of an outlaw; Morcar and Mowbray were imprisoned for life; Gospatric was expelled for treason, and Alberic for incompetency.

During this period the Conqueror was twice or thrice in the bishoprick of Durham, but only once in Northumberland. This was on the occasion of his expedition into Scotland in 1072. His eldest son Robert passed through the county in going and returning from a similar expedition in 1080, and Rufus in 1091.

The latter was again in Northumberland in 1095, the year of Mowbray's rebellion, after which he does not appear to have been any more in the North.

Some particulars of the expedition in 1072 may be gathered from the anonymous *Life of St. Oswine*, published by the Surtees Society. These are particularly interesting, from the notice which he takes of Monkchester, two years earlier than the visit of the Winchcombe monks, and eight years prior to the foundation of Newcastle. It is represented as a very poor place, cut off from any communication except by precarious fords, from the district to the South, although the author informs us that a bridge existed in his own time, about 40 years later, having, doubtless, been erected at the same time as the castle, and probably on Roman foundations. On the other hand, he represents Tynemouth as the storehouse of the neighbouring district. The royal army being detained by a flood at Monkchester, suffered greatly from want of provisions, and a foraging party was sent to Tynemouth, who, regardless of the sanctity of the place, carried away whatever they could lay their hands on. For this sacrilege they were punished by the outraged saint; the horses which had been fed with the stolen corn being seized with swelling and inflammation. Amongst others was a charger belonging to an officer called Robert, who, whilst his followers were plundering, was performing his own devotions at the neighbouring shrine. Shocked at the impiety of his troops, and solicitous for the recovery of his horse, Robert made an offering of his best palfrey, in virtue of which the distemper was staid, and his own steed recovered.

After the fall of Mowbray and the confiscation of his earldom, the custody of Northumberland as well as Yorkshire was committed by the Crown to a sheriff or vicecomes. The earls indeed appear previously to have appointed sheriffs of their own; as we read of Gilebert, the sheriff under Bishop Walcher, and of Morel under Mowbray; Morel had the custody of Bamburgh Castle, which important trust was for many years afterwards appertinent to the shrievalty.

Odard, the first sheriff under the Crown on record, occurs as a witness to the foundation charter of the abbey of Selkirk, afterwards removed to Kelso, in 1113, and is there described as "Vicecomes de Bebbanburgh." He is mentioned by Richard of Hexham in connection with the early history of his monastery, founded in 1114, and by Symeon of Durham in 1121. He was still Sheriff of Northumberland in 1131, and his father Hildred was Sheriff of Cumberland the same year, as appears from the isolated pipe-roll of the 31st of Henry I. Odard was the

founder of two families of baronial rank. He was succeeded by his son Adam in the barony of Wigton in Cumberland,^a and by John, who adopted the surname of Vicecomes or Le Vesconte, in that of Emildon in Northumberland.

Eustace Fitz-John was probably the immediate successor of Odard in the shrievalty, as we find him in charge of Bamburgh Castle, at the commencement of the reign of Stephen. He was a justice itinerant in the northern counties, with Walter Espec, in the 31st of Henry I. He acquired the barony of Alnwick, by marriage with the heiress of De Vescei, which name was assumed by his descendants, and he had Malton in Yorkshire by grant from Henry I. The noble family of Clavinger is also said to have been descended from a younger son by the same mother; besides which he had a numerous family by a previous marriage.^b

Henry I. passed through the county in 1122, on his route from York to Carlisle. Ordericus says he was engaged in taking a survey of Northumberland, and speaks feelingly of its muddy roads, as traversed by two old monks of St. Evroult, who sought the King to present to him the newly elected Abbot of their house.

The turbulent career of Ralf Flambard Bishop of Durham, presents no incident connected with Northumberland, except the erection of Norham Castle by this prelate in 1121, as a protection against the incursions of the Scots. Previous to this, Bamburgh had been the most northern English fortress, and at the time of the Conquest no other stronghold existed north of York. Durham Castle was built by the Conqueror, A.D. 1072, and Newcastle, as we have seen, by his son Robert in 1080. The rebuilding of Carlisle, and the erection of a castle there by William Rufus, has been already noticed under the year 1092. The interpolator of Florence would postpone the building of the castle till Henry's journey to Carlisle in 1122; nor is it improbable that the works were strengthened and augmented on that occasion.

None of the baronial castles^c in Northumberland have any pretensions to an

^a Cumberland Pipe Rolls.

^b See Dugdale's Baronage.

^c Alnwick Castle is mentioned by Fordun as the scene of Malcolm Caenmore's death by the hand of Morel, A.D. 1093, but this statement is founded on no earlier authority. The Saxon Chronicle, Florence, and Huntingdon are silent as to the locality, and Symeon, though he places it on the banks of the Aln, mentions neither Alnwick nor its castle. Gaimar mentions Morpeth Castle, as existing at the date of Mowbray's rebellion, A.D. 1095, but little reliance is to be placed on his unsupported testimony. At that time there was certainly a castle at Tynemouth, which was probably removed to make room for the church and conventual buildings. What is now known as Tynemouth Castle was only the fortified gateway to the monastery.

earlier date than the reign of Henry I., although several of the baronies originated in grants from the Conqueror. These grants included the seignory or franchise of Reedsdale, and the baronies of Alnwick, Morpeth, Mitford, Bolam, Delaval, and probably Whalton. The charter of Reedsdale, the only one of which a copy has been preserved, was granted in the 10th of William, if, indeed, the document be genuine.^d At that time the county was in the hands of the Crown, after the death of Earl Waltheof; and this is not only an argument in favour of the authenticity of the Reedsdale charter, but affords a presumption that the others were granted at the same time, as the title in each case appears, from the *Testa de Nevil*, to be derived from the Crown, and not from an earl. Several of the proprietors in later times pretended to carry their hereditary possession higher, by alleged descents from heiresses of the old Saxon stock; but these claims are, for the most part, clumsily devised, and are unsupported by the inquisitions in the *Testa de Nevil*, or any ancient authority. Besides the baronies mentioned above, the manors of Chevington and Dilston were granted by the Conqueror. The only grant made by William Rufus was of the barony of Bailliol. Under Henry I. the grants were numerous and extensive, including the baronies of Wooler, Wark, Beanley, Prudhoe, Bolbec, Emildon, Bothal, Heron, and Ellingham; and the manors of Budle and Spindleston, Bradford, and Gosforth.

The manors which remained in the Crown were Bamburgh, Newcastle, Warkworth, Rothbury, Corbridge, and Newburn; besides the districts of Tyndale and Sadberge, both still included in the body of the county, but afterwards granted as franchises with independent jurisdiction, the one to the royal family of Scotland, the other to the bishops of Durham.

The more extensive franchises of Durham and Hexhamshire^e have been already

^d According to Sir Harris Nicholas (*Chronology of History*, p. 285), Richard I. "is presumed to have been the first King of England who dated his public instruments in the years of his reign." If this be so, the date of this charter in the 10th of William I. is fatal to its authenticity.

^e According to an old Durham Chronicle printed in the *Monasticon*, Hexham belonged to the Bishop of Durham till the reign of Henry I., who took it from Ralph Flambard, and gave it to the Archbishop of York. This statement is totally unsupported by the continuator of Symeon, a contemporary writer, who mentions the abstraction of Carlisle and Teviotdale, but says nothing as to Hexham. Symeon himself informs us that the pastoral care of Bishop Eardulf towards the close of the eighth century extended to Carlisle, but he also is silent as to Hexham. The only claim of the Church of St. Cuthbert to this district seems to have rested on the grant by King Guthred of all the lands between the Tyne and the Wear, a somewhat precarious foundation. Richard of Hexham, indeed, affects to consider the establishment of the see at Chester-le-Street, and subsequently at Durham, as a resuscitation of the

referred to. A few small estates were held by sergeanty, and a considerable number were still possessed under the old Saxon tenure of Drengage or Theinage.^f

In the 31st of Henry I. the profits of the county and the royal manors were farmed by Odard the Sheriff at 139*l.* 5*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, out of which had to be deducted fixed charges amounting to 10*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* annually.

Odard also accounted for 100*l.* for the Danegeld of the past year, and a like amount for the year preceding. Amongst the miscellaneous receipts is this interesting entry: "Gospatric of Newcastle owes xx. marks, that he may purge himself of judgment of iron (*de judicio ferri*) by his oath." Amongst the items of expenditure is a sum of 6*l.* 10*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* "for a corredy to the King of Scotland (David) coming into England to the King's court, and returning from England to Scotland." The sheriff of each county through which David passed takes credit in like manner for a certain sum for his expenses; but the amounts vary in each case. For the remainder of the reign of Henry I. and the whole reign of Stephen, the Pipe Rolls are wanting; during this period, indeed, hardly any public records of any class are in existence. It happens, fortunately, however, that three nearly contemporary northern historians, Richard and John of Hexham, and Ailred of Rivaux have chronicled in their pages the very stirring events of which Northumberland was at this time the scene. Some further particulars are also furnished by the anonymous continuator of Symeon's History of the Church of Durham. From these several authorities the following particulars are for the most part collected; the attention of the other chroniclers of the reign of Stephen having been chiefly directed to the progress of events in the southern and midland counties.

The opposition which manifested itself throughout the kingdom to the usurpation of Stephen was strengthened in Northumberland by the influence and proximity of David King of Scotland, who was a warm partizan of the cause of his niece, the Empress Matilda, to whom, in company with Stephen and the assembled

bishoprick of Hexham rather than of Lindisfarne. That the new see included the district which was placed under the bishops of Hexham when the abbey was converted into a bishoprick, may be readily conceded, but the ancient monastic possessions, with their ecclesiastical jurisdiction and secular privileges, appear, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, to have lapsed to the metropolitan on the extinction of the line of suffragan bishops. This view is confirmed by a formal decision recorded in the Hundred Rolls, whereby the extensive privileges claimed by the archbishop within this liberty are affirmed, not as resting on any charter of Henry I., but on immemorial usage.

^f Respecting this tenure see the next chapter.

baronage of England, he had pledged his fealty in the lifetime of her father. Nor was he without interested views on his own account. He had pretensions to the earldoms of Cumberland and Northumberland, which could be pressed with much greater prospect of success during a period of civil commotion than in time of peace. Cumberland he claimed in his own right, as a portion of the Scottish principality of that name, and Northumberland as the lawful inheritance of his wife, who was the daughter of Earl Waltheof, and the grand-daughter of the great Siward. Under these circumstances, the union of his interest with that of the Empress could not fail materially to affect the stability of Stephen's government in the North.

King Henry died in Normandy on the 2nd of December, 1135, and his successor was crowned in London on Christmas-day, "having been chosen," as we are told by contemporary chroniclers, "by the nobles of the kingdom, with the assent of the clergy and people," notwithstanding the oath recently taken to support the daughter of their late sovereign. Stephen's promptitude, and the absence of any precedent in favour of the inheritance of the throne by a female, seem to have mainly contributed to this result. The crown, however, thus vigorously seized, was not destined to be worn in peace. A formidable opposition was immediately organized by Geoffrey Earl of Anjou, the second husband of the Empress, in Normandy, and by King David on the northern borders of England. The latter surprised and occupied the city and castle of Carlisle, the castle of Newcastle, and three other fortresses in Northumberland. These were Carham or Wark, Norham, and Alnwick. The barons of the district pledged themselves to support the cause which he had espoused; and the only stronghold which held out for Stephen was the royal citadel of Bamburgh, which David had vainly attempted to seize. He was proceeding to Durham, with a view of occupying that city also, when he learned that Stephen had anticipated him, having taken up his quarters there with a large force. A collision between the two armies was obviated by negotiation; and David agreed to abandon the cause of his niece, on having confirmed to him the English Honour of Huntingdon, with a grant to his son Henry of the earldoms of Doncaster and Carlisle. In return, the latter performed the ceremony of homage, from which his father was precluded by his previous engagements to Matilda. An ambiguous promise was also given that the claims of David and his son to the earldom of Northumberland should be fairly considered.

David seems to have considered this stipulation as absolute, and to have required an immediate adjudication. Stephen, on the other hand, wished to qualify it in such a way as to render it altogether nugatory. Thus we are told by Richard of Hexham, that the pledge was by some, who professed to have been present at the negotiations, reported to have been to this extent only, that no grant should be made of the earldom to any other party without the claim of the Scotch prince being first fairly considered. This was a virtual denial of justice, so long as the King retained the earldom in his own hands; and it is difficult to believe that such a proposal could have been offered, much less accepted, as the consideration for the surrender of three important fortresses, and the withdrawal of a victorious army. Immediately, however, on the conclusion of the treaty, David restored the castles of Wark, Norham, and Newcastle; the castle of Carlisle being retained by Prince Henry, as appertinent to that earldom. These transactions having been completed in February, 1136, Stephen returned to London, where Prince Henry attended his court at Easter. His reception there, though cordial on the part of the King, was marred by the jealousy of the Archbishop of Canterbury and others of the nobility, and produced great dissatisfaction in his father's mind. This angry feeling, and the refusal of Stephen to entertain the question of his claims to the earldom of Northumberland, determined David again to have recourse to arms. Taking advantage of Stephen's absence in Normandy, he assembled an army in the month of April, 1137, with which he laid waste Northumberland; but, on approaching Newcastle, he found that a large force was collected at that town from all parts of England to oppose him. A general engagement was, as before, avoided by negotiation, and a truce concluded till the following Advent, by which time Stephen had returned to England, having purchased two years' suspension of hostilities by the payment of a large sum of money to the Earl of Anjou. Being thus freed from any apprehension of attack in that quarter, and at liberty to concentrate his forces against the Scotch King, he refused to give any satisfaction respecting the earldom. Provoked by this conduct, David, as usual, retaliated on the unfortunate Northumbrians.

The first attempt was directed against the castle of Wark. This castle was the property of Walter Espec, being situated in his barony of Carham, which he enjoyed under a grant from King Henry I. The castle itself is described by Richard of Hexham as "the castle of Carham, which the English call Wark," the latter name was no doubt the provincial designation of a *work* which was prosecuted

for many years and with much labour, just as Newark signifies the new work, and as in repeated instances we find places called Newbiggin (the new building). John of Hexham, who lived somewhat later, knew it by no other name than Wark, and the barony itself was at an early period called Wark also; the name of Carham being retained by the parish, and by an estate within it granted by Walter Espec to the monastery of Kirkham, where a cell was afterwards established. The position of Wark on an elevated site on the south bank of the Tweed, commanding the passage of the river by one of the most frequented fords, rendered the castle an object of great importance during the various struggles between the rival nations on the north and south; so much so, that, although the castle was private property, large sums were from time to time expended on its repairs and defence by the Crown, whilst the proprietors were also required to maintain an efficient garrison. Of this expenditure we have evidence in the Pipe Rolls early in the reign of Henry II.

When Wark was previously taken by David, there is little doubt that his success was due to a surprise; and a similar attempt was now made by a nocturnal attack led by William Fitz-Duncan, the King's nephew. Failing in this, David and his son Henry invested the castle with battering rams and other machines, but with no better success, and the siege was raised after three weeks, during which the Scotch army suffered much more than the garrison, many of the former being slain, and amongst the rest the bearer of the royal standard. Turning from Wark, the army overran the whole county to the Tyne, and their atrocities are depicted in horrible detail:—

“The infamous army,” says the Prior of Hexham, “received accessions from Normans, Germans, and English, from Northumbrians and Cumbrians, from Teviotdale and Lothian, from the Picts, commonly called Galwegians, and the Scots. No one knew their number, for multitudes uncalled for allied themselves with these, for the love of plunder and of revenge, or for the desire of mischief.”

The towns only were spared, and a portion of the country towards the sea coast, which they reserved till their return. Churches and monasteries were little respected. Newminster, founded the year before by Ralph de Merley, was destroyed, and Tynemouth purchased security by payment of a heavy fine. Hexham was indebted for its escape to the reverence of the Scots for their patron, Saint Andrew, to whom it was dedicated. It was, however, in some danger from the Galwegians, who were influenced by no such feelings. The King seems to have

done what he could to protect the religious houses from violence, but he had little controul over his followers. His head-quarters were at Corbridge, and his proximity was no doubt a safe-guard to the canons of Hexham, to whom, with their church and monastery, he granted letters of protection. William Fitz-Duncan also, who was stationed with another army at the neighbouring village of Warden, equally exerted himself to restrain the sacrilegious violence of his troops. As regarded the church of Hexham itself, his exertions were successful, but the oratory of St. Michael, on the opposite bank of the Tyne, was defiled and plundered by the Picts.

Many of the inhabitants of Northumberland fled into the bishoprick of Durham, and concealed themselves in the waste and desolate country which then surrounded the village of Tanfield; but even here they were traced and butchered by the sanguinary invaders, who returned with an immense booty, which the fugitives had vainly endeavoured to secrete.

In the meantime Stephen marched with the strength of his kingdom into Northumberland, and finding the Scotch army dispersed and disorganized in a remote corner, he resolved to advance at once to the frontier, and to retaliate on the subjects of his opponent the devastations which had been committed within his own territory. Having taken up his quarters at the castle of Wark, he found himself within eight or nine miles of Roxburgh, the accustomed residence of the Scotch court, but now left defenceless in the absence of the King and his retainers. Whilst Stephen felt sure of an easy triumph, David was informed of all his movements and intentions by a party of the English nobility, with whom he had kept up all along a clandestine correspondence. Acting on this intelligence, he quickly collected his scattered forces, and returning homewards by rapid marches, arrived in the vicinity of Roxburgh, before Stephen had set out from Wark. Instead, however, of occupying the city, he led his army in silence into a natural fastness in the neighbourhood, protected on all sides by a morass, to which a single path only afforded access. From hence he privately communicated with the citizens, directing them to offer no opposition to Stephen, but to suffer him to take possession of the city; hoping, by this means, to throw him off his guard, and thus to obtain an opportunity of cutting off both the King and his army by a nocturnal attack, in which he would be aided not only by his own subjects within the walls, but by a powerful party in the English camp. A timely warning preserved Stephen from the snare laid for him; but so formidable had been the conspiracy, and

so extensive the consequent distrust, that, renouncing all his schemes of retaliation, he broke up his camp and marched immediately southward.

Amongst those implicated was Eustace Fitz-John, the most powerful baron in Northumberland, and the confidential counsellor of the late King, to the cause of whose daughter it is not extraordinary that he should incline, in preference to that of his nephew. Eustace was deprived of the custody of the royal fortress of Bamburgh, but was left in possession of his own castles of Alnwick and Malton. This conspiracy amongst the English is related by John of Hexham, but is passed over in silence by Prior Richard, who ascribes the sudden return of the King to the indisposition of his followers to carry on a predatory warfare during the season of Lent. He adds that in the meantime Stephen, instead of marching westward to Roxburgh, crossed the Tweed at Wark, and had already overrun a large portion of the Scotch territory before the withdrawal of his forces. It is not easy, however, to account for the snare laid for the English King, and so nearly leading to a disastrous result, on any other supposition, than that of a betrayal of his plans by his own followers.

The English army having retired, David first celebrated the festival of Easter with due solemnity, and then renewed the horrors of the last campaign by another incursion into Northumberland, in which the places on the sea coast, which had before escaped, were involved in a general destruction. These ravages were extended into the territory of St. Cuthbert, and the city of Durham itself was in danger, when the inhabitants were relieved from their fears by the sudden withdrawal of the enemy. Due credit is given by the historians to the saint for his interference on this occasion, but they mention also two other causes which conduced to the retirement of the invaders: first, a mutiny of the Pictish forces, in which the lives of the King and his immediate followers were in peril; and secondly, a rumour of the approach of an overwhelming army from the South. David marched to the Tweed, where he besieged the castle of Norham; but William Fitz-Duncan, who had previously advanced into Yorkshire, committed great ravages in Craven, a possession of his own in right of his wife, and defeated a large force brought against him at Clitheroe, within the limits of Lancashire. From hence he retired with an immense booty to Carlisle.

The townsmen of Norham at first defended the castle with great vigour, but being ill supported by the regular garrison, amongst whom were only nine knights, their spirits began to flag, and many of their number being wounded, they

resolved to capitulate, although the fortifications were uninjured and the provisions abundant. Not only the garrison and the townsmen, but the Bishop also, were loudly censured, the last being justly blamed for allowing so important a fortress to be thus undermanned.

David endeavoured to persuade the Bishop, Geoffrey Rufus, to renounce his allegiance to King Stephen, in which case he offered to restore him the castle. On his refusal, he caused it to be dismantled.

Encouraged by the capture of Norham, he resolved to renew the siege of Wark, against the garrison of which he was greatly exasperated on account of a daring exploit which they had achieved. During the siege of Norham, the supplies and munitions of the assailants were conveyed by a road which passed directly under the walls of Wark. On one occasion the garrison sallied forth and intercepted a large amount of stores, carrying off also the waggons and attendants. All attempts to take the castle by storm proved unavailing, and the loss of the besiegers was very heavy. After repeated assaults, both by the King in person and his son Henry, it was resolved to attempt the reduction of the place by famine. Having destroyed all the crops in the neighbourhood, David entrusted the maintenance of a strict blockade to two of his barons, and marched southward at the head of the largest army which he had yet assembled. In this expedition he was openly joined by Eustace Fitz-John.

Their first halt was at Bamburgh, the siege of which formed no part of the plan of operations. Provoked, however, by the taunts of the garrison, uttered under cover of one of the outworks, the Scots made an impetuous assault, and, throwing down the wall, slew nearly one hundred men who were sheltered behind it. They then destroyed the crops in that district, at Mitford, and at other places where the proprietors were hostile.

Having crossed the Tyne, David waited till he was joined by the levies from the western parts of his dominions, Galloway, Cumbria, and Carliol.

“The whole army being thus assembled, he regarded it with unbounded exultation, for it appeared to him immense and invincible. In truth, it was very large, consisting of more than twenty-six thousand men.” “But,” adds the pious historian, “his heart and the hearts of his men were lifted up, and putting their trust in themselves and their numbers, and having no fear of God, they spoke boastfully and proudly. They both designed and threatened to give to destruction not only Yorkshire, but the greatest part of England, for with such a host they did not imagine any one would be able to resist them.”

They ravaged the whole country as far as the Tees without opposition, but the barons of Yorkshire, headed by their brave old archbishop, Turstin, determined on resistance. From King Stephen they could hope for no assistance, for he was himself hard pressed in another part of the country; neither had they any one amongst them to whom they had been accustomed to look up as a leader in war. Each, on the contrary, was suspicious of the others, and not unnaturally, at a period when the whole nation was divided between two contending factions. By union only, however, could they hope to avert the ruin which had already overwhelmed their neighbours beyond the Tees, and this they endeavoured to secure by the most solemn oaths of fellowship and co-operation. Still, before committing themselves irretrievably to the fortune of war, they determined to attempt negotiation. With this view, Robert de Brus and Bernard de Bailliol, both holding large possessions in Scotland as well as in England, were deputed as ambassadors to King David, authorized to offer him the cession of the earldom of Northumberland as the price of peace. Whether he doubted the ability of the envoys to bind King Stephen, whom he already considered to have been false to him in this particular, or whether he was uplifted by the prospect of certain victory and a wider sphere of ambition, it is certain that he now refused to accept, as the condition of withdrawing his forces, the very terms which he had so long and so importunately demanded. He may, indeed, have considered himself precluded from making terms advantageous to himself without consulting the interests of his niece the Empress. His former conduct, however, did not evince any great delicacy on this head. The disappointed envoys having exhausted every persuasive argument, sorrowfully renounced their allegiance to the Scotch King, and returned to report the ill-success of their mission. It is foreign to the object of this work to repeat the details of the Battle of the Standard. It is well known that it resulted in the complete discomfiture of David and his immense army. Novellus Bishop of Orkney, not yet under the government of Scotland, acted as the deputy of the aged Turstin, as the spiritual head of the assembled chivalry. To Walter Espec the merit of the victory is chiefly ascribed by Ailred of Rievaulx, but we must receive his testimony with some caution, as this great baron was the founder of the religious house over which Ailred presided. King Stephen recognized especially the services of William de Albemarle and Robert de Ferrars, whom he raised to the dignity of earls. The other barons present were Walter de Gant, Robert de Brus, Roger de Mowbray, William de Percy, Bernard de Bailliol, Richard de

Courci, William Fossard, Robert de Stuteville, Ilbert de Lacy, William Peverel, and Geoffrey Halsalin. All but the two last and Robert de Ferrars were connected by property with Yorkshire. Bernard de Bailliol, Robert de Brus, and Walter Espec were also barons of Northumberland. Eustace Fitz-John fought by the side of David, and his burghers of Malton distinguished themselves by firing many villages during the fight, for which they were afterwards punished by a detachment from the victorious army.

This great victory was gained on the 22nd of September, 1138, in the third year of the reign of King Stephen.

David immediately returned to the siege of Wark, in the prosecution of which he employed many engines of new construction, but all in vain. The engines were destroyed, and many of the assailants slain and wounded. Again he was obliged to abandon the assault, and to trust to the surer agency of a blockade. The garrison were thus reduced to the greatest extremities, having been compelled to kill their horses and salt them for food. Even these were nearly consumed, but the garrison were determined to hold out to the last, and when food altogether failed them, to sally forth and attack their besiegers, selling their lives as dearly as they might. From this extremity they were spared by the timely arrival of William Abbot of Rievaulx, with directions from their lord, Walter Espec, that they should no longer fruitlessly protract the defence. The fortress was accordingly surrendered on the 11th of November, at which time the stock of provisions was reduced to one live horse and one in salt. David generously allowed the garrison to march out with all their arms and equipments, and even presented them with twenty-five horses, to replace those which had been slain to meet the exigencies of the siege; these terms being granted at the intercession of the Abbot.

The necessary consequence of the dispersion of the Scotch army was to turn loose upon society a multitude of desperate characters, who lived by rapine and violence. Amongst the leaders of these outlaws was Edgar, the illegitimate son of Gospatric Earl of Dunbar, and Robert and Uctred, the sons of Meldred. These men carried on a system of outrage and plunder both in Northumberland and the bishoprick of Durham. Amongst other places, they despoiled Errington, near Hexham, and Dissington, the property of the canons of that place, although the latter enjoyed the protection of the King of Scotland as well as of the King of England. The Prior was, however, ultimately indemnified by the Scotch King,

chiefly through the intercession of the Papal Legate, Alberic Bishop of Ostia, who twice accepted the hospitality of the priory. This prelate during his visit to England performed a variety of good offices. He reconciled Adulf Bishop of Carlisle to the Scotch King, who was now lord of his diocese. He obtained the release of William Cumin, the Chancellor of David, who having been captured at the Battle of the Standard, was detained a prisoner at Durham. He induced the barbarous Piets to give up the women and children who had been carried off by them in their several recent invasions of England. He enforced from them also a promise that in future they would abstain from violating churches; that they would spare women and children, the aged and the infirm; and that they would slay none except in actual conflict.

His chief endeavour was to establish peace between the realms of England and Scotland. First, he obtained from David a promise that, except the prosecution of the siege of Wark, he would engage in no attack on the English frontier for a limited period. He then endeavoured, in conjunction with the Queen, to dispose Stephen's mind to a permanent peace. At first the King was greatly averse to the proposal, influenced in a great measure by the persuasions of his barons, many of whom had sustained grievous losses, and panted for revenge. On the other hand, the Queen, with "the zeal of a woman's heart ignoring defeat, persisted night and day in every species of importunity, till she succeeded in bending the King's mind to her purpose; for she was warmly attached to her uncle David King of Scotland, and to his son Henry her cousin." Having thus put affairs in a favourable train, Alberic left England, and peace was concluded shortly after his departure on the following terms: Henry had to receive from Stephen the earldom of Northumberland, and such of the barons as chose might do homage to him, saving their fealty to Stephen; and this most of them did. David as well as Henry was bound to preserve strict amity and good faith to Stephen, and to give as hostages for the performance of this condition the sons of five Scotch earls, including the sons of Gospatric Earl of Dunbar, Fergus Earl of Galloway, and Hugh de Morville the Constable of Scotland. They were further bound to observe the laws, customs, and statutes, established in Northumberland by the late King Henry. It was also provided that no interference should be attempted with the rights of the Bishop of Durham within the territory of Saint Cuthbert, or of the Archbishop of York in Hexhamshire. The treaty was signed at Durham on the 9th of April, 1139, by Earl Henry and the barons of Scotland and Northum-

berland, in the presence of the Queen and many earls and barons of the South of England, and was ratified by Stephen at Nottingham, whither Henry accompanied the Queen. In the grant of the earldom, as recorded by Richard of Hexham, an exception is made of the towns of Bamburgh and Newcastle, in lieu of which, towns of equal value had to be assigned to Henry in the South of England.

It is uncertain whether this stipulation was ever carried into effect as regarded the cession of towns in the South, nor do we know how long Bamburgh and Newcastle were retained by King Stephen. That they were at a later period enjoyed by the Scotch prince with the rest of the earldom is abundantly proved, although we have no direct evidence of the fact of an earlier date than A.D. 1147. Two charters of Earl Henry to the monks of Tynemouth are extant, both granted in that year: the first, dated at Newcastle, conferring a general exemption from military service; the second, dated at Bamburgh, exempting them from contributing to the works on any of the castles within the earldom, amongst which Newcastle is specifically mentioned. The tables of tolls appended to the famous *Leges Burgorum* of King David are also dated at Newcastle, and grants were likewise made by that King to religious institutions in the town, of land within its limits. Newcastle was also the place to which David summoned the barons of Northumberland, on the death of Earl Henry, to do homage to his infant successor. It is worthy of notice, that John of Hexham, who wrote somewhat later than Richard, is silent as to the exclusion of the towns of Newcastle and Bamburgh from the grant to Henry, although he recapitulates the other portions of its contents. It may be doubted indeed whether the object of the treaty was not carried out in a different form, by allowing Henry to enjoy those towns with the remainder of the earldom, the fortifications having first been destroyed. For although one of the charters referred to above alludes to works on the castle of Newcastle, we know from the Pipe Rolls of Henry II. that the fortifications of this place, as well as of Bamburgh, were in a very dilapidated state at the commencement of that reign, and that large sums were required for their restoration. The palatinate of Durham remained, as provided by the treaty, exempt from any dependence on the earldom. We have already seen how anxious David was on a former occasion, to obtain the controul of the bishoprick by a transfer of the homage of Geoffrey Rufus from King Stephen to himself. On the death of that prelate, he attempted virtually to attain the same object by the appointment of a successor devoted to himself; but, on this occasion, he no longer proposed that he should

hold his temporalities of the crown of Scotland, or of the Earl of Northumberland, but should accept his appointment from the Empress Matilda in opposition to the nomination of Stephen, and the election of the monks who adhered to him. The candidate so put forward by David was his chancellor, William Cumin, whom we have already met with as a prisoner in the very city over which it was now proposed he should preside as bishop. We further learn that Cumin had formerly been a clerk and pupil of Bishop Geoffrey, at the court of Henry I., where King David himself had received his education. The violence and intrigues by which it was sought to secure the episcopal succession are detailed at great length by the anonymous continuator of Symeon's History of the Church of Durham, and are recorded in less detail by John of Hexham. The narrative is well worthy perusal, but does not properly belong to Northumbrian history. The ultimately successful candidate was William de St. Barbara, but he did not obtain peaceable possession of his see till October 18, 1144, nineteen months after his election, and four years and a half after the death of his predecessor.

Amongst the partizans of Cumin, were Bernard de Bailliol and Robert de Brus, who were now reconciled to King David, as well as Eustace Fitz-John.⁵ The year 1152 was memorable for the visit of John, a cardinal, to Northumberland, on his way to Ireland as a legate from the apostolic see. He landed at Tynemouth, and was received with great respect by the Bishop of Durham. He was hospitably entertained at Hexham, together with an Irish bishop who accompanied him. At this place he was met by the Chancellor of Scotland, who was sent by David to conduct him to Carlisle.

In 1153, shortly after Easter, died Henry Earl of Northumberland, whose eldest son Malcolm was declared heir to the Scotch throne, whilst William was invested with the earldom of Northumberland at Newcastle. The following year David himself died at Carlisle. It is curious to contrast the encomiums bestowed upon him by the monkish historians after his death, with the accounts which they furnish of the atrocities committed by the armies under his command.

⁵ The barons who accompanied David are thus enumerated in the Continuation of Symeon:—"Eustachius scilicet Rodbertus de Brus, Bernardus de Bailol, Hugo de Morevile." Hutchinson identifies *Eustachius* in the text with Eustace de Bailliol, and Surtees renders *Eustachius scilicet Rodbertus de Brus*, "the two Brus's;" but we meet with no Eustace de Bailliol till the reign of John, and Eustace never occurs as a family name in the Brus pedigree. There is no doubt that Eustace Fitz-John was the party really meant. His name occurs in full a few pages later in connection with the same transactions.

"His memory," says John of Hexham, "is blessed through all generations; there has been no prince like him in our days, devoted to sacred duties, observing every day the canonical hours, and never omitting to attend the mass for the departed. He was remarkable for the wise and courageous spirit by which he skilfully restrained the fierceness of his barbarous people, for his compassion to the poor, washing their feet, feeding and clothing them."

Malcolm, the new King of Scotland, was but twelve years of age at the time of his grandfather's death, and his brother William, the infant Earl of Northumberland, two years younger, but the affectionate foresight of David had secured a tranquil succession for each.

Shortly afterwards occurred the death of Eustace, the son of King Stephen, an event of much greater political importance, of which advantage was taken to bring about an arrangement by which the peaceable enjoyment of the crown of England was ensured to Stephen for his life, and the claims of Henry, the son of the Empress Matilda, to the throne, upon his decease, were fully recognized.

"To this agreed all the nobles of the kingdom, and those who had opposed King Stephen now submitted to him. An edict was immediately promulgated by them for the suppression of outrages, the prevention of plunder, the dismissal of foreign mercenaries, and the destruction of the fortresses, which, since the death of King Henry, every one had built on his lands. Justice and peace were thus established throughout the kingdom."

The pretensions of William, the younger son of Stephen, were compromised by the guarantee of his title to the earldom of Warren, and two other earldoms in England.

Stephen died on the 25th of October, 1154, and Henry II. was crowned on the 19th of December following, from which day the commencement of his reign is properly computed. He did not, however, obtain possession of the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland till his third year. To these possessions the title of the royal family of Scotland was originally somewhat equivocal, and the grant of Stephen could hardly be held binding upon Henry, even on the assumption that under ordinary circumstances a reigning sovereign can alienate territory to the prejudice of his successors. The only substantial ground of complaint against the resumption of these provinces rests on an allegation of some of our historians, that Henry had himself guaranteed their possession to David and his posterity. Malcolm, the young King of Scotland, resigned the county of Cumberland, or as it was still called Carliol, without a struggle, nor did he think

it incumbent upon him to excite the animosity of his powerful neighbour, by asserting his brother's claim to Northumberland. William himself, still a minor, could only offer impotent complaints, and vows of future vengeance. The sole compensation which he received for the county thus wrested from him, was the grant of a wild demesne in one corner of it, the lordship of Tynedale. Of eight royal manors within the county this was the least considerable in value, although the largest in extent, the rental being but 10*l.* per annum out of a total of 185*l.* Within this district, however, he was allowed to exercise all the rights of petty sovereignty, bound only to the crown of England by the ceremony of homage, without the obligation of service.

The first care of Henry was to strengthen his new frontier by the reparation of the royal fortresses of Bamburgh and Newcastle, and the expenditure of a large sum on the fortifications of Wark. At the same time he conciliated Malcolm by conferring on him the earldom of Huntingdon, to which he had an hereditary claim. So satisfied was this pacific prince with the arrangement, that he not only performed the customary homage, but excited the discontent of his own subjects by serving in the army of his feudal superior. William, on the contrary, cherished his angry feelings, although he had prudence enough to restrain their expression for some time after his accession to the throne of Scotland, on the death of his brother in 1165. He even followed Henry to the Continent the following year; but, says the Chronicle of Melrose, "he returned ere long, after the performance of some military exploits," intimating, it would seem, that in order to secure the favour of Henry, and the restitution of the northern counties, he had pursued the very line of conduct which had given so much offence in the case of his predecessor. The boon which he sought was, however, too high a price for Henry to pay for his friendship, and he returned indignant and disappointed, determined to await a favourable opportunity to attempt by force what he had failed to accomplish by diplomacy. With this view he entered into an alliance with the King of France, memorable as the commencement of that close confederacy which for so many years united by bonds of common interest the sovereigns of the two nations. The quarrel of Henry with Archbishop Becket was adroitly made use of to alienate the affections of a large section of his people, lay as well as ecclesiastic. During the prelate's lifetime, the King was able to maintain the position which he had established by his energy and wisdom, and to bid defiance to the storm which was directed against him. The murderous outrage, however, which was

committed within the sacred precincts of Canterbury Cathedral produced a violent revulsion of popular feeling. The King himself was openly accused as a participator and instigator of the crime, and all his protestations of innocence were insufficient to satisfy an exasperated populace. Of this feeling advantage was taken by Louis King of France, long his most intimate ally, but latterly his bitterest opponent, in connection with the family of Henry himself, between whom and their father the French King had laboured with too much success to excite sentiments of jealousy and ill will. The eldest, Prince Henry, the heir to the crown of England, had married the daughter of Louis, through which connection the latter had established an influence over his son-in-law far more powerful than that of his own father. The year preceding Becket's murder, the elder Henry, in order to secure beyond dispute the succession of his son after his own death, resorted to the hazardous expedient of having him crowned king in his lifetime. Of this indiscretion Louis availed himself to instil into the young prince a feeling of resentment that no substantial power was entrusted to him after his coronation, but that he had been insulted by the mockery of an idle ceremony. He was even induced in peremptory terms to demand at all events a share in the government. This demand was repudiated with equal warmth by his father, whilst his mother is said to have encouraged his rebellious and contumacious conduct, influenced by resentment at the neglect and indifference with which she had herself been treated. The younger children of the King were readily persuaded to adopt their mother's views, and to regard their father's conduct as treacherous and tyrannical, and their brother's claims as reasonable and legitimate. A family quarrel ripened into a civil war, and the greatest monarch of Europe, who had been everywhere successful in foreign conflicts, was in imminent danger of losing his crown by a domestic insurrection.

The coronation of "the young King Henry" took place in 1170, the assassination of Becket in 1171, and the rebellion to which our attention must now be directed in 1173. The commencement of hostilities is thus briefly related in the Chronicle of Melrose:—

"Henry the younger, who though he was a youth, was yet a knight and a king, secretly departed by night with all speed to the King of France his father-in-law, induced to take this step in consequence of certain annoyances and injuries which he had experienced at the hands of his father. It is said that he did this by the advice of his mother, but this we know not; let her see to it, and let God judge. The father had intended to capture the

son, and to put him in a sure and close place of custody ; such at least is the common report. Many noble and powerful persons accompanied him, and many well versed in the art of war, as well from England as from Normandy ; and strengthened by their counsel and assistance, the son, or rather we should say, the sons, rose against their father. Thus the provinces, as well on this side the sea as beyond it, being stirred up by wars and rumours of wars, rushed to arms and prepared for battle."

Our narrative must be confined to the events which took place in England, and as much as possible to the war in the northern counties, of which a vivid description is given in the metrical chronicle of Jordan Fantosme, who was a witness of most of the incidents which he records, and who introduces us, as it were, to the familiar acquaintance of many of the Northumbrian barons, of whom, till the discovery of this work, we knew nothing but the names and the locality of their possessions.

In this quarter the chief reliance of the insurgents was on the co-operation of the King of Scotland, to secure which the young Henry despatched an embassy reminding William of the homage which he had recently performed to him, and calling upon him to assist in wresting from his father that sovereignty which was his own due in virtue of the coronation at which the homage was performed. In return he offered him the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, to the possession of which he had hitherto in vain asserted his title. The offer was a tempting one, although its realization was contingent on the success of the rebellion, and there is little doubt that William would at once have accepted it at all hazards, if the decision had rested entirely with himself ; but it was necessary to consult his nobles, in whose memories the ill success of the former expedition into England under King David, which terminated in the disastrous Battle of the Standard, was yet fresh.

Acting on their advice, he first renewed his demand on the old King for the restoration of these counties, pointing out the critical position of his affairs, and the power which was placed in the hands of the Scotch people to influence the result either for or against him. The assistance, or even the neutrality, of that nation, purchased by the cession of the northern counties, would leave him in undisturbed possession of the remainder of his kingdom, whilst active hostilities on their part in aid of the rebellion which already raged in Normandy, and was ready at any moment to break out in England, would in all probability result in the entire loss, not merely of the Border district, but of his dominions on both sides of the Channel.

The embassy was entrusted to a friar, William Dolipene, who bluntly stated to King Henry the alternative of granting or refusing the demands of his master. In the one case he said—

“The King of Scotland will serve you in this business ; you shall find no delay ; before a month expires he will send you one thousand armed knights, with thirty thousand followers. He will not require the value of a penny from you, so that you grant him his rights ; but if you will not, on the instant I return you his homage.”

This peremptory language, instead of intimidating the English monarch, only excited his indignation and confirmed his resolution. “He feared,” he said, “neither the attempts of his son, nor the power of the King of France, nor of the Earl of Flanders, or any of the confederacy ; and what he had refused to the entreaties of the King of Scotland, he would not yield to his menaces.”

When this message was delivered by the ambassador on his return, “Then,” says Fantosme, “you might hear the young and impetuous knights exclaim with an oath, ‘If you declare not war against the king who thus beards you, you must hold neither land nor lordship in your own right, but as the bondsman of the son of Matilda.’” With the mass of the people a war was far from popular, and the bishops and clergy exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent it. Of the chief counsellors of the King, Engelram Bishop of Glasgow, and Waltheof Earl of Dunbar, endeavoured to persuade him of the impolicy of any hostile attempt, but their advice was unheeded. “The war should take place,” the King declared, “though it cost him his crown.” To the young King Henry he sent messengers, informing him of his determination, and accepting the terms, which he had previously offered, pointing out at the same time the necessity of some assistance from the Continent.

The Earl of Leicester was accordingly sent over with a large body of Flemings, with whom he marched into Norfolk, and was there joined by Hugh Bigod, the earl of that county. Their united forces, however, received a check before Dunwich, which they in vain attempted to take. At Norwich they were more successful, the city, which was then next in importance to London, being treacherously surrendered to them. Having ravaged the surrounding district, the Earl of Leicester determined to march across the country to the town from which he derived his title, which had been seized by Richard de Lucy, the Chief Justiciary for the King ; but the castle remained in the hands of the Earl’s retainers.

On his route he was intercepted by a body of loyalists, assembled under the principal nobles of the neighbourhood, and completely routed at Bury St. Edmund's. The Earl himself, with his wife, who accompanied him throughout the expedition, and a French nobleman, Hugh de Castello, or Chateauneuf, were made prisoners, and sent to Normandy to await the King's pleasure. The Flemings, who were held in detestation for the cruelties they had committed, were cut off, almost to a man, whilst the horsemen of Norman or English blood were made prisoners. "There was," says Jordan, "in the country neither villager nor clown, who did not go to destroy the Flemings, with fork and flail. The armed soldiery knocked them down, and the villagers despatched them by scores, by hundreds, and by thousands. All the Flemings from Flanders met with hard luck."

With this decisive engagement, the campaign terminated in the South of England. In the mean time, the King of Scotland had crossed the Tweed, and laid siege to the castle of Wark. Roger d'Estuteville, the Constable, being ill provided with means of defence, entered into an engagement to surrender the castle unless relieved within forty days.

Having acceded to these terms, William determined to advance into the heart of Northumberland, encouraged by a communication from Hugh Pudsey Bishop of Durham, who promised to observe a strict neutrality. His first attempt was against the castle of Alnwick, but here he found William de Vesci so well prepared to receive him, that he abandoned the enterprize, contenting himself with the destruction of the neighbouring castle of Warkworth, the property of Roger Fitz-Richard. This nobleman held also the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, of which, says Jordan, "he was master and lord," and here he determined to make his stand, having left Warkworth, which was weak and indefensible, to its fate. At Newcastle he assembled so large a force, and took such effectual measures for the defence of the town and castle, that the King was obliged to pass on, as he had previously done in the case of Alnwick.

His councillors advised him to march immediately against Carlisle, which was held for the Crown by Robert de Vaux, but a feeling of resentment against Odinel d'Umfreville, who had been brought up by his father, Earl Henry, and whom he accused of treachery and ingratitude, determined him first to undertake the reduction of his castle of Prudhoe. Finding the resistance greater than he expected, he agreed at length to proceed to Carlisle, leaving behind him a detachment of Flemings to prosecute the siege. Robert de Vaux made a valiant defence, aided

by Adam Fitz-Odard, Baron of Wigton, as his lieutenant, against a besieging force of not less than thirty thousand men. Baffled and dispirited, the King of Scotland raised the siege and retired to Roxburgh, being pursued and harassed in his retreat by the garrison of Carlisle, under their chivalrous leader. At the same time Berwick was taken by the barons of Northumberland under the command of that renowned captain, Humfrey de Bohun, Constable of England, who would have pursued his success further, but for the arrival of Richard de Lucy with the intelligence of the progress of the Earl of Leicester and his Flemish auxiliaries. Taking advantage of William's ignorance of this diversion in his favour, Lucy succeeded in negotiating a truce till the following summer.

Hitherto the King of Scotland's brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, had taken no part in the war; but the following year, tempted by the offer of the earldom of Lennox, he agreed to co-operate with William, making his own town of Huntingdon the basis of his operations against the midland district, whilst his brother again invaded the northern frontier. The townsmen of Leicester received him with joy in the absence of their lord, and uniting themselves to his own dependents, presented a formidable force, with which he reduced Nottingham and Northampton.

"David," we are told, "warred successfully in England. He was as wise as he was amiable, and protected Holy Church; for never did he wish to wrong a priest or canon, who knew grammar, nor would he displease a nun on any account. But the war turned out badly for the King of Scotland."

We must now briefly review the progress of that monarch, who, as before, commenced the campaign by investing Wark. Roger d'Estuteville, however, had made such good use of the time which had been afforded him by the politic treaty of Richard de Lucy, that the castle was everywhere impregnable, well guarded and well stored. The details of our ancient records here come in aid of the information furnished by historians, and, on a reference to the Pipe Rolls of this year, we find a charge of 29*l.* 16*s.* for plenishing the castle of Wark, and 41*l.* for the payment of the garrison, consisting of ten men at arms, and forty servants. A very graphic account of the siege is given by Fantosme. It terminated in the entire failure of the Scots to make any impression on the fortress, every attack being repelled by the vigilance of the Constable, without the loss of a single man. William at length broke up his encampment, and retired once more to Bamburgh. During the siege he detached marauding parties, who laid waste all the adjacent

country, burning the villages, driving off the cattle, binding the peasants with cruel tortures and dragging them after them. The Flemings took the lead in these atrocities, killing and beating the men and abusing the women. An attempt to surprise Bamburgh was defeated, and the assailants ignominiously repulsed; but they succeeded in taking the little town of Belford. Finally, they retreated to Berwick, which had not been retained by the English after its capture the previous year, carrying with them an immense store of booty, "cows, oxen, and horses, sheep and lambs, clothes and money, bracelets and rings."

The Scotch army was allowed to retire unmolested from Wark, by the special orders of Roger d'Estuteville, who was unwilling further to embitter the resentment of his late assailants, although we are assured in the quaint language of our chronicler, that "he did not fear them the value of a clove of garlick." After this discomfiture, William's hopes were revived by the arrival of Roger de Mowbray, the most powerful baron in Yorkshire, and Adam de Porz, who tendered him their services against their lawful sovereign, and encouraged him to renew his attack upon Carlisle. On his arrival at that city, he found that here, as at Wark, ample preparations had been made to resist his assault. In this case also the Pipe Rolls furnish us with detailed information. In the 19th of Henry I., A.D. 1173, we find 20*l.* paid to Robert de Vaux for the defence of Carlisle, and similar sums to Odinel d'Umfreville and Roger Fitz-Richard, for the defence of Prudhoe and Newcastle, all by order of Richard de Lucy, out of the rental of the mines of Carlisle. The same year two sums of 3*l.* 7*s.* and 8*l.* 3*s.* are charged for the repairs of the castle of Carlisle, and 3*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* for work done at the foss, besides the following charges for provisions:—13*l.* 19*s.* for grain (81 eskeppa frumenti), 5*l.* for salt, 6*l.* 10*s.* for five hundred cheeses, and 7*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* for iron. Besides this, 46*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* is afterwards credited to Robert de Vaux for expenses of the defence of the castle, and 153*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* was borrowed of sundry parties (Benedict the son of Sara, Deodatus the bishop, and Vinus and Moses the Jews) for the same purpose, and afterwards repaid. In the same way, in Northumberland, Roger d'Estuteville had an allowance out of the rents of Bamburgh and Rothbury of 26*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* towards the expenses of the Scotch war, and 64*l.* was borrowed of Aaron and Isaac, and 32*l.* of Brunus the Jew and others.

Leaving Carlisle for the present, the Scotch army marched into Westmorland, when they took the castles of Appleby and Brough. The former, of which Gospatric, the son of Orm, "an old grey-headed Englishman," was the constable, was

utterly unprovided for a siege and destitute of a garrison ; and was surrendered without an effort. The outworks of Brough were taken the first day, and the garrison, consisting of only six knights, took refuge in the tower. This was set fire to, and the knights compelled to capitulate. It does not seem that in either case any effectual resistance could have been offered, and yet not only Gospatric, but the knights of Brough, are charged, in the Westmorland Pipe Rolls, with fines for misconduct in this particular. Several parties are also amerced on various charges of aiding and countenancing the King's enemies ; amongst others Reginald the cook for supplying them with victuals.

Robert de Vaux's supplies now began to fail him, and his garrison were threatened with the extremity of famine, when he received intelligence from Richard de Lucy that the King was on the point of returning to England, and would march immediately northward to his relief. Under these circumstances, he entered into terms, similar to those previously agreed to by Estuteville at Wark, if not relieved by a stated day. William now looked upon the possession of Carlisle as assured to him, and he hastened to Prudhoe to avenge himself on Odinel d'Umfreville for the contumely with which he considered himself to have been treated. "If he could take the castle with his assembled host, he would have no mercy on Odinel in his court."

"Then Odinel rode so much on his good brown bay, always spurring day and night, that he gathered four hundred knights with shining helmets, stout and valiant men. These will fight with him in the battle : these will succour Prudhoe with their swords. Three days the siege lasted to my knowledge : Odinel had many good men within. Against the Flemings they defend themselves bravely ; they lost nothing within. Outside they lost their fields of corn, and their gardens were ravaged by the vile people. Those who could do no other injury, barked the apple-trees. It was a mean revenge."

Repulsed at Prudhoe, the infuriated host again bent their steps to Alnwick, ravaging the country as they passed. At Alnwick they burnt the church of St. Laurence, and mutilated the three officiating priests. Three hundred men were barbarously murdered in the town, but the castle withstood all their attacks. Having established a rigorous blockade, William dismissed the greater part of his forces to live at free quarters throughout the country, postponing any further assault till their return, when he relied on the sure operation of famine on the imprisoned garrison.

In the meantime a general muster, for the relief of Alnwick, was held at Newcastle by the loyal barons of Yorkshire and Northumberland, Ranulf de Glanville, William d'Estuteville, Barnard de Bailliol, William de Vesci, Roger Fitz-Richard, and Odinel d'Umfreville. At the dawn of day they commenced their march under the guidance of Odinel; but their purpose was nearly frustrated by a dense fog, through which they wandered ignorant of the direction in which they were going. At length, when they almost despaired of the success of their enterprize, the sun suddenly broke forth through the gloom, and discovered to them the castle of Alnwick, and at a short distance the Scotch King, with a very limited retinue, preparing to partake of his evening meal, his helmet unbraced, and his arms cast aside. Immediately the war-cries resounded of Glanville, and Bailliol; Vesci, and Estuteville; to which Odinel added his own. Taken thus at disadvantage, the King made a stout resistance, and the battle raged fiercely around him. At length his grey steed is slain under him, and horse and rider are brought to the ground. In this extremity he yielded himself to Ranulf de Glanville, and the discomfiture of his followers was complete. No quarter was given to the detested Flemings, who perished in an indiscriminate carnage. The lives of the Scots were spared, those of higher rank being detained for ransom. Roger de Mowbray and Adam de Porz fled as soon as further resistance was useless, conscious that if taken they had nothing to hope from the clemency of their injured sovereign. King William was carried the same night to Newcastle, and afterwards removed by Roger de Glanville to his castle of Richmond, where he remained until King Henry's pleasure as to his future disposal was ascertained.

So far Bishop Pudsey seems to have maintained the strict neutrality which he had intimated his intention to observe; but he prepared himself, nevertheless, to take advantage of any circumstances arising out of the conflict by which he might promote his own interest. With this view, he sent his nephew, Henry Pudsey Count de Bar, to Flanders, where he secured the services of forty Flemish knights and five hundred foot soldiers, with whom he landed at Hartlepool on the very day of the King of Scotland's capture at Alnwick. This force, which a few days previous might have turned the scale in favour of either of the contending parties, and enabled the Bishop to make his own terms for their services, was now worse than useless. The report of their landing confirmed the rumours which had previously reached the King of a treasonable understanding between Pudsey and the King of Scotland. In this dilemma, the Bishop sent

home the infantry, and directed his nephew to proceed with the knights to Northallerton, whilst he himself hastened to meet the King at Northampton, and succeeded in securing his pardon on payment of a large sum of money, and the surrender of his castles of Durham, Norham, and Northallerton. The Scotch King was also brought to Northampton, his feet being tied together as he was conveyed on horseback to that place. From thence he was carried by Henry into Normandy, and only regained his liberty by undertaking to surrender the chief fortresses of his kingdom, Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, to the King of England, with an yearly allowance for maintaining a garrison in each. He was also compelled to acknowledge Henry as paramount lord of Scotland, and to place in his hands his brother David and twenty of his principal nobility as hostages for the due performance of the treaty.

Of Pudsey's castles, Northallerton was completely dismantled, and Norham, which had been rebuilt during his episcopacy, and was now a place of great strength, was entrusted to a royal garrison under William de Neville, in place of Roger de Conyers. Even Durham was for the present occupied by the King's troops, but not without an ample guarantee of the rights of the church of St. Cuthbert hereafter. The perfect security which Henry now enjoyed on the side of Scotland enabled him to concentrate his efforts against France, and to enforce such terms as effectually to provide for the safety of his continental dominions. Thus auspiciously terminated a war which at one time threatened the dismemberment of the kingdom, and the annexation of the northern counties to Scotland.

Besides the castles already mentioned, of Warkworth in Northumberland, and Brough and Appleby in Westmorland, the Scots took and destroyed the small Border fortress of Liddall in Cumberland, and the castle of Harbottle. Both fell in the second campaign, but we have no particulars of the precise time or of the circumstances of their capture. Harbottle, as well as Prudhoe, was the property of Odinel d'Umfreville, towards whom the Scotch King cherished so violent an animosity, being the capital of his territory of Redesdale.^b

^b The damage done in Northumberland in the course of this war was far less than in the adjoining county of Cumberland. In the former county the Sheriff was able to account for the whole rent, with the trifling abatement of 10*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, which was remitted to him "on account of the war." A further sum of 6*l.* was allowed for rebuilding the mill at Corbridge, one of the royal manors, which had been burned down by the Scotch. Certain sums paid for the expenses of the war, and the maintenance of the castles of Wark, Newcastle, and Prudhoe, have been already stated. To these must be added a grant of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* out of the rent of the mines of Carliol, to Walter de Bolbec, "to maintain himself

Roger de Mowbray ultimately obtained the King's pardon, but his castles of Thirsk and Kirkby Malesard were utterly demolished. This Roger was the son of Nigel D'Albini, who had a grant from Henry I. of all the vast possessions of Robert de Mowbray, except the earldom of Northumberland. He also married Maud, the wife of that nobleman, under a dispensation from the Pope, who annulled her former marriage in consequence of the hopeless imprisonment of her first husband, to whom she had only been married six months at the time of his downfall. She was the daughter of Richard de Aquila. Her second marriage appeared at first to be a happy one, and her husband treated her with great kindness. After the death, however, of her brother Gilbert de Aquila, or De L'Aigle, he repudiated her on the ground of his near consanguinity with her first husband, but the validity of the former divorce does not appear to have been called in question. Roger, who was the issue of a second marriage, took the name of Mowbray, as the heir to the great estates of that family, which he emperilled, as we have seen, in a rash rebellion against his sovereign.

Henry died on the 6th of July, 1189, and his son and successor Richard was crowned on the 3rd of September following, from which latter date the years of his reign are computed in all legal instruments.

From the very day of his accession, his attention was directed, not to the government of his kingdom, or the permanent augmentation of his revenue; but to raising money, by whatever means, for the equipment of an expedition of unpre-

in the King's service, and 5*l.* out of the rent of the county of Northumberland, for stores for the garrison of Newcastle. A considerable amount was paid for the works going on at the castle of Newcastle, but those were commenced several years previous to the war, and were continued for some years afterwards. In Cumberland, in the first year of the war, Robert Fitz-Troit, the sheriff, is in arrear 27*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, in respect of the farm of the county; 46*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* for nout-geld or cornage rent, and 6*l.* for the farm of the escheats, all which sums are ultimately remitted on the ground of the waste of the country "propter guerram." The next year "Adam, the son of Robert Fitz-Troit, rendered no account either of the farms of the county or of his arrears, because he has received nothing this year, on account of the war, as he says." A part, however, of the sums due, was received by Robert de Vaux, who accounts for the same four years afterwards, as follows:—

Paid into the Treasury	£6 15 4
Expended by Robert de Vaux, on the defence of the castle	46 6 4
Arrears	126 5 7
	£179 7 3

Those arrears were also remitted, making, with the allowance to Robert Fitz-Troit, a total deficit of 206*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.*, as compared with 10*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* in Northumberland.

cedented magnitude for the recovery of the Holy Land. With this object he offered for sale whatever lordships, castles, honours, and offices were at the disposal of the Crown, and applied to all whom he thought possessed of the means and the inclination to become purchasers. Amongst others, he was aware that Hugh Pudsey Bishop of Durham, had long contemplated to engage personally in the holy wars against the infidels, and had accumulated a vast hoard to defray his expenses. He anticipated little difficulty in inducing this ambitious prelate to forego his meditated crusade, and to transfer the funds so collected to the promotion of his own enterprize, provided he was able to hold out to him a temptation sufficiently dazzling. The earldom of Northumberland, formerly held and still eagerly desired by the royal family of Scotland, had once before been enjoyed in conjunction with the bishoprick of Durham; and this splendid prize was now offered to the acceptance of Pudsey. His ardour for the perilous expedition, which he had vowed to undertake, was already somewhat abated, and his conscience was soothed by the reflection that the funds would be more advantageously applied towards sustaining the Christian cause, in the hands of the potent sovereign and renowned warrior, whose valour and conduct were the themes of universal praise, than in his own. Resolved, therefore, to seek absolution from his oath, he agreed to purchase the proffered earldom for the term of his own life, at the price, as we learn from Richard of Devizes, of ten thousand pounds, an enormous sum in the currency of those days, and probably beyond the resources of any other individual.

He had previously arranged with the Crown for an exchange in perpetuity of certain knights' fees in Lincolnshire, the property of the see, for the manor and wapentake of Sadberge, an outlying portion of the county of Northumberland, from which it was separated by the entire breadth of the bishoprick. This exchange was no doubt most beneficial to his successors in the see, whilst the acquisition of the services of six Lincolnshire knights was probably a fair equivalent to the Crown in a military and political view. The Durham historian, Geoffrey of Coldingham, states the cost of the two transactions to have been 11,000*l.*, which, after deducting the price of the earldom, leaves 1,000*l.* as the consideration for the exchange.

Hovedon gives the 18th of September as the date of the Sadberge charter, whilst the copy remaining at Durham is dated the 18th of December. The former is unquestionably the true date, as the grant of the earldom, which was

executed on the 25th of November, refers to the exchange of Sadberge as already completed.

Eight thousand pounds was immediately paid down on account of the earldom, and 600*l.* on account of Sadberge, leaving an arrear of 2,000*l.*, and 400*l.* still due on the respective transactions, at the close of the first half of the following year, to which date the Northumberland accounts are to be found in the Pipe Rolls. The next half year the Bishop was in possession, and the accounts cease. We may fairly infer, from the strictness of the exchequer practice, that all arrears were discharged, for the earldom, as well as the manor and wapentake. As regards the latter, we know that such was the case, from an acknowledgment under the King's hand, bearing date the 11th of August, 1190, an exemplification of which is still extant. In the second half of 1194, just four years afterwards, we find both possessions once more in the Crown, and the Bishop charged with the old arrears, notwithstanding the receipt of August, 1190. The pretence for this repudiation is set forth in the exemplification charter, which states that the previous document *was sealed with the King's first seal, which was lost*. The loss of this seal, and the advantage which was taken of it to disavow all instruments authenticated by it after the King's departure from England, is a matter of historical notoriety, and Pudsey was one of the victims.

The policy of the grant of Northumberland, indeed, was more than questionable. The loyalty of Pudsey, the nephew of King Stephen,¹ to the house of Anjou, was little to be relied on, whilst the feeling which he displayed towards the Scottish King during the civil war in the last reign, offered an additional reason against increasing his territory in that direction, and giving him the uncontrolled command of the whole Border district from the Tees to the Tweed. During his tenure of the earldom, however, so far from giving occasion for mistrust, his conduct was marked by energetic devotion to his sovereign, under very trying circumstances. To his exertions, indeed, Richard was mainly indebted for the peaceable recovery of his kingdom, after his return home from Germany. By his councils chiefly were the machinations of Prince John defeated, and under his orders the siege of Tickell castle, the stronghold of the conspirators, was brought to a satisfactory conclusion. These considerations, however, were insufficient to protect him in his old age from this act of royal repudiation.

¹ Pudsey's consanguinity to King Stephen is proved by a charter, printed by Mr. Surtees, in which that King grants the mines of Weardale to the prelate as "*nepoti meo*."

Hovedon gives the following somewhat confused account of the transaction :—

“ On the 19th of April (1194) Hugh Bishop of Durham, of his own accord, and not under compulsion, offered to the King the county of Northumberland, with its castles and other appurtenances ; and the King ordered him to deliver the same to Hugh Bardolf. After the King had crossed the sea, on the Bishop's return home, Hugh Bardolf demanded of him the earldom of Northumberland, with Newcastle and the castle of Bamburgh, according to his promise ; but the Bishop delayed doing this, in expectation of the return of a messenger whom he had sent to the King, with an offer of 2,000 marks of silver, for permission to retain the earldom and castles. The King sent a letter to Hugh Bardolf, directing him to take security from the Bishop for the 2,000 marks, and then to deliver the earldom. On this, Bardolf required the Bishop to deliver the castles, and give security, after which he would deliver them according to the King's commands. The Bishop replied, there was no need of this double process of delivery and redelivery, ‘ as I have them I will hold them.’ Bardolf then wrote to the King to complain of Pudsey's conduct, who being greatly incensed, ordered the latter to be dispossessed of the castles and earldom, and compelled to pay the 2,000 marks. In the fury of his anger he even ordered the Bishop to be dispossessed of the manor of Sadberge, which had been granted to St. Cuthbert and the church of Durham in free and perpetual alms, and afterwards confirmed by a second charter. This was accordingly done.”

The explanation of this seems to be that the Bishop, on the demand being made upon him for the amount which he had already paid, threw himself on the King's honour, offering, if he required it, to resign his earldom altogether. When he found the King disposed to take him at his word, he then endeavoured to compound for the 2,000 marks, but demurred as to giving up the castles, even on the assurance of the King and his minister that they should be restored to him. The vexation occasioned by this business probably shortened the prelate's life. He immediately, however, set about to provide the necessary amount, and set out the following spring towards London, to make a further payment. Having got as far as Doncaster, he was taken ill, and being unable to proceed on his journey, was conveyed by water to Howden, where he died on the 3rd of March, 1195. The amount which he carried with him (1,000 marks) found its way to the royal exchequer, and appears in the Sheriff's accounts as a payment towards the liquidation of his arrears.

At the commencement of this reign, the Scottish fortresses, which had been so eagerly seized and so pertinaciously retained by Henry II., were restored by his successor ; not, indeed, in a purely chivalrous spirit, but on the payment of 10,000

marks, which was devoted to the one engrossing object of Richard's solicitude, the equipment of his expedition against the infidels. At the same time William was relieved from all the degrading stipulations imposed upon him, with the reservation only of such homage as had been performed by his predecessors for any of their possessions. On Pudsey's deprivation, the Scottish King renewed his own solicitations for the earldom of Northumberland, offering, as the price of its cession, fifteen thousand marks of silver. Tempted by this offer, Richard agreed to give up the county if William would be content to leave Newcastle and Bambergh in his hands. This, however, did not meet his views, as the possession of the castles would have enabled Richard at any time to recover the rest of the earldom. Another arrangement was afterwards discussed, that Richard's nephew Otho, son of Henry Duke of Saxony, should marry William's eldest daughter, and should be endowed, by the cession of the two kings, with Lothian on the side of Scotland, and Northumberland and Cumberland on that of England. It was further proposed that Lothian should be placed provisionally under the charge of Richard, and Northumberland and Cumberland under the charge of William. The treaty ultimately went off on the prospect of a male heir to the crown of Scotland. Otho was afterwards provided for by a grant from his uncle of the earldom of Poitou, and ultimately attained the dignity of Emperor of Germany. William's claim to the northern counties remained in abeyance during the short remainder of the reign of Richard, whose premature death took place on the 6th of April, 1199.

The usurpation of John, in opposition to the claims of the son of his elder brother Geoffrey, presented an opportunity of extorting terms, which is rarely neglected either by subjects or neighbours in the case of a disputed succession, and William was alive to the advantages which it afforded. Any steps, however, which he might have taken in his own behalf, were anticipated by John, who immediately on his accession, hastened to assure him that he should have complete satisfaction of all his claims. This message was conveyed to him by Eustace de Vesci, the most powerful baron in Northumberland, who was, moreover, connected with William by the closest ties, having married Margaret, his natural daughter. The same promise was repeated at John's coronation, which shortly followed, and was accompanied by an invitation to court, whither the Bishop of Durham was deputed to conduct him with all honour. The kings of Scotland had frequently shewn a jealousy of presenting themselves at the English court, when any ques-

tion was pending between the two realms, and the personal character of the present sovereign of England did not tend to diminish this feeling. William accordingly declined the invitation, although John proceeded northward as far as Nottingham to meet him. His suspicions were further excited by the appointment of William de Stuteville to the shrievalties of Northumberland and Cumberland, and the pains which were taken to complete the defences of the several castles in these counties as well as in Westmorland and Yorkshire, which latter were also consigned to the care of William de Stuteville the following year.

The Pipe Rolls furnish many details of these preparations as regards the castles of Newcastle, Bamburgh, Wark, Carlisle, Brough, Appleby, and Pontefract. Payments in respect of the garrison at this latter place occur in the Cumberland Roll, but many other particulars respecting this and other castles in Yorkshire are no doubt buried in the unpublished records of that county.

Although William declined to attend the King of England in person, he did not fail to send ambassadors to enforce his claims. These were Roger Bishop of St. Andrew's, and Hugh Malebise, who, following John to the coast, from whence he was about to embark for Normandy, announced their master's determination, unless his demands were complied with, within forty days, to take means to right himself by force of arms.

These warlike threats came to nothing, for although William levied a large army, he was unable to induce his followers to engage in another invasion of England. Hovedon says that, "designing to invade England with an army, he went to the shrine of St. Margaret, at Dunfermline, and passed the night there; on which, being warned by a divine admonition not to invade England, he allowed his army to return to their homes." The celebrated warning to James IV., previous to the battle of Floddon, was probably suggested by the tradition of this marvel; but unfortunately the second attempt did not command the same success. The following year, on his return from Normandy, John invited, or in the language of the chronicler, commanded William to meet him at York, but the latter was neither to be cojoked by fair words nor influenced by threats, and John finding it in vain to wait for him, sailed again to the continent. From thence he returned in October, bringing with him his newly-married queen, Isabel, whom he caused to be crowned with himself. Immediately after this second coronation, he dispatched a new embassy to Scotland, with a safe conduct for the King, whom he invited to meet him at Lincoln, with a view to a conference to settle all matters in dispute.

Amongst the ambassadors were Philip Bishop of Durham; Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk; Roger de Lacy, Constable of Chester, and Robert Fitz-Roger, Sheriff of Northumberland. The others were all the immediate relatives and connections of the Scotch King; David Earl of Huntingdon, his brother; Henry de Bohun Earl of Hereford, his nephew, and William de Vesci and Robert de Ros, his sons-in-law. Flattered by the attention shewn to him, or confiding in the promises he received, he at length consented to a meeting, and performed the homage usually rendered by the kings of Scotland, with the accustomed reservations, on an eminence outside the city of Lincoln, on the 22nd of November, A.D. 1200.

Having performed this act before the nobles of both kingdoms, he renewed his demand of the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, with which, for the first time, was included Westmorland, as his right and inheritance. It may be doubted whether any part of Westmorland was ever in the possession of his grandfather David, as within the Earldom of Carliol; but there is no question that one of the two ancient baronies into which it is divided, and to which alone the name of Westmorland was originally applied, was not only within the more extended kingdom of Cumberland, but was included in the territory granted to Ranulf de Miceis, Lord or Earl of Carliol. The settlement of the question, however, in no respect hinged on this point, but the claim was opposed altogether.

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

With the following year the annals of Roger Hovedon close, which have thrown so much light on northern affairs during this and the preceding reign. In taking leave of this diligent historian, it may not be amiss to notice one circumstance connected with him which has escaped the collectors of his meagre biography. In the Pipe Roll of the 1st of Richard his name occurs as one of the justices appointed to hold forest-pleas in Northumberland and Cumberland with that of Arnis de Neville. We may also mention one or two particulars of local interest, although unconnected with the general history of the district, which are recorded by him about this period.

A.D. 1199, there were in England heavy floods, which carried away bridges, mills, and houses; amongst others, the bridge over the Tweed at Berwick. Patrick Earl of Dunbar, governor of Berwick, and chief justiciary of Scotland, commenced to rebuild it by command of his sovereign, but was prevented by the Bishop of Durham from sinking a foundation within his liberty on the south side, without which it was, of course, impossible to complete the work. At length leave was granted through the interposition of William de Stuteville, Sheriff of Northumberland, "saving always the covenants which had been made between the King of Scotland and Hugh (Pudsey) the predecessor of the Bishop."

A.D. 1201, John, with his queen Isabel, was at Scarborough, from whence he proceeded to the northern extremity of his kingdom, inflicting heavy fines on his subjects, for pretended waste of his forests. When he came to Hexham, he was told of an old tradition as to the existence of concealed treasure at Corbridge; on which he set on workmen to dig. Nothing, however, was found but "stones, in which were traces of brass, iron, and lead." During his progress he is said by Wendover to have extorted large sums of money from the inhabitants of Northumberland. The Pipe Rolls record a payment of forty marks and two palfreys, for "the King's well-come," neither, in all probability, spontaneous nor hearty, from the burgesses of Newcastle. At the same time he bargained with Newcastle, and other royal manors both in Northumberland and Cumberland, that they should hereafter pay a fixed rent to the Crown, instead of being farmed, as heretofore, by the sheriff. In each case the rent fixed was greatly in excess of that previously paid by the sheriff, and large fines were moreover proffered for obtaining this privilege. The sheriffs in the meantime offered terms still more advantageous, and John did not scruple to violate his engagements with the inhabitants. Fortunately for the burgesses of Newcastle, their fine of 100 marks and two palfreys was not actually paid, or its recovery would at least have been dubious.

From this date we have no notice of any intercourse between the Kings of England and Scotland for eight years; but, in the meantime, although there was no war, the relations between the two kingdoms seem to have been far from amicable. At length, in the month of April, 1209, John summoned William to meet him at Newcastle. An interview took place at Bedlington, from whence the two kings proceeded together to Norham, at the castle at which latter place the negotiations were conducted. These extended from the 23rd to the 26th days of the month, but were attended by no satisfactory result. On the 27th, John re-

turned to Newcastle, and proceeded south the following day by Auckland, Richmond, and Pontefract. On the 30th of July we find him again at Newcastle, from whence he marched with an army against the King of Scotland. His quarters on the 3rd of August were at Tweedmouth, where a fortress had been erected immediately opposite to the castle of Berwick, and the following day at Norham. Here negotiations were renewed, with better success.—

“The King of England,” says Wendover, “bitterly reproached William with having received into his kingdom his fugitive subjects, and avowed enemies, and with aiding and encouraging them in their enterprizes against him. However, when John had set forth all these matters to the King of Scots, they entered into an agreement by which the latter was to give to the English monarch twelve thousand marks of silver as a security for peace, and should moreover give him his two daughters as hostages.”

The Chronicle of Melrose details the terms somewhat differently—

“That the King of Scotland should give to the King of England his two daughters to be assigned in marriage, with thirteen thousand pounds in money; and should be permitted to pull down the castle opposite to Berwick; which was done. And for the observance of the peace he gave as hostages the sons of the chief nobility; but this was contrary to the wishes of the Scots.”

By a document printed in the *Fœdera*, bearing the date of August 7th, 1209, and the signature of King William, it appears that the actual payment was fifteen thousand marks, and an express stipulation is made, that the King's two daughters are not to be considered as delivered as hostages. This document, as it appears in the printed copy of the *Fœdera*, bears the date of Northampton instead of Norham. In correcting this and other errors, and in reconciling the discrepancies between the narrative of Wendover and the Chronicle of Melrose, the most essential aid has been derived from Mr. Hardy's Itinerary of King John. Although no notice occurs in this treaty of the claims of William to the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, these claims, as we learn from subsequent negotiations, were not considered by either party to be prejudiced by it. For the present, however, William was contented to leave them in abeyance. Two years after, his son and heir apparent Alexander was knighted by King John at Windsor; and so cordial was the alliance, that John received information from William of a plot against his life, although Eustace de Vesci, the son-in-law of the latter, was believed to be implicated in it. William's chief object appears now to have been to

secure a quiet succession and peaceful relations with his powerful neighbour for his youthful son ; nor did he many years survive this pacification, but died on the 4th of December, 1214, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign, his successor Alexander being in his seventeenth year.

The following year, 1215, is memorable for the concession of Magna Charta, in extorting which from the reluctant King, the barons of Northumberland took a prominent part. Amongst the twenty-five magnates to whom the task was entrusted of enforcing the observance of its provisions, we find the names of Eustace de Vesci, Robert de Ros, John Fitz-Robert, and Gilbert Delaval.

When the bad faith of the King had driven the party of the confederated barons first into open rebellion, and ultimately to the transfer of their allegiance to Louis, the heir apparent of the French King, Alexander of Scotland was not slow to avail himself of so favourable an opportunity of asserting his hereditary claims to Northumberland and Cumberland. Marching into Northumberland, he was cordially greeted by the baronage of the county, who assembled at Felton to recognize his title by the performance of the ceremony of homage. The feeling in his favour seems to have been nearly unanimous, but notwithstanding the support which he received, his position was rendered very precarious by the measures of precaution which John had adopted. Knowing the disaffection of his northern subjects, and anticipating a revolt, the King had committed the custody of the entire district, from the Tees to the Tweed, with the defence of the royal castles, to Philip de Ulecote, a man of great experience both in civil and military affairs, devoted to the service of the Crown, and unscrupulous in the execution of any orders entrusted to him. With Philip was joined in the commission, Hugh de Bailliol, a warm partizan of the King, and possessed of vast territorial influence both in Northumberland and in the bishoprick of Durham. Alexander's first effort to seize on the castle of Norham was rendered abortive by the vigilance with which this trust was executed, and he was compelled, when he advanced to Felton, to leave this stronghold, as well as Bamburgh, in hostile occupation in his rear.

The performance of homage took place on the 22nd of October, 1215, and was immediately reported to John, who, justly considering that more danger was to be apprehended from the union of the northern barons, under a leader to whom all were attached by neighbourhood and old association, and some of the most powerful by close family connexion, than from any league which could be formed under the

banners of the French prince, determined, without delay, to cope with the greater difficulty. Marching at once into Yorkshire, he spread dismay amongst the malecontents in that quarter, who hastily retreating into Northumberland, tendered their support to Alexander. Even so reinforced, the Scotch King was unable to offer an adequate resistance to the veteran troops of his opponent, but was compelled to retreat, leaving the estates of his adherents at the mercy of the incensed monarch. In the course of a single week, from the 9th to the 16th of January, John plundered and burnt Mitford, the property of Roger Bertram; Morpeth, of Roger de Merley; Alnwick, of Eustace de Vesci; and Wark, of Robert de Ros. Nor were his ravages confined to the English border, but crossing the Tweed, he destroyed Roxburgh, with all the neighbouring villages, in one general conflagration. Having taken the castle and town of Berwick, he inflicted on the wretched inhabitants such unheard-of torments, that he was reported to carry about with him a body of Jews, whose special avocation it was to instruct his soldiers in these barbarities. Laying waste all Lothian, he burnt the towns of Dunbar and Haddington, plundering the monastery of Coldingham on his return. Berwick was still in a condition to afford him quarters on his march, but here he completed the work of destruction, setting fire, with his own hands, to the house where he had been hospitably entertained all night. In the meantime, Alexander, unable to check his progress, contented himself with imitating his atrocities. Entering England on the western border, he laid waste the country up to the walls of Carlisle. Here his followers no more respected the sanctity of the abbey of Holmcultram, than those of his opponent had respected Coldingham. Carlisle for the present escaped destruction, but in the following July the town, though not the castle, fell into his hands. Advancing thence over Stainmoor to the Tees, he approached the fortress of Barnard Castle, the seat of his opponent, Hugh de Bailliol. Here, as he reconnoitered the defences of the place, he had the misfortune to lose his brother-in-law, and steady adherent, Eustace de Vesci, who was slain by a well-directed shot of a cross-bow-man of the garrison.

Little encouraged by the events of the campaign, Alexander determined to seek council and assistance of the Dauphin Louis, who was at that time engaged in besieging Dover. If we may credit the statement of Wendover, and the Chronicle of Melrose, he led his army thither through the very heart of England. On his arrival, acknowledging Louis as King, he tendered him his homage for all that he held of the crown of England. We are not furnished with the precise date of this trans-

action, but it must have been within a very short time of the death of John, which took place on the 17th of October, and materially altered the prospects both of Louis and of Alexander. As regarded the former especially, the English barons were influenced by no feelings of attachment, but had availed themselves of his aid as a last and desperate expedient to protect themselves from the tyranny of their own sovereign. The conduct of the Dauphin, on the other hand, had been the reverse of conciliatory, whilst his pretensions were stoutly opposed by the Pope, who fulminated an edict of excommunication against all his adherents.

Already during the lifetime of John the insurgents had debated amongst themselves whether it might not be possible, and, if possible, expedient to reconcile themselves to their incensed King. This course was strongly recommended to them by a revelation made by De Melun, a Frenchman, and a confidant of the Dauphin, that in the event of success, Louis, knowing how little he could rely on the affections of the English nobility, had determined on the massacre of the whole class, and the distribution of their lands amongst his French followers.

“When this information,” says Wendover, “was spread amongst the barons, they were in the utmost consternation, for they knew that they were in difficulties on every side. Already Louis had, notwithstanding their remonstrances, given the land and castles which he had subdued to his own countrymen, whilst he openly accused the English of treachery. Now also more than ever they took to heart the sentence of excommunication, and bewailed at once the loss of earthly honours and spiritual consolation. Many of them thought of returning to their allegiance to King John; but they were afraid that their offences were too numerous and flagrant for him ever to forgive them, whatever atonement they might offer.”

Under such circumstances, it is not wonderful that the death of John, which took place on the 19th of October, 1216, was hailed as a providential interposition in their favour, and that the accession of his youthful heir was looked upon with satisfaction and hopeful anticipation. It is only surprising that the defection of the English barons from the cause of Louis was not greater and more speedy than it really was; for up to the time of his signal defeat at Lincoln, in the following spring, there was no very sensible diminution in the number of his adherents. That reverse, however, followed as it was by the capture of the French fleet, to which he trusted for reinforcements and supplies, was fatal to his prospects, and he was thankful to be allowed to withdraw his countrymen and himself unmolested from a kingdom which a few months previously he had looked upon as his own certain conquest. This arrangement was concluded on the 11th of Sep-

tember, 1217. The prudence of the King's guardian and chief governor of the realm, William Marshall Earl of Pembroke, was displayed in the immunity which was granted to the barons who had been in arms against their sovereign, and who were now anxious to return to their allegiance; but the vengeance of the Pope was dealt out with a heavy hand against such of the ecclesiastics as had taken part in the revolt.

The chief difficulty in completing the pacification of the kingdom was occasioned by the unwillingness of many of those who had entered into the King's service, and supported themselves by the plunder of the opposite party, and to whom, on the return of peace, there was no prospect of honourable occupation, or even of a livelihood, to disband their forces. Many of these held the castles which had been entrusted to them in defiance of the civil authorities and the youthful King, and continued to carry on a system of rapine and plunder on their own account. Amongst these is mentioned the name of Hugh de Bailliol, who did not consider such practices inconsistent with his rank and high position; but the most pertinacious of all, was a member of one of the minor baronial families of Northumberland, Robert de Gaugi, a soldier of fortune, to whom had been committed the custody of the Bishop of Lincoln's castle of Newark, with the town and demesnes. These, on the establishment of peace, he positively refused to surrender; but maintained himself against all opposition, supporting himself and his followers at the expense of the surrounding district. At length the Grand Marshal assembled a large army, and marched, accompanied by the King himself, to Newark. His first care was so to dispose his forces as to prevent the escape of the garrison, anticipating that they would evacuate the castle on his approach, and plunder the town. Gaugi had, however, no intention of abandoning his position; but, awaiting the arrival of the royal army, he annoyed them by sallies, and though obliged to retreat to the castle, inflicted serious loss on the assailants. Amongst others, William de Diva, a knight of the Bishop's household, was slain. Finding, however, that the Marshal was provided with all necessary engines for conducting a siege and battering down the walls of the castle, Gaugi proposed terms of accommodation, which were accepted after the siege had lasted eight days without any prospect of an early termination by force. The Bishop agreed to pay a hundred pounds sterling for the stores in the castle, and the besieged leader was allowed to retire unmolested with the price of his successful resistance.

Whilst we thus find a Northumbrian chieftain disturbing the peace of another district of England; in Northumberland itself, tranquillity appears to have been maintained, under the firm rule of Philip de Ulecete, ever since the departure of the Scotch King to join the Dauphin at Dover. This officer exercised almost unlimited authority throughout the county, in the double capacity of sheriff and military governor. His commission is expressly stated to have been granted during the term of the King's minority, and the revenues of several of the royal manors were placed unreservedly at his disposal "to maintain himself ad ætatem regis." He was slain in the fourth year of King Henry III., A.D., 1219, shortly after the Earl of Pembroke had been removed by death from the general charge of the kingdom. The King was now fourteen years of age, and, although the Bishop of Winchester was appointed his guardian, he appears himself to have taken a part in the administration of affairs. At an earlier period indeed, the late guardian of the realm made a point, in appearance at all events, of identifying his young sovereign with the acts of the government. The following year, on Whit-Sunday, which fell on the 17th of May, he was crowned a second time, apparently a recognition of his legal majority. On the 11th of June he had an interview with the King of Scotland at York, at which the preliminaries were settled for a marriage between the latter and one of Henry's sisters, the Princess Joanna. The marriage was solemnised the following year in the presence of both kings in the same city; where also Hubert de Burgh was married to Margaret, one of the Scotch princesses, who had been educated at the English court, in pursuance of the treaty between the late kings, John and William. The other sister, the Princess Isabella, returned to Scotland in 1223, still unmarried; the third, Margery, who had been brought up in Scotland, was married at Berwick, in 1235, to the Earl of Pembroke, son of the late guardian. Henry had himself contemplated an alliance with this young princess a few years previously, but was obliged to abandon his intention in consequence of the interference of his nobility, who represented to him that it would be degrading to him to marry the younger sister when the elder was already married to a subject.

During this reign no renewal had hitherto been made, on the part of the Scottish King, of his demand for the cession of Northumberland, but on the contrary, Henry was disposed to re-assert the claim, formally abandoned by his uncle, King Richard, to the supremacy of the English crown, over that of Scotland. In this claim he had even received the support of the Pope, who exhorted Alexander to

comply with his wishes. Now, however, the latter not only refused to entertain the suggestion, but made a counter application for the restoration of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, and also demanded a settlement in respect of the 15,000 marks paid by his father to King John, under stipulations, which had been utterly disregarded. His sisters had, it is true, been educated at the English court, and one of them had been married there, but the other had been returned unprovided for. More than this, he resented the conduct of Henry to the youthful Margery, by a marriage with whom he might have made amends for all previous slights. Henry himself seems to have been conscious that some reparation was due, and readily assented to refer all matters in dispute to the arbitration of Cardinal Otho, the papal legate, by whose mediation it was arranged, that in full satisfaction of the claims of the King of Scotland, as well to the disputed territory as to the repayment of his fifteen thousand marks, he should receive lands in the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, of the annual value of two hundred pounds, if the Crown possessed demesnes of that amount without the precincts of towns in which castles were situated; in default of which, the deficiency was to be made up in the adjoining counties.

In pursuance of this award, Nicholas de Farnham, Bishop of Durham, was commissioned to assign lands of the above value to Alexander and his successors, who thus, in addition to Tyndale, which was already his, became possessed of the manors of Penrith, Sowerby, Longwathby, Salkeld, Carlatten, and Scotby, all in Cumberland. Thus was this long-contested point finally settled A.D. 1242, and Northumberland and the other northern counties indissolubly confirmed to the crown of England.

Two years afterwards the amicable relations between the two kingdoms were threatened with a serious interruption, in consequence of Henry taking offence at the erection of certain castles on the Scotch frontier. Alexander in vain asserted his acknowledged supremacy within his hereditary dominions, notwithstanding the homage which he had performed for his possessions in England. Henry hastily assembled an army at Newcastle, and Alexander, instead of awaiting his attack, marched through Northumberland as far as Ponteland. A collision, which appeared inevitable, was fortunately averted by the interposition of the Earl of Cornwall, the Archbishop of York, and others of the chief nobility of England, who, by their personal influence with the Scotch King, induced him to make such concessions as soothed the irritable temper of his opponent, without compromising his

own independence. The peace thus happily re-established, was not again interrupted during the remainder of the reign of Alexander, who died A.D. 1249.

In the year of his death are dated the earliest of the series of "Border Laws," for preserving friendly relations between the two realms, and regulating the administration of justice on the frontier. The articles of this convention purport to have been arranged by twelve knights on behalf of each kingdom, but the authenticity of the document is rendered very questionable by the introduction of the name of Robert de Clifford at the head of the English commissioners, whereas it is well known that the connection of the Clifford family with the North of England did not commence till a generation later, and that the first Robert de Clifford was not born at this date. If the document be genuine, which there is otherwise no reason to doubt, either the name of Clifford must have been substituted in error for some other, or the convention must belong to a later period. The latter supposition is perhaps the more probable, as the year of our Lord only occurs in the existing copies, without the names of the King either of England or Scotland, on whose behalf the arrangement was entered into. There is no evidence, at all events, that its provisions were acted upon during the ensuing reign, although, notwithstanding perpetual jealousies, peaceful relations were maintained till its close. This, however, was chiefly owing to the marriage of the young King, who at his accession was but nine years of age, with Margaret the daughter of Henry, which, if it did not put an end to the ill feeling which prevailed on the part of many of the Scotch nobility towards England, at least held it in check.

CHAPTER VII.

TENURES, SERVICES, AND CUSTOMS.

IN order clearly to understand the tenures, services, and customs which existed in Northumberland during the Norman era, we must direct our attention in the first instance to the position of the earls, in whom the government was vested for so many years, both before and after the Conquest. During the earlier period, indeed, we have no records more precise than the statements of our old chroniclers; but even from these much valuable material may be collected. Far more minute information, however, is stored up in the documentary evidence of the succeeding age, which accurately reflects the image of that which preceded it.

We have, it is true, no charter from any of our Anglo-Saxon monarchs conferring the government of Northumberland on Osulf, on Uchtred, or on Siward; but we find, on the revival of the earldom by Richard Cœur-de-Lion in favour of Hugh Pudsey, a recapitulation of the privileges and powers with which its ancient possessors were endowed.

We have no formal accounts of the revenues of Tosti or of Morcar; but we know that they were the same which afterwards flowed into the royal exchequer, and which were again diverted when the earldom passed into the hands of the ambitious prelate. The Northumbrian Pipe Rolls of the reign of Richard are for our purpose almost as satisfactory, as if we had possessed similar documents of the reign of Ethelred or of Knut.

Turning to the grant to Pudsey, we find that the county was to be held by him as earl, as fully, freely, quietly, and honourably, as the King himself had held it whilst it was in his own hands; that the concession included all castles, boroughs, harbours, demesne manors, waters, mills, fisheries, meadows and pastures, land cultured and uncultured, forests, *mines of silver*, lead, and iron; also all fees, *homages*, services, wards and escheats of barons, knights, thanes, and drengs; with

all liberties and free customs, *pleas and actions, and all other things to the Crown belonging*. In short, to use a phrase which has become proverbial as applied to the bishoprick of Durham, whatever the king possessed without the limits of the earldom, the earl held within.

The items usually excepted from the most comprehensive grants, but contained in the present, are 1, mines of silver; 2ndly, the homage of barons, knights, and others; and 3rdly, pleas of the Crown.

I. *Mines of Silver*.—These were no ideal treasures, for the argentiferous lead mines of Northumberland and the adjoining district of Cumberland, are anciently described as silver-mines, and were enjoyed by the Crown, in virtue of the precious metal which they contained. The lessees were the moneyers of Newcastle and Carlisle, who, at their mints at these places, converted the produce of the ore into specie, with which their rent was paid.

The mines of both counties were, at the period of the grant, let together under the title of the “mines of Carliol,” but the most productive portion was in Northumberland, for after the grant of the earldom, the rent paid to the Crown was only 10*l.* for the portion remaining, whereas the entire rent had been 100*l.* in the previous year. At some periods, indeed, it greatly exceeded that amount, having at one time been, for a series of years, as high as 500 marks (333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*)^a

II. *Homage of Barons, Knights, and others*.—In the grant which was made at the same time to Pudsey and his successors, Bishops of Durham, of the wapentake of Sadberge, are included the *services* of several parties holding by baronial tenure,

^a According to Robert de Monte, the mines of Carliol, when first discovered in the reign of Henry I., were even more productive. It is remarkable that this foreign chronicler is the only writer who gives us any information on the subject of the discovery. As his statement has remained unnoticed by any of our historians, either local or general, it is here subjoined:—“A.D. 1133. King Henry also created a new bishoprick at Carlisle, upon the borders of England and Scotland, and he placed there as its first bishop the prior of the canons regular of St. Oswald, his confessor. The new Bishop placed canons regular in the church of his see. The sun was eclipsed on the 4th of the nones of August, and the same day the King sailed over to Normandy, from which he did not again return. At this time veins of silver ore were discovered at Carlisle, and the miners who dug for it in the bowels of the earth, paid five hundred pounds yearly to King Henry.” The above date, which is applicable to the establishment of the see of Carlisle and the other particulars mentioned, is not to be received as denoting the precise year of the discovery, which was somewhat earlier, but rather to the full developement of the treasure. The rent of the “silver mine of Carliol” forms an item of revenue two years previous in the Pipe Roll of the 31st of Henry I. The work of Robert de Monte, which contains many other notices of importance to the students of English History, was almost inaccessible until its recent publication by Mr. Stevenson in *The Church Historians of Britain*.

but the *homage* which is due to the sovereign, was not transferred. In the grant of the earldom, nothing whatever is withheld. The personal allegiance, which is due from every subject, doubtless was not interfered with, but no incident of tenure remained to connect the barons of Northumberland with the Crown. They were emphatically *the earl's men*; and so they are described in a charter of William Rufus, in reference to Robert de Mowbray, the then late earl. In this charter the King confirms to the Prior and convent of Tynemouth, "all things which Robert Earl of Northumberland and his men (*sui homines*) had given to St. Oswin before his forfeiture." The same expression occurs in a confirmation charter of Henry I. Again, in the reign of Stephen, when the earldom was given to Henry, son of David of Scotland, the barons of Northumberland were permitted to do him *homage*, saving only their fealty to Stephen, and the same ceremony was repeated, on the death of Henry, to his son William.

III. *Pleas of the Crown*.—We have no direct evidence of the exercise of the right of holding pleas of the Crown by any of the earls of Northumberland, except Bishop Walcher; but the complaints made against him, of his refusal to hold them except on payment of exorbitant fees, may be accepted as indirect proof that they had been held on more liberal terms by his predecessors. The right was also exercised after the extinction of the earldom by Alexander the Third of Scotland, the descendant of the ancient earls, in that fragment of the county which he still enjoyed, the liberty of Tyndale.^b

Under the various heads specified in the grant, are comprised every source from which revenue accrued to the Crown in other counties, or in Northumberland itself when it was in the King's hand. Nothing remained to be carried into the royal exchequer. The same was the case, under Robert de Mowbray, during whose tenure of the earldom the Doomsday survey was compiled. That survey was undertaken for financial objects, and it is not wonderful that it did not extend to a district in which the Crown had no financial interest. The earldom of Carlisle or Cumberland was in this respect precisely similarly situated, and these two earldoms contained between them the entire territory which is omitted in that valuable record.

For the same reason Cumberland and Northumberland are excluded from the

^b The Hundred Rolls exhibit other instances of parties claiming to hold pleas of the Crown within their respective liberties; but these claims are generally, if not universally, founded on prescription, and not on charter.

Pipe Rolls at the commencement of the reign of Henry II., when they were still in the hands of the King of Scotland and his brother; for the same reason also the latter is omitted during its occupation by Pudsey. If at either of those periods a survey similar to Domesday had been compiled, it is clear that the districts so situated would in each case have been omitted, as they were omitted when Domesday itself was framed, for the simple reason that there was nothing in them to return.

Within the earldom, every landowner, who in other parts of England would have held of the Crown, held of the Earl, and owed neither homage nor service to any other superior. It remains to be seen by what tenure the Earl himself held his fee. The charter of Richard to Pudsey merely says he is to "render the same service which his predecessors, earls of Northumberland, were wont and ought to have performed to the kings our ancestors." Now the earldom originated before the introduction of feudal services, nor have we any trace of any reserved rent or other payment, and we naturally infer that it was held by fealty only. In this view we are confirmed by the terms of the convention between David of Scotland and King Stephen, by virtue of which his son obtained possession of the earldom. This document, the substance of which is preserved in the work of Richard of Hexham, contains no stipulation either as to homage or any pecuniary payment; but it provides that David shall secure the fealty (*fidelitatem*) both of himself and his son Earl Henry to the King of England, by delivering to him the sons of five Scottish earls as hostages.

Where even homage was not due, still less was there any liability to the ordinary feudal incidents such as scutages and aids. The barons of Northumberland indeed owed to the Bishop the same services, including aids and scutages, as were previously due to the Crown, and, accordingly, we find Pudsey imposing a heavy scutage on the military tenants within the earldom as well as the bishoprick, the proceeds of which, or a part of them, were applied with other funds towards the King's ransom from captivity, amounting in all to £2000.; but this offering was voluntary, and not incident to the tenure either of the earldom or the bishoprick. A portion of this scutage was still in the course of collection, or in the hands of the Bishop's officers, when the earldom was resumed by the Crown, and this was seized by Hugh Bardulf, the sheriff, who accounts for 77*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* "for the scutage of the knights of Northumberland for the redemption of our lord the King, which is rendered in one sum, because the county was in the hands of the Bishop of Dur-

ham, by whom the scutage was received, and cannot therefore be distinguished by baronies." It is clear that the amount was the residue of a scutage not merely of Northumberland, or even of Durham, but of all the Bishop's military tenants, as a portion of the payment is excused to the Archbishop of Canterbury as the guardian of Gilbert Hansard, a minor, whose fee lay in Yorkshire.

We have proof also from the Pipe Rolls that the Bishop received the amounts due from livery of baronies and lands within the earldom. After its resumption we find the following entry in reference to Richard de Umfreville, who had recently succeeded to the barony of Prudhoe on the death of his father. "Richard de Unfranville renders an account of 100*l.* that the King may grant him the fine for his land which he made with the Bishop of Durham, when the county was in his hands, and that he may not lie under the King's displeasure (*malevolencia*)." Robert de Muschamp also had arranged to pay the Bishop 60 marks for livery, and this sum is claimed by the Crown after the resumption of the county. In the same way in the matter of wardships; Ralph Fitz-Main had received a grant of the wardship of the heirs of Ralph de Guagi, but Pudsey on obtaining the earldom took the wardship into his own hands. Again, in reference to the marriage of heiresses and widows; Helwise de Tindal had agreed with the Crown to pay a fine of 20 marks for liberty to marry as she chose, and this also was received by the Bishop. Not only was he called upon to refund these sums, but other similar payments within the palatinate of Durham; amongst others, a fine of 300 marks from Robert Fitz-Meldred for livery. This sum was increased to 600 marks before Fitz-Meldred obtained possession of his lands.

BARONY AND KNIGHT-SERVICE.

It is uncertain at what period of the Conqueror's reign tenure by barony was introduced into Northumberland. The liberty of Reedsdale, to the grant of which the reader's attention has already been directed, was not held by this service, and it is the only one of the concessions of land within the county, made in this reign, to which a specific date has been assigned. William's original grants to his followers throughout England do not appear in the first instance to have been held by barony, but by the same tenure under which they had been enjoyed by their Anglo-Saxon possessors under Edward the Confessor. Domesday Book makes no mention of knight's-fees or military service; indeed, one of the principal objects of

that survey seems to have been, to furnish a basis for the conversion of the tenures by which Normans and Saxons alike held their lands into baronage. The necessity of this change became apparent in consequence of the difficulty which was felt in maintaining an army under the old system, for the defence of the kingdom against a threatened invasion of Canute King of Denmark, in 1085. The particulars are related in the Saxon Chronicle, which appear to justify this inference.

“When King William, who was on the continent, heard of the projected invasion, he hastened hither with a larger army from Normandy and Brittany, than had ever arrived in this land, so that men wondered how the country could feed them all. But the King billeted the soldiers upon his subjects throughout the nation, and they provided for them, *every man according to the land which he possessed*. And the people suffered much distress this year. . . . Afterwards he received information that the expedition had been stopped, and that the enemy would not be able to proceed in this enterprize, upon which he let part of his forces return home, and part he retained throughout the winter. . . . After this the King had a great consultation, and spoke very gravely with his witan concerning this land how it was held, and what were its tenantry. He then sent his men over all England, into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hides of land it contained, and what lands the King possessed therein, what cattle there were therein, and how much revenue he ought to receive yearly. He also caused them to write down how much land belonged to his bishops, his abbots, and his earls, and finally what property every inhabitant of England possessed in land or in cattle, and how much money these were worth.”

If military tenures had already been established, it would have been unnecessary for the King to have introduced this immense continental army, rather than have levied one within the island, by far the largest proportion of the lands in which were already possessed by Normans, whose interest insured their fidelity against an invasion, the success of which would undoubtedly have resulted in their own expulsion. Neither would the employment of mercenaries have been necessary under the old Saxon plan of raising a militia in certain proportions according to the hidage of the several counties. The expedient resorted to was a violent innovation, after the old system had become obsolete, and before any new one had been adopted.

The Doomsday survey embodied the nearly forgotten information as to the hidage of the estates of the several proprietors, who were thus made aware of the number of men whom they could be compelled to furnish under the existing law;

and an opportunity was afforded of comparing this burden with that to which they would be subjected by the introduction of the new military tenures. The latter, it is probable, whilst much more efficacious for national defence, were at the same time much less oppressive than the previous obligations, if enforced to their full legal extent. So entire a change would undoubtedly have been difficult to introduce, if the Saxon proprietors, with their warm feelings in favour of national usages, had maintained their possessions, but they now formed an almost insignificant minority, and were no doubt thankful to retain their ancestral lands upon any terms.

The change of tenure, which was universal throughout that part of the island which was under the immediate rule of the sovereign, was only partially introduced into Northumberland, whilst in Cumberland we have no trace of it till the reign of Henry II. In the former county the Norman grantees held their lands by baronage, the heirs of the old Saxon proprietors continued to render the same services which were due from their forefathers.

The popular definition of a barony is the aggregation of a number of knight's-fees under one proprietor, of which some are granted out to different parties by sub-infeudation, and one or more retained by the original grantee, whose residence is regarded as the "caput baroniæ;" and the lands in his own hands are characterized as demesne. The great proportion, indeed, of the early baronies comprised a large number of knight's-fees, but the tenure was equally *by barony* where the grant amounted to a single fee, or even a fraction of one, provided only it emanated directly from the Crown. On the other hand, no number of knight's-fees, held under an intermediate or mesne lord, would constitute a barony. Baronies, indeed, existed in Northumberland under the earl, and in Durham under the bishop, but each of these was within his own territories *in loco regis*, and those who held fees under them were not barons of England, but of Northumberland and the bishoprick respectively. When Northumberland was united under the same government as the rest of the kingdom, its barons became barons of the realm, and such would have been the case with those of Durham also, if that palatinate had been merged, as it has since been, during the prevalence of baronies in fee.

Baronies in Northumberland were generally of smaller extent than in Yorkshire and the southern counties. Alnwick, by far the largest, was rated at twelve knight's-fees; Stiford or Bolbec, Bywell, and Mitford, at five each; Morpeth and Wooler at four; Embleton, Ellingham, Bothall, Whalton, and Bolam, at three;

Wark, Prudhoe, and Delaval, at two. Of the rest none exceeded one knight's-fee, and Gosforth and Dilston made up one between them. All are nevertheless classed together as baronies in the inquisition of Henry III. in the *Testa de Nevil* except Gosforth, which is styled the *Ville* of Ralph Surtees. This, however, is not on account of the fractional service due from it, (for it was rated at $\frac{2}{3}$ of a fee, whereas Dilston, which is described as a barony, is only rated at $\frac{1}{3}$) but because it formed a part only of the possessions of its owner, which together made up his barony, but the other part (the *Ville* of Middleton) had been severed from Northumberland by the annexation of the wapentake of Sadberge, in which it is situated, to Durham.

In one of the Reports of the Committee of the House of Lords on the dignity of the peerage, the case of the possessions of the Ogle family having been popularly termed the *barony* of Ogle, although held under the barony of Whalton, is adduced as an instance of a barony existing under a mesne lord. But it proves only an inaccuracy of expression of comparatively modern date. In the reign of Henry II. Gilbert de Hoggal owned half a fee, which was increased to a fee and a half in the time of Henry III., the barony under which it was held being only three fees. The Ogles continued to advance in importance, whilst, in later times, the lords of Whalton declined, but the legal relative position of the two parties was not altered; the one was still the superior baron, the other the simple knight. In the fourteenth century the chief of the house of Ogle married the heiress of the baronial family of Bertram of Bothal, and their great-grandson was raised to the peerage a hundred years later. Under these circumstances it is *not extraordinary* that the term "Barony of Ogle" should have been applied to the ancient territorial possessions of the family, but it is not less an inaccuracy.

Amongst the baronies of Northumberland has always been included Beanley, although perhaps it should more correctly be classed as a sergeanty, as it was subject to none of the feudal incidents of barony, but was held by a special service, the nature of which, however, has been very ill understood. In the *Testa de Nevil* are two sets of inquisitions, extending over the whole county of Northumberland; the first in the reign of John, the second in that of Henry III. In the former Earl Patric is said "to hold the barony of Beanley by this service, that he shall be *Inborg'* and *Hulborg'* between the realms of England and Scotland;" in the latter the words are spelt "Inborwe and Utborwe between England and Scotland." Camden interprets this to mean, that his duty was "to observe and watch

the *ingress* and *egress* of all travellers between the two kingdoms; for in the old English language *Inborou* is an ingress or entry." Chalmers derives the word from *Borough*, a surety or pledge, and translates the passage thus: that he was to be "surety for the peace of both kingdoms, within the Border and without." This he admits to be "a task which the two kings of the contiguous realms were scarcely able to perform," which consideration might have withheld him from offering the explanation which he has given. That of Camden, which he considers as impracticable, is only one degree more feasible. The words seem to be simply *In-bearer* and *Out-bearer*, the bearer of communications between the two kingdoms; and this view is confirmed by the circumstance of two other estates in the county being held by serjeanties of a very similar nature, one by the service of carrying the king's writs between the Tyne and the Coquet, the other of executing the same duty between the Coquet and the Tweed. The fact of the owners of Beanley, the descendants of the Earl Gospatric, being also the possessors of the earldom of Dunbar in Scotland, would make their appointment peculiarly appropriate as the bearers of communications between the two realms. None could have a deeper interest in maintaining a good understanding, none suffered more directly from its interruption.

The other serjeanties are of the ordinary class, and the duties generally trivial.

The franchise of Redesdale is never classed amongst the baronies. It was, like Beanley, held free of all feudal services, except that specially enjoined in the charter, of clearing the country of enemies and wolves. The Inquest of John in the *Testa de Nevil*, says it was held by the service of defending the valley from robbers; that of Henry III., that it was held "per regalem potestatem." The very extensive privileges of its lords are set forth by Mr. Hodgson in the first volume of the Topographical Part of his work, a large portion of which is devoted to this interesting district.

THANAGE AND DRENGAGE.

The term *Thane* in its original acceptation undoubtedly implied servitude, and is rendered in Latin by *Beda*, *minister*. Lilla, the faithful servant of Edwine King of Northumberland, whose devotion preserved the life of his royal master at the expense of his own, A.D. 625, is called in the Saxon Chronicle his *thane*. The same authority speaks of the nobles of Wulfhere King of Mercia, who were

present at the consecration of the abbey of Medeshamstede (Peterborough), A.D. 657, as his *thanes*. In 755, the personal attendants of Cynewulf King of Wessex are described by the same term. At a later period it was applied to the highest class of landowners, under the degree of ealderman, duke, or earl, and, in this sense, we have frequent mention of *thanes* in Northumberland. Symeon speaks of Kilvert the son of Lyulf, a Yorkshire thane, who married the daughter of Bishop Aldune, after her repudiation by Earl Uchtred; Crinan the thane, the grandfather of Earl Gospatric; and Orm, a Yorkshire thane, who became the son-in-law of Earl Aldred.

The Saxon Chronicle speaks of the insurrection of the thanes of Yorkshire and Northumberland against Earl Tosti, A.D. 1065, and Florence of Worcester furnishes us with the names of several, some of whom we know to have been nearly connected with the dominant family in the earldom; Gamelbearn, Dunstan son of Athelneth, Glonicorn son of Heardulf, Gamel son of Orm, Ulf son of Dolfin, and "the noble Northumbrian thane" Gospatric.

In the course of William the Conqueror's reign, the great Saxon landowners were exterminated as a class, a few individuals only remaining at the era of Doomsday. In Yorkshire only a single name, that of Gospatric, is recorded as the representative of the once powerful Anglo-Saxon aristocracy: all the rest were swept away, and their lands possessed by strangers. The term *thane* was now applied exclusively to a second class of landowners, inferior both in station and possessions. Of these a considerable number are met with at the end of the list of proprietors in the several counties under the title of "the King's Thanes," and others occur in various parts of the record who held under mesne lords. The memory of this class, also, was obliterated in the course of a few years throughout the greater part of England by the conversion of their tenure into military service, but they still lingered in Northumberland and Durham.

In the 5th of Henry II., the sheriff accounts for 196*l.* as the *Donum* of the knights and thanes of Northumberland. During the same reign, as well as under Richard and John, there were frequent tallages of the thanes and drengs. The same two classes occur in Durham as contributing with the "Smale-manni," (Small-men; tenants at will) to a tallage in the 31st of Henry I. In the reign of Richard I., when we have again a Durham Pipe Roll, during the vacancy of the see, two classes only occur as contributors, the dreng and firmarii, the former including the thanes, the latter identical with the "smalemanni" of the

previous account. In the Northumberland Pipe Rolls the thanes and drengs are generally distinguished from each other, but they are all entered as drengs in an inquisition of Henry III. in the *Testa de Nevil*. An earlier inquisition in the same compilation, taken in the reign of John, explains the distinction, which involves no difference of tenure, but merely the extent of proprietorship; the owners of one ville being styled drengs, whilst those who owned two or three have the more honourable designation of thanes.

Drengs occur in Doomsday Book in one district only, and that within the ancient kingdom of Northumberland, the territory between the Ribble and the Mersey, in the hundreds of Newton and Welton. In this part of Lancashire the same tenure lingered in the reign of Henry III. The Cumberland Pipe Rolls notice only two drengs in that county, and those (as is the case also with those of Lancashire) did not originally hold of the Crown, but were within a manor which came to it by escheat, the manor of Ousby. In Westmorland drengage was the prevailing tenure. In the 3rd of John eighteen drengs paid a fine of 50% for exemption from foreign service (*ne transfretent*), and this fine, which is equivalent to scutage, has been made the ground for asserting that drengage, although differing from knight's-service, was a military, and consequently a free tenure. Those who have adopted this view have confined their attention to the reign of John; but an examination of the Pipe Rolls of the two previous reigns will shew that this fine was an arbitrary imposition, unsupported by precedent or custom. Under Henry II. and Richard I. the drengs were subjected unsparingly to tallages; but they never occur as contributors to a scutage, or any equivalent impost. Neither were they the only parties who had to complain of this innovation, which was equally enforced against the tenants by sergeanty throughout the kingdom, and the cornage tenants of Cumberland, neither of whom were legally subject to it. It was to guard against this, amongst other acts of oppression, that Magna Charta was wrung from the reluctant monarch. If any doubt could exist on this subject, it is removed by an entry in the Westmoreland Pipe Roll of the 24th of Henry II., from which we learn that the number of drengs had originally been greater, but that in several cases the drengage had been converted by Hugh de Morville, formerly lord of Westmorland, into *free* service, a significant intimation that the tenure of the eighteen who remained was servile. The following year a similar conversion (*quietantia a drengagio*) was made in favour of

an individual in the same county. In Northumberland we have a similar instance in the reign of King John, who changed the tenure by which William Bardulf held Hepple and other possessions in Coquetdale from thanage to knight's-service. The expression in the *Testa de Nevil* regarding this transaction is "removit then-agium," as we would speak of removing a burden or a dishonour. In another case, Henry II., on the death of Uchtred Fitz-Gamel without heirs, granted the ville of Wittingham with its dependant townships, previously held by drengage, to Roger de Flammaville, free from all service, except the render of one sparrow-hawk yearly.

The offices performed by the thanes and drengs of Northumberland, as detailed in the inquisition above referred to, were unquestionably servile.

In addition to a money-rent, they were subject to an arbitrary tallage, to merchet and heriot, suit of court, and multure "of the thirteenth dish." Those in the northern part of the county owed "truncage" to the castle of Bamburgh: that is, they carried thither logs (*truncas*) for firewood. One of them is described as bound to employ his cart in this service, going and returning on alternate days from Whitsuntide to Lammas.* Those whose lands lay in Bamburghshire were bound, in addition to assist in agricultural operations, to plough, reap, and carry the corn, receiving, when so employed, one meal (*cibum, repastum*) per day. They were also bound to assist the King's serjeants, in serving writs, and destraining for debt.

The services due to the Bishop of Durham, from his drengs in Norhamshire and Islandshire, were of a similar character, including service in husbandry on his demesnes of Norham and Fenwick.

The Bolden Buke, compiled by Bishop Pudsey, has many notices of this tenure within the present county of Durham. The following particulars from the survey

* There seems to have been a disposition on the part of the drengage tenants to repudiate these servile offices. In the 16th of Henry II., Liulf Fitz-Liulf is amerced 4*l.* 15*s.*, because he has not carried wood to make the King's great fire (*rogum*) at the castle of Bamburgh. At the same time William Fitz-Waldeive is debited 40 shillings for respite of the works of the castle. Previous to the 24th of this reign, the drengs and tenants of the royal demesnes were responsible for the safety of the King's colts in the wastes and forests. In that year they paid a fine of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to be relieved of this charge. It appears from the Hundred Rolls that there was a customary obligation on the villes of Shoston and Sunderland, and the drengs of Beadnel and Mousen, to send their pigs to feed in the woods of Wittingham, but that for the last 20 years of the reign of Henry III. the practice had fallen into disuse, to the heavy loss of the King, who thereby lost his pannage.

of the township of Hutton Henry, in the parish of Hesledon, are given in the words of Mr. Surtees's translation :—

“ Richard and Uchtred plough two acres at Shotton. Every carrucate within the ville ploughs and harrows two acres, and the villans perform three days' works in autumn, with one man for each oxgang. The dreng feeds a horse and dog, attends the great chase with two grey-hounds and five cords, carts one tun of wine, and one mill-stone, attends the lord's court and goes messages.”

Instances occur of the services of drengage-tenants being granted by the Crown to private parties. Thus Henry I. granted to the Earl of Dunbar, or a member of his family, the services due by the tenant of the three Middletons and Roddam, reserving the money rent and tallage to the Crown.

King John also included in his grant of the royal manor of Newburn, to Robert Fitz-Roger, the drengage services of Throckley, with the like reservation.

The following is a list of the tenements in thanage and drengage in Northumberland when the county came into the hands of Henry II., in the third year of his reign, exclusive of those in Sadberge, which will be noticed hereafter :—

- I. Throckley, in the parish of Newburn, one ville, drengage.
- II. Halton, Clarewood, and Whittington, in the parish of Corbridge, three viles, thanage.
- III. Whittingham with Thrunton, Barton, and moiety of Glanton, one ville drengage.
- IV. Callaley and Yetlington, in the parish of Whittingham, two viles, thanage.
- V. Eslington, in the same parish, one ville, drengage.
- VI. Hepple, Bickerton, Great and Little Tosson, Flotterton, Warton, and a moiety of Trewit, in the parish of Rothbury, thanage.
- VII. Beadnel in Bamburghshire, one ville, drengage.
- VIII. Mousen in the same, one ville, drengage.
- IX. South Middleton, Middle Middleton, and North Middleton, with Roddam, in the parish of Ilderton, three viles, thanage. The services assigned as above.

Drengage existed also in the lordship of Tyndale, the property of the King of Scotland. This lordship was, for a short time, in the hands of Henry II., after the capture of William the Lion at Alnwick, when a tallage was levied on “the thanage of the King of Scotland in Tindale 20%.” It was again escheated on the death of Alexander III. of Scotland, and we possess the accounts rendered by Thomas de Normanville, of the rents and profits in the years 1286, 1287. The services of the tenants, unfortunately, are not recorded, but the drengage rents

within the manor of Wark amounted to 3*l.* 2*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; in Grindon to 16*s.* 5*d.* In both manors *tenants* in drengage are mentioned in the plural number.

The sums exacted from the thanes and drengs under the names of tallages, dones, and aids, were out of all proportion to similar contributions from the tenants by knight's-service, as will appear from a comparison of the amounts paid by each in the 7th and 8th years of Henry II., which are given a few pages further on. By far the largest landowner amongst them was William Fitz-Waldiefe of Hepple, the predecessor of William Bardulf, whose tenure was afterwards changed into knight's-service, when his estate was rated as one fee. In the 7th year the rate per knight's-fee was two marks (1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), in the 8th one mark (13*s.* 4*d.*), and yet we find the drengage proprietor charged twenty marks in the former year, and 20*l.* in the latter. There seems indeed to have been no limit to the exactions on this class of landowners short of the absolute exhaustion of their means of further payment.

CORNAGE OR NOUTGELD.

The payment of an annual sum under this title was common to the four northern counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, and Northumberland; but in Cumberland only have we any record of the existence of a pure cornage tenure. In the others the payment of cornage rent was grafted upon military and other tenures. Until the reign of Henry II. every estate in Cumberland was held by cornage, with the exception of the great barony, or, as it is frequently styled, the county of Copeland, which had been granted free from cornage, but without the substitution of any other service. As far as records extend, cornage was merely a money payment, and we might be content to explain the term as meaning a Crown rent (*coronagium*), but we have incidental evidence that this contribution, although commuted at an early period, was originally made in cattle, and that the true interpretation is (*cornuagium*) a tribute in horned beasts. In several early charters we meet with it under the vernacular name of nout-geld, or neat-geld, a term not yet obsolete in Cumberland and Westmorland. In the Pipe Rolls of those counties it is called *Geldum animalium*, and in the Durham Pipe Roll of the 31st of Henry I. we meet with the expression *cornagium animalium*. In Northumberland the term *cornagium* only occurs, without any adjunct.

In Cumberland there was superadded to the payment of cornage an obligation, as we learn from the *Testa de Nevil*, "of going at the King's command with the army of Scotland, serving in the van in going, and in the rear in returning." This obligation cannot have been of older date than the reign of William Rufus or Henry I., previous to which, Cumberland had been for two centuries a dependency of Scotland, whereas the origin of noutgeld must be sought for at some period when the four northern counties were under one government, previous to the dismemberment of the kingdom of Northumberland in the ninth century. The lords of Copeland owed service in the army of Wales as well as Scotland.

The following statement shows the amount of cornage accounted for by the sheriff in each county at the earliest period at which it can be ascertained from the Pipe Rolls:—

Cumberland.....	31st Henry I.	£85	8	8
Northumberland.....	10th Henry II.	20	0	0
Westmorland	23rd Henry II.	55	19	3
Durham	31st Henry I.	110	5	3

The smallness of the sum paid by Northumberland as compared with the other counties (scarcely more than one third of what was received from the little county of Westmorland), seems to point to the conclusion that in the former a commutation of the cattle-rent into money had been effected at a much earlier period, when the comparative value of specie was greatly higher. Had the comparison been with the western counties only, we might have supposed that an equitable abatement had been made in consideration of the other services which were due in Northumberland, but which did not apply to Westmorland and Cumberland; but in Durham the same services were performed as in Northumberland, the only distinction being that in one county they were due to the Bishop, in the other to the Crown. In Northumberland, it should be added, the sheriff only accounts for the cornage triennially; in Westmorland and Cumberland every year. Henry II. introduced military tenure into Cumberland by granting the barony of Gilsland to Hubert de Vaux as two knight's-fees, and in this instance the nout-geld was remitted altogether. At a later period, however, of the same reign, when Peter de Brus had a grant of the manor of Edenhall as half a knight's-fee, he not only had to perform the services incident to that tenure, but to pay the accustomed cornage rent besides. The only other remissions of nout-geld in

acting a much greater sum under the name of cornage than was paid by themselves to the Crown. Of this we have two remarkable instances: one in the barony of Appleby, where the lord collected 52*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*, and only paid 41*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.*; the other in the lands of the Prior of Tynemouth, who collected 2*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*, paying only 1*l.* 4*s.* The details of the first will be found in Nicholson and Burn's *Westmorland*, of the second, in the extracts from the Tynemouth Cartulary in Brand's *Newcastle*. In both these cases the lord of the fee was ultimately relieved from cornage altogether, but in neither was any remission made to the sub-tenants.

If the above particulars of the cornage paid by the several baronies are compared with the number of knight's-fees at which they are severally rated, it will be found that no relative proportion is maintained between the amount of the one and the number of the other. Thus Wark, Bywell, and Morpeth pay nearly an equal cornage, whilst the former is only rated at two fees, the two others at five each. Again, the cornage of Whalton, Ellingham, and Emildon, together scarcely exceeds that of Wark alone, and yet each of them is rated at one knight's-fee more than Wark. Bolam and Langley are nearly equal in their contributions to cornage, the proportion of Langley being slightly greater, and yet Bolam is rated at three knight's-fees and Langley at one. Hepple pays 9*s.* cornage, Delaval 3*s.* 3*d.*, whilst Delaval is rated at two knight's-fees, Hepple at one. In almost every instance the cornage may be taken as the juster criterion of relative value and importance.

The Northumbrian Pipe Rolls are silent as to cornage till the 10th year, which includes the collections of the two previous years. Before this it seems to have been included in the farm of the county.

CASTLE-WARD.

Castle-Ward existed in Northumberland, in respect of each of the royal castles of Bamburgh and Newcastle—the latter erected in the reign of the Norman Conqueror, whilst the former existed from the very commencement of the dynasty of the Northumbrian kings. The small amount of the contribution levied for the castle-ward of Bamburgh as compared with Newcastle, favours the inference that the impost originated under the Anglo-Saxon government, when the relative value of the precious metals was greater. Of this, however, we have no direct evidence.

Until the reign of Henry III. the castle-ward does not appear as an item of revenue in the Northumbrian Pipe Rolls, but must rather have been rendered in

personal service, or the composition must have gone directly into the hands of the parties entrusted with the defence of the castles. Of these Bamburgh was always in charge of the Sheriff, whilst Newcastle had a constable or governor specially appointed by the Crown.

The castle-guard of Bamburgh was only 5 marks in all; that of Newcastle 33*l*. We have, unfortunately, no information as to the particular baronies and estates which were bound to contribute to the defence of Bamburgh; but a return has been preserved in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* of the several contributions due to the ward of the castle of Newcastle.

This return, as well as that previously referred to relative to cornage, was furnished by Robert de Lisle, the Sheriff in the 49th of Henry III., and is in substance as follows:—

The Barony of Bailliol in five different payments } ..	£15 13 4	Bothal	£2 0 0
Bolam	2 0 0	Dilston and Gosforth	0 13 4
Delaval	1 6 8	Bolbec	3 6 8
Whalton	2 0 0	Morpeth	2 13 4
Ellingham	2 0 0	“Copium”	0 13 4
Heron	0 13 4		<hr/>
			£33 0 0

The return itself is printed in the *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. iv. (old series), p. 285, with such further details as are afforded by the *Testa de Nevil* and the Pipe Rolls. The substance of the information, and the inferences fairly deducible from it, may be stated as follows:—

The baronies and estates included in the above list were originally bound to furnish and maintain one soldier for every knight's-fee within the same, for the defence of the castle of Newcastle. This obligation, as regarded the Bailliol barony, extended not merely to the number of soldiers which would be due in respect of the five fees in Northumberland known as the barony of Bywell, but to the proportion due for the 30 Bailliol fees which were dispersed over various parts of the kingdom. For the sake of convenience, however, the whole number of 30 soldiers was furnished exclusively by Bywell, which lay within a few miles of the castle. When the personal service was commuted for a money payment, this was fixed at one mark per knight's-fee instead of one soldier, and this proportion is maintained in the several baronies in the list, except Bailliol, which is set down as contributing in respect of 23½ fees only instead of 30. Of the amount stated in the return (23½ marks), 5 marks were contributed in respect of Bywell, and 5¼

in respect of Barnard Castle, in the wapentake of Sadberge, being the due proportion of each, but it does not appear where the $6\frac{1}{2}$ fees were situated which were exempted or escaped from the impost. In the 18th of Henry III. the service of Barnard Castle, which was heretofore due to the Crown, was attorned to the Bishop of Durham; but this was not held to release the $5\frac{1}{2}$ Barnard Castle fees from castle-ward, and although the payment was withheld, a charge was made year by year of an additional sum of $5\frac{1}{2}$ marks against the Bishop.

From the 5th to the 14th of this reign the Sheriffs regularly account for 5 marks for the ward of Bamburgh, and $32l. 4s. 5d.$ for that of Newcastle, being within $15s. 7d.$ of the amount in the return of Robert de Lisle. The accounts for the next five years each contain the following memorandum:—

“No mention is here made of the ward of Bamburgh, because the Sheriff has it along with the wards due to Newcastle, for the custody of the county and of the said castles.”

In the 20th year Richard de Gray, who was Sheriff during the first six months, charges himself in the first instance with a moiety of the above sum, and then pleads as a discharge for the sum of $1l. 16s. 8d.$ —

“The quittance of the $5\frac{1}{2}$ fees of John de Balliol, in respect of which the said John is attorned to the Bishop of Durham by order of the King as is contained in the originalia; for which the said Bishop ought to answer from the 11th day of April, in the 18th year, to Michaelmas of the same, and for the whole of the 19th and 20th years, unless he can show to the King that he is quit by the charters of the King or his predecessors.”

The same sum was continued to be charged annually against the Bishops of Durham, till at the end of the reign of Edward I. a hopeless arrear of $330\frac{3}{4}$ marks had accumulated.

DANEGELD.

Danegeld was an impost of Anglo-Saxon origin, levied, as we are told, in the first instance to raise a sum of money to bribe the marauding Danes to quit our shores, and probably continued afterwards to provide in a more legitimate way for the safety of the island against the invaders. So productive a source of revenue was not readily abandoned, even when no longer required for its original purpose, and a tax under this name continued to be levied, and was applied to the general purposes of the state. Some of our historians tell us that the collection of Danegeld was discontinued by Edward the Confessor, but if this was so, it was cer-

tainly revived under the Norman kings. The last instance on record of its actual collection is in the 2nd of Henry II., although Maddox gives an entry relative to the payment of a party concerned in its collection as late as the 21st year. In the 2nd of Henry II. Northumberland was not yet restored to the English Crown, and, consequently, no record appears of the collection of this impost here; but in the Pipe Roll of the 31st of Henry I. we find the Danegeld of this county fixed at 100*l.*, of which the whole amount remains due for the current year. For the past year the Sheriff accounts as follows:—

Paid into the Treasury.....	£85	11	0
Remitted by the King's writ:			
To Robert d'Umfreville.....	2	0	0
To Barnard de Bailliol.....	2	2	0
To Eustace Fitz-John.....	3	12	0
To Odard the Sheriff.....	0	15	0
			<hr/>
	£94	0	0
Balance due.....	6	0	0
			<hr/>
	£100	0	0
			<hr/> <hr/>

No similar charge occurs in the accounts of Cumberland, Westmorland, or Durham. Cumberland existed as a kingdom under its own rulers when this tax was first imposed, and it is probable that it was at no period collected within its limits. One barony of Westmorland also was included in the kingdom of Cumberland, and it is doubtful whether the other (the barony of Kendal), originally a portion of Yorkshire, was as yet appended to Westmorland. The palatine privileges of Durham sufficiently account for the omission of the collection there, even whilst the county was in the King's hand.

FEUDAL IMPOSTS.

The Inquisitions taken in the reign of John, and preserved in the *Testa de Nevil*, distinctly inform us that in the grants of baronies in Northumberland, made by William the Conqueror, and his sons, a definite proportion of military service was stipulated to be rendered by each grantee, and that the amount remained unaltered at the date of the Inquisitions. During the possession, however, of the earldom by Henry son of David I. of Scotland, in the reign of Stephen, the incidents of military tenure fell into disuse, and were not immediately revived on the restoration of the county to the English crown in the 3rd of Henry II.

In the 5th year a scutage at the rate of two marks per knight's-fee was levied in other counties, but this was not extended to Northumberland, where, instead of contributing to a scutage, the knights were tallaged jointly with the thanes towards a donum, the total amount of which was 96*l.*, besides the contribution of the Sheriff himself, William de Vesci, of 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In Cumberland, where up to this time knight's-service had been unknown, no general scutage was levied till the reign of John, and the ancient territorial proprietors continued to be tallaged. From the Pipe Rolls of that county we learn that these assessments were made "by hydage," that is, by a certain payment for each hyde of land, and such no doubt was the principle upon which the barons of Northumberland were tallaged for this donum.

In the 7th year of Henry II. there was a scutage at the rate of two marks per knight's-fee, and in the 8th of half that amount. Both of these were levied in Northumberland; but in the former year the rate which was adhered to in the southern counties was totally disregarded here, where many of the baronies, instead of being rated at two marks per fee, were charged four and five. The following table compiled from the Pipe Rolls not only exhibits these inequalities, but is interesting as furnishing a complete list of the baronage of Northumberland earlier than any other on record.

<i>Anno 7^{mo} Henrici Secundi.</i>				<i>Anno 8^o</i>	
Stephen de Bulmer	4	knight's-fees, pays 20 marks, rate per fee	5 <i>m.</i>	pays 5 marks	
Jordan de Bussey	2	" " 10 marks	5 <i>m.</i>	pays 2 marks	
William Fits-Aluric for Dilston	$\frac{1}{3}$	" " 3 marks	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>m.</i>	pays $\frac{1}{3}$ mark	
John Fitz-Odard	3	" " 12 marks	4 <i>m.</i>	pays 1 mark	
William de Merley for Morpeth	4	" " 10 <i>l.</i>	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>m.</i>	pays 4 marks	
William de Grenville for Ellingham	3	" " 5 <i>l.</i>	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>m.</i>	dead	
Richard Bertram	3	" " 5 <i>l.</i>	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>m.</i>	pays 3 marks	
Walter Fitz-William for Whalton	3	" " 10 marks	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>m.</i>	pays 3 marks	
James de Burum	3	" " 10 marks	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>m.</i>	pays 3 marks	
Ralph de Worcester for Hadston, &c.	1	" " 3 marks	3 <i>m.</i>	pays 1 mark	
Robert Fitz-Adred	1	" " 3 marks	3 <i>m.</i>	no entry	
Ernald de Morwick for Chevington	1	" " 2 marks	2 <i>m.</i>	no entry	
Hugh Fitz-Roger	1	" " 5 marks	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>m.</i>	pays 1 mark	
William de Teesia	1	" " 4 marks	4 <i>m.</i>	pays 1 mark	
Earl Gospatric		for Beanley Sergeanty		" 12 marks	pays 4 marks
William de Vesci		for Alnwick 12 knight's-fees		no entry	no entry
Roger Bertram		for Mitford 5		no entry	no entry
Bernard de Bailliol for Bywell		5		no entry	no entry
Walter de Bolbec		for Styford 5		no entry	pays 5 marks
Odinel d'Umfreville for Prudhoe		2		no entry	pays 2 marks

Of those whose names do not occur in the Pipe Roll for Northumberland, William de Vesci and Bernard de Bailliol had fees in other counties, in which it is probable the scutage was paid. In the case of others it is not unlikely that personal military service was rendered, in which case scutage was not due. The fee of William de Teesia included an estate at Middleton, within the wapentake of Sadberge, as well as Gosforth.

Besides the military tenants, the following parties holding by inferior tenures were tallaged.—

	<i>Anno 7</i>	<i>Anno 9</i>
William Fitz-Waldieffor Hepple, &c.	20 marks	20 <i>l.</i>
Alan Fitz-Eilaf	5 marks	
Waldief de Haltonfor Halton, &c.	20 marks	7 <i>m.</i>
<i>Dreng</i> de Trocchelaifor Throckley	3 marks	
Uchtred Fitz-Gamelfor Whittingham	20 marks	5 <i>m.</i>
Alan de Essingtonfor Eslington	5 marks	2 <i>m.</i>
<i>Dreng</i> de Calvaleiafor Callaley, &c.	20 shillings	
<i>Dreng</i> de Bedenhalfor Beadnel	$\frac{1}{2}$ mark	
Lyulf Fitz-Liulffor the three Middletons, &c.		46 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>

The payments in the 9th year are arrears from the year previous, the Pipe Roll of which is unfortunately imperfect. All the parties above held in drengage. In the 7th year the boroughs of Newcastle and Corbridge are tallaged, the former at 10*l.*, the latter 10 marks.

In the 9th year Newcastle pays 10 marks, and Archil and Joel of Corbridge, tenants under the Crown, pay 40 marks, and 10*l.* respectively. The following also occur in the same year, Aitropius 1 mark, Gilbert de Hatton 5 marks, Robert Freeburn 4 marks, Henry Rusticus 1 mark, Robert de Bailesho 5 marks, &c. Some of the parties probably belong to Sadberge, and amongst them occurs Robert de Ulmesby the Cumbrian dreng. Robert Freeburn was the *firmarius* or *reuter* of a piece of pasture near Rothbury, called Chirland.

In the 11th year we meet with another *Donum*, to which, however, many of the baronies contributed as to a scutage, at the rate of one mark per knight's-fee, whilst others paid much larger, and apparently altogether arbitrary, sums. The baronies which paid one mark per scutum were Emildon, Ellingham, Bothal, Whalton, Bolam, Delaval, Gosforth, Hadston, Chivington, Bradford, Dilston, and Langley, which occurs for the first time as one knight's-fee of Adam de Tindale. Bernard de Bailliol also paid 20*l.*, being at the same rate, not for Bywell merely, but for his 30 knight's-fees in various counties. William de Vesci paid 40 marks,

being at the rate of 2 marks each, for his 20 knight's-fees in Northumberland and Yorkshire. He paid at the same rate for the barony of Wark, which he held for the Crown on the death of Jordan de Bussey. The other payments were—

Odinel d'Umfreville	£15 3 4	Roger de Merlay	£3 15 10
Stephen de Bulmer	7 15 8	Earl Gospatric	3 15 10
Roger Bertram (Mitford)	5 6 2		

All the royal manors were tallaged as follows:—

Newcastle	40 marks	Bamburgh	5 marks
Corbridge	£20.	Rothbury	5 marks
Newburn	£ 4.	Sadberge	2 marks

William the miner (*minarius*), generally designated William the moneyer, paid 20 marks, and the drengs and thanes were also tallaged,

In the 14th year the memorable aid for the marriage of the King's eldest daughter was levied, previous to which all military tenants holding of the Crown were required to make a return of the knight's-fees which they possessed, with sundry details. On these returns a uniform system of assessment was established, and henceforth the barons of Northumberland were rated according to the number of knight's-fees which they had returned.

The returns are preserved in the *Black Book of the Exchequer*, which was printed by Hearn, and those which relate to Northumberland have been published by Mr. Hodgson at the end of the Pipe Rolls, Part III., vol. iii., of his *History of Northumberland*.⁴ No return was made of the baronies of Bywell, Wark, Prudhoe, or Bradford, but the Sheriff duly accounted for the aid in respect of each.

For Beanley, also, there is no return, as no military service was due from that barony. In the 23rd year Earl Waldeive, the son of Earl Gospatric, was assessed as for a thanage tenement in a tallage of the boroughs, viles, thanes, and drengs of Northumberland, the amount charged against him being 20 marks. This payment was not enforced, and henceforth Beanley was held free of all pecuniary impositions, except cornage.

In the 18th there was a scutage at the rate of 1*l.* per knight's-fee; and again in the 33rd we meet with a "Scutage of the knights of Northumberland who did

⁴ In the returns as printed in Mr. Hodgson's volume, the reader may make a correction by drawing his pen through the title "Hepple" prefixed to No. 15 at the bottom of page 303. Hepple, at the time when these returns were made, was not a barony, but a drengage tenement. The Baard-fee to which the title has been inadvertently prefixed, is in Sadberge. The other titles are all correct, and are a great convenience in consulting the document.

not go with the King in the army of Galway." The only names, however, which occur as absentees from the army in this year are Robert de Diveliston and Godfrey Baard, the holders of $\frac{1}{3}$ fee each, the estate of the latter being in Sadberge. At this time an unusual number of baronies happened to be in the hands of the Crown, and were tallaged as follows, along with the royal demesnes:—

Barony of Alnwick	£24 18 4	Barony of Gaugi	£5 6 8
„ Bolbec	17 9 8	„ Langley	8 7 8
„ Wooler	9 13 0	„ Morpeth	7 19 8
„ Wark	8 11 4	„ Warkworth	6 6 8

In the reign of King Richard there were three scutages.

- 1st. Anno 2. Scutage of Wales, at 10 shillings per knight's-fee.
- 2nd. Anno 6. Scutage for the redemption of the King's person, at twenty shillings.
- 3rd. Anno 8. Scutage for the army of Normandy, 20 shillings.

The first scutage was in the course of collection when the county was transferred to Pudsey, and the Sheriff accounts in one sum for 20*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*, which he had received for the scutage before the Bishop of Durham had the county.

Contemporaneously with the second general scutage, the Bishop had a scutage of his own barons, as well of Northumberland as within the bishoprick and elsewhere. Historians inform us that he paid of his own gift 2,000*l.* towards the King's ransom, and we find the Sheriff accounting for 76*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* of the proceeds of this scutage, which had not yet come into the Bishop's hands before he was deprived of the earldom.

In the 8th year we find the following parties contributing to the scutage of Normandy: John le Vesconte of Emildon, for 3 fees, 15 marks; Robert de Diveliston, 2 marks for $\frac{1}{3}$ fee; and Gilbert Delaval, 10 marks for 3 fees; besides Walter de Cadamo (Caen), whose fee was in Sadberge.

In the 9th year Ralph de Guagi is charged 3 marks, Alexander de Bradford 1 mark, and Ralph de Crameville (of Whalton) 5*l.* towards the same scutage, which several sums were paid the following year.

King John, on his accession, had a general scutage for his coronation. He seems to have had before him the returns of the 14th of Henry II., as the parties assessed are either those whose names appear in those returns, or their heirs, if they were dead; not noting the names of such heirs. In some cases, indeed, the heirs of parties are summoned, who answered in the 14th of Henry, not as propri-

etors, but as custodes, and whose heirs had no interest in the baronies. This scutage was at the rate of 2 marks per fee.

At the same time the King claimed indiscriminately from the barons of Northumberland payment, not only of the third, but of the second scutage of King Richard. Receipts from the Bishop in whose hands the county was when the second scutage was levied, were of no avail; but some of the parties who had paid the third scutage in the lifetime of King Richard, had taken the precaution of fining for an acquittance from the second scutage also. In this position were Ralph de Gaugi, Gilbert Delaval, and Robert de Diveliston, whose payments have been noticed in the 9th and 10th years, and also Robert de Muschamp. Walter de Bolbec had been in charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Roger Bertram in charge of William Briewer, both of whom had taken care to compound for the scutages of their wards. All these parties escaped further exaction.

Ralph Cramaville, Alexander de Bradford, and John le Vesconte, had only an acquittance for the third scutage; the two last, therefore, and Constance de Cramaville, the widow of Ralph, had to pay the second scutage before they could get a final discharge. In the same predicament were Roger de Merley and Robert Bertram, who held receipts under the seal of King Richard for the third scutage, but not for the second. Roger Fitz-John shewed that he had paid the second scutage in Norfolk, and had an acquittance on payment of the third. Richard de Teisia and Hugh de Morwick paid in full, as did also Ralph de Gaugi, for the moiety of the barony of Ellingham, which had belonged to Hugh de Ellington, and to which he had succeeded on his death. The scutage for the barony of Wark, which is charged to "the heir of Philip de Humez," stands on the accounts till the 5th year, when it was discharged in full. Besides all these parties who were charged one mark per fee for each scutage, Eustace de Vesci and Eustace de Bailliol were charged 12*l.* each, in respect of the two, being an aggregate charge of 6*l.* per fee against the former, and 4*l.* against the latter. De Vesci, however, had a remittance of the whole, and Bailliol of one half.

This subject may be appropriately closed with a list of the scutages of John.

Anno 1. Scutage after the King's Coronation, 2 marks per fee.

Annis 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Six scutages for the army of Normandy, 2 marks each.

Anno 12. Scutage of Ireland, 2 marks per fee.

Anno 13. Scutage of Wales, 2 marks per fee. Scutage of Scotland, 2 marks per fee.

Anno 16. Scutage of Poictou, 3 marks per fee.

In the *Red Book of the Exchequer* it is stated that this last scutage could not be collected. However this might be elsewhere, it was not the case in Northumberland, where, except on the fees of Eustace de Vesci, where nothing was paid, the total arrear at the end of the year only amounted to 8*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*

GRANTS AND ENFRANCHISEMENTS OF HENRY II., RICHARD, AND JOHN.*

I. The liberty of Tyndale had no independent existence in the reign of Henry I., being described in ancient records as taken "de corpore comitatus;" but when the county was restored to Henry II., it was in the separate charge of Adam Fitz-Swane, who seems to have been a bailiff under William of Scotland, the son and successor of Earl Henry. In the Pipe Roll of the 4th of Henry II. Adam is charged with 10*l.* as the proportion of the county farm due from the district. The following year it was granted to the "brother of the King of Scotland," and 10*l.* is allowed to the sheriff in this and succeeding years, as compensation. There were in Tynedale two royal manors, Wark and Grindon, the former in the fertile valley of the North Tyne, the latter in the upland district of the Northumberland lakes, which is traversed by the Wall of Hadrian.

II. The *barony* of Langley, or as it is more anciently called the *barony* of Tyndale, lay immediately to the south of the *liberty* of Tyndale noted above. We learn from the *Testa de Nevil* that it was granted as one knight's fee by Henry II. to Adam de Tindal, whose name first occurs as a contributor to the Donum of the 11th year. The previous history of this barony is obscure. It was not a Crown manor, as no allowance was made to the sheriff, which was invariably the practice on the alienation of any portion of the royal demesnes. If it was an escheat, it was never in charge of the sheriff, who at this period combined with his other duties those of escheator, but must have been granted immediately on its lapse to the Crown. It is more probable that Adam de Tindal was already in possession, as a feudatory of the Scottish earls, in the reign of Stephen, and that he was confirmed in his tenure by Henry II. This explanation is quite consistent with the statement in the *Testa de Nevil*, as even if in substance the charter of King Henry

* The grants made by William the Conqueror and his two sons have been enumerated in the last chapter (page 205), where will also be found a list of the possessions which were still retained by the Crown. Of these all but Bamburgh and Newcastle were alienated before the end of King's John's reign.

was only a confirmation of a pre-existing title, it would necessarily be in the form of a new grant, as none of the donations made in Northumberland during the alienation of the county were recognized after its resumption.^f

III. Warkworth, an ancient possession of the Crown in Saxon times, was given in the 4th of Henry II. to Roger Fitz-Richard, as one-knight's fee. This Roger was governor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and enjoyed the revenues of that manor. His tenure of the latter was however only during pleasure, and ceased with his exercise of the functions of governor. The allowance made to the sheriff on the alienation of Warkworth was 32*l.* 2*s.*, and for Newcastle 20*l.*

IV. The ville of Whittingham, with its members, Thrunton, Barton, and a moiety of Glanton, which had been held by Uctred the son of Gamel in drengage, was granted on his decease (as it was alleged) without heirs, to Roger de Flammaville, held free of all services by the tender of one sparrow-hawk yearly. The charter is printed in the *Fœdera*, where it is erroneously ascribed to Henry I. In the Hundred Rolls the grant is attributed to Richard I.; but the contemporary authority of the Pipe Rolls places its date beyond all dispute in the 15th or 16th of Henry II., from which latter year an annual abatement of forty shillings is made, for the loss of the drengage rent, to the sheriffs. Uctred Fitz-Gamel was living in the 11th of this reign, when he was tallaged towards a donum, as also in the 7th and 8th years.

Notwithstanding the grant to Roger de Flammaville, his possession was not undisputed. John Fitz-Simon, in the 15th year, paid forty marks for livery of one moiety, as drengage. In the 2nd of John, Simon Fitz-John, on the death of his father, paid six marks for his right in one moiety and for livery of two carucates of land in Whittingham. At the same time William de Flammaville, the son of Roger, paid fifteen marks livery. He paid further twenty shillings scutage in the 5th, and two marks in the 6th, in which years payments are made by Vincent de

^f Even grants made to religious establishments during that interval were not respected. Amongst others whose property was taken from them in the 12th of John, were a nunnery and an hospital in Newcastle, the nuns being deprived of land of the yearly value of 1*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*, and the brethren of the hospital of 1*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* Even William de Vesci, the sheriff, the most powerful man in the county, was compelled to pay rent for the manors of Budle and Spindleston, and land at Bamburgh, which he had received as a free gift. Nor were members of the learned professions treated with greater consideration. Gervase the physician, of Newcastle, was turned out of his house, or compelled to occupy it at rack-rent, whilst Algar the priest of Bamburgh was ejected from his land. Ralph de Gaugi also was amongst the sufferers, his manor of Hartlaw being escheated.

Whittingham of forty shillings, and four marks for a moiety. The nature of Vincent's connection with the property does not appear; for Simon Fitz-John was still living in the 10th of John, when he fined forty marks that himself and William de Flammaville may be both summoned before the King respecting the land in Whittingham which the said William claimed against him. Flammaville died the next year, leaving four sisters co-heiresses, who were in charge of Roger Fitz-Roger. In the inquests in the *Testa de Nevil* taken towards the close of this reign, it is stated that the four co-heiresses held one moiety by the tender of a sparrow-hawk, and that the other moiety is drengage. No mention is however made of John Fitz-Simon. The claim of the Flammaville family ultimately prevailed, as in the Inquisitions of the following reign we find the whole held by the tender of one sparrow-hawk yearly, or half a mark in lieu thereof.

V. Sadberge was the only property of the Crown which was permanently alienated by Richard I., and this was not as a gift, but an exchange for certain knight's-fees in Lincolnshire which were given up by the Bishop of Durham. Fuller particulars of Sadberge will be given in the next chapter.

VI. The principal recipient of the grants of King John in Northumberland was Robert Fitz-Roger, who was enfeoffed with the manors of Rothbury, Newburn, and Corbridge, heretofore demesne of the Crown; the two former to be held by the service of one knight each, the latter in fee-farm. He had moreover a grant of the barony of Whalton, rated at three knight's-fees, which had escheated to the Crown. In addition to these, he held Warkworth as heir to his father; in all six knight's-fees, besides Corbridge, a larger holding within the county than any of the Northumbrian barons, except Eustace de Vesci.

VII. Certain manors in Northumberland, Ditchburn, Cartington, and Ryhil, were held in serjeanty by the Maine family, as appertinent to the office of forester. This tenure was changed by King John into the service of one knight, in favour of Ralph Fitz-Maine, who had besides three parts of Togston in fee-farm by the payment of ten shillings yearly.

CHAPTER VIII.

SADBERGE.

THE particulars of the acquisition by Hugh Pudsey of the manor and wapentake of Sadberge, in exchange for six knight's-fees in Lincolnshire, the property of the see of Durham, have been already detailed, and it is only necessary to recapitulate a few dates. The charter under which the exchange was effected bears date the 18th of September, in the 1st year of Richard I., and the receipt for the payment of 600 marks in respect of this transaction was authenticated by the King's seal on the 5th of August following. From that time, or rather from the 1st of July previous, the Bishop was in possession of the property thus acquired for four years. In the second half of the 6th year of King Richard it was again in the Crown, and accounted for by the sheriff with the rest of the county of Northumberland. Pudsey's death took place the following year, 1195, on the 5th of March, and his successor, Philip de Pictavia, was appointed at the ensuing Christmas. This prelate agreed to pay 400 marks for the possession of Sadberge, to which was added a further sum of 100 marks for the confirmation of two other charters. The last instalment of this sum was paid in the 10th of Richard, but the death of that king the same year prevented him obtaining possession till the following reign; nor did he then succeed except on tender of a further exorbitant fine. In the 1st of John the Bishop accounts for 1200 marks, "for the confirmation of the grant of the King's manor of Sadberge, with the wapentake and appurtenances, and for liberty to disforest the woods of Crake and Cliffe, as the charters of King Richard witness, and that he may be quit of an aid which our lord the King sought (*petiit*) of the whole of England (*de universitate Angliæ*) when he came into England from Normandy." The following year, A.D. 1200 he obtained possession.

From this period an annual allowance of 23*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* is made to the sheriff out of the rent of the county. We have no means of ascertaining what portion of

this sum was due for the manor, and what for the wapentake ; but this seems an appropriate place for collecting whatever particulars can be recovered respecting either of them previous to their dismemberment from the county of Northumberland.

The term *Wapentake*, the origin of which is undoubtedly Danish, is applied to a division of a county, equivalent to the *Hundred* of the South of England, and the *Ward* of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham. It prevails throughout Yorkshire, and was probably in use in Durham also, which was certainly included in the dominions of the Danish Kings Halfdene and Guthred. Previous to the annexation of Sadberge to Durham it was always considered an integral part of Northumberland, and not as a distinct lordship or honour. The Hundred Rolls describe it along with Tyndale as taken "de corpore comitatús." In one instance only do we find the wapentake mentioned in the Pipe Rolls distinct from the county, in the 31st of Henry II., when certain ameracements are recorded for "concealing places of the Crown," viz. :—

The county of Northumberland	20 <i>l</i> .
The wapentake of Sadberge	5 <i>m</i> .
Gilbert de Valle	4 <i>m</i> .
The ville of Newcastle	20 <i>m</i> .

No evidence has occurred that pleas of the Crown were held by the Justices Itinerant for Sadberge apart from the rest of the county, although such is alleged to have been the case. The separate ameracement just referred to certainly does not prove this, for Newcastle also is separately amerced, where distinct pleas were not held till many years later. In the Pipe Roll indeed of the 32nd of Henry II. we have this singular entry of the amercement of Osbert the Clerk of Sadberge, half a mark, for a foolish speech (*pro stulto dicto*) before the Justices Itinerant, and this rather countenances the idea that the Justices sat at Sadberge ; but Osbert might have been a witness elsewhere. The boundaries of the wapentake were exceedingly irregular ; but it may be described in general terms as comprising all the southern part of the present county of Durham which was not the property of the Bishop or the monastery of Durham, or of parties holding under one or the other. Its southern limit was the Tees ; but here it was encroached upon by the Bishop's manors of Darlington and Stockton, which extend to that river.

We possess a very valuable Inquisition respecting the estates in the wapentake in the reign of King John, taken during the vacancy of the see after the death of Bishop Philip. From this Inquisition, which is preserved in

the *Testa de Nevil*, the following catalogue of estates and their proprietors is principally derived. Our other authorities are the charter of Richard I. to Bishop Pudsey, and the Pipe Rolls. Where information is derived from other sources, the authority is cited.

ESTATES IN THE WAPENTAKE OF SADBERGE.

I. The manor of Sadberge, demesne of the Crown, and afterwards of the see of Durham.

II. The barony of Gainford, or of Barnard Castle, which latter after its erection became the "caput baroniæ" held by the Bailliol family by $5\frac{1}{4}$ knight's-service.

III. The lordship or manor of Hart, with Hertness, held by the family of Brus, as two knight's-fees.

IV. The lordship or manor of Coniscliff, held by the Graystock family as one knight's-fee.

V. The manors of Seaton and Outon, held by the family of Carro, Caro, Carum, Karum, or Carou, as one knight's-fee. The last orthography of this family name is probably the most accurate, being retained with little alteration to this day in the distinctive designation of Seaton *Carew*.

VI. Coatham (*Mundeville*) and Trefford, held by the Amundevilles as one knight's-fee.

VII. One half the ville of Middleton, held by the family of Surtees (De Teesia, or Super Tees) with Gosforth, as one knight's-fee; the service of Middleton being $\frac{1}{3}$.

VIII. The other moiety of Middleton, with Hartburn, held by the family of Bayard, Baard, Baiard, or Bajart, as $\frac{1}{3}$ knight's-fee.

IX. The manor of Tunstall, held by the barons of Whalton, and the service included in the three knight's-fees of which their barony consisted.

X. The manor of Greetham, held in the same way by the lords of Mitford as a parcel of their barony.

Beside these were several properties held in scutage and drengage, which will be enumerated hereafter.

The grant to Pudsey included the demesne manor of Sadberge, and the superiority (as it would be called in Scotland) of the estates of Carun, Amundeville, Surtees, and Bayard. That is, these families henceforth held of the Bishop as

they had previously held of the Crown. This transfer is very inadequately expressed by the term used in this charter, and others of a similar nature, of a grant of the "services" of the parties. The estate given to Philip de Pictavia was the same as that possessed by his predecessor; the Crown still retaining the services of the Bailliols, the Brus's, and Graystocks, whilst the position of the lords of Whalton and Mitford remained unaltered.

MANOR OF SADBERGE.

The manor of Sadberge was of no great extent or value. We have already seen that its contribution to the donum of the 11th of Henry II. was only two marks, whilst the other royal manors contributed sums varying from five marks to forty. In the 15th its contribution is included in one sum with those of Newburn, Rothbury, and Bamburgh, the total amount being 17*l.* In the 23rd it contributed six marks, and in the 33rd was tallaged at 4*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, but of this sum 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* remained in arrear till the 2nd of Richard II. In the 8th of the same reign the royal manors were twice tallaged, the first assessment on Sadberge being 2*l.*, the second 1*l.* 12*s.*

On the resumption of the manor and wapentake in the 6th of Richard, the farming stock on the demesne lands was found to be deficient, and the following allowances were made to the Sheriff on that account.

For one plough deficient allowance for the half year	5 <i>s.</i> —Do. for the whole of the 7th year	10 <i>s.</i>
For 20 heifers	10 <i>s.</i> —Do.	20 <i>s.</i>
For 20 swine	10 <i>s.</i> —Do.	20 <i>s.</i>
For 300 sheep	30 <i>s.</i> —Do.	60 <i>s.</i>

In the 8th year the demesne was restocked as follows; 8 oxen were purchased for 18*s.*, 20 heifers for 60*s.*, 20 swine for 20*s.*, and 300 sheep for 5*l.*

These details, trivial as they may appear, are curious, not only as furnishing an account of the price of stock at this early period, but as illustrating the terms on which the demesnes were farmed by the sheriff. The rent which he undertook to pay was not merely for the occupation of a certain number of acres, but for the use of an adequate supply of implements and cattle to make the occupation profitable. For any deficiency he was entitled to claim a proportionate abatement; and on the other hand, he was bound at the expiration of his tenancy to leave the land sufficiently stocked. The Pipe Rolls afford abundant evidence of this custom.

In the 7th of Richard we have this entry—Robert de Pesehale pays one mark on account of a messuage at Sadberge; that an inquisition be held to ascertain whether the same was given to him by Roger de Glanville (Sheriff of Northumberland from the 31st of Henry II. to the end of his reign).

A complete list of the proprietors of burgages, and other property within the manor, is contained in Bishop Hatfield's Survey. The following only are noticed in the earlier Inquisition in the reign of John:—William Fitz-Osbert, half a carucate of land in fee, rent 4*s.*; William Warin, one carucate of land, rent 5*s.* 4*d.* a sergeanty; the hospital of Allerton, the mill and bake-house of Sadberge, by grant of Bishop Philip, confirmed by King John.

The vicinity of Sadberge to the ancient street or highway which crossed the Tees at Pountees Bridge, was no doubt the cause of its early importance. The number of burgages mentioned in Hatfield's Survey is very considerable. It had, as we have seen, its mill and bake-house, and boasted, besides, its gaol and prison, of which the principal landowners in the neighbourhood were the custodes.

BAILLIOL-FEE.

Bywell was granted to the Bailliol family by William Rufus as five knight's-fees, and there is no doubt that Gainford, rated at five fees and a quarter, was granted at the same time, as we find it at a very early period in the possession of Guy de Bailliol, the first of the family on record in England. This Guy was a benefactor to the great monastery of St. Mary at York, to which he appropriated the church of Gainford.

His son Barnard was the founder of the noble fortress on the Tees which derives from him its name of Barnard Castle. In the Pipe Roll of the 31st of Henry I. we find Barnard de Bailliol excused payment of 42*s.* danegeld. He was present at the Battle of the Standard in the cause of King Stephen, having previously in vain attempted, in conjunction with Robert de Brus, to persuade David King of Scotland to desist from his hostile enterprize.

After the cession of Northumberland to King David, Bailliol, as well as Brus, was reconciled to him, and both took an active part in favour of the claims of his nominee, William Cumin, to the bishoprick of Durham.

In the 11th of Henry II., Barnard de Bailliol contributed 20*l.*, being at the rate of one mark per knight's-fee on his possessions in various parts of the kingdom to a done or aid.

In the 14th he omitted to make a return of the amount of his fees, with other particulars, required by the King's writ, but he contributed 20*l.*, being his just proportion at one mark per fee as before.

Within three years of this date he died, and in the 17th year his son Barnard de Bailliol paid 200 marks for livery of his land. The expression in the Pipe Roll is "ut rex reddat ei terram," and Dugdale, in ignorance that there were two Barnards, father and son, in this family, represents this as a payment from the first of that name, for the restoration of his lands which had been seized, as he supposes, into the King's hands for neglecting to obey his writ. This neglect was common to a great many other barons as well as Bailliol, who were visited with no punishment, and neither was he. That there were two Barnards is plain by the confirmation charter from the second, of the privileges granted by his father to his burgesses of Barnard Castle. This Barnard was amongst the valiant barons who put an end to the civil conflict which raged between Henry II. and his son, by the promptitude of their advance to Alnwick and the capture of the King of Scotland, the chief supporter of the insurgents. He made no return to the scutage of the 18th year, which was at the rate of 1*l.* per fee, but he paid the full amount of 30*l.* two years afterwards.

As has been already shewn, the transfer of the wapentake of Sadberge in no respect affected the position of this great family. They remained the vassals of the King and not of the Bishop. Thus, in the 1st of John, "Eustace de Bailliol, the heir of Barnard, renders an account of 60 marks for his scutage." At the same time he is charged with 120*l.* in respect of the second and third scutages of King Richard, one half of which is excused to him. Again in the 2nd of John he accounts for 200 marks, "because he was not in the King's service over-sea." Of this, 40 marks only were paid before his death, which took place the following year. The same year (the 3rd) his son, Hugh de Bailliol, is exonerated from payment of scutage, but is charged 30 marks in the 4th. In the 5th he is excused, and charged 30 marks in the 6th, and again excused in the 7th and 8th. Of these various charges there remained an arrear of 235*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* in the 11th year, which it was arranged should be paid off at the rate of 20 marks annually. He was exonerated from the heavy scutages of the 12th and 13th years, and by the 15th his debt was reduced to 182*l.* 12*s.* This was further diminished by a payment of 80 marks, when the remainder of the debt, amounting to 129*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*, was remitted in consideration of his finding two knights for the King's service,

“as is contained in a brief in the Mareshal’s forule.” From the scutage of the 16th he was specially exempted, being joined in commission with Philip de Ulecote in defending the King’s interests in the North.

In the 3rd of Henry III., Hugh de Bailliol is charged with 200*l.* advanced to him by King John in Poictou, and with 60 marks scutage. In the 5th year he is charged 15*l.* scutage, but has to account for it in Essex. In the 8th year there was a scutage, and again in the 9th, from both of which he was exonerated. In the 13th we find this entry “Hugh de Bailliol owed 200 marks and more ; he is now dead, and has not paid nor fined respecting it, but John, his heir, has fined respecting it, and is not to be summoned.”

The same year John de Bailliol paid 150*l.* for livery. The arrangement made as to his father’s debts was, that they should be paid off at the rate of 40 marks yearly, the precise amount being 278*l.* The next year a further charge is made against him of 68 marks, for three other debts of his father’s. The whole amount was not cleared off till the 26th year.

In the mean time (anno 18) is the following entry :—“John de Bailliol accounts for 20 marks, because it was imputed to him, that he went with horse and arms upon (*super*) the Bishop of Durham.” The same roll records the remission of the fine. There is a curious coincidence between this sacrilegious assault and another committed 20 years later by two members of the Bailliol family on a succeeding Bishop of Durham. The circumstances of the latter affray are related by Mr. Raine in his account of Auckland Castle. Both outrages seem to have been connected with the insidious endeavours of these lordly prelates to include the great house of Bailliol amongst their vassals, and to monopolize the military services of Sadberge. Reference has already been made, in treating of castle-ward in the last chapter, to the alleged attornment of the services of John de Bailliol for his barony of Barnard Castle from the Crown to the Bishop. The facts as they appear on the record are somewhat obscure, but admit of this explanation, that the attornment was registered on the Originalia, but never ratified by charter. The entry on the former warranted the officers of the Exchequer not to press the payment of claims in respect of this barony, but it did not amount to an acquittance. We have seen how an annually increasing arrear of castle-ward was entered on the Pipe Rolls against the see of Durham ; the succeeding rolls show us how precarious was Bailliol’s exemption from scutage to the Crown, although he had already rendered it to the Bishop. As regarded the scutage of the 30th year he

had a full remission for all his fees, and the question did not arise; but in the 40th he was charged 60*l.*, being at the rate of 2*l.* per fee on the whole. Of this he paid 49*l.* 10*s.*, but kept back the proportion charged against his 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ fees in Gainford. The payment of the arrear was not pressed, but it is duly recorded each succeeding year.

In the 41st year John de Bailliol is amerced 100 marks for a disseizen and false claim. This is just two years after his second assault on the Bishop, and there is little doubt that the amercement related to the property in dispute between them.

BRUS-FEE.

The founder of this influential family was Robert de Brus, whose immense possessions in Yorkshire are recorded in Domesday Book. The name of Robert Brus again occurs in the Sheriff's accounts of Yorkshire in the 31st of Henry I., and is conspicuous in the northern movements in the reign of Stephen. Dugdale refers all these notices to the same individual, who died A.D. 1141, but it is probable that there were two generations within this period. Robert Brus, who died in 1141, is said to have left two sons, Adam of Skelton, and Robert of Annandale, and a daughter Agatha. Robert held also "the lordship of Hert, and the territory of Hertness," within the wapentake of Sadberge, but not, as is alleged, as the sub-feudatory of his father, but immediately of the Crown. He had, besides, three knight's-fees in Yorkshire, in which county he usually answered for the whole, paying 5 marks to the aid of the 12th of Henry II. He appears in the Cumberland Pipe Rolls of the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th of Richard I. on the roll of debtors of Aaron the Jew of Lincoln, whose estate was seized into the King's hand.

In the 7th year William de Brus is charged with his father's debt, and in the 8th the account is transferred to Northumberland. Two distinct debts are mentioned under separate bonds, one for 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ marks, the other for 209*l.* In regard to the first (with interest) he fines 60 marks; respecting the other, the following entry occurs:—"It is considered by the Barons (of the Exchequer) that he ought to be quit thereof under an acquittance from Aaron, which he produces, and the testimony of the same written in Hebrew letters, which is in the forule of the Mareshal for Northumberland." William de Brus held Edenhall in Cumberland as half a knight's-fee, for which he paid 10 shillings scutage in the 6th of Richard.

In the *Testa de Nevil* he is said to hold this estate under a grant from Henry II. to his "antecessor" Peter de Brus. It should be observed that "antecessor" is not applied in our ancient Latin records with the same strictness with which we use the term *ancestor*, but frequently refers to parties from whom a title is derived by inheritance, otherwise than direct, as to an uncle who is succeeded by a nephew. Adam, the representative of the elder branch, left a son Peter, but he survived William many years, and there must either have been another Peter, who is not elsewhere mentioned, or Peter has been copied by mistake into the *Testa de Nevil* (which, it must be remembered, is only a compilation, although of great authority, and not an original record) instead of Robert. At all events, if Peter was the grantee, Robert was the immediate predecessor of William, in Cumberland as well as in Sadberge. In the latter he occurs as early as the 4th of Henry II., when the men of Robert Brus (in Hartlepool) answer for 4*l.* in the Northumberland Pipe Roll. In the 8th of Richard, Robert de Brus is charged 50 shillings for the scutage of Wales, but a note is added that he answers in Yorkshire, and accordingly in the Yorkshire Roll we find an acquittance of 5 marks in respect of 5 fees.

In the 10th of Richard, William de Brus fines 20 marks, in respect of the scutage, and that he may not be compelled to serve abroad (*ne transfretet*). In the 3rd of John he paid 20 marks for the privilege of a market at Hartlepool, to which, in the 13th, was added an annual fair.

GRAYSTOCK-FEE.

Dugdale only traces the Graystock family up to Ranulf Fitz-Walter, in the reign of John. In the *Testa de Nevil*, however, we find that the original grantee of their Cumberland barony was Forne, the son of Sigulf or Liulf, in the reign of Henry I. Forne held also $2\frac{1}{3}$ knight's-fees in Yorkshire, and one in Sadberge. He died about the 31st of Henry I., in which year his son Yvo Fitz-Forne occurs in the Yorkshire Pipe Roll as paying 5*l.* livery for his father's land. In the Northumberland Pipe Roll of the 7th of Henry II. he is credited with two marks scutage for his fee in Sadberge, under the misnomer of Hugo Fitz-Orne. The intermediate links are supplied by the Cumberland Rolls, from whence we learn that Yvo had four sons, Walter, Robert, Adam, and William, and that Ranulf Fitz-Walter was the son of the eldest. Yvo died shortly after payment of his

scutage in the 7th year, as the name of Walter Fitz-Yvo is substituted for it in levying the scutage of the following year. Walter held the barony but three years, as in the 11th his son Ranulf Fitz-Walter is assessed to a donum. From this period the payments due from the Sadberge fee were paid through the Sheriff of Yorkshire, in which county his property was more extensive. Both were included in one return, under the head of Yorkshire, in the *Black Book of the Exchequer*, from which we learn that in the 14th year of Henry II. he had $3\frac{1}{3}$ fees by grant to his ancestors from Henry I. This of course does not include the Cumberland estate of Graystock, which was still held by cornage.

CARROU-FEE.

Robert de Carrou contributed 5 marks to the donum in the 5th of Henry II.; but he was not assessed to the scutage of the 7th. The following year he paid one mark, and the like sum in the 11th, and again in the 14th. In his return in the latter year he states that he holds 5 carucates of land, as one knight's-fee, by grant from Henry I., and that his brother William holds one-third of a knight's-fee under him.

In the 18th year he paid 20 shillings scutage.

At the time of the alienation of the wapentake, in the 1st of Richard I., Peter de Carrou was the proprietor. In the 8th of the same reign he was dead, and his "barony" in the hands of the Crown, when it was tallaged with the royal manors at 10 shillings. In the 10th year Walter de Carrou paid 10 marks livery for one knight's-fee, "which had been the property of Peter his father in the wapentake of Sadberge."

In the scutage of the 1st of John the deceased Peter is charged instead of his son Walter, but the mistake is corrected in the account of the following year.

Besides 2 marks for the scutage of the current year, he is debited 2*l.* for "the second and third scutages of King Richard," and before these are discharged a further payment of 2 marks becomes due for the "second scutage of King John." Of this accumulated debt, 2 marks remain due in the 16th year, when they are paid by William Carrou.

AMUNDEVILLE-FEE.

The family of Amundeville, Mundiville or Mandiville, was one of great consideration in the North of England. The chief branch held five knight's-fees within

the palatinate of Durham, under the Bishop,^a and two other members, Ralph and Ernald, held one knight's-fee each in Yorkshire in the 14th of Henry II.; the former under William de Percy, the latter under the house of Graystock.

William d'Amundeville, the first of the name on record in Sadberge, held Coat-ham and Trefford as one knight's-fee in the reign of Henry II. In the 5th he contributed 40 shillings to the donum, and one mark to each of the scutages and aids to the 14th year inclusive, and 20 shillings in the 18th. He made no return of his property in the 14th, although he paid his due assessment.

No payment was made from this fee to the scutage in the 34th year.

Thomas d'Amundeville is described as the proprietor in the grant to Pudsey. He is charged four marks to the scutage of the 7th year, and 20 shillings in the 8th. In the 1st of John,^b he is charged with two marks scutage "for the fee which was William d'Amundeville's," which sum was paid two years later. There still remained against him two sums of 2*l.* each in respect of former scutages, for one of which he accounted in Yorkshire in the 15th year; the other had been transferred to the Bishop of Durham in the 9th.

In the 13th of John, when the see was again vacant, after the death of Philip de Pictavia, the Sheriff of Northumberland is charged in the Pipe Roll with the collection of a scutage from the fees of Amundeville, Carrou, and Baard, but he makes his return that the amount should be received and accounted for by the custodes of the bishoprick, and not by him.

SURTEES-FEE.

In the Pipe Rolls of the 7th, 8th, and 11th of Henry II., the proprietor of the Surtees-fee in Middleton, and of Gosforth, is called William de Tesia; in the 14th and 18th, William Fitz-Siward. Both seem to have been names of the same person, the one territorial, the other patronymic, as no change of proprietor is noted

^a In the 31st of Henry I. John d'Amundeville is charged with "10 marks of silver that he may be seized of his father's land in Hectona and Hasteleia, as the Bishop of Durham rendered it to him;" the temporalities of the bishoprick being then in the Crown. At this time he was joined in commission with Geoffrey d'Escolland, as one of the custodes of the temporalities of the see, on the death of Bishop Flambard. In the 7th of Richard, "Robert, the son of (John) d'Amundeville, owes 200 marks for having the land which was his father's."

^b This year Thomas d'Amundeville was entrusted, along with Richard Malebisse, with assessing the tallage of the manors and of the drengs and thanes in Northumberland.

between the 11th and 14th years. In his own return in the 14th year, he styles himself William Fitz-Siward, and states that he holds Mileton and Goseford (Middleton and Gosforth) "for the fee and service of one knight, which I faithfully perform to you, as my ancestors have done to your ancestors; and I have enfeoffed none thereout, but hold the whole in demesne." Of these ancestors, Mr. Surtees is content to commence his pedigree with Siward, the father of William de Tesia, but Simeon mentions Eilsa de Tees about the time of the Conquest. Eilsa, we are told, married a granddaughter of Earl Aldred, by whom he had Gospatric and two other sons. Of these, it is probable Siward was one; for it is not likely that the peculiar name of De Tees would be assumed by two distinct families. William Fitz-Siward died about the 20th of Henry II., in which year his son Randal or Ralph de super Tees paid 5*l.* for livery. In the 32nd, Walter super Tesiam paid half a mark for a license *concordandi*. He seems to have been a younger brother of Randal, and it is not unlikely that the "concord" had some reference to the fee, as we hear no more of Randal, but know that his heir was some years afterwards a minor.

In the 7th of Richard I., Richard super Teisam is charged with four marks scutage, but this was not paid till the next year, when, being of full age, he rendered 20 marks for his livery of one knight's-fee.

Richard super Teisam is not mentioned in the charter of King Richard to Pudsey as one of the knights whose services are transferred, but the Surtees as well as the Baard fee is there described as the property of the son of Godfrey Baard.

Below is an enumeration of the several feudal imposts paid by the possessors of this estate, previous to the final transfer of Sadberge to the see of Durham. It must, however, be remembered, that of the sums paid $\frac{1}{3}$ only was in respect of Middleton, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of Gosforth.

7th Henry II.	Scutage	William de Tesia	3 <i>m.</i>
8th	"	Idem	1 <i>m.</i>
11th	Donum	Idem	1 <i>m.</i>
14th	Aid	William Fitz-Siward	1 <i>m.</i>
18th	Scutage	Idem	1 <i>l.</i>
7th Richard I.	"	Richard super Teisam	2 <i>m.</i>
8th	"	Idem	2 <i>m.</i>
1st John	"	Idem	2 <i>m.</i>

Henceforth the assessment is upon $\frac{2}{3}$ of a knight's-fee for Gosforth only.

BAARD-FEE.

We have no information as to the proprietors of this fee previous to the time of Henry II., when it was acquired by Godfrey Baard and Roland Baard by marriage with two sisters, coheiresses. The whole service for $\frac{1}{3}$ knight's-fee was performed by Godfrey, but the land was equally divided, as we learn from his return in the *Liber Niger*. Godfrey was a contributor to the several scutages from the 7th of Henry II. to the 18th, but he was not in full possession of his fee till the 11th year, when he paid *1l. 13s. 4d.* for livery. He died about the 32nd year, leaving an infant son in charge of Ralph Baard, who renders one mark during each of the remaining years of the reign of Henry, and which, according to the Pipe Roll, "he owes annually for the charge of his *nephew*." This nephew was still alive at the commencement of the reign of Richard I., in whose charter to Pudsey he is described as the owner both of the Baard and Surtees fees, but he died very shortly afterwards, as in the Pipe Roll of the 1st year of this reign, which included six months of the reign preceding, and six months only under Richard, Ralph Baard no longer answers for the custody of his *nephew*, but of his *niece*. This niece, the daughter of Godfrey Baard, seems to have been married shortly afterwards to Walter of Caen (de Cadamo, Cham, or Kain), who, although his beneficial interest was limited to one-sixth of a knight's-fee, performed the services due for one-third, as explained in the return of Godfrey. Thus, in the 7th of Richard, we find him paying scutage jointly with Robert de Diveleston, 40 shillings for two-thirds of a knight's-fee. Of this sum 20 shillings was due from Robert's manor of Dilston, rated as one-third of a fee. The remainder was for the one-third fee which had been divided between Godfrey and Roland Baard.

Previous to the Inquisition, in the *Testa de Nevil*, taken about the 17th of John (A.D. 1218), a further subdivision had taken place, and the following occur as the proprietors of the Baard-fee:—

Ralph Baard holds 1-6th knight's-fee in barony.
 Walter de Kain holds 1-12th knight's-fee in barony.
 Robert de Middleton holds 1-12th knight's-fee in barony.

There can be no doubt that the fee held by Ralph is the moiety previously enjoyed by Roland, as we know that Walter de Kain's connection was with Godfrey's moiety. It is not quite so clear how Walter's holding is reduced to 1-12th, or how Robert de Middleton became a proprietor at all. The difficulty might be obviated by assuming that the daughter of Godfrey Baard, whom we find married

to Walter de Kain in the 7th of Richard, had a sister unmarried at that time, and in Walter's custody, who had afterwards married Robert de Middleton; or Walter may have obtained a license to alienate half his fee. The former seems the more probable suggestion; but certainly the entry in the Pipe Rolls does not countenance the supposition of Godfrey Baard having left more than one daughter, as his brother Ralph is described as making a payment for the custody of his niece (*neptis*) in the singular number.

The Baard family seem to have been originally artizans. Ralph, the brother of Godfrey, and guardian of his children, was inspector (with Robert de Diveleston) of the works at the castle of Newcastle, in the 21st and two following years of Henry II. In the 22nd he superintended, with the aid of William the moneyer, the shipment of lead given by the King to the church of Grosmont, from Newcastle to Rochelle. Godfrey and Roland had probably been engaged in similar services, for which the donation of the heiress of a small fee in marriage, was the most economical reward the Crown could bestow. Walter de Cadamo probably belonged to the same class, for Caen, the place of his nativity, was the great source from which architectural works in England were supplied with stone under the Norman kings.

Many instances might be adduced of the bestowal of the daughters of the minor baronial houses in ill-assorted alliances of this kind. In the reign of John, Kempe, the King's "balistarius," or military engineer, at Newcastle, had a promise of a provision of this sort, but in the meantime he had a grant of certain tenements in Newcastle of 5*l.* annual value. The instrument under which he held the latter expressly limits his tenure till the King can provide for him in marriage.

GREATHAM

Greatham, as we learn from the Inquisition in the *Testa de Nevil*, was the property of the Bertrams of Mitford, to which barony it belonged. In the 8th of Richard this barony was in the hands of the Crown, and the several manors within it were tallaged. The tallage shews the relative value of the several bailiwicks of the barony.

Greatham contributed.....	£1 12 0
Felton and appurtinences	2 1 8
Mitford and do.	2 1 0
Eland and do.	0 10 0
Total.....	£8 4 8

TUNSTAL.

Tunstal was not, like Greatham, a demesne manor, but was held by sub-infeudation under the lords of Bolam. According to the *Testa de Nevil*, it was held, in the reign of John, by Aliza de Tunstal, under the heir of William Fitz-Gilbert, as part of his barony of Bolam. The extent of the manor was one carucate and a half.

DRENGAGE ESTATES.

These were two, one at Hurworth, the other at Eggescliffe. The names of neither are mentioned in the *Testa de Nevil*, but the names of their owners are given. The long-continued possession of Hurworth by the Tailboise family, who are the proprietors mentioned in the *Testa*, is sufficient to identify it. The reasons for fixing the latter at Eggescliffe are given below.

I. *Hurworth* was the property of Ivo Tailboise in right of his wife, the daughter of Walter Fitz-Gilbert, and of her two sisters and their husbands. Ivo rendered the services and paid the rent of the whole. We have no intimation as to the nature of the services, further than is contained in the word "thenagium," which is applied to the manor; the rent was 60 shillings.

II. *Eggescliffe* is described as the "thanage" of Roger Fitz-Gerard, in right of Agnes his wife. Its extent was 9 carucates, and the money rent was 60 shillings. Eggescliffe lay without the ancient limits of the bishoprick, and was tallaged with the Crown demesnes in Northumberland 4 marks in the reign of Henry II., and the same sum in the 11th. In the 23rd, Thomas de Eggescliffe is tallaged 6 marks, after which no payment is made by Eggescliffe, or by any one connected with it by name. In the 8th of Richard there was a tallage, towards which Roger Fitz-Gerard contributes 20 shillings. From the Durham Pipe Roll of the following year, we find that there was at this period a Roger de Eggescliffe, and we can scarcely fail to identify him with Roger Fitz-Gerard. But our evidence does not stop here. The Durham Pipe Roll of the 9th of Richard represents Roger de Eggescliffe as one of the sureties of Hugh de Pudsey, and as such involved in heavy liabilities to the Crown. The Northumberland Roll of the following year represents Roger Fitz-Gerard as also involved in heavy liabilities to the Crown, respecting which he seeks the King's "benevolence," and is allowed

to compound for 62*l*, which is paid by instalments spread over thirteen years. The indenture can scarcely be questioned. In the record of the composition, Roger is described as Fitz-Gerard Fitz-Culling. His wife Agnes was doubtless the heiress of Thomas de Ecclescliffe.

SOCCAGE ESTATES.

The only soccage estates within the wapentake, besides those already briefly noticed, which lay within the *manor* of Sadberge, were 3 carrucates of land at Morton, held by Richard Surtees at 60*s.* per annum; 3 carrucates of land at Burdon, held by William Burdon at 60*s.*; and 2 bovates of land at Newbigging, held by John de Newbigging at 3*s.* 6*d.*, but since granted by Bishop Philip and confirmed by the King to the hospital of Allerton.

The following additional particulars from the Northumberland Pipe Rolls refer to the last only:—

- In the 11th of Henry II. the Sheriff accounts for $\frac{1}{2}$ mark from Gersuma of Newbigging.
 - In the 12th Newbigging occurs amongst the prepestures farmed by the Sheriff, and $\frac{1}{2}$ mark rent is regularly accounted for till the wapentake was transferred to Pudsey.
 - In the 23rd Newbigging contributed to a tallage 1*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*
 - In the 34th the donum of Newbigging was 3*s.*
 - In the 1st of Richard, the men of Newbigging again contribute 3*s.* donum.
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CHAPTER IX.
MEDLÆVAL PERIOD.

EDWARD I.

WITH the abandonment of the claims of Alexander of Scotland to the earldom of Northumberland, in the reign of Henry III., the separate history of this county terminates. Henceforward it was as much an integral portion of England as Surrey or Middlesex, bound by a common interest, and influenced by the same feelings which prevailed throughout the realm.

Our notices, no longer assuming the form of a connected narrative, must now be confined to the record of detached incidents of local interest; and these it is proposed to continue till a comparatively recent period.

The disputed succession to the throne of Scotland on the death of Alexander III., and of his infant heiress, Margaret, the "Maid of Norway," and the subsequent wars of Edward I. with that country, bring Northumberland prominently forward as the scene of treaties and negotiations, as well as the focus of military operations directed against the neighbouring frontier; but these belong rather to general than to local history, and only require a cursory notice here.

The proceedings relative to the claims of the several competitors for the crown commenced at Norham on the 10th of May, 1291, before King Edward, and were continued by several adjournments till the 20th of November, 1291, when a solemn decision was given in favour of John Bailliol.

On the 26th of December Bailliol did homage to Edward at Newcastle.

The avidity with which the competitors for the crown pursued the glittering object of their ambition induced them without hesitation to submit to any terms which Edward chose to impose; but this act of unreserved homage on the part of Bailliol excited the indignation of his subjects, and is urged against him by the national historians as an instance of truckling and subserviency peculiar to himself—forgetting altogether that each of the claimants had pledged himself, in the

event of his own success, to perform precisely the same ceremony, and to make the same recognition of Edward's feudal superiority. For many ages, indeed, it was devoutly believed that Bailliol was indebted for his throne to his acquiescence in the arbitrary requirements of Edward, which had previously been rejected with indignation by Bruce. The important documents on this subject edited by Sir Francis Palgrave for the Record Commissioners have effectually disposed of this fallacy, and prove that Bruce, in common with all the other competitors, bound himself by precisely the same obligations, and was willing to receive the kingdom on the same terms as his successful rival. The decision in favour of Bailliol is strictly consonant with those principles which are now universally recognized as regulating hereditary succession. Neither does it appear that Edward exacted anything which he did not at all events believe to be his inherent right. Before asserting his pretensions to this submission, so offensive to the Scotch people, he caused diligent search to be made in all the chronicles preserved in the monastic libraries throughout the kingdom for such information as they afforded on this point. The results of that inquiry still exist in an authentic form, and have been printed by Sir Francis Palgrave in the volume already referred to. The claim itself may have been untenable, and probably was so; but the course taken by Edward seems to have been open and straightforward, and if he insisted on the recognition of a supremacy to which he was not entitled, the fault is attributable not to his aggressive ambition, but to the untrustiness of the authorities on which he relied.

The new King of Scotland, however, was hardly seated on the throne before he discovered that much more was expected of him than a barren form of homage. His attendance at the English court was compulsorily required, and appeals were there entertained against the decisions of the tribunals of Scotland, which had hitherto been held supreme. To these pretensions Bailliol yielded sufficiently to alienate from him the affections of his own subjects, but not sufficiently to retain the favour of Edward. After three years of constant bickering and misunderstanding, war was at length openly proclaimed between the two realms. Bailliol was naturally unwilling to take this extreme step, connected as he was with England by the ties of birth and vast hereditary property; but the feelings of the Scotch people were so highly excited, that, usurping the royal authority, they elected a council for the direction of public affairs, and Bailliol only retained his crown by a tardy compliance with their wishes.

On the 16th of December, 1295, writs were addressed to nearly two hundred of the principal barons of England, requiring them to appear on the 1st of March following at a muster at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with horse and arms, prepared and ready to do and perform what should then and there be enjoined of them; the King having determined to march against John King of Scotland, who is accused of repeated violations of the fealty which he owed to the Crown of England. This summons was promptly responded to, and the King with his assembled forces marched to Berwick, which was taken on the 30th of the same month.

From hence he proceeded without delay to Edinburgh, encountering and defeating the Scotch army at Dunbar. The capital fell without further resistance into his hands, and Bailliol surrendered himself on the 18th of July.

The whole of Scotland was now in the power of the English monarch; the ancient regalia were removed to London, and the King confined as a prisoner in the Tower. The charge of the conquered kingdom was committed to John de Warrenne Earl of Surrey, with the title of Guardian, and Hugh Cressingham was appointed Treasurer.

We find Edward again at Berwick on his return, on the 28th of August, and here he seems to have remained nearly a month. On the 21st of September he rested at Tughall, and on the 24th at Alnwick.

On the 15th of November he was at Bury St. Edmunds, from which place he addressed writs to certain citizens and burgesses of various places in England, requiring them to confer with him as to the settlement of the town of Berwick, in which he had resolved to establish an English population. The burgess selected from Newcastle-upon-Tyne on this business was John l'Escot, with whom was afterwards associated Peter le Draper, both names well known in connection with the municipal history of the town.

In 1297 the war was renewed by the Scots under Sir William Wallace, who having defeated Cressingham at Cambuskenneth, invaded England, and ravaged the Northern Borders. The newly established colonists at Berwick fled before him, and no adequate resistance was offered, except by the castles of Alnwick, Newcastle, and Carlisle. Crossing the Tyne below Ryton, they burned that village, and meditated an onslaught on other parts of the palatinate of Durham. The care of St. Cuthbert, however, if we are to credit the historians of the period, was still active, and by his interposition the invaders were discomfited, and driven

back by a storm of snow and hail, accompanied by such intense severity of temperature, that multitudes perished in the fields.

To resist this unexpected attack, Brian Fitz-Alan, Robert de Clifford, and Ralph Fitz-William were appointed captains of the forces in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland; in addition to which the levies made by the Commissioners of Array in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire were directed to place themselves under the command of Brian Fitz-Alan. A successful inroad was made by Robert de Clifford, who, entering Annandale, plundered and burnt the town of Annan and other places in that district.

In the month of October writs were addressed to the earls, barons, magnates, and other lieges of the kingdom, commanding them to assemble at Newcastle-upon-Tyne on the 6th of December, under the orders of Prince Edward, who had been appointed his father's lieutenant in England during the absence of the latter on the continent. The writ, dated October 21st, recites that the Scots, in defiance of their homage and fealty, had invaded England, and committed sundry murders, depredations, and other acts of violence, and were preparing to do worse. Commissions of array were also issued to Northumberland, amongst other counties. The number of men required from Northumberland was 1,000, from Yorkshire 4,000, Nottingham and Derby 1,000, Lancashire 3,000, Cumberland 5,000, Westmorland 3,000, Shropshire and Staffordshire 3,000, Worcester 1,000, Gloucester 2,000.

Hemmingford states the whole number who mustered at Newcastle to have been 100,000 foot and 3,200 horse, of which last 2,000 were fully equipped.

Having relieved Roxburgh, which was then besieged by the Scots, the army under Warrenne marched to Berwick, which they found again deserted. From hence it was intended to have proceeded immediately against the Scotch army under Wallace; but letters were in the meantime received by the general from King Edward, informing him that he had concluded a truce for two years with the King of France, and that he was on his return to take the command of the invading army. They were therefore commanded to undertake nothing further until his arrival.

On the 26th of May Edward was at York, where a council of war was held, and a muster arranged to be held at Roxburgh on the 23rd of June; the greater part of the army having in the meantime been dismissed to their homes, 20,000 foot and 1,500 horse only remaining at Berwick.

On the 22nd of July was fought the decisive battle of Falkirk.

In 1299 a muster was appointed to be held at Newcastle on the 24th of November, and adjourned to Berwick on the 13th of December. On this occasion, Northumberland furnished 4,000 men: the same number was supplied by Yorkshire; 2,000 by Cumberland; 1,500 by Westmorland; 1,000 by Derby; 2,000 by Lancaster; and 500 each by Nottinghamshire, Shropshire, and Staffordshire. A comparison of this with the previous muster shews that the numbers required from the several counties were regulated by special circumstances, and afford no test of their relative strength and population.

In succeeding years the musters were held at Carlisle, Berwick, Linlithgow, and Roxburgh. A muster at the last-mentioned place was held in 1303; but the men levied in each county were directed previously to assemble at some place within the same, the rendezvous for Northumberland being at Wooler.

The year 1305 was memorable for the capture and execution of Wallace. This event is only connected with the county of Northumberland, from the circumstance, mentioned in the Chronicle of Lanercost, of one of his limbs being gibbeted at Newcastle, and another at Berwick.

In 1306 the war was revived by Robert Bruce, who was crowned King of Scotland, after an interregnum of 10 years from the abdication of Bailliol, the ceremony being performed by the Countess of Buchan, who was sister of the Earl of Fife, to whom the office belonged by hereditary right.

For this act the Countess was imprisoned in a wooden cage in the castle of Berwick. The story of the cage being suspended outside the walls is of doubtful authority.

After a reign of 34 years, Edward was rapidly approaching the close of his career; but enfeebled as he was in body, his mind still retained its wonted energy and vigour, and he determined to make another effort to effect the complete subjugation of Scotland; foreseeing, probably, that unless the work which he had so successfully commenced, and perseveringly prosecuted, was completed in his own reign, there was little prospect of its accomplishment under his weak and unwarlike son.

A muster was held at Carlisle, in the month of June, 1307, and although the aged King was suffering from what was known to be an incurable disease, and was unable to mount his horse, he resolved to accompany his army in a litter. On the 3rd of July he left Carlisle, but his strength was so much reduced that he was

only able to travel at the rate of two or three miles a day. On the sixth of July, the fourth day after his departure, he reached the shores of the Solway, at Burgh-upon-Sands, from whence he could behold the country against which he had so often led his victorious host, but which he was never more destined to enter. Worn out by disease, and exhausted with fatigue, he died the following day, in the arms of his attendants.

The records of this reign are very instructive, in explaining the means by which the vast bodies of men, who formed the armies of Edward, were collected together. The foot soldiers were assembled under commissions of array, addressed to commissioners in the several counties, a certain definite number being, as we have seen, required from each. The selection of this force was altogether irrespective of tenure, every man, who was not bound to attend with horse and arms, being liable to serve on foot for a stipulated payment. Besides this, the old obligation of military service on the landed baronage, according to the number of their knight's-fees, was still in force, although it was frequently commuted for a money payment. In earlier times, when the number of landowners under the Crown was comparatively small, it was easy to compel the due performance of the service, or to enforce payment of the equivalent scutage-money; but in process of time, and especially during the turbulent era of Henry III., many of the great baronies had been split up into small fees, the number of which, and the intricacy of their descent, baffled the vigilance of the Exchequer officers. To remedy this, besides the particular writs to the greater barons, general writs were issued to the sheriffs, directing them to summon all the minor barons within their county to perform such service as was due under their several tenures.

Neither did the difficulty end with the tenants-in-chief, but extended to mesne tenants, whose attendance, after the breaking up of the baronies under which they held, it was not always easy to secure. A new regulation was therefore adopted, by which all persons under the rank of the baronage, who held land of the value of twenty pounds per annum, whether of the Crown, or any one else, were required to take upon themselves the degree of knighthood, and to perform the service incident thereto. A highly interesting document has been preserved in connection with this regulation, which is here presented to the reader. It must, however, be borne in mind, that it does not give a complete list of the possessors of land of the value of 20*l.* per annum, but only of such of these as had not already taken upon them the degree of knighthood.

Names of Persons possessed of 20 librates of land and upwards, in the county of Northumberland, whether held of the King *in capite* or otherwise, "who ought to be knights and are not;" also the sureties tendered by each in obedience to the King's writ, that they shall severally take upon them the degree of knighthood, before Christmas next ensuing, as returned under the seals of the Sheriff, and of William de Middleton and Walter de Cambhow, knights; the conscription having been made in the full county court, September 22nd, 1278, 6th of Edward I.

N.B.—This list occurs in a MS. in the Harleian collection; also another copy in the Cottonian, without the names of the sureties. Both are printed in Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*. Some of the names, which are obliterated in the Harleian MS., are here supplied from the Cottonian.

Tenants in Capite.

Robert de Somerville	Walter de Witton, clerk; Bartholemew de Wyndegates; Roger son of Andrew de Witton; and William de Camera; sureties.
Thomas de Dyvelston	Robert de Hydewyn; Robert Wautlyn; William de Slavely; and William de Tyndall; sureties.
Robert de Glantedon	John de Esselington; John de Brempton; William de Rodum; John son of John of Edlingham; sureties.
Nicholas de Graham	Simon de Hedreslaw, and Walter his son; William de Heddon; Ralph son of Cicily, of the same; Robert son of Warin; William the Clerk of Belford; sureties.
Robert Taillebois	Thomas Scot of Warton; Richard de Chartenay; Patric de Tosson; John son of Michael; sureties.
Walter Surteys	John Scot of Newcastle; Peter de Fawdon; Ralf de Essingdon; John de Benewell; sureties.
John de Eslington (paup.)	Robert de Glantedon; William de Glantedon; John de Brempton; Benedict de Glantedon; sureties.

*Holders of 20 Librates, not
in Capite.*

Richard de Chartenay (holds of Robert Taillebois.)	Thomas Scott of Warton; Robert Tailbois; Patric de Tosson; Thomas de Heppehale; sureties.
Robert de Maners	John son of Tyoch of Ethale; William Scot of the same; Gilbert de Crookum; Adam Futurus; sureties.
Stephen de Muschauns	William Beaufund of Beirmoor; William son of Isabel of the same; Thomas son of Patric; Hugo son of Robert; sureties.
William de Ros	John de Oggel; Robert de Pennebery; William de Espelly; William de Stingelaw of Mindrim; sureties.
Adam de Selby	Nicholas de Backworth; Hugh de Backworth; Robert Tenement of Stanton; Thomas Gentill of the same; Thomas son of John of the same; William the Clerk's son of the same; sureties.

Maurice de Eurth	William de Yerdhill; Thomas Baret de Eurth; Simon de Eurth; Robert son of Thefanie, of the same; sureties.
James de Howburne	Philip de Howburne; Hugh son of Richard of the same; William son of Henry of the same; Hugh Modi of the same; sureties.
----- de Dichend	Thomas and Richard de Dichend, his brothers; William de Dichend; and Richard the Forester of the same; sureties.
William de Olecester	Ralph de Olecester, and Odoul his brother; Robert son of William de Olecester; Roger son of Adam of the same; sureties.
Thomas de Rock	John de Schele; Ivo Rockard of Rock; John son of Ralph of the same; Thomas Cisson of the same; sureties.
Thomas de Karleol	William Fitz le Keu of Swarland; Roger Ulthorn; Walter de Wyte; Roger de Stantby; sureties.
Richard de Horsley	Simon de Plescetis; Thomas de Clenhill; Ralph de Essingdon; Walter de Hereford; sureties.
Walter de Edlingham	Gilbert son of John Waldief; John son of John of Edlingham; Adam the Clerk of the same; Henry Tebaud of the same; sureties.
John de Hilburn	Richard de Craucester; Peter de Emildon; Robert de Fauldon; Robert de Emildon; sureties.
Richard de Craucester	Richard de Watwang; Alexander de Broxefeld; Michael de Rock; John de Kertingdon; sureties.
Roger Maudut	William de Bokingsfeld; William Blunville; William de Horsseley; Richard son of Sibill of Eschete; sureties.
Roger de Coygners	Robert de Botland; John de Oggill; Gilbert de Walington; William de Fawdon; sureties.
John de Belshowe	Walter Scot of Waltedon, and Robert his brother; Richard de Dennum; John de Cokeman; sureties.
Ralph de Essingdon	Roger de Woderington; Peter de Faudon; Gilbert de Walington; John de Quinteley; sureties.
Roger de Woderington	Peter de Faudon; Ralph de Essingdon; William de Echewick; Robert Wautlyn; sureties.
Simon de Plesseys	Philip de Kierwick; Walter de Hereford; Ralph de Essingdon; Roger de Woderington; sureties.
Peter de Faudon	Roger de Woderington; Ralph de Essingdon; William de Echewick; Adam de Kynton; sureties.
John de Ferlington	John d'Apilton; Adam de Donigton; William Blunvill; William son of John of Brinklaw; sureties.
Adam Baret	Richard de St. Peter of Berewick; Richard de Killingworth; William de Echewick; Roger Baret of Borodon; sureties.
Robert de Merevill	Richard Bover of Milleburne, and John Bover his brother; Robert son of John de Milleburne; John son of Robert of the same; sureties.
Thomas de Blencansop	William de Ros; Roger Baret of Throckelaw; Richard de Doncestre; Richard de St. Peter; sureties.
William de Swineburne	Nicholas de Swineburne, his brother; William de Routhclyve; Robert de Chilbeaches; William de Tindale; sureties.
-----	William Fitz-Lawrence; Walter Beaufreere; Alan Fitz-Alan de Swineburne; Robert Fitz-Alice de Swineburne; sureties.

.....	William de Swineburne; Nicholas de Swineburne; William de Routheclve; William Fitz-Laurence; sureties.
.....	William de Swethorpe; Richard de Swethorpe; John Cole; Ralph Plassage of Swineburne; sureties.
John de Gunwarton,	Richard de Bocland, junior; William de Essingdon; Richard Freinde of Gunwarton; Nicholas Fitz-Ralph of the same; sureties.
.....	William de Walis; William de Swineburne; Richard de Rucoster; William de Routheclve; sureties.
Philip de Craudon	Nicholas de Schiringham; Richard Tysun; German Hotheton; Peter de Haulton; sureties.

EDWARD II.

The reign of the new King presented a melancholy contrast to the vigorous administration which distinguished that of his father. Without abandoning the schemes of conquest which had been pursued at so great a sacrifice of life and means, he suffered the war to languish; and even when he placed himself, as he did on several occasions, at the head of an invading army, his object appeared to be rather the plunder than the subjugation of Scotland.

The mighty host which his father had collected at Carlisle was indeed led across the Border; but nothing further was attempted than the unopposed occupation of Roxburgh and Dumfries, and a bloodless incursion into Ayrshire.

In 1308 he appointed a muster to be held at Carlisle, and in 1309 at Newcastle, but neither movement was productive of any result; and towards the close of the latter year a truce was concluded under the mediation of Philip King of France, whose daughter Edward had married.

In 1310 the war was renewed, the English forces being mustered at Berwick. To that town the King returned, after a brief and inglorious campaign, and there he spent the winter. After another expedition, as short and as fruitless, in the following spring, he returned to London to meet his Parliament. The withdrawal of the royal army was immediately followed by an invasion of Cumberland by Robert Bruce. From Gilsland he extended his ravages into Tyndale and Reedsdale, advancing as far southward as Corbridge. So ill-prepared were the officers on the Borders to resist him, that he extorted 2,000*l.* from the district, as the price of his withdrawal, and of a truce till Candlemas, 1312. In April, this year, Edward came to Newcastle with his favourite Gaveston, but instead of being able

to make head against the Scots, he was obliged to fly before his own exasperated barons, first to Tynemouth, and from thence by sea to Scarborough.*

In August, Bruce made a second incursion, burning the towns of Hexham and Corbridge, and ravaging the country on every side. The city of Durham and the town of Hartlepool were subjected to similar disasters, and 2,000*l.* was paid by the inhabitants of the bishoprick, to avert further disasters. Northumberland and Cumberland were so impoverished that they were unable to furnish the amount required for their ransom, but were compelled to give security for its payment.

In 1213 Roxburgh and Edinburgh were recovered by the Scots, and Stirling was so hard pressed, that Edward was forced to agree to its surrender, unless it were relieved within a year.

To effect this important object, an army was assembled at Wark on the 10th of June, 1314, and the King himself set out from Berwick before the close of the month. The result of all his preparations, and the equipment of 100,000 men, was the disastrous battle of Bannockburn, from whence he escaped by precipitous flight to Dunbar, and thence by sea to Berwick.

Northumberland and Durham were again ravaged by an army under Edward Bruce and Sir James Douglas, who extended their devastations as far south as Richmond and Appleby, returning home by the western Border. An effort was now made by the King of France to effect an accommodation between England and Scotland, and commissioners actually met at Durham to negotiate a peace. The attempt, however, proved abortive, and the next year was ushered in by a fresh inroad of the Scots, who plundered Durham and the North of Yorkshire, and again destroyed Hartlepool, the ancient inheritance of the Bruce family, which had been forfeited in consequence of the war. The success of these desultory enterprises encouraged Bruce to attempt acquisitions of a more permanent character. In these, however, he was unsuccessful, being foiled in his attempts to capture Carlisle and Berwick. Both these fortresses were now put into a state of efficiency, as well as those of Norham and Wark, the former of which, although the property of the see of Durham, was, by an arrangement with the Bishop, furnished with a royal garrison.

* During the previous expedition, as we learn from the Life of Edward II. by Thomas de la More, the King was obliged to shut up Gaveston, for his own security, in Bamburgh Castle. The particulars of his fate, after his removal from Scarborough, are detailed by the same historian, whose information, from the position which he occupied about the King, is peculiarly valuable.

The next year was wasted in preparations which led to no results, and negotiations which ended in failure, Edward being still as obstinately opposed to the recognition of Bruce's title as his father had been when all Scotland was in his possession; whilst now, of all his conquests, Berwick only remained in the hands of the English.

In 1317 Pope John, who had been placed at the head of the Latin church the previous year, resolved to make an effort to effect an accommodation between the King of England and, as he expresses himself, "him who pretends to be King of Scotland." With this view, having first, of his own authority, proclaimed a truce for two years, he sent two cardinals, John of Ossa and Luke de Fieschi, to mediate a peace. Their mission was fruitless, but it claims a place in Northumbrian history in connection with one of the most remarkable outrages ever perpetrated in that county.

The weak and indecisive measures of King Edward were topics of loud complaint on the Borders, and were made the subject of a remonstrance, which was addressed to the King himself by Adam de Swinburne, the Sheriff of the county. This plain speaking was resented by Edward, who committed the Sheriff to prison.

The flame of rebellion, which had long smouldered amongst the plundered and persecuted Northumbrians, now burst forth. Having in vain looked to the King for protection, they refused longer to submit to his capricious and violent government. Amongst the malcontents was Gilbert de Middleton, a near relative of John de Middleton of Belsay, and a cousin of Adam de Swinburne, the late Sheriff. In his hands was the strong castle of Mitford, of which he seems to have been constable under Aymer de Valence, the proprietor. This fortress afforded an admirable retreat for the insurgents, who chose Gilbert de Middleton for their chief. Whatever may have been their original intentions, their operations soon degenerated into a system of organized plunder, and this in a district already impoverished by the repeated ravages of the Scots. In one of their predatory incursions, Gilbert and his associates fell in with the two Cardinals, as they were travelling from Darlington to Durham, in company with the Bishop of the diocese and his brother Lord Henry de Beaumont. The site of the rencontre appears, from an entry on the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, to have been at Hett, in the parish of Merlington, where the ecclesiastics were secured without resistance. The two Cardinals were allowed to proceed on their journey, but the Bishop and his brother were

carried with them; the former being retained at Morpeth, the latter at Mitford, until heavy ransoms were paid for their release.

With this daring act the career of Middleton was brought to a close, his capture being shortly afterwards effected by some of his neighbours, who had suffered from his depredations, and laid wait for him. He was conveyed to London, tried and executed; and his own estates, and those of many of his followers, confiscated. Some of his band escaped to Horton Castle, where they were received under the protection of Walter Selby, a brother freebooter, who there maintained himself in defiance of the authorities on either side of the Border.

The following year Berwick fell into the hands of the Scots, who succeeded, also, in making themselves masters of Wark and Harbottle, within the English frontier. Hastening southward by a rapid march, they surprised the castle of Mitford, and passing Newcastle, entered the bishoprick of Durham. Here there remained little to excite their cupidity, or even to provide for their wants; passing forward, therefore, into Yorkshire, they burnt Northallerton, Boroughbridge, and Ripon, at which latter place the venerable abbey church, and the inhabitants who had taken refuge in it, were only spared on payment of an immoderate ransom. Having committed similar ravages at Skipton and at Scarborough, they returned home laden with booty.

In 1319 an attempt was made, on a scale of unusual magnitude, to recover Berwick. A muster was held at Newcastle in July, and the King arrived at Berwick, attended by a fleet as well as an army, on the 1st of September. The enterprize, however, miscarried, chiefly, it was believed, through the treachery and ultimately the open desertion of the Earl of Lancaster. In the meantime, a body of 10,000 Scots, under the Earl of Murray and Lord Douglas, entered England, and, proceeding with great secrecy and celerity to York, almost succeeded in capturing the Queen. An alarm was, however, given, when the Archbishop William de Melton, collecting all who could be persuaded to serve, churchmen as well as soldiers, placed himself at their head, and courageously leading them against the picked troops of Murray and Douglas, gained a complete victory.

In the month of December, commissioners of both kingdoms met at Newcastle, when a truce was agreed to, to endure for two years from the ensuing Christmas. A variety of negotiations were commenced during this interval, but all were ineffectual to secure a permanent peace.

Under the stipulations of the truce, the castle of Harbottle was provisionally

restored to the English, on condition that it should be given up at the end of the two years, if, in the meantime, peace were not concluded. In order to fulfil this condition with as little detriment as possible, Edward ordered the fortifications to be dismantled before he surrendered it.

During this period of truce, a treasonable correspondence was discovered between the Earl of Lancaster and the Scots. Several of his letters were intercepted, and his guilt being established beyond all dispute, he was executed before his own castle of Pontefract. Amongst the possessions forfeited by his treason, was the barony of Emildon, in Northumberland, with the strong castle of Dunstanborough; to which he had been recommended by his friends to retire, as a place where, from its facilities of defence, its proximity to Scotland, and its situation on the sea coast, he might have bid defiance to the royal power.

All chance of peace being at an end, Edward made serious preparations for a renewal of war, summoning a muster of his forces at Newcastle, on the feast of Trinity, 1322. Even now, however, he was anticipated by the Scots, who, entering Northumberland by the Middle March, laid all the country waste as far as Corbridge. Another expedition on a more formidable scale, led by Bruce himself, marched through Cumberland and Westmorland into Lancashire, plundering and destroying all before them as far south as Preston.

The English army did not enter Scotland till the latter end of June, and then marched, without resistance, to Edinburgh; on their return, they destroyed the monasteries of Holyrood, Dryburgh, and Melrose, at the last of which they murdered the Prior, retaliating thus, with an impious revenge, the atrocities of the Scotch, who had plundered Holm-Cultram, and other religious houses in England. Norham was again assailed, and with a view to its relief, Edward ordered another muster at Newcastle on the 18th of October. On the 31st of that month, however, he had himself advanced no further north than Byland Abbey in Yorkshire, in the neighbourhood of which he was surprised and defeated by Robert Bruce, and obliged to fly for refuge to York. According to the Chronicle ascribed to John of Peterborough, the King owed his safety to two monks of Rievaulx, who conducted him privately from the field. The Queen, according to the same authority, escaped from Tynemouth by sea.

In 1323 another treasonable correspondence was discovered between Andrew de Hartclay Earl of Carlisle and Robert de Bruce. Hartclay, from a very humble

position, had been advanced, for his services and great military talents, to the governorship of Carlisle, and the wardenship of the Western Marches. Disgusted at the ill-conduct and ill-success of all Edward's proceedings, he endeavoured to secure some respite to the county under his command by direct negotiations with the enemy. It is possible that the statement which he made on the scaffold may have been the truth, that he intended no harm either to his King or country. On the other hand, he is accused of being influenced by a criminal ambition, and especially of having aspired to the hand of the sister of Robert Bruce. He was beheaded at Carlisle, and his body divided into quarters, the head being exposed on London Bridge, and the quarters on the walls of York, Newcastle, Carlisle, and Shrewsbury.

The remainder of Edward's reign was occupied by negotiations for peace, which, although they led to no definite result, were yet attended by a relaxation of the horrors of war, during a succession of short truces, which were extended from time to time.

The events which led to the deposition of the King, and the transfer of the crown to his son, Prince Edward, are unconnected with our subject. The former took place on the 13th of January, the latter on the 1st of February, 1327.

The series of truces to which reference has been made, although they caused a suspension of hostilities, did not altogether put a stop to preparations for war.

Thus we find that a muster was appointed to be held at Newcastle in July, 1323; and to this we are indebted for another document of great importance to an accurate knowledge of the internal resources of the county of Northumberland, namely, a list of the knights and men-at-arms within the county. It is valuable, as containing an enumeration of the principal landowners within the county under the rank of barons. The knights and men-at-arms seem to have belonged to the same class, the former being distinguished only by the circumstance, that they had actually had the degree of knighthood conferred upon them, whilst the others were equally entitled to take it at any time, and were in the meantime liable to the discharge of the same duties.

Northumberland.—LIST OF KNIGHTS and MEN-AT-ARMS, as returned by the Sheriff Gilbert de Beroughdon, July 7, 1323, 17th Edward II.

KNIGHTS.

William Rydel	John de Lilleburne	Robert de Luker
Thomas Gray	Roger Maudut	William de Swynburn
Robert de la Vale	Roger de Horsseley	John de Borudon
John de Fenwick	Robert Gray	Thomas Botacomb
John de Lisle of Woodburn	Roger Heyroun	Adam de Shottelington
Robert de Lisle	Robert de Clifford	Robert de Swynburn
Adam de Benton	Robert de Esselington	Alan de Clavering.

MEN-AT-ARMS.

Henry de Swynburn	Stephen de Howburn	Stephen de Dudden
Robert du Maner	William de Lyham	Thomas de Wotton
Thomas de Heton	Nicholas de Bolliston	John de Harle
Thomas de Muschaunte	John de Horsseley	John Manfeld
Robert de Hagarstone	Henry de Ilderton	Thomas de Bradford
William de Presfen	Thomas de Clenehill	John de Rouchester
Robert Archer	William de Inghow	Thomas Gray
John Archer	Richard del Newton	Henry Litzser
John de Denoum	Simon Fote	William de Tyndale
Samson Bahester	Adam de Kirkeby	John Forester de Corbrig
William Oschestrother	Michael de Parco	John de Sedlingstanes
Simon de Heselrig	Hugh del Park	Thomas de Feirstonhaugh
Richard Fitz-Ralph	Richard del Isle	Hugo de Wales
Walter de Dychand	Thomas de Bickerton	Robert de Boceland
John de Middleton	William Clericus	Gilbert de Malteby
Roger de Weston	William de Berhaulth	Nicholas de Punchardon
William Legger	William de Bewick	John de Fawdon
Adam de Doxford	John de Bewick	William de Hethwick
Henry de Tughale	Robert Darreys	Nicholas de Eland
Alan Fitz-Adam	William Darreys	Thomas de Fenwick
Ranulf de Skelton	Symon Darreys	Thomas de Hydewyn
John de Alnmouth	Robert de Oggle	Henry de Belton
Robert de Shoppeth	John Cosyn	Henry de Whitechester
Alexander de Hilton	Thomas Mauclerk	Thomas de Throkclaw
Edmund de Crawcestre	Robert de Cressewell	Robert de Ryhyll
William de Felton	Robert de Seton	John de Forsete
Willam de Esselington	John de Seton	Robert de Byker
John de Borudon	William Algode	Galfrid Conyers
Robert de Heppehale	John Fitz-John de Horsseley	William Whitfleshe.
William Tailboys	Simon de Weltedon	
Adam Fitz-Robert de Rodom	John de Plessis	

EDWARD III.

Edward was only in his fifteenth year when he was prematurely elevated to the throne, and a council of regency was the natural result of the revolution. The change of government, even from a weak monarch to a minor, was unfavourable to the continuance of the doubtful tranquillity which had prevailed on the Borders during the last two or three years; and on the very day of the coronation of the young King we find an attempt made by the Scots to surprise the castle of Norham. This enterprise indeed was unsuccessful, and was formally disavowed by the Scotch government; but although the truce was continued for a short time afterwards, no progress was made towards the settlement of peace. A cessation of hostilities had only hitherto been maintained by a strict prohibition of all intercourse between the two realms, the government of each country keeping an armed force to restrain its own subjects from passing the frontier. Such a system could not long continue; and although commissioners were appointed on each side to negotiate peace, both parties seem to have entertained the conviction that the negotiations must necessarily prove abortive.

On the 15th of May, 1327, the land forces of England were mustered at Newcastle, and the fleet was ordered to be in readiness off the coast of Yorkshire; but the war, as usual, was commenced by the Scots. In one of their incursions under Douglas, Edward himself was surprised, and narrowly escaped capture, as he lay encamped on the banks of the Wear, near Stanhope. After this daring enterprise, the Scottish leader succeeded in withdrawing his troops in safety through the swamps and morasses which lay between the position they then occupied and their own frontier.

The great preparations made on the side of England were thus utterly fruitless; and the ordinary period of service having expired, the troops were dismissed to their homes. The Scots, again taking advantage of their withdrawal, made a successful assault on Norham, and even advanced against Alnwick; but failed to reduce the castle. This fortress was now the property of the Percy family, who had acquired it, with the vast demesnes attached to it, by purchase from Anthony Bec Bishop of Durham, in the time of Edward I., to whom it was devised in trust by the last of the De Vescis.

Henry de Percy had already distinguished himself in Border warfare, and by the success with which he had maintained the observance of the late truce, with very limited means beyond the services of his own retainers.

The great obstacle to successful negotiation hitherto had been the obstinacy with which the late King clung to the recognition of his titular supremacy over Scotland, after all substantial authority had passed from his grasp. The position of the Queen and her favourite Mortimer, who now governed in the young King's name, rendered a peace on any terms essential; and their necessities were happily productive of a renunciation of an obsolete claim, which, under other circumstances, would probably have been persisted in. When this difficulty was removed, the Scotch King no longer shewed himself averse to peace, to which, indeed, he was probably inclined by his own advanced age and infirm health, and the prospect of the succession of an infant heir.

The pacification, so much to the interest of both kingdoms, was finally ratified by the Parliament of England on the 4th of May, 1328; and Bruce, who had conducted the country over which he ruled through so many perils, and succeeded at length in establishing her independence, died on the 7th of June in the following year. His successor was his son David, who was little more than six years old at the date of his accession, but had already been engaged in marriage to Joanna, the sister of the English King, as a means of cementing the amicable relations between the two countries. The infancy of the heir of Robert Bruce afforded a favourable opportunity to Edward Bailliol, the son of the former King, to advance his pretensions to the throne of Scotland. His invasion was by sea, and the peace of the English Borders was for a long period unaffected by the struggle which ensued. At length, however, Edward availed himself of internal dissensions to renew his claim to the supremacy over Scotland, and the cession of Berwick. His demands having been rejected by the guardians of David Bruce, he resolved to throw his weight into the scale of Bailliol, who was willing to secure his aid at any price.

After an interval of five years, war was accordingly proclaimed, and an army assembled at Newcastle on Trinity Sunday, 1333. Roxburgh Castle was already in the possession of Bailliol's adherents, and the grand object of this campaign was the reduction of Berwick. The Scots, conscious of the importance of this stronghold, hazarded a general engagement to relieve it, and were defeated with immense slaughter at the battle of Halidon Hill, long memorable as one of the most

disastrous incidents in Scottish history. Edward, with his victorious army, entered Berwick without further opposition. The town was formally annexed to the English dominions, and Henry Percy was appointed its governor. Returning from thence to Newcastle, the King received the homage of Edward Bailliol, as his grandfather had done that of John Bailliol in the same place. The power of Bailliol, however, extended so far and so long only as he was supported by the English arms, and a continuous struggle was maintained by the partisans of David Bruce. Unlike previous wars, the ravages were confined chiefly to the interior of Scotland, and the Marches of England were comparatively unmolested. In 1338 Edward crossed over into France, to assert his claims to the throne of that country, and in his absence the interests of Bailliol sensibly declined. Stirling, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh indeed remained to him; but all the rest of the kingdom, with the exception of Berwick, which was garrisoned by the English, was in the hands of his opponent. In 1340 Edinburgh Castle was taken by stratagem, and Stirling was captured the following year. Edward, who had returned to England, marched in person to relieve the latter; but ere he had proceeded further than Berwick, he was informed of its fall, and returned southward to Newcastle. During these contentions, David Bruce had been honourably entertained at the court of France: but the time had now arrived for him to take an active part in the affairs of his kingdom; in the year 1342, accordingly, being then about nineteen years of age, he returned to Scotland, accompanied by his Queen Joanna. All Bailliol's conquests had now been recovered, Roxburgh having been recently captured by Sir Alexander Ramsay; and the youthful sovereign was put into possession of the entire territory which had been possessed by his father, with the single exception of Berwick. If he had been contented with his present position, it is probable that Edward, hampered as he was with continental wars, would have been willing to concur in a peace; but his own hot blood, and the injudicious advice of those about him, induced him to enter upon an offensive war. Having first received the homage of his subjects at Perth, he marched, with all the force he could collect, to the English Border, and so prompt were his measures that he had advanced to the walls of Newcastle before any opposition could be offered to him. Here, however, he sustained a check, being unable to make any impression on the defences. Disappointed in this quarter, he took a cruel revenge on the city of Durham, which was utterly unprepared for a siege. Having made himself master of the place, he caused an indiscriminate

slaughter to be made, not even sparing the clergy or the holy edifices in which they ministered. On the return of the army, they carried with them an immense booty, the sight of which provoked the indignation of the garrison of the castle of Wark, as they passed carelessly under its walls. The Countess of Salisbury was then resident in the castle, of which her brother-in-law Sir William Montague was the governor. Under the conduct of the latter, a body of forty horse sallied forth and attacked the Scots in the rear, killing no less than two hundred of them, and conveying into the castle one hundred and sixty horses laden with the spoils of the incursion. This gallant enterprize had nearly led to disastrous results, for the Scotch army, indignant and ashamed to be thus deprived of the fruits of their exertions, and burning to avenge the deaths of their comrades, at once applied themselves to besiege the castle, which was only saved by the appearance of Edward himself before its walls. Having been informed of the ravages committed in Northumberland and Durham, he had hastened northward, and finding on his arrival at Newcastle that the invaders were on their retreat, he was already in the act of pursuit when his movements were accelerated by an account conveyed by the governor himself of the critical condition of Wark.

To Edward's visit to Wark on this occasion, and his residence there as the guest of the Countess of Salisbury, is ascribed by Froissart the institution of the Order of the Garter. The story is, however, probably apocryphal, as it is certain that Edward could not have made any long stay at Wark at this period, if, indeed, he really relieved the castle in person. On all these matters our native historians are silent. The next two years were nominally a period of truce; this, indeed, was ill observed on the western Borders, but the possession of Berwick enabled the English warden to enforce its maintenance on the east.

In 1346 took place that memorable invasion under King David himself, which terminated in his defeat and capture at Neville's Cross, near Durham. John de Coupland, to whom the King surrendered himself, though not even of knightly rank, had already more than once greatly distinguished himself in the recent wars. He was certainly a native of Coupland in Glendale, but whether he was its proprietor may well be doubted. Coupland was a manor within the barony of Wooler, of which it was held in the reign of Henry III., with the adjoining manors of Akeld and Yeavinger, by William de Akeld, the whole being rated together as one knight's-fee.^b It is more than probable that John de Coupland,

^b At the same time Stephen de Coupland, doubtless an ancestor of John, possessed half a carucate of land at Hethpool, but his holding is only rated as the thirtieth part of a knight's-fee.

who is only described as an esquire, was a subtenant of the descendant, or other representative, of this William de Akeld. For the important service performed on this occasion he had a grant of a yearly pension of 500*l.*, payable out of the customs of London and Berwick, until land could be assigned to him of equivalent value. The lands which were ultimately conferred upon him comprised a moiety of the great barony of Wooler, of which Coupland was a member, such moiety being rated at three knight's-fees, besides other fees as well within that barony as without. He had also conferred upon him the shrievalty of Northumberland—at that time a very lucrative office—and held it till his death. His name occurs amongst the magnates of the North (*borealibus*), to whom special letters of thanks were addressed by the King. The others to whom this compliment was paid were the Archbishop of York, Gilbert Umfreville Earl of Angus, Henry de Percy, Ralph de Neville, John de Mowbray, Thomas de Lucy, Thomas de Rokeby, Thomas de Gray, Robert de Ogle, Robert Bertram, and William Deyncourt. Both in their advance and retreat the Scots on this occasion pursued the western route, a striking confirmation of the value of the acquisition of Berwick as a protection to the Eastern March.

Next year a truce was agreed to between the Kings of England and France, in which Scotland was also included, which was prolonged by various renewals for eight years. At the close of that period (A.D. 1355) several daring and successful exploits were performed by the Scotch. A party, under the command of Sir William Ramsay, crossed the Tweed, and having burnt the village of Norham, retired leisurely to their own quarters, encouraging, by the deliberation of their movements, a pursuit on the part of the garrison of the castle, who were by this means decoyed into an ambuscade on Nisbit-moor, where they were attacked by vastly superior numbers, led by Patrick Earl of Dunbar, and Lord William Douglas. The English were defeated with considerable loss, and several persons of distinction were made prisoners; amongst others, Sir Thomas Gray and his eldest son, and Sir James Dacre. A far more important success, however, was the capture of Berwick, which was effected by surprise in a dark night, a large body of men having been conveyed by shipping into the harbour, from whence they approached and scaled the walls. The castle remained in the possession of the English.

The news of this reverse reached King Edward in France, as he was on the point of returning home to meet his Parliament. After a sojourn of only three days in London he directed his march northward, arriving at Durham on the 15th of December. Hence he issued his writs directing a muster to be held at New-

castle on the 1st of January. Having kept his Christmas at that town, he marched direct to Berwick, where he arrived on the 14th of the following month. The town yielded almost without an effort on the part of the garrison, and was once more put in a state of defence by the English. From hence Edward proceeded to Roxburgh, where he received from Bailliol a formal surrender of all his rights to a crown for which, old and childless as he was, he had no encouragement longer to contend. During the month of February, irritated at the behaviour of some of the Scotch nobles, the King laid waste all Lothian, committing Edinburgh and Haddington to the flames—a proceeding commemorated by the name given to that season, of the “Burnt Candlemas.”

All this time the Scotch King remained a prisoner in London, with the exception of a few months, during which he had been allowed to visit Scotland on parole, with a view of obtaining the consent of his nobility to terms which had been provisionally arranged between Edward and himself for a permanent pacification. As these, however, included an admission of the paramount superiority of the English King, they were indignantly rejected, and David returned to captivity in the terms of his promise. At length he obtained his release, in 1357, under a convention concluded at Newcastle; his ransom being fixed at 90,000 marks, to be paid by nine annual instalments. Some demur being made by the Scots as to the ratification of this treaty, Edward, irritated at their bad faith, insisted on still higher terms, and the ransom was ultimately fixed at 100,000 marks, to be paid in ten years. Various alterations were from time to time made in these terms, in consequence of the inability of David to meet the pecuniary engagements into which he had entered; and more than one proposal for the ultimate union of the two kingdoms was discussed. All, however, proved abortive; and the remainder of David's reign was passed in a state of uncertainty, fluctuating between war and peace. His death took place on the 22nd of February, 1371, when he was succeeded by his nephew Robert Stewart.

The long residence of King David in England, where, although under an honourable restraint, he was treated with kindness and courtesy, seems to have disposed him to friendly relations with his powerful neighbour; and this good feeling continued to prevail during the early part of the reign of his successor. To the close of Edward's life peace was preserved between the two realms, though not without occasional skirmishes between the Borderers on each side. At this period, however, the position of the English was much strengthened by the posses-

sion, not only of Berwick, but of Roxburgh and Lochmaben, the principal places of strength on the Scotch side in each of the three Marches.

Edward died on the 31st of June, 1377, leaving, as his successor, his grandson Richard, a child of ten years of age, the son of Edward the Black Prince, whose death took place the year before that of his father.

RICHARD II.

The accession of a minor to the throne of England naturally encouraged the turbulent spirits of the opposite Border to renewed violations of the existing truce. Roxburgh, which was still in the possession of the English, was burnt by the Scots during the excitement of the annual fair, which was attended by crowds of both nations. To avenge this outrage, Henry Percy, who had recently been created Earl of Northumberland, entered Scotland at the head of 10,000 men, and ravaged the neighbouring county of Berwick; but further hostilities were averted by a proposal of the Scottish King to treat for the establishment of a permanent peace.

There is no reason to doubt the good faith or pacific disposition of King Robert on this occasion; but the prospect of peace was frustrated by a very remarkable enterprize undertaken by a party of his marauding subjects, who, taking advantage of the truce, surprised Berwick, and put the governor, Sir Robert Boynton, to death. Being summoned by the Earl of Northumberland to surrender, they replied that they cared neither for the power of the King of England, nor for the orders of their own sovereign; but that having won the fortress, they were determined not to yield it, but would retain it for the King of France, who was again involved in open hostilities with England. During the siege which ensued, the renowned Hotspur first distinguished himself in arms: the efforts of his father and himself were crowned with success, the place was taken, and the garrison put to the sword.

The truce, which had been so indifferently observed, terminated in 1384, and Scotland was invaded by the Duke of Lancaster with a large army. His success, however, was far from commensurate with the magnitude of his preparations, and he returned ingloriously, leaving the defence of the Borders and the prosecution of the war to the Earl of Northumberland, who undertook to perform this service, and to maintain garrisons in the castles of Berwick, Carlisle, and Roxburgh, for the an-

nual payment of 4,000*l.* The reputation of this great nobleman was clouded by the conduct of a subordinate officer, who for a bribe betrayed the castle of Berwick to the Scots. The Earl was formally accused of treason by the Duke of Lancaster, and summoned to appear in Parliament to answer to the charge. Believing, however, that the recovery of Berwick would serve him better, under these perilous circumstances, than any verbal defence, he excused himself from obeying the summons, and hastening to the Tweed, was fortunate enough to retrieve the loss by the same potent agency which had been employed against him. On payment of 2,000 marks the fortress was restored to him, and he succeeded in making his peace with the King.

The following year Richard himself led an army into Scotland, laying waste the country on all sides, and burning the city of Edinburgh; but the scarcity of provisions, caused by his own reckless devastations, compelled him to return, without having secured any permanent advantage. In the meantime, the Scots retaliated by similar outrages throughout Cumberland and Northumberland. In the latter county they took the castles of Wark and Ford and the tower of Cornhill. Next year a truce was concluded; but at the expiration of a twelvemonth hostilities were renewed.

The year 1388 is memorable for the battle of Otterburn, one of the most celebrated of the Border conflicts. Here, the Scots, under the Earl of Douglas, were attacked, on their return from a marauding expedition into the county of Durham, by Hotspur and his brother, Sir Ralph Percy, who had pursued them from Newcastle. The moonlight encounter which ensued has received an unusual amount of attention from writers of all classes, in poetry as well as in prose; but the multitude of authorities has tended rather to confuse than to elucidate the details. The reader who is anxious to make himself familiar with whatever has been written on this subject by poet or historian, may be safely referred to the recent publication of Mr. Robert White, a gentleman who has proved himself no unfavoured votary of either muse. The Scottish leader was slain; but the victory was gained, after a severe struggle, by his countrymen, and both the Percies were made prisoners.

Hotspur's captivity was not of long duration, as we find him the following year appointed Warden of the West Marches, and Governor of Carlisle. On his capture the King had made a temporary appointment of the Earl of Nottingham, Earl Marshal, to the same office on the Eastern Borders; and this he afterwards

wished to have extended, but was opposed by his council on the plea of economy. Their real motive, however, seems to have been their conviction of the superior claims of Percy. We have now reached a period when we have the benefit of the Records of the Privy Council, a series of documents published by the Record Commission, under the superintendence of the late Sir Harris Nicholas, after they had lain for centuries unknown to and unconsulted by all our historians.

From this source we have some very curious particulars of what passed in the council chamber on this occasion: October 15th and 16th, 1389.

The King expressed his opinion in favour of acceding to a petition from the Earl Marshal for the continuance of his appointment of Warden of the East Marches, and Governor of Berwick, for a further term of five years beyond the existing arrangement. The terms which he asked were 4,000 marks per annum for the custody of the castle of Berwick, 2,000 marks for the custody of the March in time of truce, and 12,000*l.* per annum in time of war. The council, on the other hand, represented that the existing arrangement had not yet expired; that in the meantime a Parliament would meet, and that they should not be justified in incurring such heavy prospective liabilities. The King, having in vain attempted to obtain their acquiescence, turning to them "with a very angry look," replied, "At your peril be it, if any harm come hereof." Their opposition was at length overcome by a proposal of the King, that Sir Henry Percy should have the Wardenship of the Western March, on the same terms which he proposed for the Earl Marshal on the East. Ultimately Percy was reinstated in his old post.

The following year died Robert II., King of Scotland, who was succeeded by his son *John* Earl of Carrick, known in history as *Robert III.*, the name of John having become odious to the Scottish people, who associated with it the memory of John Bailliol, the special object of popular hatred. Shortly after the accession of the new King an agreement was entered into between England, France, and Scotland, for a truce for the long period of eight years. Several attempts had been previously made to bring about a permanent peace; but petty jealousies and arbitrary pretensions, on the one side and the other, had opposed insuperable obstacles. These impediments did not stand in the way of a truce, of however long duration, as the ulterior relations of the several parties were in no way affected by it. During the remainder of the reign of Richard II., the Border counties enjoyed all the advantages of a state of peace, the Wardens on each side vigilantly executing the duties of their office, and checking every disposition to outrage and plunder.

HENRY IV.

The disturbances on the Borders which marked the first year of this reign, 1399-1400, are not to be attributed altogether to the predatory habits of the Scots, but were in part fomented by their ally the King of France, who deeply resented the treatment which his son-in-law, King Richard, had received. In the Scots he found ready instruments; crossing the Border, they seized on the castle of Wark, which had probably never been completely re-edified since its previous capture. This they retained for a short time, and entirely dismantled before they abandoned it. Hence they extended their incursions through all parts of the country, meeting with little resistance. On their return, however, laden with plunder, they were attacked by Sir Robert Umfreville, Lord of Redesdale, who, issuing from his stronghold of Harbottle, the capital of that seignory, although locally situated on the Coquet, defeated and dispersed them at Foulhope-law, and made all their leaders prisoners.

The next year the King conducted an expedition into Scotland, but the results were unimportant, the Scots prudently declining an engagement with a force greatly superior to their own. At Newcastle Henry received the homage of George Earl of Dunbar, who, abandoning his allegiance to his own sovereign, obtained a grant of lands in Lincolnshire and elsewhere in England, with the customs revenue of the port of Boston.

About this period we meet with a list of the Border fortresses in the possession of the King of England, with the names of their captains and the number of their garrisons. The document occurs amongst the Privy Council Records.

- I. Berwick, with the East March, under Sir Henry Percy, with 300 men-at-arms and 600 archers.
- II. Roxburgh, under Sir Richard Grey and Sir Stephen Scrope, with 100 men-at-arms and 200 archers.
- III. Carlisle, with the West March, under Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, with 200 men-at-arms and 400 archers.
- IV. Harbottle, under Sir Robert Umfreville, with 20 men-at-arms and 40 archers.
- V. Jedworth, under Edward Ilderton, with 30 men-at-arms and 60 archers.
- VI. Norham, under Thomas Grey, with 50 men-at-arms and 100 archers.

From the same source we are furnished with two lists, the first of knights only, the second of knights and esquires, summoned to attend the King's council at

Westminster, at the feast of the Assumption, 1401. The lists for Northumberland are as follows :—

No. I. Henry de Percy.
Gerard Heron.
Robert Ogle.
Robert Umfreville.
John Mitford.
David Holgrave.

No. II. Gerard Heron.
Thomas Grey of Horton.
Robert Ogle.
John Mitford.

In the year 1402 the expatriated Earl of Dunbar, supported by an English force, entered Scotland, whilst the Earl of Douglas led an army into Northumberland, laying waste the country to the walls of Newcastle. On the return of the latter, he was encountered at Humbleton, near Wooler, by the Earl of Northumberland and his son, when the Scottish army was completely routed, and Douglas himself made prisoner, covered with wounds. The number slain on the side of the Scots was very considerable, including several noblemen and persons of distinction.

The refusal of Hotspur to place at the King's disposal the prisoners taken on this occasion is known to all readers of Shakspeare, as the reputed cause of the dissensions which resulted in the rebellion of that gallant warrior and his father and uncle. It appears, however, that the offence was of older date, although it was probably aggravated by the peremptory conduct of the King on this occasion. Amongst the Privy Council Records are preserved a series of letters from the Percies, commencing at a much earlier period, complaining of the neglect and want of support which they experienced in the discharge of their duties as Wardens of the East and West Marches, and also in Wales. The stipulated payments were withheld, their private resources exhausted, and their personal honour compromised by their inability to meet their engagements with their followers.

The battle of Shrewsbury, in which Hotspur was defeated and slain, was fought on the 23rd of July, 1403, and the Earl of Northumberland was shortly afterwards arrested. At an interview with the King at Pontefract, the following month, the Earl agreed to surrender all his castles as pledges for his fidelity; but some difficulties were made by his retainers in carrying out his instructions, in consequence of reports which were industriously circulated, that the King was dead, and the Earl at liberty.

In the Privy Council Records is preserved a list of these castles, with the names

of the Constables in charge, and the parties into whose custody they were directed to be transferred.

- I. Alnwick—William Worthington the Constable, Sir John Wyndale the Chaplain, William Roddam, John Middleham, Thomas Clerk of Alnwick, and Richard Bonde, were severally required to surrender the castle to Gerard Heron.
- II. Warkworth—Henry Percy, with John Creswell the Constable, and Richard Aske, were required to surrender this castle to John de Mitford.
- III. Prudhoe—Similar orders to Robert Lyle, Constable.
- IV. Langley—To Odard de Redlee, Constable.
- V. Cockermouth—To William de Legh, Constable.

Besides these castles of his own inheritance, he held, as Warden, the castle of Berwick, of which William Clifford was Constable.

Whatever difficulties the Percies experienced in the discharge of their arduous duties, from want of co-operation and deficiency of supplies, appear to have originated less in the lukewarmness of the King, than from the poverty of his exchequer, and to some extent perhaps, from the jealousy of his councillors.

At the very moment of Hotspur's rebellion, we find the King on his march northward, with a view, as we learn from his own letter to his council, of "giving aid and support to his very dear and loyal cousins, the Earl of Northumberland and his son Henry, in the expedition which they had honourably undertaken for him and his realm against his enemies the Scots." Had this aid been tendered a few weeks, or even days, earlier, a great national peril, and the desolation of an illustrious house, might have been averted.

Even after the rebellion and death of Hotspur, the King does not appear to have altogether withdrawn his favour from his father, whose castles were restored; but mutual confidence, under the circumstances, was impossible. Two years later, we find the Earl in open rebellion, in conjunction with the Earl Marshal and Lord Bardolf. An interesting letter of the King is preserved, dated from Warkworth Castle, on the 2nd of July, 1405, in which he describes the proceedings of his army in the North. Prudhoe Castle had at once surrendered, but Warkworth being well garrisoned and provisioned, refused to yield. The King, therefore, ordered his artillery to be brought against it, and the seventh discharge convinced the governor that further resistance was hopeless. The surrender of Warkworth was followed by that of all the Earl's other castles, except Alnwick, which the King, at the date of his letter, was about to assault. The Earl himself had, in the meantime, taken refuge in Scotland, where he found an asylum amongst his old

opponents, to whom he surrendered the castle of Berwick. In 1408, he was again in the field, engaged in an unequal contest with the sovereign whom he had raised to the throne. On the 28th of February, he met with a warrior's death at Bramham Moor, where he was encountered by an army suddenly assembled by the gallant Sir Thomas Rokeby, the Sheriff of Yorkshire. His body was mutilated, according to the barbarous custom of that age, his head being sent to London, where it was exhibited on a pole upon the bridge. His four quarters were distributed between London, Lincoln, Newcastle, and Berwick, to the gates of which places they were affixed—a melancholy spectacle, calculated, perhaps, to inspire terror, but scarcely to promote loyalty. Within three years, “the head which wore the crown was laid as low” as his too powerful subject. The former, however, died not in battle, but from care, mortification, and disease.

HENRY V.

A very remarkable document has been preserved, exhibiting the state of Northumberland at the commencement of this reign, an abstract of which is here presented from the pen of Sir Harris Nicholas. The original is addressed to the King, by his brother, the Duke of Bedford, who then held the office of Warden of the East March and Captain of Berwick.

“The Duke commenced by reminding the King of the repeated representations which he had made in the late reign, of the state of the East March, from the want of proper government. The marchers and others of the King's subjects on the enemy's frontier, were in constant danger of attack, without possessing the means of resistance. No effective truce had been concluded, and the situation was one of greater uncertainty and peril, than during actual war. The walls of the town and castle of Berwick were in a ruinous condition, and the gates and draw-bridges out of repair. There were neither cannon, gunpowder, armour, provisions, or any other means of defence, every thing having been taken away when the town was burned and sacked in the rebellion of the Earl of Northumberland, so that it was wholly exposed to the enemy, and possessed no other resources than were provided by the Duke at his own expense upon an emergency. That although the burgesses and poor soldiers had so long continued in such uncertainty and danger, and endured more privations and annoyances than any garrison, not in a state of actual siege, they had received no relief, and upwards of 13,000*l.* was owing to them. The Duke himself had become so impoverished in consequence, that he had mortgaged and sold much of his own property, coined his plate, pledged his jewels, and borrowed from his friends for the relief of his

soldiers. The burgesses had declared, under their common seal, and the soldiers had expressed their determination, by 'lettres ragmon,' that they would quit the town, unless satisfaction was made them. The Duke added, that he had undertaken the wardenship for 1,500 marks per annum less than was allowed to Sir Henry Percy; that he had held the march-days, and made reparations of violations of the truce for ten years, without any remuneration, although his predecessors had received 1,000*l.* annually for those purposes. That these and other excessive charges had rendered him a ruined man, and had left him almost without power to perform any service to the King."

The following year the Duke of Bedford was appointed Custos of the kingdom in the absence of the King in France, and the custody of the Marches entrusted to Henry Percy, the son of Hotspur, and grandson of the late Earl. This young nobleman, who was detained in Scotland, whither he had accompanied his grandfather, was exchanged for Murdoch of Fife, son of the Duke of Albany, and all his honours and estates were restored to him. The latter had been granted to the Duke of Bedford, who received in compensation a money payment, until a suitable equivalent in land could be found for him.

The same year which witnessed the restoration of the young Earl of Northumberland is memorable for the execution of one of the largest landowners of Northumberland for treason, Sir Thomas Grey, of Wark and Heton. An admirable pedigree of this ancient family is given in Raine's *North Durham*, commencing with Thomas Grey of Heton, in the reign of Edward I. The Pipe Rolls of Northumberland record, somewhat earlier, the name of Richard de Grey, who was Sheriff of the county in the 20th of Henry III., A.D. 1236. Sir Ralph Gray, the son of Sir Thomas, and the progenitor of the present noble houses of Chillingham and Howick, was restored to favour, and to the enjoyment of his father's estates in the following reign, being knighted by the Duke of Bedford, then Protector, in 1425.

The only other event connected with Northumberland during this reign is the surprise of Wark Castle, in 1419, by William Haliburton, of Fast Castle, who put the garrison to the sword. The fortress was, however, immediately recovered by the English. The King died in France, August 31st, 1422.

HENRY VI.

Since the death of Robert III. in 1406, the government of Scotland had been vested in the Duke of Albany as Regent, and afterwards in his son, the youthful

heir of the late King being retained in the meantime in captivity in England, having been made a prisoner in the last year of his father's reign, on his voyage to France, whither he was sent for the completion of his education.

On the death of Henry V., the councillors of his infant successor were embarrassed by various political considerations, in reference to the disposal of so important a prisoner; but these were ultimately solved by the conclusion of a treaty for his release, in virtue of which he ascended his paternal throne, under the title of James I., in 1424.

Difficulties were still interposed to the establishment of peace between the two kingdoms, but a truce was concluded for seven years, which was afterwards extended for an indefinite period. In 1433, for the first time we hear of infractions of this arrangement. The Northumbrians are accused of making forays across the Border and destroying the villages of Hilton and Paxton. The Scotch retaliated by laying waste Northhamshire and Glendale. Mutual complaints, instead of procuring redress, only caused greater exasperation, and each party prepared for hostilities on a larger scale. In 1434, license was given to the Earl of Northumberland and the burgesses of his town of Alnwick, to enclose themselves with walls and towers, to protect them from the Scots, who are said to have burnt down a great part of the houses within the borough. It does not, however, appear that this outrage was of very recent occurrence. About the same time, the Earl of Salisbury, as governor of Berwick, represented to the King in council, the defenceless condition of that town and its castle, and urged the necessity of an immediate supply of bows, arrows, guns, gunpowder, spears, cross-bows, and other engines and stores, and that measures should be taken for repairing the *walls, ditches, barriers, grates, greces, gates*, and *herce* of the town, which had become ruinous and indefensible. In consequence of this representation, eight small guns, twelve culvers, twenty-four cross-bows, 48lb. of thread for strings, and twelve cases of quarels were immediately ordered, and further supplies were promised; the artillery and stores at the King's expence, the bows and arrows at that of the governor, out of whose wages the cost was to be deducted.

In 1435, an affray took place at Piperden, the importance of which seems to have been greatly magnified by the historians of Scotland. The English forces were under the command of Sir Robert Ogle the younger, who was now Captain of Berwick. After laying waste the country for some distance, he was attacked unawares by the Scotch, under the Earl of Angus, Adam Hepburn of Hailes, and

Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, and completely defeated, being taken prisoner with all his forces. Forty persons are stated to have fallen on the field, and Fordun gives 1,500 as the number of the prisoners. From the Privy Council Records it would appear that the affair was of a very trivial character. They also discountenance the oft-repeated assertion that the English Government was desirous of purchasing peace by the surrender of the fortresses of Roxburgh and Berwick. Efforts were undoubtedly made to effect a settlement of differences, but not upon this basis. James appears no more to have expected, than Henry to have proposed, the voluntary surrender of Roxburgh; but when all hopes of an equitable pacification failed him, the former adopted the bold resolution of attempting the reduction of the fortress by arms. From this enterprize he desisted, after persevering in the assault for fifteen days; nor had he again an opportunity of measuring his strength with that of England, being cut off the following year by a barbarous conspiracy formed by some of his own subjects. Another long minority ensued, the heir to the throne, the only surviving son of the late King, being under seven years of age. The first care of the Scottish Government was to punish the murderers of the late King; the next, to establish amicable relations with England. A truce was accordingly arranged, to continue for nine years, from the 1st of May, 1438; nor do we read of any infraction of it on either side during that long period, until a few weeks previous to its expiration. From the minutes of the Privy Council of the 19th of March, 1447, we learn that a remonstrance was ordered to be addressed to the Scottish government, "rehearsing the attempts against the truce, requiring the King to keep the said truce, and if he or his pretend they're grieved, that commissioners be deputed of both the parties for reformation of attemptates."

Orders were at the same time issued to the Captain of Berwick, "that he, in his own person, go thither for the safeguard of the said place, and other letters to the soldiers there, to be here in Easter term next coming, at which time they shall have an answer upon such things as they ask, as by reason they shall hold them content."

These jealousies and disturbances were succeeded the following year, on the formal expiration of the truce, by open hostilities. The Earls of Northumberland and Salisbury, who were governors respectively of the East and West Marches, invaded the opposite Borders of Scotland, and burnt the towns of Dunbar and Dumfries. James Douglas, the brother of the potent earl of that name, retaliated

by burning the town of Alnwick, and ravaging the county of Cumberland. Thither he was followed by the Earl of Northumberland, who pursued him across the Solway. The Scots having regained their own country, and being no doubt joined by reinforcements, suddenly rallied, engaged and defeated their pursuers, and drove them in turn across the Frith. Lord Percy, the Earl's eldest son, was made a prisoner, and the loss was very large—less, indeed, on the field of battle, than on re-crossing the Solway, where great numbers were drowned.

These fruitless hostilities were put an end to by a brief truce, which was from time to time renewed for short or indefinite periods. At length, in the month of August, 1451, a treaty was concluded between commissioners of the Kings of England and Scotland, assembled in the church of St. Nicholas, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by which a suspension of arms was arranged for three years, and afterwards prolonged for a like term.

On two occasions within this period, circumstances occurred which seemed likely to involve a renewal of the war, but on both the danger was fortunately averted. In 1552, the followers of the Earl of Douglas, who was then in open rebellion against his own sovereign, committed great excesses on both sides of the Border, apparently with a view of involving the Scottish King in a quarrel with England. This design was defeated by the forbearance of the English Government, which addressed letters in the King's name to Lord Poynings, Warden of the East Marches; Sir Robert Ogle, Bailiff and Lieutenant of Tindale; to John Heron of Ford, Lieutenant of Redesdale; and Ralph Grey, Lieutenant of Roxburgh, directing them, under no circumstances, to be induced by any provocation to make such reprisals as might endanger the existing good understanding between the two realms. At the same time, the royal letter "lets them wit, that if and when we shall be advised, for any causes reasonable, no longer to intend to the keeping of the said truce, we shall let you have knowledge of our intent."

On the second occasion, the truce was actually violated by the King of Scotland himself, who attempted, in 1455, to seize the town of Berwick by surprise. The attempt was defeated by the vigilance of the garrison, and the promptitude of the Earl of Northumberland and the Keepers of Tyndale and Redesdale, Sir John Heron and Robert Manners. To each of these officers letters of thanks were addressed. The services of the Earl of Northumberland are particularly acknowledged "in victualling our town and castle of Berwick, and resisting the malice of our enemies, the which, by the means of your said vigilance, and through the

manhood of our faithful and true subjects, have departed the siege laid by them afore our said town and castle, and rebuked, being departed from thence, whereof after laud and praising given to God, by whose grace all good groweth, we thank you as heartily as we can."

The conduct of the garrison in their "manly resisting of our enemies," is further extolled in a letter to the Bishop of Durham.

To Heron and Manners the King addresses himself as follows:—"Trusty and well-beloved, We, to our right great comfort and gladness, understand the faith and truth, diligence and manhood, that you have put you in, for the resistance of our enemies, surety and safeguard of our town and castle of Berwick, the which our said enemies breaking such truce as they took with us, imagined, maliciously, by way of siege, to pull out of our obeisance, and to that intent brought as great a puissance as they could by land and water, whom ye manfully resisting, have rebuked and compelled to depart, to as great worship and commendation of you, as any person of your degree has arreachd to many a day past." He then goes on to bespeak their future services, expressing his confidence that they will hereafter resist any attempts of the enemy, "as manfully as ye have done at this time in increasing of your said honour and commendation."

At this time the King was involved in great pecuniary difficulties, and commissioners were appointed to collect loans and contributions throughout the several counties of England. The commissioners for Northumberland were the Earl of Northumberland, and Sir Robert Ogle, Sir Henry Fenwick, Sir Nicholas Radford, and Sir Thomas Strickland, knights.

On the 10th of July, 1460, the battle of Northampton was fought, in which the royal army was defeated, and the person of the King himself fell into the hands of the partizans of the Duke of York. Although under duress, and without any voice in the affairs of the state, the government was still carried on in the name of King Henry, and commissions of array were issued under his seal, for raising the forces of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, York, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincolnshire, for the defence of Roxburgh and Berwick, which were menaced by the Scottish King. The truce had expired the previous year, and negotiations were pending for its renewal for a lengthened period, hostilities being in the meantime suspended. James, however, appears to have considered this arrangement only binding towards Henry personally, and that he was released from his obligations when the government of England was transferred to his

opponents. At all events he lost no time in availing himself of the confusion naturally consequent on so sudden and unexpected a change, to pursue his own objects of aggrandizement.

Assembling an army with all practicable expedition, he laid siege to Roxburgh. The town, which was unprepared for resistance, was speedily taken and destroyed, and its English inhabitants driven forth; but the castle was strongly garrisoned, and its defence conducted with energy and spirit. James caused all his ordnance to be brought against it, and personally directed the operations. Whilst he was watching the effect of the discharge of a cannon of unusual magnitude, the gun burst, and the explosion was instantly fatal to the King. This unlooked-for disaster so dismayed the army, that they would at once have raised the siege, but for the heroism of the widowed Queen, who earnestly exhorted them to persevere. Animated by her determination, they renewed the assault, and prosecuted the siege with so much vigour that the garrison, unaided by any support from without, were compelled to capitulate. Roxburgh was thus recovered to Scotland, after it had been in the hands of the English for one hundred and fourteen years, from the capture of David Bruce at Neville's Cross. The governors of the young King, however, aware of the difficulty of maintaining a garrison in this frontier position against an enemy who could at any time outnumber them in the field, and fearing lest it might again fall into the hands of the English, ordered its fortifications to be dismantled. Its present desolate state bears evidence how completely the work of destruction was performed.

Before the Scottish army was disbanded, they were allowed to recompense themselves for the toils they had undergone, by the indiscriminate plunder of the Northumbrian Border. Wark, which was unprovided for defence, was taken, and the castle, already ruinous, was still further demolished.

In the meantime the infant son of the late King was crowned at the neighbouring monastery of Kelso, and received the homage of his subjects, with the title of James III.

During these events in Scotland, the English nation was engaged in matters yet more exciting. The Duke of York, with a show of moderation, agreed that Henry should wear the crown during the remainder of his life, but that the substantial power should be vested in himself as Protector. On the death of Henry, the Duke was declared by the Parliament the heir to the throne, to the exclusion of the Prince of Wales. Queen Margaret, who was yet at liberty, refused to be bound

by an arrangement which, whilst it left to her husband the shadow of royalty, altogether ignored the rights of her son. The interest of the house of Lancaster was still powerful in the northern counties, and in these this heroic woman raised a large army, with which she proposed to march to London, liberate the King, and restore the late administrators of affairs. The Duke, sensible of the danger of his position, hastened to meet her, before her levies were completed, but found her forces already far more numerous than his own. A battle was fought near Wakefield on the 30th of December, in which the Queen was victorious. Richard Duke of York, with his second son, Edmund Earl of Rutland, was amongst the slain. His pretensions, however, were inherited by his eldest son Edward, now Duke of York, who, though only eighteen years of age, had already shewn indications of great capacity both for civil and military affairs. He had, moreover, the support of the wealthy citizens of London, whilst the Queen was without means to support the army which she had brought to the capital. Under these circumstances, she was compelled to march northwards, accompanied by the King, whose release she had effected. Amongst her followers are said to have been a large body of the northern Borderers both of England and Scotland, who were attracted to her service by a promise of indiscriminate plunder in the southern counties. Of this license they were not remiss in availing themselves, spreading terror and desolation on their march. These excesses undoubtedly embittered the feelings which were entertained by the Yorkists towards their opponents, and converted many into determined enemies, who were previously indifferent.

The King and Queen fixed their head-quarters at York, whither the Duke, aided by the Earl of Warwick, hastened to meet them, with an army inferior in numbers but greatly excelling in arms and discipline. The conflicting claims were brought to an issue on the field of Towton, ten miles south of York, on the 29th of March, 1461. The result was fatal to the Lancastrian cause, and the Duke of York mounted the throne as Edward IV. Amongst the slain were the Earl of Northumberland and Sir John Neville, the brother of the Earl of Westmorland.^c

^c In the 12th year of this reign commissioners were appointed to receive oaths of allegiance from the principal gentry in the several counties of England. The names of the parties sworn have been printed by Fuller, and the return for Northumberland has been copied by Hutchinson. It is too interesting, however, to be omitted in this place, connecting, as it does, the lists already given under the reigns of

EDWARD IV.

Henry and his Queen were at York when they received the disastrous intelligence of the discomfiture of their forces. An immediate departure was necessary to secure their personal safety, and they fled precipitately to Newcastle. Here they were in the midst of their own partizans, but too much dispirited to offer further opposition to the victorious Edward, who appears from the dates of his writs to have pursued them thither. Continuing their flight to Berwick, they secured the aid of the Scottish King by the surrender of that place—an acquisition ardently desired, not merely from its great intrinsic importance, but as the last portion of Scottish territory which remained to the English of all their conquests.

The following spring, Margaret sailed from Scotland to France to entreat the aid of the French King in her attempt to recover her husband's throne. In her suit she was only partially successful, although she held out the inducement of the surrender of Calais in the same way as she had given up Berwick to the King of Scotland. In the present instance, however, she was not in a position to give immediate effect to her engagement, and the wary King was unwilling to hazard a war with Edward for the sake of a contingent advantage which might never be realized. He connived, however, at an expedition on a small scale, which was fitted out under Sir Piers de Bracy, a knight of Brittany of distinguished military reputation.

Edward I. and Edward II., with analogous documents of the Tudor Period. The names are as follow :—

Robert Umfreville, knt.	Robert Raymes.	Roger Usher.
Ralph Gray, knt.	Thomas Haggerston.	Thomas Middleton.
Robert Ogle, sen., knt.	Robert Maners.	John Ellerington.
Robert Ogle, jun., knt.	Lawrence Acton.	John Park.
John Bertram, knt.	Thomas Gray de Horton.	Richard Lilburn.
William Emildon, knt.	Thomas Blenkinsop.	Thomas Elwick.
John Middleton, knt.	Rowland Thirlwall.	John Errington.
William Swinburne, knt.	Richard Featherstonhaugh.	Nicholas Heron of Meldon.
John Maners, knt.	Gilbert Rotherford.	John Trewick.
Matthew Whitfield, knt.	William Muschaunce.	John Chestre.
William Carnaby.	Gilbert Errington.	Lionel Chestre.
John Fenwick.	William Clennell.	John Horsley of Horsley.
John Middleton.	John Heron of Netherton.	James Buck of Morpeth.
Thomas Ilderton.	Thomas Reed of Reedsdale.	
	Commissioners {	
	Thomas Bishop of Durham.	
	Ralph Earl of Westmorland.	
	Thomas Lilburne, } Knights of the Shire.	
	John Cartington, }	

The Queen landed at Tynemouth with De Bracy and his followers, numbering about 500, but finding Newcastle in the possession of her enemies, she re-embarked and reached Berwick in safety. The rest of the expedition were less fortunate, being driven ashore at Bamburgh, from whence, after burning their ships, they fled on foot to Holy Island. Here 400 of them were made prisoners; the remainder, with De Bracy at their head, escaped to Berwick. Undaunted by these disasters, the Queen determined, with the small means which remained to her, to undertake the siege of the castle of Alnwick. This fortress, at the time of the revolution, was under the command of William Tailbois, but it had been taken the previous year by Lord Hastings and Sir Ralph Grey, to the latter of whom its custody was committed. The present attempt to recover it was completely successful, and a garrison was placed in it under the command of De Bracy's son, the Lord Hungerford, and Robert Whittingham. Bamburgh was also secured and committed to the charge of the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Ralph Percy. Henry, with his Queen and De Bracy, then retired to Scotland. These successes were all achieved in the course of the month of October, 1642, and on the 3rd of November Edward set out from London to retrieve his affairs in the North.

Bamburgh and Dunstanborough were surrendered into the King's hands on Christmas eve, and were by him given in charge to Sir Richard Percy, who was received into favour, as were also the Duke of Somerset, Sir Henry Lewes, and Sir Nicholas Latimer. A safe conduct into Scotland was at the same time granted to the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Ros. The siege of Alnwick was committed to the Earl of Warwick, who prosecuted it with vigour till the eve of the Epiphany, when the elder De Bracy suddenly appeared before it with a large Scottish army for the relief of his son and his beleaguered associates. No engagement took place, De Bracy being satisfied with withdrawing the garrison in safety. Besides the leaders previously mentioned, the name of Sir Robert Tunstal occurs amongst those who retired from Alnwick and joined the King and Queen in Scotland. William of Worcester, from whom these particulars are mainly derived, states with confidence that if the Scotch had been daring and sagacious enough (*audaces et sagaces*) to have attacked the English army, which was greatly inferior to them in number, no effectual resistance could have been offered, but the whole must have been taken prisoners or slain, including the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Worcester, and many other lords of King Edward's party.

The fidelity of the Duke of Somerset, to which the safety of the whole army was due, was highly praised by King Edward, and large rewards promised him. The custody of Alnwick was now intrusted to Sir John Astley, to the deep mortification of Sir Ralph Grey, the former governor.^d

Queen Margaret, unable with her present means to renew the struggle, sailed from Bamburgh for Helveotsluys in the month of April, 1463, taking with her the Duke of Exeter, Sir Henry Ros, Sir Robert Whytingham, and four other knights, with Dr. Morton and Dr. Makarel, and others, to the number of 200 persons in all. From thence she proceeded to the court of the Duke of Burgundy, who gave her a pension for her subsistence, but declined engaging in her quarrel. Thus destitute of all means of regaining the throne she had lost, she retired for a time into Lorraine.

The month after her departure, Sir Ralph Grey found means to possess himself of the castle of Alnwick, from which he expelled Sir John Astley, and declared for the cause of King Henry. Sir John Astley fell into the hands of Sir Ralph Percy, who detained him a prisoner.

A still more serious defection followed; the Duke of Somerset, exasperated at the non-payment of a pension of 1000 marks which had been promised him, renounced his newly tendered allegiance and retired into Scotland. At this period an hiatus occurs in the Annals of William of Worcester, which is the more to be lamented, as the battles of Hedgely-moor and Hexham occurred in the following year. For information as to the cause of the re-kindling of the Civil War and the details of the former, and to a great extent of both the battles, we are thus left almost entirely in the hands of later historians. The Annals re-commence in the middle of the account of the battle of Hexham. The Chronicle of

^d An interesting letter is preserved amongst the Paston correspondence, addressed to "John Paston the younger," by his brother, "John Paston the youngest," who was present during the siege of these castles. In the printed copy of the correspondence, the date of the letter is erroneously given "December 10th, 1463," instead of 1462, to which year it undoubtedly belongs. A copy of the letter will be found in Brand's Newcastle, vol. ii., p. 427, but that industrious antiquary further embarrasses the chronology, by confounding this siege with the subsequent siege of Bamburgh Castle, which took place after the battle of Hexham, in May, 1463. From Paston's letter we learn that King Edward was quartered at Durham, the Duke of Norfolk at Newcastle, and the Earl of Warwick at Warkworth, "from whence he rideth daily to all these castles to oversee the sieges." "At the siege of Alnwick lieth my Lord of Kent and my Lord Scales; at *Donsomborow* castle lieth the Lord Montague and Lord Ogle." The Scotch historians give the credit of the rescue of the garrison at Alnwick, not to Bracy, but to their great Border chieftain, the Earl of Angus. Both may possibly have been present. The relieving army is stated to have been 20,000 strong.

Warkworth, another contemporary writer, refers very slightly to this engagement, and not at all to that at Hedgely-moor.

John Neville Lord Montague commanded the Yorkist forces on both occasions. At Hedgely, Sir Ralph Percy led his followers single-handed against him, having been deserted by his comrades the Lords Hungerford and Ros. His defeat was decisive, and his death on the field of battle has been impressed on our memories by the traditionary repetition of the last words which fell from his lips—"I have saved the bird in my breast," an expression which has become proverbial, as denoting unsullied honour and fidelity. On the spot where he fell may still be seen a rude column erected to his memory, near the highway which leads southward from Wooler, about seven miles from that town. The struggle took place on the 25th of April, the battle of Hexham on the 15th of May, 1464.

"In the 4th year of the King Edward," says Warkworth, "in the month of May, the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Ros, the Lord Moleyns, Talboys the Earl of Kyme, Sir Philip Wentworth, Sir Thomas Finderne, gathered a great people of the north country, and Sir John Nevill (Lord Montague), that time being Earl of Northumberland, with 10,000 men came upon them, and there the commons fled that were with them, and there the foresaid lords were taken and afterwards executed."

The Annals of William of Worcester estimate Neville's force at 4,000 only, and mention the Lords Greystock and Willoughby as present with him. The Duke of Somerset's forces are represented as not more than 500, but this was probably after the desertion of "the commons." The Duke himself, seeing the utter hopelessness of resistance with so great a disparity of numbers, joined his followers in flight, but was pursued and taken by the servants of John de Middleton, and by them taken to the three lords at Hexham, where he was beheaded the same day, and his remains interred in the abbey. With him were executed three of his followers, Blake Jakes, John Bryce, and Thomas Hunt, with Sir Edward Fyshe, knight. Within three days the Lords Ros and Hungerford were taken concealed in a wood near Hexham, and brought before Lord Montague at Newcastle, condemned and executed, as were also Finderne and Tailbois. Twelve others taken at Hexham were brought before the King at York, where eleven of them suffered death; the twelfth, John Naylor, who had held an office in the Court of Chancery in the late reign, being pardoned on the intercession of the Lord Chancellor. Besides the title of Earl of Northumberland, the whole of the

Percy estates in that county were bestowed on Lord Montague. The site of the battle is called the Livells in contemporary records; "by some," says Brand, "it is fixed on the level ground below Hexham, by others at a place still called Lennolds (Linnels), south-west of Hexham, where the lines of an intrenchment are still to be seen." Previous to the battle, Sir Ralph Grey fled from Hexham to Bamburgh Castle, where he was besieged by the Earl of Warwick "cum maximis bombardis." Being severely crushed by the fall of part of the defences, he was given up for dead, and the castle surrendered. On his recovery he was carried to the King at Doncaster in the month of July, and there executed.

It is remarkable that no contemporary historian mentions the presence of Henry or his Queen in Northumberland during this insurrection. Monstrelet, indeed, furnishes the romantic story, familiarised to us all by the genius of Shakspeare, of the deliverance of Margaret and her son by the aid of a robber, to whose protection she was compelled to confide their safety; but he in no way connects it with the battle of Hexham. On the contrary, he speaks of her subsequent escape in connection with her voyage to Helveotsluys, which we know was performed the previous year. On that occasion she embarked at Bamburgh, and it is probable that this adventure with the robber took place, if at all, in the north of the county. It should not, however, be omitted, that tradition points out the "Queen's Cave," near Hexham, in the rocky bank of a branch of the picturesque stream which flows under the bridge of *Linnels*, and that here Margaret is said to have concealed herself, until driven forth by the exigencies of hunger, she was compelled to trust herself to the honour of an outlaw. Monstrelet no further defines the locality, than by describing it as in "a forest in England." Hall is the earliest writer who places it in Hexhamshire. Henry did not escape with Margaret to Flanders, but was discovered two years afterwards in concealment in Lancashire, from whence he was conveyed to London and lodged in the Tower.

Notwithstanding the great services of the Earl of Warwick and his brother, the King began to entertain jealousies of their intentions, and apprehensions of their overgrown power. To counteract this in some degree, he determined to restore the son of the late Earl of Northumberland, who fell at Towton, to his honours and estates, giving to Lord Montague the barren recompense of a marquisate for himself, and a dukedom for his son. The shrewd views entertained as to the motives which influenced the King, are thus quaintly expressed in the contemporary Chronicle of Warkworth:—

“ But then the Lord Montague, the Earl of Warwick's brother, which the King had made Earl of Northumberland, was mighty and strong by the same ; and for so much as the King and his council thought he would hold with the Earl of Warwick, therefore the King and his council *made* the country to desire that they might have the rightful heir Percy, son to Henry Percy that was slain at York field, to be the Earl of Northumberland, and so it was done. And after this, the King made the Lord Montague Marquis Montague, and made his son Duke of Bedford, which should wed the Princess, the King's eldest daughter, which, by possibility, should be King of England. And so he had many fair words, and no lordships,* but alway he promised he would do.”

The restoration of the earldom to Henry Percy, although it is mentioned in immediate connection with Lord Montague's aggrandizement after his services in 1464, did not actually take place till 1469, up to which time he had been detained a prisoner in the Tower, having been placed there immediately after his father's death. He was shortly afterwards made Warden-General of the Marches, Constable of Bamburgh Castle, and Justice of all the forests north of Trent. By these politic appointments, not only was peace preserved with Scotland during a term of unprecedented duration, but perfect tranquillity was maintained in Northumberland during all the succeeding turmoils of this troubled reign.

In 1465 a truce between England and Scotland had been concluded for 15 years, and was further extended the following year to 45. Notwithstanding occasional offences committed and taken on both sides, the armistice was fairly observed during the original period of 15 years.†

In 1480, it was reported to Edward that the Scottish King had agreed to invade

* Lord Montague's own words, as reported by the same authority, are, that the King having made him a marquis, “ gave him a pie's nest to maintain his estate with.”

† An affair, which might have led to hostilities, occurred soon after the Earl of Northumberland's appointment as Warden, which was disposed of without difficulty, by the mutually conciliatory conduct of the commissioners of the two kingdoms, before whom the case was brought. The Bishop of St. Andrew's had built a magnificent vessel, which he called the *Salvator*, which was freighted by some Scottish merchants with a valuable cargo. Owing to stress of weather, or mismanagement, the vessel was driven ashore on the coast of Northumberland, near Bamburgh, when the cargo was plundered, and the passengers and crew were detained as prisoners. Amongst the former was the Abbot of St. Colme, who was compelled to pay 80*l.* as ransom before he was liberated. The commissioners not being able to agree as to the law of the case amongst themselves, recommended the sufferers to the joint consideration of the two sovereigns, but unanimously resolved that it was not fitting that what had happened should be allowed, under any circumstances, to be held as a ground for breach of the existing truce.

England, in the interest of France, without any previous declaration of war; in consequence of which information, a commission was issued to the Duke of Gloucester, the King's brother, and Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, to array the forces of the northern counties for the invasion of Scotland, and the punishment of the meditated breach of faith. The only operation of any consequence during this year was a vigorous, but unsuccessful, attempt to capture Berwick. The place was, however, well defended, and the fortifications in good order, although some of them were of such recent construction as scarcely to be consolidated. Two years afterwards, this much contested fortress fell into the hands of the English, through the treachery of the Duke of Albany, the Scotch King's brother. The castle, indeed, under its gallant governor, Lord Hailes, held out for some time after the surrender of the town, but finally capitulated on the 24th of August, 1482. From that period till the union of England and Scotland under one sovereign, Berwick continued uninterruptedly attached to the former. The Duke of Gloucester, to whose intrigues with Albany this acquisition was due, had pledged himself to assist that unprincipled and ambitious prince in his attempts to possess himself of his brother's kingdom, which he undertook to hold as the vassal of England. From the distracted state of Scotland at this period, and the absence of political talent in James, it is more than probable that those machinations would have been successful, had not the energies of the Duke of Gloucester been directed to other objects by the death of King Edward, which took place on the 9th of April, 1483, after a reign of 22 years, including the brief interruption which was occasioned by the re-occupation of the throne by Henry VI., from October, 1470, to April, 1471. This change of rulers had been scarcely felt in Northumberland, which continued under the charge of the Earl, who, although he retained his feelings of loyalty to Edward, had too much prudence to offer an unavailing resistance to the power by which he was temporarily overwhelmed.

The contemporary historian of Croyland speaks with great bitterness of Gloucester's expeditions into Scotland, complaining heavily of the large sums exacted under the form of benevolences, to defray the expences, which amounted to not less than one hundred thousand pounds. He laments that Edinburgh, "that most opulent city," had not been plundered, when it was in the power of the English army, rather than that so much time and money had been spent on the acquisition of Berwick, which, after all, he knows not whether to consider a gain or a loss, seeing that its maintenance swallows up every year 10,000 marks.

EDWARD V. RICHARD III.

The Duke of Gloucester is said to have been on the Northern Border at the time of his brother's death, and to have proceeded from thence to York, where he was present at a solemn funeral service for the late King. Great doubt is thrown on the accuracy of this statement by the silence of the corporate records of the city of York, which make no mention of any visit from Richard at this time.* These documents have been made accessible to the public by the antiquarian zeal of Mr. Davies, the late Town Clerk of the city; and the question is further discussed by Mr. Nicholas, in his *Historical Introduction* to the Grants of Edward V., published by the Camden Society. The latter gentleman suggests that the Duke was more probably in his castle at Middleham, his usual place of residence, in which case his most direct route to London did not lie through York. The power which enabled him to support himself in the Protectorship against the machinations of the Queen Dowager and her relatives was mainly derived from the northern counties. In Yorkshire his popularity was unbounded, and Northumberland was secured by the interest of its Earl.

After his accession to the crown, we meet with no events connected with this county. The tranquillity of the Borders was provided for by a truce with Scotland, which at the same time protected James from the treasonable attempts of his brother Albany, who, deprived of the support of England, desisted from further aggression.

The Patent Rolls furnish us with the Commissions of the Peace which were issued at the commencement of the two reigns of Edward V. and Richard III., from which the following lists of Commissioners for Northumberland are extracted:—

* It is very remarkable that a funeral service for King Edward was ordered to be performed at York, not by the Duke of Gloucester, but by the Dean, on the 6th of April, whereas the King's death did not really take place till the 9th. How this premature announcement was received does not appear, but it was formally conveyed to the Lord Mayor of York by the Dean. The Dean's letter, with much other valuable information will be found in Mr. Davies' volume.

1st EDWARD V.

Richard Duke of Gloucester, Protector of
England.
Henry Duke of Buckingham.
Ralph Graystock de Graystock, Knight.
Thomas Lumley de Lumley, Knight.
Robert Ogle de Ogle, Knight.
Robert Manners, Knight.
Richard Neele, Knight.
Roger Townsend.
John Lilburn, Sen., Esquire.
John Cartington, Esquire.
John Agirston, Esquire.
John Swinburne, Esquire.

1st RICHARD III.

William Bishop of Durham.
Henry Duke of Buckingham.
John Duke of Norfolk.
Henry Earl of Northumberland.
Ralph Graystock de Graystock, Knight.
Thomas Lumley de Lumley, Knight.
Robert Ogle de Ogle, Knight.
Robert Manners, Knight.
Richard Neele, Knight.
Roger Townsend.
John Lilburn, Sen., Esquire.
John Cartington, Esquire.
John Agirston, Esquire.
John Swinburne, Esquire.

In the first list the Duke of Gloucester's name is inserted in the Commission for each county, standing at the head of the laymen, and following immediately after the archbishops or bishops when any such occur. The Duke of Buckingham's name occurs in each county immediately after the Duke of Gloucester's.

In the second list the names of the Dukes of Buckingham and Norfolk occur in all the counties, and the Earl of Northumberland's in many. Sir Richard Neele and Roger Townsend were the Justices of Assize on the Northern Circuit for both years, and their names occur in all the counties of that circuit. The other knights and esquires were all connected with Northumberland. The four esquires, Lilburn, Cartington, Haggerston, and Swinburne, were Commissioners of Taxes in the 1st of Richard.

Justices or Conservators of the Peace were first appointed in the reign of Edward I., and two were considered sufficient for each county. The Knights of the Shire were usually selected for this duty, as appears by the early commissions in the Appendix to Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*. From the period at which we have now arrived, the number of Justices was gradually increased, until the commission was made to include nearly all the principal gentry of the county who were not disaffected to the Government, or personally obnoxious to it.

CHAPTER X.

TUDOR PERIOD.

HENRY VII.

THE death of King Richard at Bosworth, on the 22nd of August, 1485, was followed by the peaceable accession of Henry VII., whose subsequent marriage with the daughter of Edward IV., the undoubted heiress of the House of York, seemed to ensure him from the opposition of rival claimants and hostile factions. On the contrary, however, no king of England had ever to encounter more frequent rebellions or to combat in succession so many pretenders to the throne.

The year after his accession was fully occupied in dealing with the insurrection of Lovell, the artful plot in which Lambert Simmel figured as the puppet rather than the hero, and the treason of the Earl of Lincoln. Having overcome all these difficulties, he determined to make a personal inspection of the northern portion of his kingdom, a design in which he had been previously interrupted by the disturbances already referred to. On the former occasion his progress only extended to York; on the present, he proceeded as far as Newcastle, where he arrived about the middle of August, 1487, when he had just completed the second year of his reign.

Here he took up his abode for a considerable period, awaiting the return of Richard Fox, recently promoted to the bishoprick of Ely, and Sir Richard Edgecombe, whom he despatched as ambassadors to the King of Scotland, to treat with him for the establishment of amicable relations between the two kingdoms.

“The English ambassadors,” says Holinshead, “were honourably received, and lovingly entertained by the said King, who gladly would have concluded a perpetual peace with the King of England, if he might have been licensed so to have done; but his people being steadfast in their old accustomed usage, would not agree to any peace, but yet were contented to gratify their King, that he should take truce with England for the term of seven years, which was concluded.

This policy of entering into truces with England for limited periods had been recommended to his successors by Robert Bruce, whose precepts were looked upon as oracular, and had been almost invariably acted on since. Our author goes on to inform us.—

“There was secret promise made by King James that he would not only observe peace and continue in perfect amity with the King of England during his life, but also would renew again this truce, new taken for other seven years before the first seven years were fully expired. The King of Scots indeed was as desirous of the King of England’s friendship as the King of England was of his, because that his subjects bare him much evil will, misliking with all things that either he could do or say.”

Henry’s residence in Newcastle during the absence of his ambassadors must have been of some duration, but we have unfortunately no information how he passed his time. The loss of the early records of the Corporation of that town is on this, as on many other occasions, deeply to be deplored.

That James did not overrate the precarious nature of his hold on the affections of his own subjects was soon made too fatally manifest. The very next year he was murdered by his turbulent nobles; and, although the truce with England was more than once renewed by his successor, James IV., the same cordiality never existed between that monarch and King Henry.

In 1496 James avowed himself a supporter of the new pretender to the English crown, Perkin Warbeck, received him at his court, and raised an army to enforce his claims. He even gave him a near relative of his own in marriage, Catherine Gordon, the daughter of the Earl of Huntley, a young lady whose beauty and amiable qualities, with her high rank, made her a fitting match for any prince in Europe.

“Shortly after,” in the words of Holinshead, “having this Perkin with him in company, James entered into England with a puissant army, and caused proclamation to be made, to spare all those that would submit themselves to Richard Duke of York. Herewith they began the war in the most cruel manner, with slaughter of men and burning of towns, spoiling of houses, and committing of all detestable enormities, so that all the county of Northumberland was by them in a manner wasted and destroyed. At length, when the soldiers were laden with spoils, and satiate with blood, perceiving that no succours came out of England unto the new invented Duke, contrary to that which he had made them believe would come to pass, they determined to retire with assured gain, rather than to tarry the uncertain victory of that counterfeit Duke.

"It is said that Perkin Warbeck, being returned into Scotland with the King of Scots, under a cloaked pretence, should sore lament the great slaughter, spoil, and damage, which had been done in this last road made into England, and therefore as one that bore a natural love towards his native country, besought the King of Scots that from thenceforth he would no more so deface his natural realm, and destroy his subjects with such terrible fire, flame, and havoc. But the Scotch King told him that he seemed to take thought for that which appeared to be none of his, since not so much as one gentleman or yeoman, for ought he could see, would once shew themselves in his cause in a realm which he pretended so clearly to appertain to him."

The King and Parliament were equally incensed at this barbarous inroad, and an immense subsidy was granted for the vigorous prosecution of the war, not indeed without heavy complaints on the part of the people, "who sore grudged to pay the same, as they ever abhor such taxes and exactions." Of this, indeed, there had been notable proof during the present reign, in which the people of Yorkshire had risen as one man and murdered the Earl of Northumberland, who was entrusted by the King with the collection of a subsidy in 1489. On the present occasion the tax was paid, and an army equipped under Lord Dawbeny, although it never reached Scotland, its services being required in another quarter to suppress an alarming insurrection in Cornwall.

Of this diversion of the forces intended against himself the King of Scotland did not fail to take advantage, again entering Northumberland, and repeating all the atrocities of the former year. He further extended his ravages into Durham, thinking to give employment to the Bishop at home, whilst with another portion of his army he laid siege to his Border castle of Norham. Richard Fox, the former Bishop of Ely, was now Bishop of Durham, and by the judicious measures taken by him a check was given to the progress of the Scots. By his prudent forethought he had provided for the defence of Norham, which was well furnished with men and provisions of all kinds. On the first intelligence of the invasion, he not only communicated with the King, who was busily engaged elsewhere, but with the Earl of Surrey, who was then in Yorkshire. This nobleman, in anticipation of the call, had already collected a numerous army, and all the northern leaders promptly rallied under his standard. Amongst these are enumerated, the Lord Dacre, Lord Neville, Lord Strange, Lord Latimer, Lord Lumley, Lord Scrope, Lord Clifford, Lord Ogle, Lord Coniers, and Lord Darcy; with Sir Thomas Hilton, Sir William Percy, Sir William Bulmer, Sir William Gascoigne, Sir

Ralph Bigod, Sir Ralph Bowes, Sir Thomas Parr, Sir Ralph Ellerker, Sir John Constable, Sir John Ratcliffe, Sir John Saville, Sir Thomas Strangways, and many other knights and esquires, the army numbering little less than 20,000 men, besides a fleet under Lord Brook.

Foiled in his attempt upon Norham, the King of Scotland was already meditating a retreat when he heard of the vigorous measures prepared against him. The intelligence hastened his movements, and he quickly retired into his own territories. Thither Surrey followed him, endeavouring in vain to bring him to a general engagement. He took and destroyed the castle of Coldstream, and the towers of Hutton-Hall, Edrington, and Foulden. Advancing to Ayton, he summoned the castle to surrender, but the garrison knowing that the King was within a mile of the place with a large force, refused to do so, never doubting that he would make an effort to relieve them. In this, however, they were deceived, and the castle was taken and burnt to the ground within view of his army.

At length he sent a herald to the Earl with a formal challenge, either "to fight with whole puissance against puissance, or else they two to fight person to person, requiring that if the victory fell to him, that the Earl would deliver for his ransom the town of Berwick, with the fish-garths of the same." To this bravado the Earl replied that "the town of Berwick was the King his master's, and not his, the which he neither could or would lay to pledge without the King of England's consent; but he would gage his body, which was more precious to him than all the towns in the world, promising, on his honour, that if he took the King prisoner in that single combat, he would release to him all his part of the fine or ransom; and if it chanced the King to vanquish him, he would gladly pay such ransom as was convenient for the degree of an Earl, and thanked him greatly for the offer; for surely he thought himself much honoured that so noble a prince would vouchsafe to admit so poor an Earl to fight with him body to body."

The challenge, as was to be expected, produced no results, and the Earl retired to Berwick, there to await the orders of his own sovereign.

Sir Henry Ellis has printed two very curious letters from Lord Bothwell, a pensioned spy of Henry VII. at the court of James, containing much valuable information respecting the intervention of the latter in favour of Perkin. He accuses Randal Daere, the Lord Daere's brother, and the Skeltons of Mickle Skelton, of treasonable intercourse with the Pretender on his first arrival in Edinburgh. He also charges the Northumberland March-men with conniving at the escape of cer-

tain "vagabunds coming to Perkin" on days of truce. He further speaks of the disinclination of the Scotch people to the enterprize, and counsels the King to send "a dozen chieftains and men of authority to rule," when he "doubts not, with the folk that are here, your grace shall have the best day's-work of your enemies that any King of England has had this hundred years."

From the second letter it appears that Henry had sent the Bishop of Durham into Scotland, to endeavour to persuade James to withdraw his support from "this feignet boy," and that the King dissembled his determination to the Bishop, continuing, at the same time, his preparations for the inroad.

"I understand," says the writer, "without doubt, this instant 15th day of September, the King, with all the people of his realm he can make, will be at Ellam Kirk, within ten miles of the Marches of England, and Perkin and his company with him, the which are now in number 1,400, of all manner of nations."

He describes "the provision of ordnance" in the castle of Edinburgh as "but little," consisting of "two great curtaldis that were sent out of France, ten falcons or little serpents, thirty carts of guns of iron with chambers, and sixteen carts for spears, powder, stones, and other stuff to the gunners belonging." The funds in the Scottish exchequer are represented as so low, that "the King of Scots had not a hundred pounds, till now that he has coined his chains, his plate, and his cupboards." "Sundry pleasant things for the war, both for man and horse," had been sent out of Flanders by the Duchess of Burgundy, and the 27th of September was finally fixed for the invasion.

The effects of these devastations were long felt in Northumberland, and although we have no contemporary details of the damage done, we find from the Report of Sir George Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker, on the state of the Borders in 1542, that so effectually had many of the Northumbrian strongholds been demolished, that they still remained in ruins, after an interval of more than forty years. This destruction has been ascribed by our local historians to the later invasion which immediately preceded the battle of Flodden, but that date cannot be reconciled with the statement in the Report, which refers only to Ford Castle, as having been partially burnt down on that occasion. The evidences which remained in 1542 of the ravages committed by the Scots "in time of war, more than forty years past," were the ruins of the castle of Heton, and of the towers of Tilmouth, Twizell, Shoreswood, Lanton, and Howtell, to which may be added Branxton, then lately re-edified.

In 1498 the horrors of the two preceding years were very nearly renewed, in consequence of an affray which originated in the indiscreet curiosity with which a party of Scottish youths examined the defences of Norham Castle. The jealousy of the garrison was excited; the intruders were driven away, some wounds inflicted, and two or three lives lost. Matters were adjusted by the good temper of the English King and the adroit management of the Bishop of Durham, who not only succeeded in softening James' resentment, but in disposing his mind to a closer alliance with England.

The next expedition into Northumberland of which we read, was of a very different character from the last, being the nuptial procession of the Princess Margaret, the eldest daughter of the King of England, in order to her marriage with the King of Scotland. A minute account of her progress was drawn up by John Young, Somerset Herald, who attended her, and has been printed in various publications. That portion of it which records her reception and entertainment in Newcastle has been extracted by Brand. She left that town, after a sojourn of three days, on the 26th of July, 1502, being escorted forth by the Mayor. Half a mile from the town she was received by Sir Humphrey Lisle of Felton and the Prior of Brinkburn, with 20 horsemen; and a little further on, at the limits of his jurisdiction, by Sir Ralph Evers, the Sheriff of the county, "with many honest folks of the county, with spears and bows, in jackets, to the number of 200 horse." At night she halted at Morpeth, remaining over the two following nights at Alnwick Castle as the guest of the Earl of Northumberland, who had gone before to receive her, having previously escorted her from York to Newcastle. Between Morpeth and Alnwick the cortége was joined by "master Henry Grey, Esquire," with about one hundred horse. Leaving Alnwick on the 29th, she baited at Belford, where Sir Thomas Darcy, Captain of Berwick, "had made ready her dinner very well and honestly." Here she was joined by master Ralph Widdrington with 100 horse. At the entrance of Islandshire, Henry Grey assumed the conduct of the party, as the Sheriff of that liberty and Norhamshire. The same night she reached Berwick, where she was entertained by Sir Thomas and Lady Darcy till the 1st of August, on which day she entered the dominions of her future husband.

This marriage, although not productive of all the immediate advantage which was expected of it, at all events prevented a renewal of hostilities during the reign of Henry VII., and led to the ultimate union of the two kingdoms.

HENRY VIII.

Henry VIII. succeeded to the throne, on the death of his father, on the 21st of August, 1509. One of his first acts was to ratify the treaty of peace with Scotland, which had been concluded in the late reign. It is clear, however, that he relied for the security of his northern Borders, less on the good faith and peaceable disposition of his brother-in-law, than on the strength of his defences and the vigilance of his officers. An official return has been preserved of the several fortresses in the northern district of Northumberland at the commencement of this reign, the names of their owners and occupiers, and an estimate of the number of horsemen which they could severally bring into the field. This document, which is here printed from the original in the Public Record Office, is the earliest of its class, being upwards of thirty years anterior to the Border Survey of Sir George Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker. It will be observed that none of the fortresses mentioned in that survey, as having been destroyed by the Scots forty years previously, occur here, although the document was compiled previous to the battle of Flodden. The computed miles in this return will be found very different from the measurement of the present day.

“**Holds and Townships** to lay in garrisons, and how far they be from Tevedale and the Mers, and who be the owners and inhabitant of the houses.

Lowick	.....Sir James Strangwys, Harry Denton, and Robert Awarke, owners and inhabitants	} 80 men; from Tweed 6 miles; from Tevedale 8 miles.
Barmoor	.....George Moschians, owner and inha- bitant	} 30 men; from Tweed 6 miles; from Tevedale 7 miles.
Ederston	.....Thomas Forster, owner and inhabi- tant	} 60 men; from Tevedale 10 miles; from the Mers 12 miles.
Belford	.....My Lord Conyers and Thomas Ar- morer	} 60 men; from Tevedale 9 miles; from the Mers 10 miles.
Holborn	.....Thomas Holborn, owner and inha- bitant	} 20 men; from Tevedale 7 miles; from the Mers 8 miles.
Heton	.....My Lord of Durham for Master Grey, & inhabitant, Ralph Chamberleyne, }	20 men; from the Mers 2 miles; from Tevedale 4 miles.
Etal	.....My Lord Ross, and inhabitant, John Collingwood.....	} 100 men; from the Mers 3 miles; from Tevedale 3 miles.
Fenton	.....Christopher Clapham, inhabitant .. }	40 men; from Tevedale 5 miles; from the Mers 6 miles.
Horton	.....Sir Roger Grey, owner and inhabi- tant	} 60 men; from Tevedale 7 miles; from the Mers 8 miles.

Fulberry	Sir Roger Grey, ruler, a widow inhabitant	20 men; from Tevedale 7 miles; from the Mers 8 miles.
Chatton	My Lord of Northumberland, Thomas Reveley, inhabitant	80 men; from Tevedale 8 miles; from the Merse 9 miles.
Hesclrig	Thomas Haggerston, owner, a widow inhabitant	20 men; from Tevedale 8 miles; from the Mers 8 miles.
Chelingham	My Lord of Durham, for Master Grey, Edward Grey, inhabitant	100 men; from Tevedale 8 miles; from the Mers 10 miles.
Hebborn	Thomas Hebborn, owner and inhabitant	20 men; from Tevedale 8 miles; from the Mers 10 miles.
Bewick	The Prior of Tynemouth, Gilbert Collingwood, inhabitant	40 men; from Tevedale 8 miles; from the Mers 11 miles.
Lilburn	Jeffray Proctor, ruler Lyell Gray	40 men; from Tevedale 6 miles; from the Mers 9 miles.
Wooler	Christopher Clapham, inhabitant Ector Gray	20 men; from Tevedale 5 miles; from the Mers 7 miles.
Ford	William Heron, inhabitant William Selby	40 men; from Tevedale 4 miles; from the Mers 4 miles.
Ingram	Lord Ogle, inhabitant nihil	40 men; from Tevedale 3 miles; from the Mers 15 miles.

Norham from the Merse the *brade* of Tweed; from Tevedale 5 miles.

Berwick from Tevedale 10 miles.

Easington	Hesclrig, and Robert Collingwood, inhabitant	20 men; from Tevedale 9 miles; from the Mers 15 miles.
Whittingham	William Heron, owner, inhabitant nihil	40 men; from Tevedale 10 miles; from the Mers 15 miles.
Alnham	My Lord of Northumberland, inhabitant nihil	40 men; from Tevedale 6 miles; from the Mers 16 miles.
Skrynwood	Thomas Horsley, owner and inhabitant	20 men; from Tevedale 6 miles; from the Mers 16 miles.
Bedlyston	John Selby, owner and inhabitant	20 men; from Tevedale 4 miles; from the Mers 17 miles.
Herbotell	Sir George Taleboys, ruler and governor my Lord Dakers	80 men; from Tevedale 5 miles; from the Mers 19 miles.
Thernam	Roger Horsley, owner and inhabitant	20 men; from Tevedale 6 miles; from the Mers 19 miles.
Heppell	My Lord Ogle, inhabitant nihil	20 men; from Tevedale 6 miles; from the Mers 18 miles.
Thropton	Sir Edward Ratchiffe, inhabitant nihil	20 men; from Tevedale 10 miles; from the Mers 16 miles.

Sum of the number of these men—1270 men.
over and above Norham and Berwick.”

Flodden is in substantial importance what Otterburn is in romantic interest amongst the Northumberland battle-fields. Otterburn has found its appropriate

historian, and it is to be hoped that Flodden may be treated by as able a pen. A brief summary of the leading facts is all that would be appropriate here.

The absence of Henry on the Continent with the strength of his kingdom, and the importunities of the French King for a diversion in his favour, were the motives, though other pretences were not wanting, which induced James to terminate the peaceful relations which had for some years subsisted between Scotland and England. A formal defiance of the absent monarch, and a nearly simultaneous invasion of his territory, satisfied his scruples of honour, whilst they secured the advantages of a surprise. James himself crossed the Tweed on the 22nd of August, 1513, but the week previous to this movement, he despatched a body of 3,000 troops, under Lord Hume, to ravage and plunder the opposite Borders. Leading his troops through Glendale, Hume collected on all sides a rich booty. The inhabitants, unsuspecting of the intended violation of the peace, had no time either to remove or conceal their property; but everything fell into the hands of the marauders, who burnt and destroyed what they could not carry away. Twelve villages in flames were the trophies of their incursion. It happened that the Earl of Surrey, James's former antagonist, who had been left by Henry as his lieutenant in the North, and who lay with a small force at Pontefract, entertained some misgivings of an intended attack, and had, as a measure of precaution, despatched a party of 200 archers, under Sir William Bulmer, to reinforce the garrisons of Northumberland. Sir William was leading his men northward by the very road which Lord Hume was traversing in an opposite direction, when having arrived in the neighbourhood of Wooler, he was informed by some of the fugitive peasantry of the outrage which had been committed. His plans were soon formed. Summoning to his aid whatever force was available in the neighbourhood, he found himself at the head of a thousand men. These he disposed in ambush amongst the tall broom, which then covered the sandy plain of Millfield, and, watching his opportunity, he attacked the straggling bands of Scots as they returned, disordered and encumbered by the booty which they carried with them. Numbers, under such circumstances, were of no avail, but rather added to their confusion. Five hundred were slain, and nearly as many were made prisoners. The remainder abandoned their plunder and fled, glad to escape with their lives.

The failure of this enterprize, known in Scotland as the "ill rode," was more than compensated to the Scots by the capture of Norham Castle, which was taken by the royal army after a week's siege.

Lord Surrey marched with all expedition to its relief; nor does there seem any reason to doubt that, with ordinary prudence, the defence might have been protracted till his arrival. By a foolish prodigality, however, the Constable exhausted his ammunition, and was compelled to capitulate. Two days after its surrender, Lord Surrey arrived at Newcastle, where he was met by Sir William Bulmer, who informed him of the disaster. Here also he was joined by Lord Dacre and other officers and inhabitants of the Marches. On the 4th of September we find him at Alnwick; on the following day, Monday, at Bolton; and on Tuesday at Wooler. On the plain to the south of this town he encamped his troops, estimated by our chroniclers at 26,000 men, and remained there till Thursday. From Alnwick he had despatched a herald to James, who was then with his army on the level ground below Ford, offering him battle on the following Friday. To this message James replied that he would await him where he was. On arriving at Wooler, however, the Earl found that the King had changed his ground, and was lying with his army on Flodden Hill, a position "more like a camp or fortress, than any mete ground to give battle on, contrary to his promise made to Rouge-croix, pursuivant-at-arms, before sent unto him from the said Earl; which his promise he broke, and took Flodden Hill, a ground impregnable, and shot at him his great ordnance, whereas he lay, as one minded to keep it like a fortress." Such is the Earl's own version of the circumstances, as it was recorded on the tablet erected to his memory in the church of Thetford. From that memorial the following narrative is extracted, as a voice from the tomb, detailing the particulars of the fight:—

"When the said Earl did perceive that he had broken his promise, and taken so strong a ground as Flodden Hills, he then removed all his battle, into a place beside Barmoor-wood (on the opposite side of the Till, four miles east of Ford), to the intent to get between him and his own realm of Scotland, and there lodged but one night (Thursday, September 8th), and on the next morning took his passage over the water of Till at Twyzell-ford; and then he marched in such manner as he got between the King and his host, and his own realm of Scotland; by force whereof the King was fain to leave his camp and prepare himself to battle with the said Earl, on a hill beside Branxton, in Northumberland, when the said Earl, with good assistance of the noblemen, and the power of the said north parts, fought with the said King, and him vanquished and slew in plain battle, directly before his own standard. In which battle were slain, on the Scottish part, two bishops, eleven earls, seventeen barons, four hundred knights, besides other gentlemen, with seventeen thousand in number, which were numbered, as well by Scotchmen as by those that did bury the most part of them. And of truth divers gentlemen and others, as well of the said Earl's servants

as of the north parts, and of Cheshire and Lancashire, were there slain. And this done, the said Earl went to Berwick to establish all things well and in good order ; and sent for the dead body of the King to Berwick."

The dismay throughout Scotland was universal, and the weakened condition of that country offered a tempting opportunity for the realization of those schemes of conquest which had so long dazzled the eyes of the sovereigns and people of England. But Henry and his able minister, Wolsey, had the good sense to perceive that far more lasting advantage might be derived from a policy of moderation, by which the people would be conciliated, than by an attempt at coercion, from which, sooner or later, they would infallibly revolt. When, therefore, the Scottish nobles accepted as their Regent, the widowed Queen, the sister of Henry, and when that princess, in her distress, supplicated the forbearance and protection of her brother, he declared that, consigning all past offences to oblivion, he was willing that "the Scots should have peace or war, from him, according to their own choice and behaviour." Nay, even when the Queen Regent was deprived of her government, in consequence of her hasty and imprudent marriage with the Earl of Angus, and was obliged to leave the country which she sought to embroil by ill-digested intrigues, he interfered no further than was necessary for her personal safety, and the protection of the rights of his infant nephew, who, at his father's death, was but seventeen months old.* We are not, however, to infer, because amicable relations existed between the two governments, that peace and tranquillity prevailed on the Borders of either kingdom. On the contrary, at no period have we more abundant evidence, not only of outrages perpetrated by individuals, but of hostile inroads by the Wardens on each side.^b The only means, indeed, which existed of checking private rapine, were by retaliatory measures, and these were in many instances adopted by the authorities of the March by which the injuries had been sustained, with the full concurrence of those who presided over the district, from which the retribution was exacted. Nay, even when the local

* An account of Queen Margaret's flight to Harbottle Castle; the birth of the Princess Margaret, afterwards Countess of Lennox, and mother of Henry Darnley, the King-Consort of Scotland; with the contemplated removal of the royal mother and her infant to Morpeth; will be found in a letter from Lord Dacre to King Henry, in the second series of Sir Henry Ellis' collection.

^b Most interesting details of these raids will be found in Raine's *North Durham*, under the head of General History. The State Papers contain nothing but a bald account of the battle of Flodden previous to 1523.

officers of the highest rank came into collision, and serious conflicts ensued, the governments on each side generally allowed them to fight out their own quarrel.

In 1523, for the first time, after an interval of ten years, an expedition was equipped by the Scottish government, for the invasion of the English Border, when an assault was made on the castle of Wark. This fortress, with Ford and Etal, is stated by the Scottish historians, to have been taken and destroyed in the invasion which terminated in the battle of Flodden. There is reason, however, to believe that at that time Wark was altogether unprovided with a garrison, having been dismantled by the Scots many years previously, and not yet restored. Neither does it appear that James had any time to carry out those operations between the 29th of August, in which Norham was surrendered to him, and the battle of Flodden, on the 9th of September. From the 4th to the 9th, indeed, we know that he was quartered in the immediate vicinity of Ford, which castle was certainly partially destroyed by him. Etal, also, which stands within a very short distance, may have been damaged, but if so, it was restored previous to 1542, at which time it was in a defensible state. If Wark sustained any injury at that time, it was more probably from the predatory band of Lord Hume than from the royal army; but in neither case was it in a condition to stand a siege, nor does it occur in the list of fortresses in 1509. The siege of 1523 is described by the Scottish historian, Buchanan, who was himself present with the assailing army. In the centre, he informs us, was a tower of great height and strength, encircled by two walls; the outer court was of great extent, and afforded an asylum, in time of war, to the neighbouring inhabitants, who brought here their corn and cattle for protection; the inner court was of small size, but strongly fortified by ditches and towers. The garrison, under Sir William Lisle, was well provided with artillery and ammunition, and made a vigorous defence. The siege was conducted by the Duke of Albany, the Regent of Scotland, who, however, retired on the approach of the Earl of Surrey, the son of the veteran Earl, who, for his victory at Flodden, had been created Duke of Norfolk.*

* In a despatch from Surrey to Wolsey we have a most interesting account of the chief places of defence upon the Eastern Border, and of the provisions which the writer had made for securing their defence against the meditated attack of Albany. At Norham, he says, "I have surely viewed the house round about, leaving nothing unlooked upon, and have devised divers platforms, ramparts, and mending of broken places with turfs and earth, which may be done within six days. The same being performed as Sir William Bulmer hath promised, I doubt not, God willing, if the Duke come to lay siege there, he shall not obtain the same within eight days, by which time I trust to be ready to en-

Albany is said to have challenged Surrey to an engagement in the open field, but the latter replied that his commission restricted him to a defensive warfare.^d Under Wolsey an amount of attention was given to the affairs of the Borders, which had never previously been bestowed upon them. Hitherto a Percy, or some other great nobleman, who undertook the office of Warden, was armed with full authority to rule his province in peace and to protect it in war, taking all costs and charges upon himself, except in very extreme cases, for a certain sum; and that the very lowest which he could be brought to accept. Under these circumstances, the government, which was, as we have seen, constantly in arrear with the stipend, could not scrutinize very closely how the office was administered, or how funds were found, which ought to have been supplied by the exchequer. The Warden, again, employed his own Deputies, who were frequently obliged to pro-

counter with him. As for the outer ward it will not be holden one day after the ordnance be laid; wherein there can be no remedy at this time." At Wark, also, he ordered new bulwarks, and other defences of turf and earth, on the completion of which, he adds, "in mine opinion it is tenable for ten days against any siege, but the outer ward will be lost within two days, and they are nothing near the dongeon, which is the strongest thing that I have seen. I have so trimmed the same with ordnance and artillery, and all other things necessary, that I would the Duke would come thither, where I think he will consume time, without doing any great hurt to the country." For Berwick he "more fears than for any of the others, for undoubtedly it is not tenable against a siege royal, having no bulwarks nor *fawsbrays*, nor any defence but the walls, ramparts, and dikes. And as for the castle, if the Duke knew how feeble the walls be, and how thin, he would not fail to assay the same, which would not hold out the batter of six *cortowtes* eight hours. There is no remedy to keep the same, if he lay siege thereto, but only with force of men's hands, and to have so many within the town that they be able to defend the breaches within the same." For this service he estimates 6,000 men to be necessary, the town being a mile and three quarters in compass. The sickness, moreover, is so sore within the town that men fear to come into it. In the house where the Earl himself lay, "one died *full of God's marks*." He requests 100 gunners, having but 36, which are too few for Wark and Norham alone. We have a report from Lord Dacre on the condition of the Castle of Wark, the year after the siege, in which he says, "The roof of the King's castle of Wark was taken off and made flat for laying on of guns against the Duke of Albany and the Scots, coming thereunto in November last, the timber whereof taketh great scaith, and no person can lodge or remain therein until it be amended, and must have a low roof as my Lord Treasurer knows: wherefore seeing there is much waste lead within the King's castle of Dunstanburgh, that does no good there, right expedient it is that as much thereof as will serve for the roof of Wark dongeon, which will be nine or ten fothers, were had now in time, and the walls likewise of the said castle, which were sore beat with the Duke's siege, must be amended."

^d Such an affectation of chivalrous feeling is not inconsistent with the poltrony which was actually displayed by this contemptible nobleman, and which excited the deep indignation of his Scottish followers, especially the Border men, whose lands had been ravaged by the English, and who panted for retribution. The particulars will be found in the State Papers, "Scottish and Border Correspondence." Nos. XXVII., XXVIII.

vide as best they might for their own salaries and expenses. A sweeping reform was now introduced into this, as into every other branch of the public service. The Deputy-Wardens, as well as their superiors, were not only appointed, but paid by the State;° and further, the principal gentlemen of the Border were retained at regular salaries to assist with a certain stipulated number of men to repel hostile aggression, and to preserve the internal tranquillity of the district. The return, already printed, shewing the relative ability of the principal inhabitants to bring men into the field, and the position of their several strongholds, seems to have been compiled with a view to afford the information necessary for effecting an organization of the forces of the Border. In the same way, after the system was carried out, returns were from time to time made by a confidential person, not merely as to the ability of each individual to afford the stipulated assistance, but as to his personal qualities and fitness for the employment. One of these returns, made in 1526, has already been printed by Mr. Hodgson,^f from a copy in the British Museum. Another return, a very few years later, is subjoined, from the original in the Public Record Office. The two documents are, as might be expected, very similar, and the parties in most instances the same; but a comparison between them exhibits some curious particulars of family history. In the earlier paper, for instance, George Ogle of Ogle Castle is described as “a younger brother, and hath no lands;” in the other we find the same George Ogle residing at Bothal Castle, with his wife, having in the meantime married the Lord Ogle’s mother. His faculties also seem to have expanded with his estate; for in the former return we have no account of them, whilst in the latter he is lauded as “a true sharp young man.” Sir John Widdrington in the first list is “a true man and of good will, but lacketh experience and will lightly be counselled;” at the time of the second list he has gained the experience, which he lacked before, and is set down as “a true man, and a good housekeeper.” The first list has a disparaging remark as to Sir Cuthbert Ratcliffe’s prowess in the field, which is omitted in the second. The names of Thomas Howburn, and John Hall of Otterburn, only occur in the second list.

° Lord Dacre in a letter to the Lords of the Council, dated May 17th, 1514, writes as follows:—
“After the death of Roger Fenwick, one of the Lieutenants of the Middle Marches, I nominated my brother, Philip Dacre: since that his son Rauf Fenwick has got appointed by the Crown, contrary to the conditions of my indenture, which give me the appointment, and fitly so, as I serve the office of Warden for nothing; but I am content he should keep it.”

^f Hist. North. Part II., vol. ii., page 67.

The Names of such gentlemen as of late are retained to the King's Highness by fee, under his Grace's letters patent, within Northumberland, with one estimation of their ability to do the King service, and of their other qualities.

- First, Sir William Eure, deputy warden of the East Marches, being captain of Norham, on Tweed bank, may dispend of his father's land four score pound by the year. He may serve the King by his office at Norham under my Lord of Durham, and of his father's said land with 200 men. He is a true gentleman and a good justice.
- Sir Robert Ellarcar, knight, of Chillingham, 6 mile from Scotland, may dispend yearly of his wife, of Sir Edward Grey's land, 100 marks, and is chamberlain of Berwick. He may serve the King with 46 horsemen, and is a true plain man.
- Sir Roger Grey, knight, of Dychaunte, from Scotland 7 mile; he may dispend 100 marks by the year; he may serve the King with 40 horsemen. He hath left his house at Horton void, which standeth nigh the Borders, and dwelleth more innermost in the country. He is a true plain man.
- Rauf Ilderton of Ilderton, from Scotland 4 mile, may dispend 40 marks by the year. He may serve the King with 20 horsemen; he suffereth his house to go down, and lieth little at it. He is a riotous, given much to sensual appetite.
- Thomas Forster of Edderston, from Scotland 10 mile, may dispend 40 mark land by the year, in possession and reversion; he may serve the King with 12 horsemen, he keepeth no house, and is young.
- Thomas Grey of Newstead, from Scotland 10 mile; he may dispend by his wife about 20 mark by the year, and may serve the King of these lands with 8 horsemen. He hath the rule of the King's tenants of the lordships of Bamburgh and Dunstanborough, under his uncle the Lord Darcy, and may serve the King of these lordships with 40 horsemen.
- Thomas Hebborn of Hebborn, from Scotland 5 mile, may dispend 20 pound land by the year. He may serve the King with 6 horsemen, and is a true man.
- Richard Foulberry of Foulberry, from Scotland 5 mile, may dispend 15 pound by the year. He may serve the King with 6 horsemen, and is a true borderer.
- Edward Muschiaunce of Gatherwick, from Scotland 4 mile, may dispend 4 pound by the year of his wife's feoffment. He may serve the King with 4 horsemen.
- John Carr of Wark on Tweedside, may dispend 40 marks by the year. He may serve the King with 16 horsemen. He is a good housekeeper, and a true sharp borderer.
- John Selby of Branxton, from Scotland 3 mile; he may dispend of his father's land 4 pound by the year. He may serve the King with 5 horsemen, and is a sharp borderer.
- Thomas Howborn of Howborn, from Scotland 7 mile, may dispend 20 marks by the year. He may serve the King with 6 horseman, and is a true man.
- William Strudder of Newton, may dispend 20 pound by the year. He may serve the King with 10 horsemen.
- Lyell Grey, being porter of Berwick, is a younger brother, and hath the rule of Lilburn under divers gentlemen, inheritors of the same. He may serve the King of the same town with 12 horsemen. He keepeth no house, and is a wise man.
- Thomas Carr of Newlands, from Scotland 9 mile; he may dispend 10 marks by the year. He may serve the King with 4 horsemen, and keepeth a good house.
- Sir John Wetherington of Wetherington, knight, deputy warden of the Middle Marches, from Scot-

- land 16 mile, and from Riddisdale 6 mile, may dispend 300 marks by the year. He may serve the King with 100 men. He is a good housekeeper and a true man.
- The Lord Ogle of Bothal, from Scotland 14 miles, from Riddisdale 4 miles, may dispend 300 marks in possession and reversion. He may serve the King with 100 horsemen. He is a true young man, and a good housekeeper.
- George Ogle hath married the Lord Ogle's mother, and is both in house with the said Lord at Bothal, what he hath in right of his said wife we know not. He is a true sharp young man.
- John Ogle of Ogle Castle, from Scotland 12 mile, and from Riddisdale 4 mile; he may dispend 20 marks by the year. He may serve the King with 10 horsemen, and is a sharp forward man.
- John Ogle of Kirklaw, from Scotland 12 mile, and from Riddisdale 4 mile, may dispend 10 pound by the year, and may serve the King with 8 men, and is a sharp forward man.
- Sir John Delaval of Seaton, from Scotland 18 mile, and from Riddisdale 10 mile, may dispend 100 pound by the year. He may serve the King with 50 men. He keepeth a good house, and is a true gentleman.
- Sir Cuthbert Ratclif of Dilston, from Scotland 10 mile, and from Tyndale 6 mile, may dispend 300 marks by the year, and serve the King with fourscore horsemen. He keepeth a good house, and is a true gentleman,
- John Hawll of Otterburn, in Riddisdale, may dispend 20 marks by the year, and serve the King with 6 horsemen.
- John Horsley of Srenwood, from Scotland 4 mile, and from Riddisdale 3 mile, may dispend of his father's land 10 pound by the year, and in fee of my Lord of Northumberland 10 pound by the year. He may serve the King with 30 horsemen, and is a true wise borderer.
- Robert Collingwood of Eslington, from Scotland 5 mile, and from Riddisdale 4 mile, may dispend 40 pound land by the year, and hath the rule of Hezelrig's land. He may serve the King of these lands with 60 horsemen. He is captain of Wark, and hath the rule of the King's tenants in the barony. He may serve the King with 40 horsemen of the same in time of peace.
- Sir William Ogle, uncle of the Lord Ogle of Cockillparke, from Scotland 13 mile, and from Riddisdale 4 mile; he may dispend during his life 40 marks by the year. He may serve the King with five or six household servants, and is a true man.

About this time we meet with one of the most remarkable episodes in Northumbrian history, terminating in the execution, as felons, of the head of one of the most influential families in the county, and of other persons of note.

By a letter from Magnus to Wolsey, bearing date August 17, 1527, it appears that Sir William Ellerker, being Sheriff, had, in the execution of his office, seized the goods of Sir William Lisle of Felton, when the latter, "accompanied with 100 persons, riotously came to the lordship where the said Sir William doth dwell, and then did take and carry away in forceable manner 40 head of noote." Ellerker followed him, accompanied by three persons only, and remonstrated with him on the outrage, when he offered defiance alike to the Sheriff and the King. On another occasion, having an angry dispute with Roger Heron, he made use of the

following language:—"What means thou to strive with me? Will thou win anything at my hands? I have ruffled with the Warden & also with the Cardinal, and trust to pluck him by the nose." On these charges Sir William Lisle and his son Humfrey were brought before the Council at York, and committed to Pontefract. From hence they were removed to Newcastle for trial, but succeeded in escaping from the gaol, releasing at the same time "divers rebels, outlaws, heinous felons and murderers." Proceeding to Widdrington, "belonging to Sir William Ellerker," they stole "nigh forty horses, and conveyed them into Scotland." Application was made both to the King of Scotland and the Earl of Angus, who promised to use their best endeavours to arrest them. Retiring, however, into the Debatable Land, they set the power of both kingdoms at defiance, "banding themselves with a company of thieves called the Armstrongs, manifest offenders and heinous murderers in both realms." Their daring exploits form the chief subject of the communications in the State Papers of this year. At length, on the 28th of January, 1528, we have a letter from the Earl of Northumberland to the King informing him that—

"As he was coming from mass on Sunday last, William Lisle and Humfrey his son, with thirteen other rebellious personages, met him in their shirts with halters about their necks, and submitted themselves, without any manner of condition, unto your most gracious mercy; which persons I straightway committed to prison within my poor castle of Alnwick, for the safe keeping of them unto such time as I know further of your most gracious Highness' pleasure."

The two Lisles, with William Shaftoe and Thomas Fenwick, "gentlemen of name, and the chief leaders of the said rebels," were condemned to death, and all were hanged, drawn, and quartered, with the exception of Humfrey Lisle, who was sent to the Tower of London by the King's command. The above is a very brief abstract of the principal circumstances connected with this extraordinary affair, chiefly derived from the letters published by the State Paper Commissioners. Mr. Hodgson^s has also printed several letters relating to it, which are not in that collection.

In 1542 the Border troubles again assumed an appearance of national magnitude. The incursions of the Scottish mosstroopers had for some time been pursued with so much determination, and the losses on the side of England had been

^s Hist. North., Part II., vol. iii., p. 378-81.

so serious, that it was resolved to inflict such a measure of retaliation as would strike terror into the hearts of those bold marauders. For this purpose a force of 3,000 men was assembled in the East March, under Sir Robert Bowes. The principal object of attack was the town of Jedburgh, which, since the dismantling of Roxburgh Castle, had become the chief stronghold on the eastern frontier of Scotland, and the capital of Roxburghshire. Nineteen years before, it had been destroyed by the Earl of Surrey, who describes it at that time as having "two times more houses therein than in Berwick, and well builded with many honest and fair houses, sufficient to have lodged 1,000 horsemen in garrison, and six good towers therein." He goes on to state how the said town and towers had been all "cleanly destroyed, brent, and thrown down." From this calamity the town had now in a great measure recovered, when it was proposed to visit it with a similar attack. The forces of Sir Robert Bowes, however, had scarcely passed the little stream which divides the two kingdoms, to the west of Carham, when he was attacked by the Earl of Huntley, defeated, and taken prisoner. This disaster, at Haddon Rig, caused great excitement, not only on the Borders, but at the seat of government, and the following instructions were despatched to the Duke of Norfolk from the Privy Council :—

"Necessary it is that by some notable exploit the dishonour be in some part purged which the Scots brute of this realm, that the king's subjects in the late enterprize of Bowes, being in far greater number, durst not abide to encounter the Scots. Ye shall not stay and totally abstain from this enterprize, whatsoever conditions the Scots shall offer unto you, before you shall have done some notable exploit against the said Scots, whereby may appear that the negligence of the late enterprize, and the lack of the king's subjects therein, be now fully redoubled and requited. One other thing is that, after the exploit done, ye admit no less conditions then, than ye have already been content with ; but in anywise somewhat better, as in pledges of more reputation."

In pursuance of these orders, the Duke invaded Scotland, burnt the town and abbey of Kelso, and laid waste the adjoining country. Having thus inflicted what appeared to him an adequate revenge, he returned to Berwick. The Sottish King, in the meantime, in vain endeavoured to induce his nobles to support him in a war with England ; and when at length he had collected an army for the invasion of the Western March, they chose to suffer defeat without an effort in self-defence, rather than fight under a general who was obnoxious to them. The battle

of the Esk, so fatal to James' hopes and injurious to his honour, was followed by his death of a broken heart.

Henry evinced every disposition to act on the present occasion with the same moderation as he had done under somewhat similar circumstances after the battle of Flodden. Finding it, however, impossible to conciliate the distracted government of Scotland, he determined to inflict a severe chastisement on this impracticable people for the many indignities which they had offered and the injuries they had committed. Having appointed the Earl of Hertford commander of the intended expedition, he directed a muster of his forces at Newcastle. From hence the Earl sailed with an army of 10,000 men about the end of April, 1544, and disembarked in the Forth on the 10th of the following month. This invasion, although attended with much suffering to the districts of Scotland against which it was directed, was productive of no substantial advantage to England beyond the plunder of Edinburgh, Leith, and other places, the fruits of which were put on board the fleet, which entered the port of Berwick, on its return, on the 18th of May, just a fortnight after its arrival in the Frith of Forth. The stirring events of the next two years have little direct connection with Northumbrian history, although the immediately adjacent district of Scotland was the scene on which they were enacted. In June, 1554, Jedburgh was burned by Sir Ralph Eure, and Kelso again shared the same fate. In July the devastation was directed to Berwickshire, when the towns of Dunse and Greenlaw, with many villages, were plundered and left in flames.

The next year was memorable for the battle of Ancrum-moor, in which Sir Ralph Eure and Sir Brian Laiton, with Lord Ogle and many of the gentry of Northumberland, were slain. Encouraged by this success, the Scots crossed the Tweed, ravaged Glendale, and menaced the castle of Wark, but no serious operations were attempted.

A severe retribution was now exacted by the Earl of Hertford, who entering Scotland at the head of a considerable army, laid waste the counties of Berwick and Roxburgh, and plundered the abbeys of Kelso, Dryburgh, Melrose, and Jedburgh.

In 1546 a peace was concluded between France and England, in which Scotland was included as the ally of the former. This pacification only preceded by a few months the death of King Henry.

Having now concluded a summary of Border affairs, it is necessary to go back

a few years in order to notice some circumstances connected with the dissolution of monasteries in this county. Of these Tynemouth was the only one which escaped the operation of the Act passed in 1536, for the suppression of the smaller foundations. None of the others possessed a rental of 200*l.* a year, although the possessions of several of them greatly exceeded that amount in actual value. The system of renewing leases at the ancient rent on payment of fines very generally prevailed, and as these fines were not taken into calculation, many very wealthy establishments were included under the penal definition of "lesser monasteries." The rental of Alnwick Abbey was within three or four pounds of the sum which would have preserved it from dissolution, and although this circumstance did not exempt it from the operation of the Act of Parliament, it was re-founded by letters patent, but only to be subjected to a forced surrender a few years latter. Hexham, Bamburgh, Newminster, Brinkburn, and Blanchland, with the nunneries of Holistone and Lambley and several minor foundations, were all included in one sweeping confiscation.

Great efforts were made by the Archbishop of York to save Hexham, of which a remote predecessor had been the founder, and he was himself the patron. A strong representation was addressed by him to Cromwell, in which he states that—

"Hexham is upon the borders of Scotland and was sometime *sedes episcopalis*, and many holy men, sometime bishops, there be in that church, saints of name; and wise men that know the borders think that the lands thereof, although they were ten times as much, can not countervail the damage that is like to ensue, if it be suppressed. For some way there is never a house between Scotland and the lordship of Hexham; and men fear, if the monastery go down, all must be waste much within the land. And what comfort the monastery is daily to the country there, and especially in time of war, not only the countrymen do know, but also many of the noblemen of this realm, that hath done the king's highness service in Scotland. I doubt not but that the land of that monastery is better than two hundred pound by the year, as likewise the arch-bishop's lands were much better if they lay in a quiet place. Some of my predecessors have had their thirteen hundred marks by the year, and now it is *communibus annis* under 200*l.*"

This appeal was unsuccessful, and would probably have been so under any circumstances, but the ardour with which the monks of Hexham adhered to the old religion was little calculated to conciliate the favour of the King or his ministers. In the previous year Edward Jay, the Prior, had been executed at Tyburn for treason, with the Prior of the Charter-House and others.

The Bishop's letter is dated on the 23rd of April, and on the 28th of September following the abbey was visited by commissioners appointed to carry the dissolution into effect. No prior had been appointed since the death of Jay, and the sub-prior appears to have been a timid man; but amongst the monks was found one possessed of dauntless spirit and resolution, who was determined not to yield, without a struggle, to the arbitrary exercise of the secular power, and in this resolve he was vigorously supported by the brethren and their dependents. The name of the leader is not preserved, but he held the office of master of the cell at Ovingham, founded by the last of the Umfrevilles, Barons of Prudhoe, subordinate to Hexham. An account of the proceedings on this occasion, under the hands of the commissioners, has been preserved in the Public Record Office, and is too curious to be omitted in this place.

The Misdemeanours of the Religious Persons of Hexham, in the County of Northumberland.

First.—Whereas Lyonel Grey, Robert Collingwood, William Green, and James Rokeby, Commissioners for the Dissolution of Monasteries within the County aforesaid, the 28th day of the month of September, in the 28th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the 8th, associate with their ordinary company, was riding towards the said Monastery of Hexham, there to execute the king's most dread commandment of dissolution; being in their journey at Dilston three miles from the said monastery, were credibly informed that the said religious persons had prepared them with gunnery and artillery mete for the war, with people in the same house mete to defend and keep the same with force; assented that the said Lyonel Grey and Robert Collingwood should with a few persons repair to the said monastery, as well to view and see the number of persons keeping the same house, as to desire the Sub-prior and Convent of the same thankfully and obediently to receive the king's commissioners coming near-hand, to enter into their house, with due entertainment, there to execute and use the effect of their duties of dissolution, according to the king's most dread commandment.

The said Lyonel and Robert accordingly did enter into the said town of Hexham, riding towards the said Monastery, did see many persons assembled with bills, halberts, and other defensible weapons, ready standing in the streets, like men ready to defend a town of war: and in their passing by the street, the common bell of the town was rongen, and straight after it the great bell of the monastery was also ronge, whereby the people forceably assembled towards the monastery, where the said Lyonel and Robert found the gate and doors fast shut; and a Chalone called the Maister of Ovingham, belonging to the same house, being in harness with a bow bent with arrows, accompanied with divers other per-

sons, all standing upon the leads and walls of the house and steeple, which Maister of Ovingham answered these words hereunder written.

“ We be twenty brethren in this house, and we shall die all, or that ye have this house.” The said Lyonel and Robert answered with request and said, “ Advise you well and speak with your brethren, and shew unto them this our request and declaration of the king’s gracious writing, and then give us an answer finally.” And so the same Maister repaired into the house, after whose departure did come into the same place five or six of the Chalons of the house with divers other persons like men of war, in harness with swords gyrde about them, having bows and arrows and other weapons, and stood upon the steeple head and leads in the defence of their house, the said Lyonel and Robert being without, about whom did come and congregate many people, both men with weapons and many women, and so stood there a great space, assured by the said Maister of Ovingham, that they should remain peaceably there, unto their answer were made, and so to depart without bodily hurt.

The said Maister of Ovingham, being in harness with the Sub-prior, being in his Chalons’s aparel, not long after did repair again to the said Lyonel and Robert, bringing with them a writing under the king’s broad seal, and said these words hereafter written, by the mouth of the Sub-prior.

“ We do not doubt but ye bring with you the king’s seal of authority for this house, albeit ye shall hear the king’s confirmation of our house under the great seal of king Henry the 8th, God save his Grace. We think it not to the king’s honour to give forth one seal contrary to another ; and afore any of our lands, goods, or house be taken from us, we shall all die, and this is our full answer.”

And so the said Lyonel and Robert returned and met the rest of the commissioners approaching near the town, and so all together reculed back to Corbridge, where they lodged all the night. Upon the morrow next after did come one Thomas Elrington of Espersields, Esquire, and Roger Lawson of Hexhamshire, yeoman, who were within the town of Hexham what time the said Lyonel and Robert were in the town, and they did remain there after the recule of the said Lyonel and Robert for the further declaration of the said Chalons’ demeanours, do affirm and say : That immediately after the commissioners departed the town, the Chalons, being all in harness, associate with a great company of tenants and servants belonging to the said monastery, to the number of 60 persons and more, did issue forth of the monastery in defensible array by two together, all in harness, and so did walk from the monastery to a place called the Green, towards where the Commissioners did meet, and there stood in array, with their weapons in their hands, but the Commissioners were past out of the sight of the monastery, and so they returned into the monastery again.

LYONELL GRAYE.

ROBERT COLLINGWOOD.

WILLIAM GRENE.

JAMES ROKEBY.

Although Hexham is the only monastery where we have any details of actual resistance, there were many, especially in the North of England, where the King's most dread commandment of dissolution," was far from being "thankfully and obediently received." Amongst these the most contumacious were Newminster in Northumberland, Lanercost in Cumberland, Sawley and Richmond in Yorkshire; and to their "traitorous conspiracies" are ascribed, in a great measure, that formidable insurrection which broke out the same year under the title of the "Pilgrimage of Grace." The King, writing to the Duke of Norfolk in the following March, as to various matters relating to the rebellion, winds up his instructions as follows:—

"Finally, forasmuch as all these troubles have ensued by the solicitation and traitorous conspiracies of the monks and chanoys of those parts; we desire and pray you at your repair to Sallege, Hexam, Newminster, Leonarde Coste, Saincte Agatha, and all such other places as have made any manner of resistance, or in any wise conspired, or kept their houses with any force since the appointment of Doncaster, you shall, without pity or circumstance, now that our banner is displayed, cause all the monks and canons that be in any wise faulty, to be tied up, without further delay or ceremony, to the terrible example of others; wherein we think you shall do unto us high service."

After this the fortified prison of Hexham seems to have been used as a place of confinement for ecclesiastics engaged in treasonable practices. Cromwell, in a letter addressed to the King, in February, 1539, mentions the capture of "one Robert Moor, priest of Chichester, who was lately *scapped* from Hexam's prison."

The commonalty of Northumberland took no active part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, although they were in a state of great excitement. Some interesting particulars as to the state of the North will be found in two letters from Sir Ralph Sadleyr to Cromwell. Both are comprised in the government publication of State Papers, and the second is also inserted amongst the Sadleyr Papers edited by Sir Walter Scott. Writing from York on the 24th of January, 1537, he describes the difficulty, amongst conflicting rumours, to arrive at the truth.

"Some told me there was a new insurrection, and that all Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Richmondshire, and Holderness were up; some told me again that Lord Conyers had stayed a great part of Richmondshire, and that Aske and Mr. Bowes had done well their parts, in staying of the country, as well within the bishoprick of Durham as Holderness; some told me that Sir Francis Bigote had raised a great company, and had made an assault upon Hull, and that there was a great conflict and very

many men slain ; and that Sir Ralph Ellerker did then his part so well that he took a great many of the rebels, and their captain, Bigote, fled, no man knoweth whither." The towns are described as generally quiet ; the people of the bishoprick as " very wild, now up, now down, at no stay, but in a mamoring what they may do, and daily as I hear, they flock and assemble."

Of the truth of this account Sadleyr had evidence from his own experience at Darlington, as we learn from his next letter written from Newcastle.

" Had not Mr. Bowes come home when he did, it had very like to have been a new insurrection. Undoubtedly he hath well done his part in staying the country through the whole of the bishoprick." As he advanced north he found things more settled. At Newcastle he was " well entertained for the King's sake, both by the Mayor and the Aldermen. And at this time," he adds, " I assure your Lordship they have shewed themselves honest, faithful, and true men to the King, for albeit the commons of the town, at the first beginning of this tumult, were very unruly, and as much disposed to sedition and rebellion, as they of the country were, yet I assure your Lordship the Mayor and Aldermen and other heads of the town did so with wisdom and manhood handle the commons of the same, that they did fully reconcile them, and so handled them, that in fine they were determined to live and die with the Mayor and his brethren in the defence and keeping of the town, to the King's use, against all his enemies and rebels, as indeed they did. The town of itself is surely a strong town, and the Mayor thereof is a wise fellow and a substantial.^a He and James Lawson, who is one of the Aldermen, brought me upon the walls of the town, which I assure your Lordship be very strong, and there they shewed me how they fortified the town. All along the walls lay sundry pieces of ordnance, and at every gate of the town they kept watch and ward, and still do. Every gatehouse is full of bows and arrows, bills and other habilaments of war, and upon every gate lay on the towers two great pieces of ordnance, which would scour every way a mile or two or more. All which ordnance, they told me, that every merchant for his part brought out of their ships. They made also new gates of iron upon their bridge, and be victualled within the town, they think, for a whole year. I assure your Lordship they have done their parts very honestly, and have, in my opinion, deserved much thank, praise, and commendation. And if it might please the King's highness to send them a letter of thanks, it would greatly encourage them, for surely they have deserved thank, and been at great charge for the defence and fortification of the town."

^a The Mayor this year was Robert Brandling, who acquired the estates of Gosforth and Felling by marriage with Anne, daughter of John Place, Esq., of Halnaby, coheir of her mother, Catherine, sister and heir of the whole blood to Thomas Surtees, Esq., of Dinsdale. (See the Pedigree in Surtees' Durham, Vol. ii. page 90.) He was knighted by the Duke of Somerset in his northern expedition in the reign of Edward IV.

This year (1537) the King purposed to make a progress into the North, but the plan was postponed till the following season, and ultimately abandoned altogether. The reasons of the postponement are given at great length, in a communication from the King to the Duke of Norfolk. Omitting the earlier portion of the document, which is tedious and uninteresting, we begin with the "fourth cause," which is stated as follows:—

"That we consider that since the beginning of our reign we have not visited those north parts of our realm, and if we would keep our purposed journey, being the year so far spent, and the country so devastated, which made us of necessity stay so long, neither could we tarry any convenient time at any one place, nor pass our city of York; by reason whereof neither should our people of those north parts have any fruition of our presence, nor we should have any time to peruse our frontiers, or to see our towns joining upon the same; which also made us upon the other grounds before specified, to stay the more willingly; being minded, God willing, the next year not only to visit our said city of York, but also Hull, Carlisle, Newcastle, Duresme, with all the most part of the notable towns in those parts."

The surrender of the greater monasteries was effected without any of that popular excitement which attended the dissolution of the smaller houses. The process was at all events in appearance voluntary. To every member of these great establishments was assigned a pension, which afforded him in his old age, if not a competency, a livelihood. The assent of the nobility and greater gentry was purchased by a share of the spoil. The lower classes bitterly lamented the advantages of which they had been deprived; but they were without leaders, and the remembrance of the terrible vengeance which had fallen on the insurgents of 1536-7, deterred them from engaging in a similar enterprize with far inferior means. The great religious foundation of the North, the Priory of Durham, was still devoted to ecclesiastical purposes, even the members of the establishment being to a great extent unchanged, the Prior quietly subsiding into the Dean, and the senior monk into the Prebendary. Tynemouth was, as regarded Northumberland, an alien establishment, a cell of St. Albans, from whence its ranks were recruited, and the same feeling could hardly be expected to exist towards its inmates, as to the brethren of a native monastery. Alnwick had only been spared thus long by special favour, and no effort was made a second time to avert its doom.

EDWARD VI.

The reign of Edward VI. extended over nearly six years and a half, from the 28th of January, 1547, to the 6th of July, 1553. In his first year an expedition was fitted out against Scotland, under the command of the Protector Somerset, who, as Earl of Hertford, had led an army thither in the preceding reign. The forces were mustered at Newcastle under John Dudley Earl of Warwick, and afterwards Duke of Northumberland. From hence they marched to Berwick, attended by a fleet under Sir George Clinton, to supply them with provisions. Here Somerset assumed the command, and entered Scotland in the beginning of September. The details of the expedition are matter of general history, differing little from those on previous occasions—one decisive victory, with the usual amount of plunder and devastation, but unattended by any permanent advantage. During the two following years the war was prosecuted with still less satisfactory results. At length hostilities were ended by a treaty concluded at Norham in 1550. The only invasion of the Eastern Borders of England during this period was undertaken in 1549 by a strong body of Scots under the French General D'Essé. Leaving Wark unmolested, he marched onward to Cornhill, where he succeeded in taking the tower, and securing a considerable booty. At Ford, whither he next proceeded, he was less fortunate. This castle was now the property of Thomas Carr, son of John Carr, the Captain of Wark, who had married the heiress of Heron. Carr made a determined and skilful resistance, retreating from one portion of the castle only to make a more effectual resistance in another. Succour at length arrived from the neighbouring country, and D'Essé was compelled to retire.

On the conclusion of the war, the Marquis of Dorset was appointed Warden-General of the Marches, for whose use and at whose desire Sir Robert Bowes drew up the Report on the state of the Borders, already referred to. Dorset's government lasted little more than half a year, when he was succeeded by John Dudley, created about this time Duke of Northumberland, under whom Lord Wharton acted as Deputy.

Wharton had had great experience in Border affairs, having acted as Deputy-Warden of the West March in the late reign, in which capacity he addressed a report to Henry VIII, in 1543, on the state of the Marches generally, with suggestions as to their better government. These views he now endeavoured to carry

into effect, for which purpose he summoned a meeting at Newcastle, not only of all the officers of the Marches, but of the principal gentry of Northumberland and Cumberland, for the purpose of consultation. This council assembled on the 12th of September, 1553, and remained in deliberation during that and the following day. The parties present were—The Lord Wharton, Lord Deputy Warden-General; Lord Eure, Deputy Warden of the East Marches; Lord Ogle, Deputy Warden of the Middle Marches; Sir Thomas Dacre, Deputy Warden of the West Marches; Sir Richard Musgrave, Captain of Carlisle; Mr. Dunye, Deputy Captain of Berwick; Sir John Horsley, Captain of Bamburgh; Richard Bowes, Captain of Norham; Thomas Carr, Captain of Wark; John Musgrave, Captain of Bewcastle; Thomas Gowen, Marshal of Berwick; Sir Thomas Grey, Sheriff of Northumberland, with the following knights and gentlemen:—

Sir John Widdrington	} Knights.	Albany Featherstonhaugh	Lancelot Lysle
Sir John Delaval		Cuthbert Horsley	Anthony Midford
Sir George Radcliffe		William Buckden	Christopher Midford
Sir John Forster.		John Bednell	John Musgrove
		William Conyers	John Ogle
		Robert Thirlwell	John Delaval
William Pennington	} Esquires.	Nicholas Ridley	Robert Raines
John Preston		John Shaftoe	William Strother
Robert Collingwood		Robert Lysle	Gilbert Swinhoe
William Swinhoe		Thomas Errington	Thomas Carlyle
Robert Constable.		John Midford	Thomas Rutherford

The regulations agreed upon provide for a complete system of watch and ward, the stations being defined with great minuteness, the number of men to be stationed at each, the townships by which they are to be provided, with the names of the setters, searchers, and overseers.

These are followed by two very important provisions, the first for stopping up divers fords on the North and South Tyne, Reed, and other waters, as also closing certain passes by land into Northumberland; the second is for carrying out a general system of enclosure of lands throughout all the Marches.

The directions to the Commissioners of Enclosure are exceedingly minute and curious, but it is certain that they were very imperfectly carried out, as Northumberland remained long afterwards very inadequately provided with hedges or fences of any kind. The Enclosure Commissioners comprise most of the principal gentry in the several districts, and the list forms a valuable addition to the documents which we possess of the same class.

Commissioners for Enclosures upon the Middle Marches.

- 1 *Between the Waters of Coquet and Aln from Leirchild Burn to the Sea.*
 Robert Lisle of Felton
 Thomas Swinburn of Edlingham
 John Bednell of Lemmington
 George Fenwick of Brenkburn
 George Metcalf of Alnwick
 Harry Heron of Alnwick.
- 2 *From Leirchild Burn to the March of Scotland between Bremish and Symondside.*
 Sir George Ratcliffe, knight
 Cuthbert Musgrave of Harbottle
 Robert Collingwood of Eslington
 Robert Clavering of Callaley
 Thomas Horsley of Skyrnwood
 Percival Selby of Bytilsden
 Edward Gallen of Trewit
 Percival Clennell of Clennell.
- 3 *From the Sea to the Street between Coquet and Wansbeck.*
 The Lord Ogle
 Sir John Witherington, knight
 Robert Horsley of Acklington
 John Heron of Bockenfeild
 Martin Turpen
 John Fenwick of Chilburn.
- 4 *From the Street unto Ryddisdale between the Waters of Coquet and Wansbeck.*
 Rauf Fenwick of Stanton
 Roger Thornton of Witton
 Cuthbert Horsley of Horsley
 Anthony Fenwick of Laneshaw
 Michael Fenwick of Hartenton-Hall
 George Dofenby of Pigdon
 Anthony Fenwick of the Fawnes.
- 5 *From the Sea to the Street between Wansbeck and Tyne.*
 Sir Thomas Hilton, knight
 Sir John Deleval, knight
 John Metford of Seghill
 Richard Lyse of Bedlington
- Gregory Ogle of Choppington
 John Killingworth of Benton
 George Ogle of Hyrst
 Bartram Anderson of Burradon.
- 6 *From the Street West to Shaftoe-Crag between Wansbeck and Pont at Stanerdon.*
 Robert Raines of Shortflatts
 Thomas Middleton of Belso
 John Ogle of Ogle Castle
 Alexander Heron of Meldon
 Anthony Medfurth of Ponteland
 John Horsley of Milburn-Grange
 Cuthbert Metfurth of Metfurth.
- 7 *From Shaftoe-Crag to Stanerden between the Waters of Pont and Wansbeck to the Bounds of Ryddisdale.*
 Lord Eures, Deputy Warden
 George Heron of Chipchase
 Roger Fenwick of Bytchfeild
 John Shaftoe of Bavington
 Randal Fenwick of Kirkharle
 William Musgrave of Kirkheaton
 George Heron of Ryplington
 Harry Wetherington.
- 8 *From Newcastle to Bewclay Edge between Tyne and Pont.*
 John Deleval, son and heir of Sir John
 William Carnaby of Halton
 John Musgrave of Newburn
 Richard Rotherfurth of Rutechester
 Cuthbert Carnaby
 Thomas Reid, Bailliff of Ovingham
 Richard Hodgson of Newcastle.
- 9 *For the Lordships of Prudhoe and Bywell.*
 Thomas Carey, Constable of Prudhoe
 John Swinburn of Chopwell
 Anthony Ratchiff
 Thomas Elrington of Espersheles
 John Hurd (Ourd or Ord)
 Edward Newton of Stocksfield.

10 *For the Bounds of Hexhamshire and the Two Allendales.*

Nicholas Errington of Wharnley
 Robert Thirlway of Newbiggen
 Davy Carnaby
 Thomas Errington of Bingfeild
 William Coniers, Bailiff of Hexham
 Matthew Bee
 Hugh Shelle
 Henry Ogle.

12 *For the Bounds of North Tyndale to Ryddisdale as the Marches go.*

George Heron, Keeper of Tyndale
 Anthony Errington of Walwick Grange
 James Usher, Bailiff of Humshaugh
 John Heron of Hawbarnes
 William Charlton of Hesleyside
 John Charlton of Blakelaw
 John Robson of Falstone
 Henry Charlton of Haukhill
 Edward Milburn of Sidewood
 Thomas Charlton, Laird of Hawks
 Arthur Dodd

11 *From Hexhamshire to the Water of Irthing on both sides of South Tyne, as the Middle Marches go.*

Nicholas Ridley of Wilymondswick
 Albany Featherstonhaugh
 Nicholas Errington, Constable of Langley
 Henry Wallis
 Nicholas Blenkinsop
 Rauf Whitfeild
 Hugh Cranworth
 Lancelot Thirlway
 Richard Carnaby
 Bailiffs of Haltwhistle and Newbrough.

13 *For the Bounds of Ryddisdale between Tyndale and Coquet and from the Sting-cross to the March of Scotland.*

Cuthbert Musgrove, Keeper of Ryddisdale
 John Hall of Otterburn
 John Rede, Laird of Troughend
 Thomas Hall of Monkridge
 Thomas Anderson of Davysheil
 Hob Hall of Whiskersheil
 Clement Reed of Alderton
 Allan Hedley
 Richard Forster
 Robert Forster

Commissioners for the Enclosure of the East Marches.

1 *For Elandshire.*

Richard Bowes, Captain of Norham
 Robert Lawson of Scremerston
 Gilbert Swinhoe of Goswick
 Richard Carr of Elwick
 Edward Revely, Bailiff of Ancroft
 George Moreton of Moreton

3 *From Tweed to the Glen, between Tyll and Cheviot, as the Marches divide.*

Thomas Carr, Captain of Wark
 Rauf Grey of Heaton
 William Swinhoe of Cornhill
 William Stokoe of Newton
 Oliver Selby, Bailiff of Mindrim
 Gilbert Wallis, Bailiff of Akeld.

2 *For Norhamshire.*

Richard Bowes, Captain of Norham
 George Ord of Newbiggen
 John Ord his son
 John Selby of Twisell
 William Selby of Grindon
 Robert Clavering of Duddoe

4 *From Glen to Bremish between Tyll and Cheviot.*

Sir Thomas Gray, knight
 Thomas Ilderton
 John Roddam the Elder
 Thomas Reveley, Bailiff of Chatton
 Francis Reveley of Humbleton
 John Rutherford of Middleton Hall.

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| <p>5 <i>From Warnebridge to the Water of Aln as
Bamburghshire goes.</i></p> <p>Sir John Horsley, knight
Sir John Forster, knight
Francis Armorer of Belford
Roland Bradford of Tughill
George Carr of Lesbury
Edward Bradford of Embleton.</p> | <p>6 <i>From the Water of Aln to Hetton Burn on
the East-side of Tyll with Bamburgh-
shire.</i></p> <p>Rauf Gray, Deputy Warden
Sir Robert Ellerker, knight
Thomas Hebburn of Hebburn
Robert Collingwood of Bewick
Thomas Carlisle of Heslerig
Luke Ogle of Eglingham.</p> |
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Previous to these arrangements of his Deputy, the Duke of Northumberland himself, as Lord Warden-General, had made a personal inspection of all the three Marches in the months of July and August, visiting the several strongholds, and superintending the works then in progress at Berwick. He also presided at Warden-courts at Newcastle, Alnwick, and Carlisle, delivering over his commission to Lord Wharton on the 12th of September, the very day on which the council at Newcastle was opened.

Besides the measures which Lord Wharton was able to direct of his own authority, he submitted a Paper of *Suggestions* to the Duke of Northumberland, which if carried into effect, "will, as he thinketh, be a great honor and commodity to the King's Majesty, and to his Highness's successors, and a most great common-wealth for all the three Marches, and for the North part of his Majesty's realm in peace, and especially when wars shall be." These, with the Orders for the Border Watches and the instructions to the Enclosure Commissioners are printed in the Appendix to Bishop Nicholson's *Border Laws*. The *Suggestions* are also printed with the Survey of 1542 from a MS. of Sir Robert Bowes, amongst the Northern Tracts published by Mr. Richardson, and it may be doubted whether they emanated from Lord Wharton or Sir Robert, although officially communicated by the former. It is not improbable, indeed, that they were a joint production, as they contain many recommendations which are not to be found in Wharton's previous suggestions to Henry VIII. The Orders for the Border Watches are particularly valuable, not only from the minute information which they furnish of the system adopted, but from the names which they contain of the setters and searchers in the several townships and districts, which comprise many of the influential yeomanry, whose names rarely occur in public documents, but are nevertheless of great use in topographical investigations.

During this reign an Act was passed especially affecting the holders of the office of sheriff in this county (2nd and 3rd Edward VI. c. 34). The Act recites that—

“The sheriffs of Northumberland for a long time past have not accounted to the King's Majesty of the issues and profits of their bailiwick in the Exchequer or elsewhere, as other sheriffs of the said county in old time past have done, nor as the sheriffs of other counties do at this time, but do yearly receive and take the whole profits thereof to their own use, to the great detriment and loss of the King.”

It then proceeds to enact that hereafter—

“Every sheriff of Northumberland, before he receive his patent, or exercise any part of the said office, shall put in sufficient sureties by himself, or by his sufficient deputy or deputies, unto the King's Exchequer, entering into recognizances to the satisfaction of the Barons of the Exchequer.”

Provision is at the same time made that he shall not be answerable for arrears or for any default of his predecessors before the passing of the Act.

Fuller strangely perverts the plain meaning of the preamble, by asserting that the sheriffs of Northumberland, had never previously accounted at the Exchequer, and this statement has been repeatedly adopted without modification by our county historians; whereas the long series of the Pipe Rolls shew that in old times the sheriffs of Northumberland accounted with as much exactness as those of any other county. Two documents, however, have been brought to light, by which we ascertain the precise time when the system of accounting fell into disuse. The first of these is a memorandum of process to be taken against several parties who had served the offices of sheriff and of escheator in Northumberland, requiring them to render an account of their receipts. The second is a petition from the late sheriffs and escheators, praying the King's indulgence, and stating that the practice of accounting had been interrupted ever since the commencement of the reign of Edward IV., and explaining the grounds on which they conceive the omission to be justified. These grounds, and the various attendant circumstances, will be best understood by a perusal of the documents themselves, which are given below. The petition bears date the 28th of Henry VIII., and the Exchequer proceedings were somewhat earlier, but no effectual steps were taken to settle the question till the passing of the Act referred to.

The sheriffs against whom proceedings were ordered to be taken were—

Ralph Fenwick, Esq.,	Sheriff,	7th.	Henry VIII.
Nicholas Heryngton, Esq.,	"	8th.	" "
Richard Thyrkeld, Esq.,	"	9th.	" "
Christopher Thyrkeld, Esq.,	"	11th.	" "
George Skelton, Esq.,	"	12th.	" "
Christopher Dacre, Knt.,	"	13th.	" "
William Ellerker, Esq.,	"	14th.	" "
William Heron, Knt.,	"	16th.	" "
William Ellerker, Knt.,	"	17th.	" "
Cuthbert Ratcliff, Esq.,	"	18th.	" "
William Evers, Knt.,	"	19th.	" "
John Delaval, Knt.,	"	20th.	" "
Edward Grey, Knt.,	"	21st.	" "
Philip Dacre, Knt.,	"	22nd.	" "
Cuthbert Ratcliff, Esq.,	"	23rd.	" "
William Heron, Knt.,	"	24th.	" "

Amongst these are seven names which do not occur in Fuller's list, which is derived exclusively from the Pipe-Rolls, which do not generally give the names of defaulting sheriffs.

I. NORTHUMB'R

Things extracted out of the Exchequer concerning Northumberland for redditus et debitis Regis.

Northumb'r. *Memorandum.* That every Shirreff of the Countye of Northumberland for his year receyvyth of the profytes of the Shyre the summe of *cxcli.* as Cuthbert Ratcliff esquier late Shyrreff of the said Countye dyd confesse before the chyeff Baron of the Exchequier and John Smyth, Remembrancer of the Tresourer, and makyth therof now profer nor other payment or accompte.

Item. The Shyrreffs of the seyd Countie me or torne the Kyngs processs directyd unto theym by reason whereof the King losyth the services of hys tenants and thadvantage of yssues fines and amerciaments that should growe by due occasion of the seyd processs and also ys not answeryd of the yssues and profytts of diverse manors lands and tenements beyng and that shuld be in the Kyngs hands by vertue of diverse offces found and that shuld be founden of the Kynges title and no lycens therof sayed to a great yearly value.

Item. The Kyng is never answeryd of any recognisaunces or other profayts made or lent by any persons wythyn the seyd shyre &c.

Item. The seyde Shyreffs be yerely amerced for theyr defawtes as hereafter apperyth wherof the Kyng as hytherto can not be nor ys answeyrd because no Shyreff tenderyth justice ne doth the duty of his office towards the Kyng.

Et Memorandum, That the Eschetour of the seyde shyre of Northumb'r doth never return the offices or enquests taken before hym by reason of the Kyngs wrytts or by vertue of his office nor makyth eny accompt by the whyche the Kyng losyth the wardes mariages and relieffs of his tenants and the knowledge of theym with primer seison fynes for alienacions and many other advantages and rights.

In Officio Rememb' Thes'.

Hic inferius sequuntur diversa amerciamenta super diversis vic. Comitatus Northumb'r posita et afferata per Barones de Saccario citra annum sextum Regis nunc H. octavi ob diversas defaultas eorundum vicecomitum ut infra, &c., &c., &c.

II.

Sir William Evers Knight and others of the frontier of Scotland requesting to be exempt for diverse things exacted of them.

In most humble wise shewen unto your most gracious highnes your humble and faithful subjects and daily oratours Sir William Evers Knight Sir Cuthbert Ratclyff Knight late Shrieves of your County of Northumberland and Christofer Mydeforthe and Robert Colyngwood late Exchetours of the countie aforesaid: That where your said suppliaunts and diverse other gentilmen and inheritours of the countie aforesaid have at diverse and sundry tymes and seasons particularly and severally used exercised and occupied the said rowmes and offices of the Shierfwic and Exchetourship of your countie aforesaid syns the first yere of the reigne of the most noble kyng of famouse memory King Edward the Fourth your most noble graundfather during which time diverse and sundry of the said Shireffs and Exchetours have contented and paide diverse sommes of money of the proffitts and revenues of the rowmes and offices as well to the late Sir John Heron as to sundry other officers of your most roial majestie and of your most noble progenitours Howebeit forasmoche as the said countie is nygh adjoining unto the realme of Scotland and the marches of the same so that a grete parte of the grounde whereof the proffitts and revenues of the said offices shulde be levied and gathered hath been oftentimes wast and unoccupied and also for that every of the said officers in tyme of warre between the roialmes of England and Scotland doo endeavour themselfs with all their diligence and at their owne propre costs and expences to help and defend the roialme of England agaynst the invasion of the Scotts and also for that the said Shireffs ben at grete labor travail and charge in the executing and serving of processe directed unto them agaynst the wylde and unruly persones dwelling and abiding nygh unto the said borders of Scotland which processe can not be served upon any of the said unruly persones without a grete number of people assisting and ayding the

said Shiref for the tyme being : None of the said Shireffs ne Exchetours syns the first yere of the reigne of the said noble king of famous memorie Kyng Edward the Fourth have yelded or made any maner of rekonyng or accompt for either of the said offices in the Courte of your Eschequier howbeit nowe of late there hath ben diverse and sundry writts and proesse awarded out of your said Courte of Eschequier as well against your said suppliaunts as against diverse others that have ben Shireffs and Exchetours of the countie aforesaid to make and yelde accompts for thaire said several offices and rowmes by reason wherof they have ben and yet ar sore vexed and troubled forasmoch as none accompt have ben therof made by the tyme and space of lxxiiij yeres and more and for that many of them that have ben Shireffs and Exchetours of the same countie during the said tyme and also thaire executors ben dede and departed so that your said oratours ne none other person or persons at this present tyme for lak of knowledge of the particular receipts of either of the said offices by any possibilitie can make or yelde any clere accompt or reconyng in your said Courte for the same by reason whereof your said suppliaunts and all other that have ben Shireffs and Exchetours of the said courte if they shall be compelled to make accompte in your said Courte of Exchequier for those yeres past ben likely to be utterly undone forever onlesse your most gracious favor and pitie be shewed to them in that behalf Wherefore pleaseth your most gracious highnes that it may be enacted ordeyned and established by your most roial majesty by thassent of your lords spirituall and temporall and of the commons in the present Parliament assembled and by auctoritie of the same that your said suppliaunts and every of them and the heirs executors and administrators of them and every of them and all and every other person and persons which at any tyme or season before the feast of the Nativitie of our Lord God last past have ben Shiref or Exchetour of the countie aforesaid thaire heires executors and administrators and every of them may be exonerated pardoned acquitted and discharged agenst your highnes your heires and successours forever as well in your said Courte of your Exchequier and all other Courtes as elsewhere of and for all maner of accompts debts arrerage of debts and accompts issues fynes americiaments seasours of goods catalls lands and tenements forfeitures penalties and sommes of money and all other charges whatsoever they be wherewith they or any of them ben or in any wise may be onerated and charged in your said Courte of your Exchequier or any other of your Courtes or any other way or means touching or in any wise concerning the said offices or either of them and of all accions suits quarells processes impechements and demaunds for the same or any parcel thereof And that it may be furdernore enacted ordeyned and established by the auctoritie aforesaid that all and every person and persons whiche at any tyme hereafter shalbe Shiref or Exchetour of your countie aforesaid shall make and yelde thaire due just and severall accompts of and for all the issues revenues and proffitts of the said several offices in your said Courte of your Eschequier after like rate fashion and forme as the Shireffs and Eschetours of other counties have commonly used and accustomed for to do or after such maner or forme or otherwise to be demeaned as by your highnes shalbe

thought expedient Provided alwaies that the said act or any thing thereyn conteyned be not hurtfull or prejudicial in any wise to any person or persons whatsoever for or concerning any maner of graunte dymys or lease made graunted or lett or hereafter to be made graunted or lett by your highnes lettres patent or otherwise to any such person or persons of or for the said offices or either of them or any parcell of them or of either of them but that the said graunte dymyse or lease and every article thereyn conteyned be and stand in full strength and effect this act in any wise notwithstanding.

MARY.

The reign of Mary was a time of great disquietude on the Eastern Marches. Numerous incursions took place, as well of the Scots into Northumberland, as of the English into Berwickshire and Roxburghshire, but the results were unimportant. The Scots were aided by a body of French troops under their commander, D'Oysel. Indeed, on these auxiliaries the brunt of the conflict usually fell, for the war was far from popular with the Scots, who, whilst they expressed their determination to defend their own limits, on more than one occasion refused to go beyond them. The details of this petty warfare would be tedious, nor is it necessary to collect them here, a reference to the pages of Ridpath being sufficient. In the midst of these international affrays, a feud of a still more deadly character arose in the midst of Northumberland, and excited the utmost apprehensions as to its results. Mention has already been made of Thomas Carr, the son of John Carr, Captain of Wark, who having married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir William Heron of Ford, became in her right possessor of the castle and estates. His title, however, was not unquestioned, two claimants asserting their pretensions to the property under an alleged entail, by which the succession was limited to heirs-male. These were George Heron of Chipchase, and Alexander Heron of Meldon; but the former was the more resolute competitor. Scorning to avail himself of the ordinary course of submitting his claims to the decision of a court of law, he determined to obtain possession by force of arms. In this attempt he was aided by the support and co-operation of many of the most considerable families in Northumberland—Forsters, Fenwicks, Riddleys, Reveleys, Selbies, Greys, Shaftoes, Wallaces, Muschamps, Burrells, Rutherfords, &c. Even the Warden himself, Lord Wharton, is said to have unduly exercised his authority in his favour. On the other hand, Carr had nothing to rely upon but the advantage of possession, his own prowess, and that of his family and followers. His only

auxiliaries of any consideration were the Collingwoods, long constables under the Manners family of the neighbouring castle of Etal. The feud was fully developed when the Queen came to the throne in 1553, and continued to rage with unabated violence almost to the close of her reign.

On the 28th of April, 1557, Carr had left the castle in charge of his brother and four men, the only other inmates being three female servants. During the night this little force was expelled by John Dixon, Constable of Berwick, with fourteen men under his command, and the following morning, being Sunday, Ralph Grey of Chillingham, Robert Barrow, Mayor of Berwick, Gyles Heron, Treasurer of Berwick, and thirty others, proceeded to the castle to secure it against the Carrs. They were met under the walls by Robert Carr, the brother of Thomas, who attacked them, although he had only six or seven men with him, and the Mayor of Berwick was killed in the skirmish. In the afternoon the Herons were reinforced by their own tenantry and those of the Greys, and for a while kept possession; but the Carrs were ultimately reinstated. These curious particulars are derived from Raine's *North Durham*, and exhibit a strange picture of the state of the district at the time. From other information preserved in the same repository we learn that this was far from a solitary instance of ill blood between neighbours. There was indeed "no other great matter of controversy of land; but for griefs and displeasures, there were many." 1st. Between the Selbies and Reveleys of Norhamshire; 2nd. Between Richard Rutherford of Rutchester and Gawin his son on the one part, and Martin Turpin, Constable of Morpeth Castle, and Percival Pauston on the other; 3rd. Between two branches of the family of Anderson; 4th. Between two branches of the Hedleys; and 5th. Between the families of Potts and Wetheral: these three last being all in Redesdale. Sir Robert Bowes, who reports upon these matters, recommends that the feuds, if possible, should be appeased; if not, that "the parties be kept under bonds to keep the peace." And further, that "like order be taken in all such grieves through the county, for the countrymen be much given to fighting and frays upon old quarrels, whereof groweth murder and many other inconveniences."

Whilst civil dissensions were thus rife in Northumberland, we hear nothing of religious persecution. It is true that this county furnished, in the person of Nicholas Ridley Bishop of London, one of those who, by the purity of his conduct, and the firmness and moderation with which he maintained his faith, best earned the distinction of a martyr; but his spirit did not prevail in the land of

his birth. The feeling of the bulk of the people was for the religion in which they had been educated. The destruction of the monasteries had almost shut them out from Christian ministrations of any kind. The impropriated benefices had passed into lay hands, and either no stipend was allowed for the cure of souls, or a pittance utterly inadequate. Spiritually and temporally the flocks were neglected, and instead of courting martyrdom by resisting the re-introduction of the ancient services, the bulk of the Northumbrians looked hopefully on the work which the Queen had in hand.

ELIZABETH.

The death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth depressed the spirits of the Roman Catholic party in the North, which is described by Sir Ralph Sadleyr as comprehending nearly all the gentry and the great bulk of the lower classes. "There be not," says he, "in all this country, ten gentlemen that do favour and allow her Majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion; and the common people be ignorant, full of superstition, and altogether blinded with the old popish doctrine."

Under these circumstances, it is rather matter of surprise that ten years should have passed undisturbed by actual insurrection, than that at the end of that period popular feeling should have ripened into rebellion. How far the preparations for a general rising of the inhabitants of the northern district were made with the cognizance and sanction of their co-religionists in other parts of the kingdom, can only be matter of conjecture. Suspicion pointed to the complicity of Mary Queen of Scots, now a prisoner in the hands of Elizabeth, and to the Duke of Norfolk, whose imprudent correspondence with the captive princess brought him a little later to the scaffold. Whatever might be the ramifications of the plot, the actual outbreak was purely local, confined exclusively to the counties north of the Trent. The acknowledged leaders were the Earls of Westmorland and Northumberland, but the bulk of the forces were supplied from Yorkshire and Durham. Sir Ralph Bowes estimates the number of horsemen who followed the Percy banner out of Northumberland at four score or one hundred, and of those who joined the Earl of Westmorland from his barony of Bywell, at three score only. This betokens great want of preparation, and is consistent with all the accounts which have come down to us, which concur in describing the outbreak as having been precipitated

by the measures which were taken to prevent it. The two Earls being summoned to court, fearing that their counsels had been betrayed, sought their only chance of safety in the field. Durham and Yorkshire were the scenes of the brief struggle, the discomfitted host only retreating into Northumberland with a view of ultimately escaping across the Border. At one time, indeed, they seem to have intended to fall back upon the Earl of Northumberland's castle at Alnwick, but this, as well as Warkworth, was secured by the vigilance of Sir John Forster, the Warden of the Middle Marches. Dispersing the infantry, the Earls led their horse to Hexham, whilst the Earl of Sussex, the commander of the royal forces, marched to Newcastle. From thence he writes to Cecil on the 19th of December, 1569, intimating his intention of proceeding the next day to Hexham. There, however, the rebels did not await him, but proceeded to Brampton and Naworth, from whence they entered Scotland by way of Liddisdale. The Earl of Northumberland was betrayed into the hands of the Earl of Marr, the Regent of Scotland, and by him surrendered to Elizabeth, who caused him to be executed at York. The Earl of Westmorland escaped to Flanders, but his large possessions were confiscated, including Bywell, Brancepeth, and Raby. Leonard Dacre also, the brother of Thomas Lord Dacre of Gilsland, and uncle of George the last lord, who died in childhood from the effects of an accident, was implicated in this rebellion, and his property, including a portion of the barony of Whalton, with other lands in Northumberland and elsewhere, was forfeited. A survey of all the forfeited estates was made, under a commission addressed to William Humberston and others, forming two ponderous quarto volumes, which are still preserved in the Public Record Office. The first volume comprises the estates of the two Earls; the second, those of Leonard Dacre, Sir John Neville, and other persons attainted in Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmorland. A very imperfect abstract was made by Dodsworth, and is printed in the Sadleyr papers.

The following Northumberland gentlemen were indicted for rebellion and conspiracy: Tristram Fenwick of Brinkburn, Cuthbert Armorer of Belford, Robert Collingwood of Abberwick, Robert Collingwood of Etal, George Horsley of Acklington Park, Robert Carr of Ford, John Carnaby of Langley, William Welton of Welton, Thomas Errington of Walwick Grange, Thomas Bates of Morpeth. The first five were included in the Act of Attainder, but Fenwick, Horsley, and one of the Collingwoods, were pardoned. Amongst the most active promoters of

the rebellion was John Swinburne of Chopwell, in the county of Durham, who was connected with Northumberland both by family and property.

The principal incidents of Border history during this reign were two affrays, the first in 1575, the other in 1585, both originating on days of truce for the mutual redress of grievances between the two realms, and both terminating in bloodshed. At the meeting, in 1575, at the Reedswire, Sir George Heron, the Keeper of Tyndale, was slain, and Sir John Forster, the Warden of the Middle Marches, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, and others, were taken prisoners. In 1585, at a similar meeting at Hexpethgatehead, Lord Francis Russell, one of the members of Parliament for the county, son of the Earl of Bedford, and son-in-law of Sir John Forster, was slain. Mr. Hodgson took great pains to illustrate the details of these two skirmishes, and full particulars will be found from his pen in the *History of Northumberland*,¹ and in the *Archæologia Æliana*.²

In the 14th of Elizabeth the liberty of Hexham was united to the county of Northumberland. This franchise, for many centuries the property of the Archbishop of York, had been previously acquired by the Crown, in exchange for other manors and estates.

The franchise of Tyndale had been long since attached to Northumberland by an Act of the 11th of Henry VII., whereby it was provided that—

“North and South Tyndale, and all the lands therein shall be gildable, and parcel of the county of Northumberland, and no franchise shall be there, but all the king's writs and officers shall be obeyed; 2ndly, that no man shall demise any lands there for years, life, or at will, but the lessee shall at first find two sureties having at least 40 shillings of freehold within the county of Northumberland, to be bound in recognisance in 20*l.* to the king, to make answer within 8 days' warning to all murders, treasons, felonies, &c., and the lessor shall forfeit 40 shillings for every acre otherwise let, to the king and justices, and the lease shall be void; 3rdly, the justices shall enquire of the recognisances forfeited.”

This Act, which is not published at large in the Statutes, appears to have applied also to Reedsdale, as no separate enactment is to be found incorporating it with the county. A former Act of the 2nd of Henry V. relating to Tyndale and Hexhamshire was in the 9th of the same reign extended to Reedsdale,³ and it

¹ Part II., vol. i., page 155.

² Vol ii., page 287 (Old Series.)

³ These Acts recite “that greivous complaints have been made by the commons of Northumberland, that many murders, treasons, manslaughter, robberies, and other offences have been committed against the faithful liege people of the said county by people dwelling within the franchises of Tyndale (Reeds-

seems unlikely that, in again legislating for Tynedale, the neighbouring franchise of Reedsdale would have been forgotten, although there might be special reasons for omitting Hexham as an ecclesiastical fief.

In the 43rd of Elizabeth a very remarkable statute was passed, "for the more peaceable government of the parts of Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland, and the bishoprick of Duresme." The preamble recites that—

"Of late years very many of the inhabitants of the said counties have been taken, some forth of their own houses, some in travelling by the highway or otherwise, and carried out of the said counties, or to some places within the same as prisoners, and kept barbarously and cruelly, until redeemed by great ransoms; that of late time there have been many incursions, roads, robberies, burning and spoiling of towns, villages and houses, that divers and sundry of her Majesty's loving subjects have been forced to pay a rate of money, corn, cattle, or other consideration, commonly there called by the name of *Black-mail*, unto divers and sundry inhabiting upon and near the Borders, being men of name, and friended and allied with divers in those parts, who are commonly known to be great robbers and spoil-takers, to the end to be by them freed, protected, and kept from the danger of such as do usually rob and steal in those parts; by reason whereof her Majesty's tenants and other good subjects are impoverished, theft and robbing increased, the maintainers thereof encouraged, the Border service weakened and decayed, towns dispeopled and laid waste, and her Majesty's own revenue greatly diminished."

Certain offences are then declared felony without benefit of clergy:—1st. Carrying or detaining any person against his will; 2nd. Aiding or abetting therein; 3rd. Taking black-mail; 4th. Paying the same; 5th. Burning stacks of corn.

"And whereas divers persons, indicted and outlawed for murders, robberies, burglaries, and other felonies, do notwithstanding resort and come to markets and fairs, and other public assemblies and meetings, and do there converse, traffic, and trade with other her Majesty's subjects," it is enacted that the Clerk of the Peace of each county shall deliver to each of the Sheriffs of the said counties the names of all persons outlawed; that the Sheriffs shall proclaim the names of such outlaws

(dale) and Hexhamshire, where the king's writ runneth not, otherwise than have been done or known before this time, so that without due remedy provided they dare no longer there dwell, because that the offenders are so favoured by the franchise." Provision is then made that such offenders shall be proceeded against before the justices and outlawed: that a certificate of such outlawry shall be delivered by the justices to the minister or ministers of the franchise to which the outlaw belongs; that he shall be taken by such minister; that the goods of such outlaw within the franchise shall be forfeited to the lord thereof, and those without to the king.

in their several county-courts, as follow :—In Cumberland, at the city of Carlisle, and the towns of Penrith and Cockermouth; in Westmorland, at Appleby and Kendal; in the county of the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, at the said town of Newcastle; in Northumberland, at Morpeth, Alnwick, and Hexham; in the bishoprick of Durham, at the city of Durham, and the towns of Darlington, Bishop-Auckland, and Barnard-Castle; and at Berwick-on-Tweed. The proclamation to be repeated until the outlaws are lodged in prison. Like proclamation to be made by Mayors, or other chief officers, at fairs, and every six weeks at markets. Persons entertaining or conferring with any outlaw so proclaimed, to suffer six months' imprisonment, without bail or mainprize, and to find security for good behaviour for one year. Justices of Assize, and Justices at General Sessions, to have power to enquire, hear, and determine of the offences and defaults of Sheriffs, Mayors, and other officers, and of Clerks of the Peace, and to punish them by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise. Provided always, that nothing in the Act shall abridge or impeach the jurisdiction or authority of any of the Lords Wardens of any of the Marches of England for and anenst Scotland.

In the reign of Elizabeth the records of the county of Northumberland commence, the earliest document in the Clerk of the Peace's office being an enrolment of indictments, as well at the assizes and other gaol deliveries, as at the quarter sessions. From these we may form some idea of the state of crime in the county at the period under review; nor can we fail to be struck, not merely with the number and magnitude of the offences, but with the position and character of the offenders, many of those charged with murder and other heinous crimes being members of the most considerable families in the county, and the victims belonging to the same class. Still the course of justice appears to have been unimpeded, and no difficulty to have been experienced in procuring convictions in cases of proved guilt. The delinquents, indeed, in some instances escaped punishment by the exercise of the royal prerogative in their favour, but rarely from the undue sympathy of their peers.

Reference has been already made to the valuable Surveys of the Borders printed by Mr. Hodgson.¹ The later of these, made in 1550, contains a list of the "Gentlemen inhabitants within the East and Middle Marches." A similar document, of a date ten years later, is preserved amongst Sir Ralph Sadleir's papers, from which it is extracted. It refers only to the East March, with which Sir Ralph was more immediately connected.

¹ Hist. Nort'd, Part III., vol. ii., page 171

Gentlemen living within the East Marches of England, 2nd of Elizabeth, 1560.

BAMBRO'-SHIRE.

Sir Ralph Grey of Chillingham
 Sir Robert Ellerker of Hulne
 Thomas Forster of Edderston
 John Horsley of Ouchester
 John Carr of Boulmer
 Thomas Heron of Howick
 Edward Bradford of Embleton
 Roland Bradford of Falodon
 Thomas French of Ellingham
 Henry Swinhoe of Moussen
 Robert Hoppen of Hoppen
 Francis Armorer of Belford

William Manners of Newton
 Sir Thomas Grey of Horton
 Sir John Forster of Alnwick Abbey
 Thomas Bradford of Bradford
 George Carr of Lesbury
 Thomas Roddam of Little Houghton
 John Bradford of Tughill
 Nicholas Forster of Newham
 Robert Whytenham of Ditchburn
 Richard Carr of Elwick
 Robert Lawson of Rock.

GLENDALE.

Thomas Hebburn of Hebburn
 Roland Forster of Hazelrig
 Oswald Muschiance of Ham Hall
 Robert Rutherford of Middleton Hall
 John Carr of Ford
 George Muschiance, Barmoor

Thomas Howburn of Howburn
 Thomas Ilderton of Ilderton
 William Strother of Newton
 Henry Reveley of Chatton
 Robert Collingwood of Etal
 William Selby of Pauston.

NORHAM AND ISLANDSHIRE.

Gilbert Swinhoe of Goswick
 John Revely of Berrington
 William Selby of Grindon-Ridge
 Edward Reveley of Ancroft

Thomas Grey of Elwick
 Ralph Gray of Heton
 George Orde of Newbiggen.

It must be remembered that the parties in this list, although generally, are not invariably the owners, but in some cases the Bailiffs or "Rulers" for absentee proprietors.

CHAPTER XI.

STUART DYNASTY.

JAMES I.

QUEEN Elizabeth died on the 24th of March, 1603, and the intelligence of her decease was received three days afterwards by her successor, in Edinburgh. This rapid communication was due to the interested zeal of Sir Robert Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth. He was Warden of the Middle Marches, and had his residence at Widdrington, having married the widow of the late proprietor. Leaving London at an early hour, he slept the first night at Doncaster, and the second at Widdrington Castle. The third day his journey was retarded by a serious fall, and he did not reach Edinburgh till James had retired to rest. The news which he bore was however too important and too welcome to admit of delay in its communication, and he was at once introduced into the royal presence, being the first English subject who tendered his allegiance. Carey's journey was no doubt a remarkable feat, the distance performed from London to Widdrington being about 300 miles; but the facilities for such rapid locomotion were greater than is generally supposed. Fynes Morrison writing a very few years later, mentions amongst the great roads on which relays of post-horses were kept, that from London to Berwick. These, we are told, were "established at every ten miles or thereabout, which they ride at a false gallop after some ten miles in the hour," ten *computed* miles at that period being fully equal to twelve measured miles.

James's own journey southward was performed with much more deliberation, occupying an entire month between his two capitals. He spent some time at Berwick and also at Newcastle, his intermediate resting place being Widdrington Castle, where Sir Robert Carey had the honour of entertaining him.

The King passed a second time through Northumberland, on his route to Edinburgh, in 1617, and was again entertained by the Corporation of Newcastle, from whom he accepted a pecuniary present.

The object which James had most earnestly in view after his accession was the complete union of the two realms, fondly imagining that the differences and animosities which had been the growth of centuries could be reconciled and eradicated at the pleasure of a sovereign, supported by the authority of Parliament. His views met with some acceptance in Scotland, but were strenuously opposed by the legislature and people of England, and he was obliged to content himself with the repeal of such laws of either kingdom as were framed in a spirit of direct hostility to the other.* Even these modified alterations caused considerable alarm on the English Border, where the administration of criminal justice was for some time carried out by special commissioners, under the same laws which had been previously administered in the Warden-courts. At length, in the 5th of James, a Bill was introduced by which the counties on either side of the Border were left to deal with the offenders resident within them, instead of delivering them up for trial to the neighbouring county in which the offence had been committed. Against this change a petition, or rather a remonstrance, was presented to the House of Commons by the Earl of Cumberland, the Bishop of Durham, Sir William Selby, and others, on behalf of the gentlemen and freeholders of Northumberland and Cumberland, in which, whilst they frankly admit the "glorious care of his Majesty to civilize the late Borders, which hath brought forth a peaceable and quiet estate to these parts, with good hope of its continuance," they strongly express their apprehension that the Bill before the House will be "unserviceable for the rooting out of theft, and of apparent and special disadvantage to England:" wherefore they pray the House, "either not to dislike the present form of proceedings, whereof so great good hath ensued, or else to provide a better way instead thereof, quick in execution, and such as may disappoint offenders of all escapes, shifts and subterfuges." This interference was resented by the King, the remonstrance was rejected by the Commons, and the Bill became law.

Notwithstanding the passing of this Act, the special commissions for the Border were still continued for the trial of moss-troopers and other offenders. Roger

* Commissioners were appointed to treat with others to be named by the Scottish Parliament, but they never met. Amongst the English commissioners occur the names of the two members for the County of Northumberland, Sir Henry Widdrington and Sir Ralph Grey.

North, who accompanied his brother Francis, then Chief Justice, on the Northern Circuit, in 1676, writes as follows:—

“After the union, to prevent this thieving trade, the Crown sent commissioners of oyer and terminer, directed to an equal number of English and Scotch, extending to certain limits on each side the Border; and being continued, it is therefore called the Border Commission. And they meet in their Sessions, and hang up at another rate than the Assizes, for we are told that at one Sessions they hanged eighteen for not reading *sicut clerici*.”^b

The happy effects of the union of the crowns were, however, sufficiently manifest in Northumberland, from the cultivation of lands which had long lain waste, and the great increase in the rental of the Border proprietors.^c In this reign the principles of the Reformation for the first time made real progress in Northumberland, and the Protestant party were able to make head against the professors of the old faith. In the 1st of James, Sir Ralph Grey of Chillingham was returned, on the Protestant interest, as member for the county, in conjunction with Sir Henry Widdrington, a Roman Catholic. At the next election, twelve years afterwards, a second Roman Catholic was returned, to the exclusion of Sir Ralph Grey, but this was effected, not by the voice of the freeholders, but by the illegal proceedings of the High Sheriff, the particulars of which are minutely detailed in the Parliamentary Journals. No notice, it appears, was given, nor proclamation made by the Sheriff until within half an hour of the time of election, nor did he enter the court till half-past nine, when “he called on Sir George Selby by name, and those whom he knew to be for Sir George, taking no notice of any for Sir Ralph Grey.” Not having got 24 names on the poll, he set back the clock, and having got the necessary number, he refused to proceed further, but returned Sir George Selby with Sir Henry Widdrington. The election was set aside on other grounds, but the Sheriff (Sir Ralph Selby) was summoned before the House of Commons to answer for his conduct, the Serjeant being ordered to enforce his attendance. On receiving the summons, he set out to ride post, outriding the Serjeant’s man, and

^b He relates an anecdote of the trial of a notorious moss-trooper, Mungo Noble, against whom four indictments were preferred, but nothing was proved, “and his lordship was so much of a south-country judge,” that he would not hang him for his bad character. “While the judge at the trial discoursed of the evidence and its defects, a Scotch gentlemen upon the bench, who was a Border Commissioner, made a long neck towards the judge, and, ‘*My Laird,*’ said he, ‘send him to huzz, and yees ne’er see him mair.’”

^c “The advantage of the union was so great to those counties, that the Lord Grey of Wark’s estate, which before was not above 1,000*l.* per annum, hath since risen to 6,000*l.* or 7,000*l.*”—*North’s Life*.

arriving in London before him. Being brought to the bar, he was accused of ill-using the Serjeant's man, the Serjeant himself indignantly affirming, that "he would not so much as bid his man drink." The Sheriff, on the other hand, declared that he asked the man to stay; offered to lend him money, and presented him with 20 shillings. He then handed in a certificate from 19 gentlemen of the county, as to the regularity of the proceedings, on which a member (Sir Thomas Wharton) remarked, that out of the 19 subscribers, seven were either Selbies or Widdringtons. After deliberation, it was resolved that the Sheriff had cleared himself in the matter of the Serjeant's man; but that for his conduct at the election, he be fined 50*l.* and committed to the custody of the Serjeant for 14 days.

At the next election Sir William Grey, afterwards created Lord Grey of Wark, the son of Sir Ralph, was returned with Sir Henry Widdrington, apparently by compromise.

After the breach with Spain, consequent on the failure of the negotiations for the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta, it was determined rigorously to enforce the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, and the members of Parliament for the several counties were required to present all recusants holding any office within the same.^d The numbers so presented were very inconsiderable,* in many counties none, in others one or two. In Lancashire, which had the greatest number, there were seven; in Norfolk, Durham, Yorkshire, and Northumberland, five each. In the latter Sir John Fenwick presented Sir Thomas Riddle, Sir William Selby, Mr. Cuthbert Heron, Mr. Thomas Riddle, and Mr. William Jennison. Sir Thomas Riddle occurs also in the Durham list, presented by Sir Thomas Saville, with the Earl of Worcester, Lord Scrope,^e Lord Eure, and Sir Thomas Coniers.

^d These returns are not confined to the recusancy of the parties themselves, but extend to their wives and families. Thus the Archbishop of York is presented on account of a recusant son, and several for the known or *suspected* recusancy of their wives. Two curious presentments are made by the members for Pembroke and Montgomery: Sir James Perrot presents "His own wife a recusant;" Sir William Herbert, "His own wife an obstinate papist."

^e "Sir John Bellasis says he knows that within these two years Lord Scrope and all his family received:—Christmas was two year." Mr. Cholmely declares, "Lord Scrope ready to receive: The reason why he hath forborne thus long, not any scruple of conscience."

CHARLES I.

The measures taken in the late reign against recusants do not appear to have had any permanent effect, their numbers being reported to the King as greatly on the increase. In Northumberland in particular they caused great uneasiness, and a letter was addressed by the Council to the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace of that county, in the 6th of Charles, 1629—

“ Expressing how his Majesty was credibly informed that the number of Popish recusants, which of late years was very small, is now, through much remissness in the execution of the laws against them, increased to such an excessive number, as hath given his Majesty just cause to be highly displeas'd therewith, and may justly give exceeding great offence to all his well-affected subjects. Wherefore they thought fit to signify unto them his Majesty's express pleasure, that they make exact inquiry into the number of Popish recusants convicted or not convicted, which may be justly suspected, and return a certificate; also, that they take care that the laws against them be put in execution without partiality or connivance; and that they give unto the Board a faithful account of their proceedings herein, as they tender the good of religion, the happy government of the commonwealth, and as they would avoid his Majesty's great displeasure.”

Of the immediate result of this injunction we have no information, but the necessities of the King soon taught him that it was more profitable to compound with the recusants than to prosecute them. He over-estimated, indeed, the amount which he could extort from them, calculating, according to Rushworth, upon receiving two parts out of three of the annual value of their estates, whereas he was only able to realize one part out of ten or twelve. Thus Sir Robert Ellerker, whose estates in Yorkshire and elsewhere were estimated at 600*l.* per annum, paid only 50*l.*, and Roger Widdrington of Cartington paid 60*l.* out of a rental of 500*l.* Even after the obnoxious but much more productive impost of ship-money was resorted to, recusants'-money was still paid. In 1638 collectors were appointed in each county specially to receive it, those for Northumberland being Sir William Fenwick, Mr. Widdrington, Mr. Haggerston, and Sir Edward Ratcliffe. On this occasion the Queen gave great offence by an appeal which she made to her co-religionists, exhorting them to be liberal in their contributions, and

so to shew their loyalty to their sovereign, and to secure his future favour. For this indiscretion she was obliged to make a submissive apology to the House of Commons.

The occasion of this extraordinary collection was the contemplated expedition of the King against his contumacious Scotch subjects, which was undertaken the following year. The particulars of his Majesty's entertainment at Newcastle, in 1639, as well as on his previous visit in 1633, have been collected by Brand from contemporary sources, and it is unnecessary to repeat them here. The King's departure from thence is generally assigned to the 22nd of May, but he did not actually leave Newcastle till the day following. Sir Edmund Verney, writing from that town on the 22nd, says:—

“Now for the business here;—it stands thus: part of our army, and indeed all of it except the Privy-chamber men, is marcht away to the rendezvous, which is within four miles of Berwick. To-morrow the King removes, and will be there the next day, if nothing happens to change his resolution. I am instantly going to view the ground, and place his tent ready against he comes.”

On the 29th Sir Edmund writes “From the Camp” (at the Birks¹)—

“We are now incamp within two mile of Berwick, and by to-morrow we shall be intrencht. I have been here these three days in the camp, ordering of things there for the King's coming to-morrow to lodge there. The King lies at Berwick at this time.”

The unfortunate expedition to Kelso took place on the 3rd of June, and on the 6th a Scottish army, which is described by Verney as “very strong,” unexpectedly took up a position within six miles of the royal encampment, and was there entrenched. The excitement in the English camp was extreme, for although the Tweed lay between the two armies, and Berwick, with its bridge, was in the possession of the King, the river was fordable in many places. Loud complaints were made of the defective intelligence of the enemy's movements, and Roger Widdrington, who acted as scout-master, was even accused of treachery, “and his crime,” adds Rushworth, “was aggravated because he was a papist.”

¹ The Birks was the old name for West Ord, the division of Ord into East, Middle, and West, being comparatively modern. Neither Ridpath nor any of our early local historians seem to have been aware of this, as they give no information as to the situation of the Birks, further than we gather from contemporary accounts that it was two (computed) miles from Berwick.

“The Lord-General made this reply to those nobles that accused the scout-master, that he made choice of him as the fittest man in England for the office of scout-master, being born in that county of Northumberland, and one best acquainted with all the Highlandmen upon the Borders of Scotland; and who was best able of any man that he knew in England to gain intelligence from them; and that it was notoriously known that he was a gentleman that ever bore a perfect hatred to the Scots, and was a stout active man upon Border service in the time of Queen Elizabeth; that he was a person of quality, and he doubted not of his integrity, and that he would justify himself.* In conclusion, this business was husht up, but great was the murmuring of the private soldiers in the camp; and now the army that was so forward to engage before, seemed more indifferent, complaining of ill provisions, that the biscuit was mouldy, and that they could get no drink in the camp. No supply was then to be got out of Scotland, but a few lambs were brought and sold to the army, and Northumberland was not able to victual the tenth part of the army, and the garrison of Berwick was so numerous that they could not brew and bake to supply themselves.”

On the 19th an unsatisfactory peace was concluded. The King seems all along to have been deceived as to the strength of his opponents, who boasted loudly of their overwhelming numbers. Whilst the treaty was pending, Sir Edmund Verney writes—

“The Scots have a good army, but far short of what they bragd on; truly I think we shall have the better army, for now our supplies are come to us, we shall be able to make nearly 13,000 foot and 2,200 horse. They will have more foot, but are weak in horse, nor are they so well armed as we; and we have 2,000 foot more ready at a day's notice.”

On the 21st of June, we are told, “The King has stayed here in the field all this week to see his army sent away. To-morrow he goes to Berwick, but when he will see London is yet unknown to any but himself.”

He remained more than a month longer at Berwick, and up to the very day of his departure Sir Edmund expresses his uncertainty, whether the next movement would be to London or Edinburgh, “or whether we shall stay in these parts.” The resolution, suddenly formed, was quickly executed, the King and his attendants riding post to London (260 miles according to Rushworth, but actually 330) in four days.

* Roger Widdrington was employed in the Border service under Sir Robert Carey, Warden of the Middle Marches. “I allowed Roger Widdrington two horsemen. He was employed by me on all occasions, and for the time I remained there, did the Queen and country very great and good service.”

Carey's Memoirs.

By the terms of the pacification, the forces on each side had to be immediately disbanded, and this condition was strictly observed by the King. So far, however, were the insurgents from adhering to it, that they maintained garrisons at Leith and elsewhere, the authority of the Crown being little more than nominal in any part of Scotland. It soon became evident that the King must either renounce the sovereignty of that part of his dominions altogether, or he must assert his right by force of arms. For the latter alternative nine-tenths of his English subjects were fully prepared, nor did the Parliament, which was summoned, after an interval of eleven years, evince any disposition to withhold supplies. They insisted, however, on a redress of grievances in the first instance, and an assurance that the exaction of ship-money, and other irregular expedients for raising money, should be abandoned in future. The King's necessities were great, and a wise minister would have made greater concessions than these to conciliate the guardians of the public purse. In Sir Harry Vane, the Lord Treasurer, the King had unfortunately a servant who was lamentably deficient in discretion, if indeed treachery did not lurk under his assumed obstinacy. Not only did he insist in the King's name on the grant of a supply preceding the consideration of grievances, but he named an amount so exorbitant as to startle the firmest friends of the government.

The last chance of an accommodation was cut off by the inconsiderate dissolution of the Parliament on the 5th of May, 1640, after a session of only three weeks. This step was endeavoured to be justified in a proclamation which was widely distributed throughout the country, and commissions of array were addressed to the lieutenants of each county, requiring them to embody the trainbands for exercise, and to have all in readiness for marching to the rendezvous at Newcastle by the 10th of May. This appointment was subsequently extended to the 1st of June. The chief difficulty was to provide funds for the expedition. The clergy in convocation voted a liberal supply, and the nobility and gentry were not backward with their offerings, but the citizens of London peremptorily declined to be parties to a loan on any terms. The antiquated expedient of requiring all persons possessed of a certain landed estate to pay a composition in lieu of taking on them the degree of knighthood was revived, and other obsolete measures were had recourse to with the same view.

The chief command of the army was committed to the Earl of Northumberland, with the Earl of Strafford as his deputy; but the illness of the former transferred

the real conduct of the war to Lord Strafford, whom we find with the King at York in the month of August. The troops at Newcastle were under the immediate orders of Lord Conway.

The Scots did not now, as in the previous year, confine themselves to defensive operations, but crossed the Tweed at Coldstream on the 20th of August, under General Lesley, their numbers being estimated at 20,000 foot and 2,500 horse. On the 21st they passed the night at Millfield, and on the 22nd at Middleton-Haugh, near Wooler. The next day being Sunday, they marched, after sermon, to Branton; on Monday they encamped "on the hill betwixt the old and new towns of Eglingham;" and on Tuesday at Nether-Witton. "On Wednesday," says Rushworth, "they removed from thence, and pitched that night on the east part of a village called *Creich*, or some such name," (probably Kirkley.)

On Thursday, August 27th, they advanced to the neighbourhood of Newburn, the nearest point to the sea at which the river Tyne is fordable. From hence General Lesley sent a drummer to Newcastle, with letters for the Mayor, and also for the Commander-in-Chief. The messenger was met outside the walls by Sir Jacob Astley, the commander of the garrison, and Colonel Goring, who were reconnoitering the ground. Sir Jacob took the letters and read the superscription, but perceiving that they were sealed, he returned them to the drummer, "and bid him remember his services to the General, and tell him that no sealed letters ought to be received, and if he sent any more, the bearer thereof had better stay at home; so the man with his kettle-drums on horseback returned, and the contents of the letters were not known, but conceived only to be a kind of summons." At night the Scots took up a position on the commanding eminence of Heddon-Law, and there pitched their tents, making fires all round with coals from the neighbouring pits. "That night and the next morning," says Rushworth, "they suffered any Englishman to come into their camp, and made them welcome with expressions of great love, and protestations of doing harm to none but those who should oppose them in demanding justice of the King against the incendiaries."

The same night the King's army, consisting of three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, were drawn out on Stella-Haugh, on the opposite side of the Tyne. "Here two several sconces or breastworks were raised by the English against the two fords, which the Scots might pass over at low water, for till then they could not pass the Tyne, and into each sconce were put four hundred musketeers and four pieces of ordnance." The horse were disposed in squadrons on the haugh,

played with their cannon upon the English breast-works and sconce ; the King's army played with their cannon to beat the Scots out of the church-steeple ; thus they continued firing on both sides till it grew to be near low water ; and by that time the Scots with their cannon had made a breach in the sconce which Colonel Lunsford commanded, wherein many of his men were killed, and began to retire, yet the colonel prevailed with them to stand to their arms, but presently after a captain, a lieutenant, and some other officers were slain in that work. Then the soldiers took occasion to complain that they were put upon double duty, and had stood there all night and the day until that time, and that no soldiers were sent from the army at Newcastle to relieve them. But Colonel Lunsford again prevailed upon them not to desert their works, but another cannon-ball hitting in the works amongst the soldiers, and killing some more of them, they threw down their arms, and would abide in the fort no longer.

“ The enemy on the rising hill above Newburn plainly discerned the posture of the King's army, and how the soldiers had quitted the great work, and being low water, the Scots commanded a forlorn party of twenty-six horse, being gentlemen of the College of Justice troop, to pass the river, which they did with some swiftness, their orders being only to make discovery in what posture the soldiers were about the uppermost work, but not to come to close engagement, but fire at a distance and retreat.

“ The Scots playing at this time very hard upon the furthest trench, forced the English foot to retreat from that work also, which the Scots discerning on the rising ground at Newburn, more horse, commanded by Sir Thomas Hope, and two regiments of foot, commanded by Lord Craford Lindsey and Lord Lowdon, waded through the river, and General Lesley at the same instant of time played hard with nine piece of cannon from a new sconce which they had raised on a hill to the east, and so galled the King's horse, that it much disordered them, and sending more forces over the river, a retreat was sounded, and Colonel Lunsford drew off the cannon.

“ Immediately Commissary Wilmot, son of the Lord Wilmot, Sir John Digby, a Romish recusant, and Daniel O'Neal, an Irishman, jointly engaged the enemy, and had a sharp encounter with their horse, they being commanded to bring up the rear, whilst the foot retreated up Ryton and Stella banks ; but the Scots, with their fresh supply newly come over the river, environed these three commanders, and took them and some others of their troops prisoners.”

The rout was complete, although the numbers slain were inconsiderable, the loss on the side of the English not exceeding sixty men, most of whom were killed in the works.

“ After this retreat, the Lord Conway called a council of war, and it was then resolved, at twelve at night, that the whole army should retreat to Durham, horse and foot and train of artillery to quit Newcastle.”

At five o'clock the next morning, the army marched from Newcastle, under Lord Conway and Sir Jacob Astley, and the town, denuded of its garrison, was surrendered by the Mayor, Sir Peter Riddell, to the Scots.

The next day (Sunday) fifteen Scottish lords, with Sir William Douglas of Cavers, the Sheriff of Tevidale, to whom the town had been surrendered, "dined with the Mayor, drank a health to the King, and had three sermons that day from their own divines."

In the meantime Strafford was hastening northwards from York, with a considerable force, hoping to join the army at Newcastle before any engagement took place, when he was met, at Darlington, by the intelligence of the defeat. He immediately issued orders to the officers of Lord Conway's army, directing them to collect their scattered forces, and to retire to the south of the Tees. The King himself had got as far as Northallerton, anxious to head his army in person, but on receipt of the disastrous news he returned to York.

All the country north of the Tees was thus left in the undisputed possession of the Scots, who levied contributions for the support of their troops, exacting 300*l.* a day from the county of Northumberland, 350*l.* from Durham, and 200*l.* from Newcastle, beside a provision of hay and straw at pleasure. At the treaty of Ripon, in October, the Scots demanded no less a sum than 40,000*l.* per month for the maintenance of their army until the terms of a pacification were agreed to, but were ultimately satisfied with the continuance of the imposition of 850*l.* per day, in the above proportions, with this further proviso, that if the amount could not be levied in the three counties, a contribution in aid might be raised in the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland. This intolerable burden was not got rid of till the return home of the Scottish army in the month of August following, after a military occupation of more than ten months. In the meantime some relief was given to the impoverished counties by parliamentary grants, a final sum of 28,000*l.* being voted on the 5th of August, 1641, in favour of Northumberland and Durham, besides payments to the other contributing counties.

Long previous to the Scottish rebellion, abundant elements of discord and ill-will existed between Charles I. and a large body of his subjects; but there is no doubt that the success of that movement, and the want of resolution exhibited by the King, encouraged the Parliament of England to attempt the redress of grievances through the agency of the sword.

The commencement of the Civil War is generally dated from the 20th of August, 1642, on which day the King set up his standard at Nottingham, and appealed to the loyalty of his people for support. In the month of November an ordinance was passed for associating the Northern Counties, including Northumberland and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with several in the midland district, for the purpose of raising troops to be placed under Sir Thomas Fairfax, for the service of the Parliament. The attempt, as regarded Northumberland and Newcastle, Durham, Westmorland, and Cumberland, was abortive, and these counties were associated by the Earl of Newcastle in support of the royal cause. Heavy assessments were cheerfully paid, and the King's authority was maintained in the district. To counteract this spirit, it was resolved by the Parliament to invite the aid of the Scots, charging the maintenance of the auxiliary force on the lands of the "Papists and Prelatists" in these counties. On the 6th of July, 1643, commissioners were appointed, of whom Lord Grey of Wark was the chief, to carry out this arrangement. The invitation was eagerly accepted by the Scots, and a proclamation issued, pretending that—

"The King's person, their religion, and the privileges of Parliament, were in no small danger; for preservation of which, they required that all persons in that realm, of what sort, quality, or degree soever, between sixteen and sixty years of age, should forthwith fit themselves with forty days' victual, ammunition, arms, and all other warlike provisions, under penalty of confiscation of their whole estate, and to be punished as enemies to religion, King, and kingdoms."

"To hasten on the march of their brethren, the Scots, to their aid and assistance, the members of the House of Commons, with great formality and no less seeming devotion, entered into that unhappy combination called the Solemn League and Covenant (framed and transmitted to them from Scotland), in St. Margaret's church, Westminster."

This ceremony was performed on the 25th of September, and a treaty was concluded with the Scotch Convention on the 29th of November.

The above details are extracted from the *History of the Civil Wars*, by Sir William Dugdale, who states the amount of the Scottish force at "eighteen thousand foot, two thousand horse, and one thousand dragoons effective, with a suitable train of artillery." Rushworth, who agrees in other particulars, only computes the dragoons at five or six hundred. The whole were under the command of General Lesley, who since the previous insurrection had been advanced by his infatuated sovereign to the dignity of Earl of Leven.

Before entering the Bounds of Berwick, the General requested, as a sanction to his advance, that the Commissioners of both kingdoms should precede him to that town, and there the Marquis of Argyle and Sir William Armyne, with other Commissioners of England and Scotland arrived, on the 13th of January, 1644.

On the 18th, several regiments marched from Dunbar to Berwick in the midst of a severe storm, having to make their way through the snow, which lay almost ankle-deep. Notwithstanding this toilsome march, they remained only one night in Berwick, and the following morning crossed the bridge, and proceeded south as far as Haggerston. The troops who advanced by this route consisted of three regiments of foot and thirteen troops of horse. The same day one regiment of foot and six troops of horse crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, and took up their quarters for the night at the villages of Wark, Learmouth, Presson, and Mindrim, in the parish of Carham.

The available force of the royalist party in Northumberland consisted of only two regiments of foot and six troops of horse, of which one regiment lay at Wooler, commanded by Colonel Francis Anderson, the remainder at Alnwick, where Sir Thomas Glemham had his head-quarters.

In consequence of a communication from the Commissioners at Berwick, dated the 20th of January, Sir Thomas Glemham summoned a council of war, at which the gentry of Northumberland were invited to attend. The royalist force was at this time concentrated at Alnwick, whilst the Scottish quarters were at Adderston, about twelve miles north of that town.

The council unanimously resolved, that they were not in a condition to give battle to the Scotch army, which was already double their strength, with a prospect of immediate reinforcements. The Yorkshire officers then advised that "the country should be burnt, wasted, and destroyed, to prevent its affording harbour and accommodation to the enemy. This proposal was, however, successfully resisted by the gentlemen of Northumberland, who were naturally averse to such destruction of property, and the exposure of the home population, no less than the invading army, to the inclemency of the season. It was at length resolved to defend the passage of Alnwick bridge with such means as they had, including "some eight drakes and several pieces of ordnance." Felton bridge was ultimately selected as a more defensible position.

On the 23rd six regiments of foot and one of horse, under Lieutenant-General Bailey, marched from Kelso to Wooler, and the next day joined Lord Leven's

army at Adderston. At the same time a portion of the artillery came up, and the General marched forward to occupy Alnwick.

Sir Thomas Glemham retreated before him to Felton, where he designed to have cut down the bridge, but was prevented by the unexpected advance of the Scottish horse, and compelled to retire upon Morpeth, from whence, after a short halt, he proceeded to Newcastle.

The progress of the Scots was much impeded in consequence of a sudden thaw which set in on the 25th, the roads being flooded to such a depth that the foot soldiers were frequently up to their middles, and sometimes higher. They reached Morpeth on the 29th, so much exhausted, that it was necessary to remain here five days to recruit. In the meantime the fort on Coquet Island was taken by a party who were detached from the main army at Alnwick, under the Marquis of Argyle. The garrison yielded at the first shot, and the governor with seventy officers and soldiers surrendered themselves. Seven pieces of ordnance and a quantity of ammunition were taken, and a Scottish garrison was left in charge.

The whole county was now in the possession of the invaders, with the exception of Tynemouth Castle and the towns of Newcastle and Shields, the latter totally indefensible.

On the 3rd of February the army appeared before Newcastle, when a letter was presented from the Commissioners of both kingdoms to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, requesting a parley. An immediate answer was returned, referring the Commissioners to "his Majesty's General, who being at this instant in the town, we conceive all the power of government to be in him."

"In the meantime," says Rushworth, "a smart dispute happened; the town had raised a fort at the entrance of the Shieldfield, to gain which the Scots sent out two parties, one to attack the fort on the east side, the other on the west, in which service divers of them were cut off by the cannon, and particularly Patrick English, the Earl of Lindsay's Captain-Lieutenant, was slain. The same evening the Marquis, for the better guard of the town, set the Sand-gate, a street without the walls, and the other suburbs, on fire, which continued burning all Sunday and Monday.

"On Tuesday the 6th, the Scots' great guns that could not be carried by land, arrived by sea at Blyth's Nook, and next day were brought to the army. Henceforward the Scots continued their quarters near Newcastle, but no great action passed for several days; at last they resolved not to waste their time before this town, but to pass the river Tyne, leaving behind, on the north side of the town, six regiments of foot and some troops of horse, under the command of Sir James Lumisdale, Major-General."

During the siege three regiments of horse of the Marquis of Newcastle's army were stationed at Hexham, under Sir Marmaduke Langley, Colonel Fenwick, and Colonel Brandling, whilst Corbridge was occupied by two regiments of Scottish cavalry, under Lord Balgonie and Lord Kirkudbright. On the 5th of February a plan of attack was arranged by the English General, by which it was proposed to place the Scottish horse between two fires, and totally cut them off.

With this view, Langdale and Fenwick were ordered to march with their own cavalry, mustering twenty-five troops, supported by five hundred musketeers, by the direct road to Corbridge, whilst Colonel Brandling was to make a circuit on the south side of the river, and fording it below Corbridge, to attack the enemy in the rear.

The assault of the two regiments from the west was at first gallantly sustained, but when the musketeers came up in support of the cavalry, the Scots were panic-stricken, and took to a precipitate flight, directly in the line of Colonel Brandling's advance. They were thus met by that officer, approaching him at full speed, as though for an attack, when he expected to have fallen upon them in the rear.

"Brandling," says Rushworth, "no sooner saw them than he forwardly rode out before his troops to discharge a pistol, and one Lieutenant Elliot, on the Scots' side, rode out to meet him, and when they had discharged each at the other, and were wheeling to draw their swords, Brandling's horse stumbled, and the enemy was so near as to pull him off, and took him prisoner, which so discouraged his men, that they retreated, and gave the enemy opportunity to kill some of them."

A well devised manœuvre was thus rendered abortive, and the skirmish terminated without material advantage on either side.

After quitting Newcastle, the Scottish army marched westward to Heddon, where they encamped on the night of the 22nd, intending to proceed to Hexham to dislodge the Marquis of Newcastle's force. That general, however, being in no condition to cope with him, retired into the county of Durham.

In the skirmish at Corbridge, a Scottish officer, Major Agnew, had been taken prisoner by Colonel Fenwick, and very courteously entertained by him. He was now released, and had an opportunity of repaying the kindness which had been shewn him, by protecting Colonel Fenwick's mansion at Hexham from plunder when the town was in the power of his countrymen.

After the Royalists had evacuated Hexham, Lesley had no object in proceeding further west, but crossed the Tyne on the 28th, by the fords of Ovingham,

Eltringham, and Bywell, his troops having been quartered during the four or five intervening days on the various villages and farm houses in the neighbourhood.

At the time when the Scots crossed the Tweed, the royal cause was almost everywhere triumphant in the North. Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, were throughout staunch for the Crown, whilst in Yorkshire, the town of Hull was the only stronghold which remained in the power of the Parliament. The division of the Marquis of Newcastle's army, and his own necessary absence to watch General Lesley's movements, gave an opportunity to Lord Fairfax once more to make head, and resulted in the disastrous battle of Selby. The junction of Lesley and Fairfax completely turned the scale against the King, to whom the battle of Marston Moor, on the 2nd of July, was a final overthrow. The surrender of York, which almost immediately followed, established the ascendancy of the republican party so entirely throughout that great county, that Lesley was left at liberty to return northwards, to prosecute the siege of Newcastle, which had hitherto baffled his efforts.

Unsupported by a regular garrison, unaided by superior military advice, the loyal ardour and unflinching courage of the townsmen, headed by their brave Mayor, Sir John Marley, and his brother magistrates, enabled them to hold out for ten weeks, from the 13th of August to the 20th of October, against a numerous and well appointed army, supported by the resources of two kingdoms. After the fall of Newcastle all resistance to the republican party was futile in the county of Northumberland, and the contest was concluded by the surrender of Tyne-mouth Castle to Lord Leven one week later.

In 1646 the Northumbrians had once more an opportunity of seeing a sovereign for whom they had suffered so much, and made so many sacrifices;⁵ but they beheld him no longer possessed of regal authority, but a helpless captive in the power of his rebellious subjects, and his person ultimately transferred for gold from one section of his people to another. The King's sojourn in Newcastle on this occasion extended from the 13th of May, 1646, to the 3rd of February, 1647. Brand has collected with much industry such anecdotes as it was possible to recover of his Majesty's residence there. A very remarkable record of the King's

⁵ After all the spoliation to which the county of Northumberland was subjected during its occupation by the Scots in 1641-2 and 1644, the loyalist gentry at the close of the Civil War were compelled, in common with their fellow sufferers in other parts of the kingdom, to purchase the forbearance of the Parliament, and the enjoyment of the wreck of their estates, by the payment of heavy pecuniary com-

conversations with Alexander Henderson, the famous Presbyterian divine, then resident in Newcastle, on theological and political subjects, has been preserved, and is to be met with appended to some editions of the *Icon Basilike*.

CHARLES II.

On the restoration of the royal authority, in 1660, the King determined to bestow at least an honorary reward on some of those who had distinguished themselves in support of the cause of his late father and himself. It was proposed to establish a new order of knighthood, the members of which, in commemoration of his Majesty's narrow escape after the battle of Worcester, and his concealment in the oak, should bear the title of *Knights of the Royal Oak*. The design was abandoned, lest offence should be given to the disloyal party, which Charles vainly attempted to conciliate at the expense of his tried friends. The scheme was so far matured, that the parties had all been selected on whom it was proposed to confer this honour; and the list is curious, as exhibiting not only the names of the intended knights, but an estimate of the rental of their estates. The names for Northumberland are given below, and it is remarkable that not one of them occurs in the previous list of loyalists who had been compelled to compound for their estates.

Sir William Forster, Knt.	£1,000	George Collingwood, Esq.	£800
Daniel Collingwood, Esq.	600	Robert Shaftoe, Esq.	1,000
Charles Howard, Esq.	600	— Thornton, Esq. of Netherwitton	800
Sir Thomas Horsley, Knt.	1,000	Thomas Bewick, Esq.	2,000

The quarter of a century which intervened between the union of the crowns and the breaking out of the Great Rebellion, was productive of a very beneficial

positions. Of these a very imperfect record is preserved in a little book published in 1655, entitled *A Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, who have compounded for their Estates*. Such names as are connected with Northumberland and Newcastle, are here extracted.

Northumberland.

Sir Francis Bowes, Knt.	£544	0	0
Ralph Bates of Hollewell	200	0	0
James Earl of Carlisle	800	0	0
James Faucett of Goswick	360	0	0
Thomas Orde of Longridge	50	0	0
James Ogle of Cawsey Park	324	0	0
James Swinhoe, Chatton	393	13	4

Newcastle.

Sir Francis Anderson, Knt.	£1,200	0	0
Bartram Anderson, Merchant ..	75	0	0
Sir Nicholas Cole, Knt.	312	10	0
James Cole.	136	0	0
George Cock, Merchant.	205	0	0
George Errington	45	0	0
Sir Thomas Liddell, Bart.	4,000	0	0
Sir Thomas Riddell, sen., Knt. .	408	0	0
Thomas Sharper	77	0	0
Henry Sibthorpe	120	0	0

change in the security of property on the Borders. The moss-troopers, indeed, were neither annihilated nor altogether reclaimed, but they were kept in check by the rigorous administration of justice under the mixed commissioners of England and Scotland. The unhappy troubles which ensued, and which were nowhere more deplorable in their consequences than in Northumberland, revived the felonious habits of the population of the Marches, and life and property became almost as precarious and insecure as when the two realms were under independent and hostile governments.

The administration of Cromwell has been generally lauded for its vigour, but in Northumberland and Cumberland it was powerless against this gigantic evil. The laws afforded no protection, and the inhabitants were obliged to concert measures for their own preservation. A voluntary rate was levied upon all occupiers of property, and an armed force was established under a military officer "who is to save harmless this county from felonious stealing of goods by moss-troopers and others." From receipts for this "country-keeping cess," printed in the *Archæologia Æliana* (Vol. II., p. 134, New Series), it appears that the system was in force as early as the year 1651, in which year the service was performed by Captain Doffinby, and in 1652 and 1653 by Captain Ogle. The tax was cheerfully paid by those who were chiefly liable to the danger, but those who resided in the less exposed districts were reluctant to contribute to a common fund; and it is probable that the scheme would have been abandoned altogether but for the intervention of Parliament. In the year 1662, two years after the Restoration, an Act was passed by which the Justices of the Peace of the two counties, in sessions, were empowered "to order an assessment on every of the inhabitants of the said counties, for the safeguard of the said several counties, and the inhabitants of the same, from all injury, violence, spoil, and rapine of the moss-troopers aforesaid; so as Northumberland be not charged above 500*l.* a year, nor Cumberland above 200*l.*" They are further authorised to appoint a person with not more than 30 men under him in Northumberland and 12 in Cumberland, "whereby the malefactors may be searched out, apprehended and brought to trial." This Act, the duration of which was limited to five years, was further extended to seven years beyond the expiration of that term. By the latter Act, offenders were deprived of the benefit of clergy, and the Justices were empowered to transport them to his Majesty's dominions in America. After numerous renewals for limited periods, the Act was made permanent by 31 Geo. II., c. 42, and although long obsolete

remains unrepealed, except as to the provision for taking away the benefit of clergy.

From the very first, the "Country-keeper" was not merely the head of a police force to restrain depredations, but was also a contractor bound to give compensation for such stolen goods as he was unable to replace. The system was clearly vicious, and became in practice little better than the custom of receiving blackmail for protection, which had been made felony by the statute of Elizabeth. Some of these officers were openly accused of being in league with the thieves, and one of them was presented by the Grand Jury for using the stolen horses recovered by him for his own purposes, and only returning them to their owners, when they became utterly valueless from overwork. No care, at any rate, seems to have been wanting in selecting proper persons for the discharge of this duty, the officers appointed being generally amongst the principal gentry of the county. When Chief Justice North came the Northern Circuit in 1676, Mr. Widdrington is mentioned as Country-keeper, with a salary of 500*l.* per annum. In 1686, Mr. Thomas Blenkinsopp occurs in the Sessions-book as holding the office with 450*l.* salary, and again the next year with 500*l.* In 1688, Mr. Edward Widdrington of Felton was Country-keeper, with a salary of 500*l.*

At various times alterations were made in the system of country-keeping, to render it more efficacious, and to obviate objections. At one time, instead of appointing a single officer, the county was divided into districts, and a separate appointment made for each. In one shape or other, the Act was carried out much beyond the period when it was at all suitable to the requirements of the district—when "moss-trooping" had ceased to exist as a profession—and when the men of Tyndale and Reedsdale had learned to respect the rights of property as fully as any of their neighbours.

The following very full list of the Gentry of Northumberland and North Durham in the reign of Charles II. is extracted from Blome's *Britannia*, published in 1673:—

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Thomas Allgood of Hexham, Gent.	Henry Brabant of Newcastle, Esq.
Sir Ralph Anderson of Newcastle, Knt.	Ralph Brandling of Alnwick Abbey, Esq.
Ralph Anderson of Heaton, Esq.	— Carnaby of Halton, Esq.
Thomas Bewick of Close House, Esq.	William Carr of Newcastle, Esq.
Peter Blackborrow of Barmoor, Esq.	William Carr of Eshot, Esq.
Mr. Edward Blackett of Newcastle, Merchant.	Ralph Clavering of Callaley, Esq.

George Collingwood of Eslington, Esq.
 Daniel Collingwood of Branton, Esq.
 Philip Cramlington of Newsom, Esq.
 John Cresswell of Cresswell, Esq.
 Sir Ralph Delaval of Seaton Delaval, Bart.
 William Delaval of Dissington, Esq.
 Mr. Timothy Davison of Newcastle, Merchant.
 John Elrington of Elrington, Esq.
 William Errington of Beaufront, Esq.
 Nicholas Errington of Ponteland, Esq.
 Mark Errington of East Denton, Esq.
 Sir William Fenwick of Wallington, Bart.
 William Fenwick of Bywell, Esq.
 William Fenwick of Stanton, Esq.
 Tristram Fenwick of Kenton, Esq.
 Sir William Forster of Bamburgh Castle, Knt.
 Thomas Forster of Etherston, Esq.
 Right Hon. William Lord Grey of Wark
 Thomas Grey of Chillingham, Esq., son to the
 Lord Grey.
 Ralph Grey of Bradford, Esq.
 Edward Grey of Heton, Esq.
 Ralph Grey of ———, Esq.
 John Grey of Howick, Esq.
 John Hall of Otterburn, Esq.
 Ralph Hebburn of Hebburn, Esq.
 Sir Cuthbert Heron of Chipchase, Bart.
 Sir Thomas Horsley of Long Horsley, Knt.
 Ralph Jennison of Elswick, Esq.
 John Ilderton of Ilderton, Esq.
 William Lilburn of Newcastle, Esq.
 Sir Thomas Loraine of Kirkharle, Bart.
 Sir John Marley of Newcastle, Knt.

George Milburn of Chirton, Esq.
 Robert Mitford of Sighill, Esq.
 Robert Mitford of Mitford, Esq.
 Edward More of Berwick, Esq.
 Right Hon. Henry Earl of Ogle, only son of
 his Grace the Duke of Newcastle.
 Lancelot Orde of Weetwood, Esq.
 Sir Francis Radcliff of Dilston, Bart.
 John Reed of Chirton, Esq.
 Gabriel Reed of Troughend, Esq.
 Thomas Riddell of Fenham, Esq.
 John Ridley of Williamotswick, Esq.
 William Ridley of Crawhall, Esq.
 John Roddam of Little Houghton, Esq.
 John Salkeld of Rock, Esq.
 Ralph Scurfield of Eachwick, Esq.
 Thomas Selby of Biddleston, Esq.
 Sir Robert Shaftoe of Benwell, Knt.
 Sir Richard Stote of Gesmond, Knt.
 William Strother of Kirknewton, Esq.
 Sir John Swinburn of Capheaton, Bart.
 Thomas Swinhoe of Mousen, Esq.
 Mr. John Watson of Newcastle, Merchant.
 Right Hon. William Lord Widdrington of
 Widdrington.
 Edward Widdrington of Felton, Esq.
 William Widdrington of Cheeseburn Grange,
 Esq.
 Roger Widdrington of Harbottle, Esq.
 Robert Widdrington of Hawkesley, Esq.
 Utrich Whitfield of Whitfield, Esq.
 Nicholas Whitehead of Boulmer, Esq.

NORTH DURHAM.

William Clavering of Berrington, Esq.
 John Forster of Cornhill, Esq.
 Sir Thomas Haggerston of Haggerston, Bart.
 John Nicholson of Berrington, Esq.

William Orde of Beal super Mortem, Esq.
 Ralph Orde of West Orde, Esq.
 William Orde of Wester Newbiggin, Esq.
 William Selby of Twisel, Esq.

JAMES II.

During the latter years of Charles II. all political power was confined by the operation of the Test Act to members of the Church of England, to the exclusion both of the Roman Catholics and the Dissenters.

Having in vain attempted to persuade Parliament to repeal this obnoxious statute, James at length had recourse to an exercise of his prerogative of doubtful legality, by dispensing on his own authority with the imposition of the test. In *Evelyn's Diary* we find the following entry, under the date of January 17th, 1686-7: "Popish Justices of the Peace established in all the counties, of the meanest of the people." The latter portion of the note certainly does not apply to Northumberland, where the Justices appointed were all persons of property and condition. During the two previous years several additions were made to the Commission of the Peace of partizans of the ruling policy, who were under no religious disqualification, but were quite as ready to support the arbitrary acts of the sovereign as any of the recusant Roman Catholics. The following names of Magistrates of Northumberland, before and after the accession of James, are derived from the records of the Quarter Sessions:—

I. Acting Justices between 1680 and 1685, 32nd to 37th Charles II.

Sir Ralph Delaval, Bart.	Patric Crowe.
Sir John Fenwick, Bart.	Robert Jennison.
Sir Cuthbert Heron, Bart.	Robert Mitford.
Sir Thomas Loraine, Bart.	Richard Neile.
Sir Robert Fenwick, Knt.	William Ogle.
Sir Thomas Horsley, Knt.	William Orde.
Sir Ralph Jennison, Knt.	John Ridley.
Sir Richard Stote, Knt.	John Shaftoe.
Francis Addison.	William Strother.
William Armorer.	Gilbert Swinhoe.
John Blakiston.	Utric Whitfield.
Isaac Basire.	Ralph Widdrington.
Thomas Collingwood.	

II. Additional Justices, 1685-6.

Philip Bickerstaff.	Ralph Milburn.
Henry Holmes.	Henry Ogle.

III. Roman Catholic Justices, 1687.

Sir Nicolas Shireburn, Bart.	Thomas Riddle.
Edward Charlton.	Charles Selby.
Ralph Clavering.	James Wallis.
J. Errington.	

One Protestant, Henry Lambton, Esq., occurs for the first time as an acting Justice in 1687. He was Deputy-Recorder of Newcastle, but was removed in 1688, to make room for Joseph Barnes, who is described in *Browell's Diary* as a fanatic, a term at that period generally applied by orthodox churchmen to all dissenters.

WILLIAM III., ANNE.

Northumberland took no active part in the Revolution, but evinced its satisfaction by an address to King William and Queen Mary. The names of its two representatives, William Forster and Philip Bickerstaff, Esquires, are, however, recorded amongst those who opposed the transfer of the crown from King James to his son-in-law, and yet both were re-elected members of the following Parliament, a significant intimation that the country gentlemen in this county were no partizans of the new order of things.

The reign of Queen Anne was chiefly distinguished, as regards its domestic history, for the accomplishment of the Legislative Union, a measure so ardently desired by James I. one hundred years earlier. The immediate effects were by no means so beneficially felt in the Border counties, as those which followed the union of the crowns. The abolition of many restrictive provisions is said to have interfered materially with a lucrative contraband trade, which the opulent merchants of the commercial towns in the northern counties of England did not disdain to pursue.

The prospective advantages were abundantly obvious in averting the contingency of the thrones of England and Scotland being ever again possessed by different and hostile dynasties. Still it must be admitted, that the Union under Queen Anne was scarcely less unpalatable in Northumberland than it avowedly was on the opposite Border.

With this sovereign terminated the possession by the family of Stuart of the crown of these realms, and it is unnecessary to follow our local annals through the reigns of the princes of the House of Brunswick. The only two occasions on which Northumberland became the scene of events of national interest were in the years 1715 and 1745, when the last abortive attempts were made to reinstate the repudiated royal race. Both these rebellions have been amply illustrated. The former was of melancholy and lasting interest, involving several of the chief

families in Northumberland in forfeiture and ruin. The latter was only a passing danger, which in this county left few scars behind.

To the measures of precaution which the Government of George I. was induced to take against one religious sect of the community, in consequence of the feelings which they manifested towards the exiled dynasty in 1715, we are indebted for a very curious document, with which this portion of the *History of Northumberland* may be appropriately closed.

Northumberland.—A true and exact List of all and every such Papist or Papists, who have registered, or caused to be registered, their names and real estates, pursuant to the Acts of Parliament made for that purpose. [*From the Sessions Book.*]

Atkinson, Christopher, of Hexham, Tanner.
 Brandling, Ralph, of Middleton, Yorkshire, Esq.
 Brown, Margaret, Widow of William Brown of Bolton, Esq., deceased.
 Carnaby, Jane, of Hexham, Widow of Richard Carnaby of Hubbacke, deceased.
 Carnaby, Francis, of Hexham, Gentleman.
 Carr, Richard, of Gateshead, co. of Durham, Gentleman.
 Charlton, Edward, of Hesleyside, Gentleman.
 Charlton, Margaret, of York, Widow.
 Clavering, John, of Callaley, Esq.
 Coates, Winifrid, of Alnwick, Widow.
 Collingwood, Hon. Catherine, Daughter of the Right Hon. Viscount Montague, Widow of George Collingwood, Esq., deceased.
 Collingwood, John, of Eslington, Esq.
 Collingwood, Charles, of Eslington, Gentleman.
 Collingwood, Robert, of Boscobell, co. Salop, Gentleman.
 Drew, Thomas, of Herrington, Worcestershire, Gentleman.
 Errington, William, of Beaufront, Esq.
 Errington, Mary, of Hexham, Widow of William Errington of Walwick Grange, Esq.
 Errington, Mary, of New Elvet, Durham, Widow.
 Errington, Anthony, of Pontisland, Gentleman.
 Errington, Edward, of Kenton, Gentleman.
 Errington, Gilbert, of Hexham, Gentleman.
 Errington, alias Stapleton, Nicholas, of Carlton, Yorkshire, Esq.
 Errington, George, of Gray's Inn, Middlesex, Esq.
 Errington, Gregory, of Carlton, Gentleman.
 Fairfax, Helena, of London, Spinster.
 Fenwick, James, of East Matfen, Gentleman.
 Fenwick, Roger, of London, Gentleman.
 Fenwick, Margaret, Widow of Robert Fenwick of Newcastle, Gentleman.
 Gascoine, John, of Parlington, Yorkshire, Esq.
 Gibson, George, of Stagshaw Close, Gentleman.
 Gibson, Mary, Widow of George Gibson of Stonecroft, Gentleman.

- Haggerston, Edward, of Ellingham, Esq.
Hardwick, William, of London, Gentleman.
Hayles, Catherine, of Newcastle, Spinster.
Hankin, Dorothy, of Newcastle, Widow.
Hankin, Margaret, of Newcastle, Spinster.
Heron, John, of Hexham, Yeoman.
Heslop, George, of Glanton, Yeoman.
Hodgson, Richard, of Gateshead, co. of Durham, Gentleman.
Jefferson, Barbary, of Hexham, Widow.
Kirsopp, Thomas, of Hexham, Yeoman.
Lambert, Cuthbert, of Hexham, Gentleman.
Lawson, Sir Henry, of Brough, Yorkshire, Bart.
Lawson, John, of Trinity Parish, York, Son and Heir Apparent of the above.
Leadbitter, Matthew, of Wharnley, Yeoman.
Leadbitter, Nicholas, of Nether-Warden, Yeoman.
Lowes, Thomas, of Upper Eshalls, Yeoman.
Mackay, John, of Newbiggen, Gentleman, and Margaret his Wife, late Widow of Robert Fenwick of Newcastle, Gentleman.
Newton, John, of Stocksfield Hall, Gentleman.
Ord, William, of Sturton Grange, Esq.
Ord, Lancelot, of Weetwood, Esq.
Pepper, Richard, of Gray's Inn, Middlesex, Gentleman.
Phillips, Mary, of York, Widow, Daughter of James Wallis, late of Copeland, Esq.
Potts, John, of Everingham, Yorkshire, Gentleman.
Potts, William, of Castlesteads, Cumberland, Gentleman.
Ratcliffe, Anna-Maria, Widow of James late Earl of Derwentwater.
Ratcliffe, Right Hon. Lady Catherine, Spinster, Daughter of Francis late Earl of Derwentwater.
Ratcliffe, Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth, Spinster, Daughter of the said Earl.
Ratcliffe, Right Hon. Lady Mary.
Ratcliffe, the Hon. Arthur, of Capheaton.
Ratcliffe, Mary, of Durham.
Reed, Francis, of Long-Horsley, Yeoman.
Riddell, Edward, of Swinburn Castle, Esq.
Riddell, William, of the same, Gentleman.
Riddell, George, of London, Gentleman.
Rutherford, George, of Biddleston, Gentleman.
Rutherford, Alexander, of Burradon, Yeoman.
Sanderson, George, of Errington, Gentleman.
Sanderson, William, of Healey, Gentleman.
Selby, Thomas William, of York, Esq.
Selby, James, of Alwinton, Gentleman.
Selby, Katherine, of Newcastle, Widow of Robert Selby, Gentleman.
Shireburne, Sir Nicholas, of Stoneyhurst, co. Lancaster, Bart.
Spoor, Robert, of Hexham, Blacksmith.
Stapleton, Mary, Widow of Nicholas Stapleton, late of Carlton, Yorkshire, Esq.
Studholm, Joseph, of Hexham, Blacksmith.

Swinburn, Isabella, Lady.

Swinburn, Mary, Lady,

Talbot, John, of Cartington, Gentleman.

Thornton, Anne, of Netherwitton, Widow of Robert Thornton, Esq., deceased.

Wilson, Robert, of Morpeth, Gentleman.

Widdrington, The Hon. Henry, youngest Brother of the Right Hon. William Lord Widdrington,
Baron of Blankney.

Widdrington, The Hon. Elizabeth, of Horsley, Widow.

Widdrington, The Hon. Anne, of Cheeseburn Grange, Widow of William Widdrington, Esq.

Widdrington, Robert, of Plessey, Gentleman.

Widdrington, Edward, of Colt Park, Gentleman.

Widdrington, Edward Horsley, of Horsley, Esq.





