

CHAPTER THREE

ROLLO, CONQUEROR AND DUKE OF NORMANDY

Twenty-fifth in Ancestry

Section 1, Rollo, His Family and History also of Rolf Thurstain and of Malehuc—Section 2, Genealogy of Einar, Earl of the Orkneys.

SECTION 1.

*25. ROLLO, conqueror of Normandy, Duke of Normandy, son of Rognvald, Earl of Mere, Chapter 2, Section 1.

The genuine name is Hrolfr, i.e. Rolf, in various spellings. The French form is Rou, sometimes Rous (whence an odd Latin form Rosus); the Latin is Rollo, like Cnuto, Svenno, &c. The strangest form is Rodla which occurs in a late manuscript of the English Chronicles (a. 876. Thorp's ed.). This was clearly meant to be an English form of Rollo. The English masculine ending 'a' was substituted for the Latin 'o', just as Giso, and Odo are in English Gisa and Oda. The writer also clearly thought that Rollo was a name of the same type as Robert and others, and he fancied that by putting in a 'd' he was restoring it to its genuine Teutonic shape. On account of his great stature, which prevented any horse from carrying him, he was known as Gaungo Hrolfr, or "the walking Rollo." He was one of the most famous vikings of his age. He married first, *More Danico*, Poppa, daughter of Count Berenger, count de Senlis. He married second; Gisela, Gesilda, or Oegidia, daughter of Charles the Simple, King of France, although his first wife was living and he was not divorced from her. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward A. Freeman, vol. 1, page 110-111.]

It will be well to keep in mind that the historians of the time were all members of the established Christian Church, and being intensely partisan, they could not see current events, except from the standpoint of the church. They were dogmatic in their opinions, and therefore they could not understand the sanctity of marriage unless celebrated according to the sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church. Hence, the priest was perfectly willing to marry Rollo to the king's daughter, although he had a living wife obtained by a pagan ceremony, as thereby he accomplished the condemnation by Rollo of the old alliance, and at the same time bound to France, this strong soldier by ties stronger than those of the treaty by which he had acquired his domain. The Sea-king had so little faith in the new religion that perhaps he felt the new ceremony could do him no harm, and yet please his new friends. It is to his everlasting credit that he nevertheless respected the old marital alliance with Poppa.

These clerical historians assert that Rollo was converted to Christianity in 912. While Prof. A. W. Kerkaldy, after a most careful research, says it is doubtful if the conversion of Rollo ever took place. In this connection he says it is important to note that no Christian name was mentioned for Rollo in the refer-



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ences to him in the documents of 918. It was in this year that he was married to his old wife Poppa, according to the rites of the church. The Historian adding:—He was already married to her mere Danico, and this marriage rendered legitimate in the eyes of his Christian subjects, the two children he had had by her. It is doubtful in view of the subsequent history of Normandy whether a majority of his subjects were Christians. The fact that Rollo yielded to a second marriage only indicates that under him the Church had gained mightily in Normandy, until even the reigning Duke yielded to her desires. Perhaps it was his old age that made him weak, but modern thought will never yield to the statement that the presence of a priest, and the sancity of a church, are necessary to make a marriage legitimate, that has been entered into according to the requirements of the laws of the land in force at the time of its performance. Their children were:—

1. *24. GUILLAUME, or WILLIAM, surnamed LONGUE-ÉPÉE, i. e. LONG SWORD, DUKE OF NORMANDY, Chapter 4, Section 1.
2. Gerloc or Garletta, who received the name of Adele at her baptism, who became the wife of William surnamed tete d' e' toupe, Count of Piton and Duke de Guilme.

Rollo married, as we have stated, according to the rites of the Church, Gisla de France, daughter of King Charles the Simple. The first wife was still living, and historians claim that he never lived with this lady. Nevertheless, this unjoyful union, it is said, was attended with all the discomforts of love and jealousy. There were no children by this marriage. [Leicester Lit. & Phil. Soc. Trans. 1910, No. 14, page 63.]

The following chart will prove helpful to the reader.

26. ROGNVALD Earl of More=Ragnhilda, dau. of Hrolf the Beaked					
Ivar	Thorir	Heldina	Poppa (More=25. ROLLO=Gisela dau. of Charles Danico) dau. of Count Berenger	1st Duke of Normandy	the Simple, King of France second wife
The brothers of Rollo by slave mothers were Hrollauf, King of Iceland and Eyner Earl of the Orkneys					
Gerloc or Garletta rec. name of Adele at bapt.=William, Count of Piton and Duke de Guilme	24. WILLIAM LONGSWORD=Duke of Normandy		Esporta de Senlis dau. of Herbert Count of Senlis	No children	
Gunnor, sister of=23. RICHARD I. Duke of Normandy=(1) Esme or Emma, sec. dau. of Herfaste, a Dane Surnamed The Grand & The Fearless Hugh, Duke de France & Bourgoyne, Count of Paris & Orleans					

Guillaume, the son of Rollo and Poppa, was brought up by the clergy, who having as they thought, thereby secured a controlling influence on him, were willing to accept him as the lawful heir of his father. It was a period of change from pagan to Christian customs, and one had not yet lost its sanctity nor had the other obtained the full force of absolute control. It was not until after the conquest that it could be said that the Danish customs had succumbed to the French laws. Judged by the standard of the times, the Danish marriage was the most conservative and in every way the most binding ceremony, except in the opinion of the priests whose interests led them to decree otherwise. The priest-

hood however was not yet strongly enough intrenched to execute their decree against a marriage made according to the law of the land but contrary to the canons of the Church.

Very little is said in the Sagas of Göngu Hrolf, the first jarl of Normandy, for he, like all those who left their country to settle in foreign lands, was forgotten by the scalds at home, as these did not take part in their expeditions. The sagas confirm each other in regard to him. But the little we have concerning him is extremely interesting, as his descendants conquered England and part of France. All the different Sagas agree in calling him a son of Rognvald jarl of Norway. [The Viking Age, by Paul B. Du Challeau, vol. 2, page 452.] For example one saga says:

“Rögnvald Maera jarl was a very great friend of King Harald, and was much valued by him. Rognvald was married to Hrolf Nefja's daughter Hild, and had by her sons Hrolf and Thorir. . ” The Battle song of Einar, Earl of Orkney, fixes their relationship so beautifully that it will bear repetition:—

Where is the spear of Hrollaug, where is
Stout Rolf Ganger's bloody spear?
I see them not, yet never fear,
For Einar will not vengeance spare
Against his father's murderers though
Hrollaug and Rolf are somewhat slow
And silent Thorir sits and dreams
At home, beside the mead-bowl's stream.

There have been quite a few historians of Rollo and his times, beginning with Dudo. They have, however, all failed to distinguish between Rollo and the Norman adventurers who preceded him.

It is important therefore to have an accurate chronology of events contemporary with the time of Rollo and his conquest of Normandy. The following is the chronology as accepted in Norway, and it can be depended on as being accurate in sequence and time of events, to wit:—853. Is the year of Harald Haarfager's birth. 863. Harald succeeded to his father Halfdan the Black. 864. One Gardar went to Iceland, which had been discovered in 861 by Nadodd. 867. Flakke went to Iceland. 875. Ingulf went as a colonist to occupy Iceland. 885. The battle in Hafursfjord, by which Harald Haargafer became supreme king of Norway. 895. Harald Haarfager's expedition to Orkney. The banishment of Rolf Ganger from Norway is placed in this year. 898. Eric Bloodyaxe was born. 923. Hakon, called afterwards Athelstan's foster-son, born. 931. Hakon sent to England. 936. Death of Harald Haarfager. 937. Hakon, Athelstan's foster-son, king. 941. Athelstan king of England, died. 963. Hakon, Athelstan's foster-son, killed in battle. [The Chronicles of the Kings of Norway, vol. 1, Ed. 1844, with notes by Lang, page 384.]

Rollo was the beneficiary of a large number of Norman expeditions which had harassed France, particularly the expeditions of his near cousins Halfdan and Gorm, and as the Norman historians wanted to make Rollo appear as a great shining light, they attributed to him events that happened before he was born. The result is there are two Rollos; one a mythical personage who represents all

the Norman exploits in France; the other the real Rollo who, after being banished from Norway, and wandering from place to place, finally settled in Normandy where he founded that dynasty of Norman Dukes which figures so largely in the French history of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The Norman historians, including Dudo, credit all the Norman ventures to Rollo, specially the siege of Paris. If Rollo had really been present at the siege of Paris, from 885 to 889, it was incredible that the fact should be unknown to people on the spot, and yet the people on the spot did not mention the name of Rollo as a leader of the expedition. They mentioned one leader only, a man named Siegfried. Taking the narrative of Dudo point by point, it will be found to be quite uncorroborated by other evidence. At the time of this siege Rollo was in the good graces of King Harold Fairhair in Norway, and had every reason to believe that he would by a happy marriage, as well as by conquest, acquire great wealth in the land of his birth. It is not until the very end of the ninth century that Rollo can possibly appear in French History as an emigrant from Norway. Rollo could, of course, have been a subordinate commander under Siegfried, but even this is quite unlikely.

We are now ready to return to Norway and take up the thread of its history so far as it relates to Rollo. The tragic fate of Halfdan at the hands of Einar in 894, as it became known in Norway, aroused the resentment of Harald and his family. To recall what has already been stated, the brothers of the murdered prince would have immediately equipped an expedition to the isles to chastise the cruel Einar; but Harald reserved this vengeance for his own hand. He fitted out a fleet and set sail for the west. Einar, who was apprised of the king's design, fled to Caithness in Scotland. Harald pursued him thither, but was persuaded to forego his revenge, and to accept 'the price of blood' in the shape of a tribute of sixty marks of gold, to be paid by the inhabitants of Caithness, who had given aid and succour to Einar, as some accounts have it; other accounts say the fine was levied on the inhabitants of the Orkneys. As these poor people were unable to raise this sum, Einar paid it for them, upon condition that they should concede to him certain feudal rights in the country, where, it appears, he had already established some sort of jurisdiction. Thus, by a single incident, this expedition of Harald, designed to inflict a signal vengeance upon Einar, became the means of confirming and strengthening his dominion. [History of the Northmen, by Henry Wheaton, London, 1831.]

Whilst this deadly feud still raged between the families of king Harald and Rögnvald, Jarl of Maere, the latter's son, Rollo, returned from one of his distant sea-roving expeditions, and made himself obnoxious, much to the resentment of the incensed king of Norway. Like many others of the Scandinavian youth of high birth, he had become a sea-king and roamed the seas in search of subsistence, and adventures. Among other practices connected with piracy, Harald had prohibited, under the severest penalties, the *Strand-hug*, or *impressement* of provisions, which the sea-rovers were in the habit of exercising.

Rollo was noted for the success with which he followed the old northern practice of "*Strand-Hug*," or seizing by force from off the sea-coast lands anything which he or his crews might want, and then going off to sea again with the booty.

Rollo, who did not know of the death of his father and the disgrace of his family, landed on the island Vigin and began his old habit of using Strand-Hug, he was seized by orders of the king, who caused him to be brought before the Thing, and to be condemned as an outlaw. Rollo's mother and friends offered large sums of money to appease his anger. When Hrolf's mother Hild heard that he was to be banished, she went to the king to ask pardon for Hrolf, but the king was so angry that her prayers were of no avail. Then she sang:—

Disgrace not Hefga's namesake
Nor drive the wolf from the land,
The wise kinsman of Höld,
Why dealest thou thus with him King?

It is bad to worry
Such a wolf of Ygg's
He will not be gentle toward
The King's herds if he runs
Into the woods.

[Heimskringle, Preliminary Dissertation by Laign, chapt. 3, page 110.]

or as another translator makes it read:—

Then Hildo spake these lines—
"Thinkest thou, King Harald, in thy anger
To drive away my brave Rolf Ganger,
Like a mad wolf, from out the land?
Why, Harald, raise thy mighty hand?
Why banish Naefias gallant name-son,
Thy brother of brave udal-men?
Why is thy cruelty so fell?
Bethink thee, monarch, it is ill
With such a wolf at wolf to play,
Who, driven to the wide woods away,
May make the king's best deer his prey."

Seeing that Harald would not pardon him or allow him to remain in Norway, Rollo set forth in search of a home elsewhere.

Europe holds no memorials of ancient historical events which have been attended by such great results in our times, as some rude excavations in the shore-banks of the island of Vigr, in Möre,—which are pointed out by the finger of tradition as the dry rocks in which the vessels of Rolf Ganger, from whom the fifth in descent was William the Conqueror, were drawn up in winter, and from whence he launched them, and set out from Norway on the expedition in which he conquered Normandy. Vigroe, the isle of Vigr, is situated in Haram parish, in the bailiwick of Soud More. Rollo having collected on this island a band of adventurers, some of them, like himself, fugitives from their native country, they started out as vikings, over whom he was sea-king. Says the Saga, Göngu Hrolf then went westward across the sea to the Sudrey-jar (Hebrides), and thence west to Valland, and made war there, and got a large jarl's realm, where he induced many Northmen to settle down. It was afterwards called Normandi. Says the Saga, Göngu Hrolf's son 'William' (Vilhjalm) was father of Richard

(Rikard), father of Richard the Second, father of Robert Longsword, father of Vilhjalm (William) the Bastard, king of the English, from whom all subsequent English kings are descended. The jarls in Normandi are also of Hrolf's family. There seems to be some discrepancy in these statements, as Rollo and his friends made the Hebrides their headquarters, and from there they visited many lands as mere marauders; all the time, however, he was adding to the numerical strength of his forces and acquiring more vessels, until about the year 900, he landed in Rouen, where the people and clergy, who were deserted by their natural defenders, submitted to him, upon condition that he should protect them against other bands of his countrymen. Finding the city and neighboring country desolate and deserted, Rollo and his companions determined to take possession of this fair and fertile land. Steenstrup holds, and Maurer on this point agrees with him, that the overwhelming majority of the host that followed him into Normandy were more of Danish than Norway descent. This is confirmed by later investigations, which have shown that Rollo's forces were recruited not only from the Scandinavian peninsula, but also from every Danish settlement as well, including those in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Hebrides. The thirty-five years of warfare with the Norseman had won from the Frank a respect for Northern prowess which could not have been attained by a single expedition bent on piratical intent, for pirates they must be called inasmuch as they were adventurers without any home country and owing no allegiance to any government. Yet withal, theirs was a notable company, and they seemed to have been possessed of a strong desire to locate themselves permanently somewhere, and to belong to organized society, as is indicated by the fact that history records no viking expeditions as coming from Normandy. All together it seems to have been a happy chance which brought them to Rouen. There they were welcome. There they could be useful. There they could have the best of the lands for themselves. There Rollo would be a real ruler and his companions would be his nobility. It happened also that the internal condition of France was at this time favorable to permanent conquest. The pretensions of Charles the Simple, the legitimate heir to the crown of the Carolingian line, who had been thrust aside by the usurpation of Eudes, Count of Paris, sanctioned by necessity and the popular voice were once more revived by a faction of the higher nobility and clergy. The two parties, instead of uniting to repel the common enemy, sought to make use of him against each other, and secretly intrigued to gain his assistance. Charles had commenced a negotiation for the purpose of making some kind of league with the Normans, when Foulk, archbishop of Rheims, after putting that city in a state of defence against their incursions, addressed to the young king a letter, threatening him with resistance and excommunication, if he did not desist from his project. [Strohm's *Biskryvelse over Möre*, and Kraft's *Norge*. Harald Fairhair's Saga, c. 24. See K. Maurer's review of Steenstrup in the *Jenaer Literature-zeitung*, 4th series, No. 2, Jan. 13, 1877, page 25. The conquest of England, by J. R. Green, page 236. History of the Northmen by Henry Wheaton, London 1831.]

"All your friends," says the prelate, in this letter, are struck with horror at the base idea of your soliciting the friendship of the enemies of God, and calling

in the aid of Pagan arms to prostrate the Christian name. To league with Pagans, is to renounce God and return to idolatry. The kings, your ancestors, after having abandoned the errors of Paganism, devoted themselves to the worship of the true God, and from Him they always supplicated aid; and thus they reigned happily, and have transmitted their inheritance to their posterity. But you are about to abandon God; yes, with regret I say it, you abandon God when you league with his enemies. What! at the very moment you ought to put an end to such a long train of calamities, give over robbing the poor, and repent of such horrible crimes, you are about to provoke still more the wrath of God, by leaguings with those who hate him, and persist in their barbarous ferocity? Believe me, never by such a course of conduct will your reign prosper. Until this time, I have always had some hope, but now I see you rushing with your partisans on the downward road to destruction. Those who give such counsels prove, not that they are faithful, but that they are unfaithful; if you listen to them, you will surely lose both the celestial and the terrestrial kingdom. In the name of God then, I supplicate you to renounce such a design, and not to plunge into eternal perdition; which would be for me and all those who remain faithful to you a perpetual source of grief. Better would it have been for you never to have been born than to seek to reign with the aid of the demon, and to give aid and succour to those whom it was your duty to have combated by every means in your power. Know that if you persist in your design, and yield to such evil counsels, you must no longer reckon on my fidelity; on the contrary, I will draw off from their allegiance as many of your subjects as I may be able, and excommunicating both you and yours, I will deliver you to eternal condemnation.

Whether it was the effect of this menacing epistle, or dread of the thunders of the church, combined with the circumstance of the death of Eudes, his rival, which happened about this time, it is impossible to determine; but Charles the Simple renounced his design of forming an alliance with the Normans. In the meantime they continued their accustomed ravages, and whilst one band invaded Neustria, and another was engaged in laying waste the kingdom of Aquitaine with fire and sword, Rollo ascended the river Seine to Pont-de-l'Arche, and Charles the Simple, who now became the undisputed monarch of the Franks, resolved to encounter the Norman chief with a strong force. The elder Hastings, who had become the vassal of the king, was to join the royal army with his array. The united corps encamped on the Eure, and Ragnold, duke of France and Orleans, by whom it was commanded, took counsel of Hastings how he should conduct towards the invading foe. Hastings advised negotiation, and was sent to the enemy with two other persons, who understood the Norman language, to commence overtures for this purpose. The envoys stood on the banks of the Eure, which separated them from the Normans, and cried out to the pirates on the opposite shore, that they wished to speak to their chief. The Normans answered that they were 'all equal.' Being asked what was their design in invading the country, they answered, 'to subdue it.' They were again interrogated, whether they would not rather become the vassals of King Charles, and receive gifts of land to hold of him as their liege lord. In answer to this question, they all cried out with one voice in the negative, and the deputation returned to the camp

of the Franks. On his return, Hastings informed Ragnold that the Norman army consisted of the flower of the warlike youth of the North, and counselled him by no means to risk the unequal chances of battle with such a formidable foe. A standard-bearer, named Rotland, or Roullant, replied that this counsel might proceed from a treacherous intrigue of Hastings with his former countrymen, and as his intentions appeared to be distrusted by the other Frankish chieftains, Hastings retired in disgust from the council, quitted the army with his corps, and soon afterwards left France.

Rollo waited in his entrenched camp the attack of the Franks, which was made at break of day. The Normans ranged in order of battle, and covered with their shields repulsed the enemy. Rotland, or Roullant, who bore the gonfannon of the Franks, was slain; and Duke Ragnold took flight with the whole army. After this success, Rollo assembled his companions and represented to them that the Franks having committed the first aggression, nothing was now to be done but to march on and subdue their towns and fortresses. The Normans accordingly broke up their camp on the Eure, marched along the banks of the Seine, and took Meuland by surprise, where they put all their prisoners to the sword, and went on ravaging the country to the walls of Paris. In the meantime, Duke Ragnold had collected another army, with which he marched against the Normans, and offered them battle. The sea-rovers formed their band in the shape of a wedge, and penetrated the battalions of the Franks, prostrating all before them, and taking a great number of prisoners, whom they dragged to their barks. Ragnold was left among the slain.

During the winter the Normans made an incursion into Burgundy, but were repulsed by the duke of that province, and compelled to return to the Seine. Having learnt that Bayeux was badly fortified, Rollo made a rapid movement towards that town, pillaged the surrounding country, and laid siege to the place. The burghers made a brave defence, and took prisoner a Norman chief, called Bothon. The Normans offered a suspension of arms for a year, upon condition that Bothon should be released. The offer was accepted, and Rollo retired along the Seine to the Marne, where he took possession of Meaux, and pushed his excursions quite to the Meuse. As soon as the truce had expired, the Normans suddenly attacked Bayeux, took it by surprise, and slew the governor, Count Berenger, with a great number of the inhabitants. This count left a daughter of great beauty and accomplishments, named Popa, whom Rollo espoused after the fashion of his country, and who bore him a son, William, and a daughter, named Adela. Rollo then retired to his stronghold at Rouen, where his companions elected him their permanent chief, and where he employed himself in organizing his Norman colony. Under his firm and vigorous rule, the blessings of order and peace were once more restored to a country which had so long and so cruelly suffered from the incursions of the Northern adventurers. He tolerated the Christians in their worship, and they flocked in crowds to live under the dominion of a Pagan and barbarian, in preference to their own native and Christian prince, who was unwilling or incapable to protect them. There must have been something truly great and magnanimous in the soul of this ferocious sea-rover, which thus elevated his views above those entertained by other adventurers of the same

age and nation, and made him aspire to become the founder and legislator of a new state. But as the Franks, who still continued to live under the sceptre of Charles, had but little pacific intercourse with the colony of Normans, planted on the banks of the Seine, the monking chroniclers and annalists have left no record of the particular measures by which Rollo conciliated the affections both of his Pagan and Christian subjects, and so effectually consolidated his power as finally to wrest from the degenerate descendant of Charlemagne, the fairest and most fertile province of his vast dominions.

The Norman records inform us that Rollo was accompanied by his nephew Ornund or Rolf Thurstain, son of his brother Hrolloff. This Rolf became the ancestor of Richard de Goz de Avranches who married Emma the half sister of William the Conqueror by the same mother. They in turn were the parents of our maternal ancestor, Isabella Lupus, who married Gilbert de Corbeil. The genealogy of their line will therefore be found in the ninth chapter of this work. Rollo was also accompanied by his father's brother Malahulc. These together with Rollo seem to comprehend all of the family of Rognvald who came to Normandy.

It seems remarkable that one alone among the many Scandinavian settlements in Gaul was destined to play a real part in history. This was the settlement of Rolf or Rollo at Rouen. This settlement, the kernel of the great Norman Duchy, had, I need hardly say, results of its own and an importance of its own which distinguish it from every other Danish colony in Gaul. But it is well to bear in mind that it was only one colony among several, and that, when the cession was made, it was probably not expected to be more lasting or more important than the others. But while the others soon lost any distinctive character, the Rouen settlement lasted, it grew, it became a power in Europe, and in Gaul it became even a determining power. It is perhaps the unexpected development of the Rouen settlement together with the peculiar turn which Normandy policy soon took, which accounts for the bitterness of hatred with which the Northmen of Rouen are spoken of by the French writers down to at least the end of the tenth century. By that time they in large part had long been Christian in faith and French in speech, and yet the most truly French writer of the age can never bring himself to speak of them by any other name than that of the Pirates. This was no doubt because the Normans were so constantly reinforced by emigration from Scandinavia that they never, prior to the conquest of England, entirely lost their Norse habits, customs, speech and religion. To this feeling of French hostility we see nothing at all analogous in English history. We see traces of strong local diversities, sometimes rising into local jealousies, between the Danes in England and their Anglican and Saxon neighbors; but there is nothing to compare with the full bitterness of hatred which breathes alike in the hostile rhetoric of Richar and in the ominous silence of the discreet Flodard. Notwithstanding the hostility of the French historians, the lasting character of Rollo's work at once proves the founder of the Rouen colony was a great man.

For the next seven years the Frankish chronicles are silent respecting the ravages of the Normans. They still continued to occupy their strong holds on the Loire and the Garonne, as well as the Seine. In the meantime, Charles the

Simple, influenced by motives of policy, with the view of preventing them from deriving assistance from England, had married the daughter of Edward the Elder, son and successor to King Alfred. Charles subsequently convened an ecclesiastical council at Trosley, in the Soissonnais, for the purpose of consulting on the general welfare of the church and the kingdom. The incursions of the Pagans had prevented the bishops and abbots from assembling for several years past; the monasteries and episcopal sees were burnt, ravaged, and plundered; and all these calamities were attributed by the clergy to the sins of the princes and the people, who no longer resisted the Pagan invaders, but disgracefully took to flight, or bowed their necks to the yoke of the Barbarians. The archbishop of Rouen, who lived under the rule of Rollo, wrote to consult Heriveus, the successor of Foulk in the see of Rheims, as to the line of conduct he ought to observe in this equivocal and difficult position. The archbishop of Rheims counselled his brother to be indulgent in respect to the converted Pagans, who relapsed and returned to their old habits of idolatry and piracy. The pope himself had written to Heriveus, to the same effect; recommending moderation towards the Normans, who, after pretending to be converted, turned back again to their barbarous manners and practices, carried on a war of extermination against the Franks, massacred the priests, and monks, and sacrificed to idols. The pontiff very wisely concluded that the usual penalties prescribed by the canons could not be applied to these Barbarians, to whom the yoke of the new religion must be lightened in order to render it at all supportable by their wild and intractable natures. Herein you have the key to all the subsequent history of the descendants of Rollo. Down to the time they came over to conquer England, they were as we shall see, at all times really Pagans, yet when it suited their purpose they were Christian. And by a strange contradiction they were uniformly generous contributors to the material prosperity of the church and clergy. [History of the Northmen, by Henry Wheaton, London, 1831.]

A general confederation of all the Normans in France was now formed, under the chief command of Rollo, for the purpose of penetrating the heart of the kingdom by the streams of its three great rivers, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne, and ravaging all the intermediate country. One band ascended the Loire, burnt and pillaged Nantz, Angers, Tours, and other cities on the banks of this river, whilst another marched rapidly upon Paris, to take the capital by surprise. Charles the Simple, panic-struck at the prospect of this double invasion, addressed himself to Francon, archbishop of Rouen, entreating him to solicit from Rollo, his sovereign, a truce of three months. "My kingdom is laid waste," said the monarch to the prelate, "my subjects are destroyed or driven into exile; the fields are no longer ploughed or sown. Tell the Norman that I am well disposed to make a lasting peace with him, and that if he will become a Christian, I will give him broad lands and rich presents." Rollo readily consented to the proposal, and the truce was strictly observed by both the Franks and the Normans, but on the expiration of the stipulated term, the former immediately recommenced hostilities without notifying the expiration of the truce. Rollo, irritated by what he regarded as an act of perfidy, renewed his invasions with increased violence and barbarity. He pushed his ravages quite to the Loire, whilst another band of Normans in-

vaded the south of France by the Garonne, and the bishops in that quarter wrote to pope Anastasius that they were unable to journey to Rome, on account of the great roads being infested by the Normans and Saracens. Rollo laid siege to the city of Chartres, which was defended by a fortress on the top of the hill. In a grotto, situated in the side of this hill, where the Druids had formerly celebrated their mysteries, the inhabitants of Chartres preserved with religious veneration an ancient image of St. Mary. They also possessed a tunic, formerly belonging to the Virgin, which was brought from Constantinople, and presented by Charles the Bald to their cathedral. At the approach of the invaders, the bishop sent to solicit aid from Richard duke of Burgundy, Robert Count of Paris, the brother of Eudes, and other great crown vassals, who assembled a corps of Franks and Burgundians, and came to the assistance of the good and brave prelate. The Normans were attacked by these troops, and the bishop at the same time exhorted the burghers to sally forth upon the enemy. He assembled the people in the cathedral, mounted the sacred pulpit, and preached to them "how the Normans were Saracens, and enemies of God, and that all who were slain in fighting against them should surely be saved." He then gave them absolution, and celebrated mass. The people flew to arms, and the bishop sallied forth at their head in his pontificals, preceded by a crucifix, and bearing upon the point of his lance the tunic of the Virgin. All his clergy followed chanting hymns to the Queen of Heaven. The Normans, thus attacked in front and rear by a formidable force inflamed with patriotic resentment and religious enthusiasm, were unable to make an effectual resistance. They sustained a great loss, and Rollo fled quite to Rouen, pursued by the victorious Franks, whilst another band of his countrymen retired and took up a strong position on a neighboring mountain.

Rollo soon recovered from the effects of his rout at Chartres, and once more commenced his ravaging incursions into the interior of the kingdom. Duke Richard marched against him, accompanied by the warlike bishop of Auxerre, who distinguished himself by his courage and enterprise in the partisan warfare carried on against the scattered bands of the Normans. The expiring energy of the nation could not be rekindled by a few solitary examples of patriotic spirit like these, among the great crown vassals, which constituted exceptions to their general want of public spirit and union among themselves. The people, who had supported with exemplary patience the heavy burdens imposed upon them by the great, as well as the cruelties and robberies inflicted by the barbarian invaders, at last burst forth in loud and bitter complaints at the conduct of their rulers. Charles had received the most solemn representations from the prelates and barons, assembled in a parliament or plaid, entreating him to take pity upon the sufferings of the wretched people in a desolated country, where the land no longer yielded rent to the lord, the fields and vineyards were laid waste, the peasantry scattered abroad, and the highways deserted by pilgrim and merchant. To these representations the king answered: "You should have counselled and aided me to expel the Normans; what could I do alone against these ferocious enemies? Charles sent archbishop Francon with propositions to Rollo, offering to him the cession of Neustria, and his natural daughter Gisele in marriage, provided he would become a Christian, and live in peace with the Franks. Rollo accepted

these terms of pacification, only he objected to the lands offered to him, that the country was already ruined and desolate, and incapable of subsisting his army. The king then offered him Flanders, to which he also objected, as being too marshy, and in order to content him, Brittany, a province, of which the sovereignty did not belong to Charles, was added to the territory proposed to be ceded to the Normans. "Thus, Charles," says an old Breton historian and lawyer, "ceded to Rollo the ancient quarrel respecting the sovereignty of Brittany; not that he designed that Rollo should succeed in what both he and all his predecessors of the Carlovingian line had failed to accomplish, but he might perchance by this means, regain the said dominions, tenancy, and arriere-fief, without cost and charge to himself, and if he had lost his new son-in-law in the contest, it would have been just what he wished; he would then have reclaimed Normandy, and with it the homage of Brittany, and if this should not happen, as in fact it did not, things would remain just where they were, and he would neither gain nor lose.

The basis of the treaty being thus agreed to on both sides, King Charles and Rollo, chief of the Normans, had an interview at the village of Saint-Clair, on the Epte, for the purpose of putting a finishing hand to the negotiation. Rollo and his companions came to one side of the river, whilst the king and his barons remained on the other. Here King Charles and Robert, duke of the Franks, the counts, and the great crown vassals, the bishops and the abbots, confirmed by their oaths the cession made to Rollo, whilst the chief of the Normans took the feudal oath of fealty, placing his hands between those of the king, in token of homage for the duchy of Normandy. At sight of the commanding person, the martial and dignified air, of the Norman chieftain, the Franks acknowledged with one voice that he was a man well becoming the great seigniorship he was to hold. He refused to submit to the degrading ceremony of kissing the king's foot, but deputed one of his followers to perform this part of the homage in his stead. The insolent Barbarian lifted up the king's foot, which he offered him to kiss, so high that Charles was thrown backward on the ground, to the great amusement of the spectators; an incident which would hardly seem credible were it not vouched for by the unanimous testimony of all the historians of the time, both Franks and Normans. The Normans of later date appealed to this event to show that they held their country of no higher sovereign in chief, but of God alone, and were proud of an insult offered with impunity to a descendant of the great Emperor of the West.

After this scene, Charles the Simple returned to his own dominions, whilst Rollo was accompanied to Rouen by Duke Robert, where, according to the cleric historians, he was baptized by the archbishop Francon, Duke Robert being his godfather, whose Christian name he took; but Professor Kilvert points out that the church records fail to disclose any such event, being absolutely silent as to the change of name, although the historians say many of the Frankish nobility were present at this ceremony. Those who refused, at this time to be baptized, received presents of arms, money, and horses, and went whither they would, beyond the seas, to return to their own native land, or to pursue their career of wild and lawless adventure. This all sounds very nice. Yet the grandson of

Rollo was trained and raised as a Norseman. It is true the clergy secured the task of training the infant Duke Guillaume, and that seems to be the beginning and end of the story of the conversion of Rollo.

It is an interesting fact that when these Vikings landed in Normandy they were all equal, but says the local historian, in the progress of conquest, the habits of military obedience raised him, who had been only first among equals, to the supreme authority among his countrymen, who freely elected him their duke. His companions became counts and barons, and the freemen who were his followers, knights or inferior vassals. These were consulted by him and his successors on all important occasions of national concern. The clergy were for a long time excluded from this great council or parliament, because they were not Norsemen, and necessarily kept at a distance by national prejudice and jealousy. But the two nationalities were finally blended together by intermarriages, by the influence of religion, and by adopting the same laws and judicial institutions. The Grand Coutumier, the earliest monument of Norman legislation now extant, states that Duke Rollo, having become sovereign of Neustria, recorded, i. e. collected the ancient customs of the country, which could have been no other than the laws of the Franks, and where any doubt or difficulty occurred in ascertaining these, he consulted "with many sage men, to whom the truth was known, as to what had been of old time said and done: to which he added other new laws, drawn up by the same counsellors and adapted from the very laws of Norway to which they had so strongly excepted. The feudal law was thus reduced to a system and its many problems stated and solved by the subtle intellect of the Norman lawyers. It was afterwards transplanted in all its vigor into England by the Conqueror, who used it as an effectual instrument of consolidating his power, and establishing a more powerful monarchy than any which had existed in Europe since the time of Charlemagne. The custom of Normandy has therefore many analogies with the ancient Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon laws, and these different people have borrowed so much from each other, and were so often blended and confounded together in their wars, conquests, and migrations, that it is difficult to distinguish with accuracy the origin of their various judicial institutions, but always it is those old followers of Odin who, out of the great wealth of their Asiatic system, provide the laws and regulations to meet the new conditions. Hence the marked similarity to the old Mosaic laws, that has so often been noticed and quoted by modern judges. Rollo is said to have established the Court of Exchequer, as the supreme tribunal of justice, and the perfect security afforded by the admirable system of police, established in England by King Alfred, is also attributed to the legislation of the first duke of Normandy. [History of the Northmen by Henry Wheaton, London, 1831.]

The common danger from the Northmen once removed, the quarrels in France again broke out. Charles, by the spontaneous allegiance of Lotharingia, and by the aid of the Northmen, had gained an increase of strength, and jealousy perhaps was the immediate cause of the rebellion. A strong rival coalition arose. Robert of Paris was chosen king, leaning on the united powers of Vermandois, and Burgundy. Yet Charles, aided by the people of Lotharingia, by Rollo and some Northmen, who had settled on the Loire, was strong enough to win a great

battle at Soissons, where Robert paid the penalty with his life. Hugh the Great, his son, might well have aspired to the crown. But now, as through his life, he preferred the less dangerous position of the king-maker, and Rudolf of Burgundy, his brother-in-law, accepted the dangerous post. Charles the Simple, trusting himself to the plighted troth of Herbert of Vermandois, and placing himself in his power, was faithlessly seized and kept prisoner, with one short interval, until his death. In revenge, Rollo ravaged the country of the Duke of Paris, and a long war of four years ensued, generally to the advantage of the Norman duke. [The Normans of Europe, by Rev. A. H. Johnson, M.A., N. Y., 1899, page 41.]

This, though it did not open the prison to the royal captive, added two important acquisitions to the Norman territory. Bessin, the district round Bayeux, was granted to Rollo, as well as the land of Maine. The claim to the latter was left for Rollo's successors to enforce, but of the former he gained immediate possession, and it henceforth formed the most important portion of the duchy. A Saxon colony had existed there since the later days of the Roman empire, and it alone of the Teutonic settlements had resisted the absorbing influence of the Romance element. Now, reinforced by the new settlement of a kindred race, it maintained its Teutonic character and speech. In the reign of Rollo's successor it formed the nucleus of a rebellion of the non-Romanized element of the duchy against the other which had then become thoroughly French. To it his grandson was sent to learn the pure language, and incidentally the religion and customs of his fathers, and to this day it retains many features of its Saxon and Scandinavian origin. The annexation of the Bessin was the last exploit of Rollo. Shortly afterwards, at the demand of his people, in 923, he resigned, though unwillingly, in favor of his son. Five years more, it is said, he lived, and then the old man of fourscore and odd years—years teeming with deeds of strange contrast, or stranger import to future times—disappears from history. As we stand over his tomb in the chapel of St. Romain at Rouen, strange are the thoughts which flit across our mind. Here lies the once dread Viking, the pillager of France; then one of the most powerful of her sons, a duke, a legislator; the father of his people, the progenitor of a long line of dukes and kings. When all is told, we know but little of him. To recall all the events of his varied life is now beyond the power of man; but the best proof of his power and his genius is, that it was his life that inspired a canon of his own town of Bayeux to write one of the earliest romances of modern Europe, and that while all other settlements of the race in France and Germany rapidly disappeared, his alone has lasted on and deeply affected the future ages.

SECTION 2.

*1. EYNOR or EINAR, 4th Earl of the Orkneys, son of Rognvald, Chapter 2, Section 1.

We have already stated by what measures Harald Harfager, after having united all the petty kingdoms of Norway under his sceptre, sought to extirpate piracy in the Northern seas, and to reclaim his people from habits, which, though they nourished the spirit of liberty and independence, were the principal obstacles

to the progress of civilization, and to the consolidation of his power. After he had pursued the pirates to their various island retreats to the north of Britain, and had subdued the Orcades, Hebrides, and Mann, he determined to secure these conquests by setting over them a vassal king, on whose fidelity he could rely. For this purpose, he selected Rögnvald, Jarl of Maere, who was the father of Rollo, the first duke of Normandy, whilst the government of the Hebrides, or Sudureyar, was conferred upon Ketill Flatnef, a famous Sea-King, descended from one of the ancient and illustrious families of Norway. Ketill equipped a fleet, and drove away the pirates, but, instead of taking possession of the isles in the name of Harald, claimed them as his own independent possession. The offended monarch confiscated the domains of the faithless Jarl in Norway, and

The following chart will show the descendants of Einar.†

*1. Eynor surnamed Turf Eynor, called Einar, 4th Earl of Orkney= . . .

*4. Torfine 5th Earl=Garliola, dau. of Duncan of Orkney & Shetland 942		*2. Arneheld both killed in Britain		*3. Eylard Skuli	
		Earl of Caithness			
*9. Lodour, Africa Lodher or Lodver, 6th		*5. Arnfin=Rainhilda, dau. of 1st surnamed husband of King Errick Bloody-axe		*6. Havard=2nd hus.	*7. Scholer=3rd hus.
		Somerlid Prince of Argile			
Beatrice dau. of Malcolm II. King of Scots		*10. Sigbert Digree=Olith or Alice (Corpulent) or Sigurd, 7th Earl of Orkney		*11. Gerleota=Baldwin Clapham son of Edmund of England	
		dau. of Kerval an Irish King. 1st wife			
*12. Turfin=8th Earl of Orkney		*13. Ellen=Duncan 1st wife son of Malcolm II.		*14. Somerlid	*15. Brusee=Ostrida dau. of Regenwald surnamed Walfson Earl of Gothland & Vigon
two sons.		*17. Ragenwald=Arlogia dau. of Waldamar Duke of Russia. 1st marriage		*18. Ingreda=Turbrand	*19. Margarita
Feliccia dau. of Robert de Hastings				20. Olaus	
Waldamer		Robert de Brusee=Emma dau. of Allan Earl of Brittany		Hamilliana=Ottala surnamed the Brisk, Prince of Russia	
				Arlogia=Thurstan du Beck	
Allan de la Brusee		Agnes dau. of Simon Montfort Earl of Evreux		Robert de Brusee=Agnes dau. of Waldonius Earl of St. Clair	
Seraphia=Robert de la Brusee		William de Brusee		Adelme de Brusee or Adam	
		Hortoliana=Henry Ferriers		Philena=Wolstan lord of Paston	
				Amicia=St. Aylmer de Tours	

†Noble British Families by Drummond, London 1846, page 2. & Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1.

The numbers are referred to in the text which follows.

the relations of the deposed king fled to Iceland, the general refuge of the discontented and the oppressed. In the meantime, Rögnvald returned to Norway, leaving his brother Sigurd as his substitute in the government of the Orkneys. Sigurd expelled the Christian monks from the islands, and with the aid of Thorstein the Red, a Viking from Iceland, conquered a small portion of Scotland, where he built a fortress. Some years afterwards Sigurd died, and the pirates still continued to infest the seas of this Northern archipelago, which determined Rögnvald to invest with this fief his natural son *1. Einar, the child of his slave and concubine. His choice was justified by the event. Einar drove away the pirates, and re-established law and order in the isles confided to his rule.

Einar's life was passed in undisturbed possession of the earldom he had so unexpectedly acquired; except the incidents related in the second chapter of this work and upon his death the earldom was equally divided, according to the ancient custom, amongst his three surviving sons. *2. ARNKEI and *3. ERLEND, the two eldest, followed the fortunes of Eric Bloodyaxe, losing their lives in his service, when the whole earldom was again reunited under the sole authority of the surviving brother *4. THORFIN the Skull-cleaver. In spite of his formidable name, Thorfin was of a peaceful character, resembling his uncle Hallad in his aversion to war, rather than his father Einar. It happened therefore that when the sons of Eric Bloodyaxe arrived in the Orkneys with the shattered remnants of their followers, he at once acknowledged their claim to his allegiance, submitting without a struggle to their authority; though they soon released him from further annoyance by sailing for Norway to try their fortunes in their ancestral dominions; when Thorfin ruled his earldom in peace, dying about the commencement of Kenneth's reign. He married Grelaug, a daughter of Duncan Moraor of Caithness, by Groa, the sister of Thorstein Olaveson, and upon his death left five sons to inherit his island earldom, and possibly with some claims upon the mainland inheritance of their maternal grandfather. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, page 82-86.]

The sons of Thorfin are: *5. ARNFIN, *6. HAVARD, *7. SCHOLER or SKULI, *8. LOTTER, *9. LODOUR or Lother or Lodver.

Three of the sons of Thorfin in succession married Ragnhilda, the daughter of Eric and Gunhilda. The mother had been celebrated as the most treacherous as well as the most beautiful woman of her time, and the daughter appears to have inherited a full share of both the maternal qualities. After contriving the murder of her first husband *5 ARNFIN, she married his brother *6 HAVARD, but soon repenting of her second choice, she released herself with as little compunction as before, exerting her influence over the Jarl's favorite nephew with such success that the luckless Havard was surprised and put to death by a kinsman of whom he harbored not the remotest suspicion; and the scene of the foul murder, the mysterious and once sacred "stones of Stennis" are still sometimes known as Havard-Steigr. The first to exclaim against the treacherous deed was the widowed consort of the Jarl, and Ragnhilda's whole soul appeared absorbed in a burning desire for vengeance, until the hope of winning the favor of the beautiful mourner induced another relative to undertake the sacred duty of revenge. Upon his return to claim the promised reward—a fair wife and an earldom—he

found them both in the possession of the third brother *8 LIOTR, and he lost his life in a vain attempt to wrest, at least the latter, from the more fortunate son of Thorfin. Whilst Liotr was in possession of the earldom, *7 SKULI, one of his surviving brothers, presented himself at the court of the Scottish king Kenneth, and obtained from him either a grant of the possession of his maternal ancestor the Mormaor of Caithness, or a promise to support the pretensions he was encouraged to raise upon the island dominions of his brother. Collecting an army in Caithness, Skuli crossed the Pentland Firth to establish his claim upon the Orkneys, but he failed in his attempt and was driven out of the islands; when Liotr, emboldened by success, passed over to the mainland and again defeated his brother in the Dales of Caithness, where Skuli lost his life, continuing to fight bravely after the rout and dispersion of his army. Liotr then subdued the whole of Caithness, a proceeding which aroused the jealousy of his powerful neighbor Malbride MacRory the "Earl," or rather perhaps the "Oirrih of Moray" and both parties preparing for a contest, Malbride advanced to Skida Moor to drive the intruder from the country. The struggle was obstinate, victory in the end declaring for the Orkneymen, though it was purchased with their leader's life, Liotr dying soon afterwards of a wound he received in the battle. *9 LODVAR, the last surviving son of Thorfin, now succeeded to the earldom, bequeathing it very shortly to his son *10 SIGURD. He was the only member of his family who died a peaceful death, owing perhaps to his marriage with Auda, a daughter of an Irish king Kerval, an alliance through which he was fortunate enough to escape the dangerous fascinations of Ranghilda. His children were: *12. TURFIN, *13. ELLEN. *14. SOMERLID, *15. BRUSEE, *16. EYNOR.

*10. Jarl SIGURD LODVERSON retained forcible possession of Caithness, intrusting it to the charge of his brother-in-law Havard, until intelligence reached him ere long that two Scottish nobles, whom the Saga describes as "Earls," had slain Havard in Threswick and were ravaging his territories on the mainland. The Jarl waited only to collect his followers from the Orkneys, and crossing the Firth was joined by the men of his other earldom, who informed him that the Scottish leaders to whom the Saga gives the names of Hundi and Malsnechtan, were at that moment in the neighborhood of Duncansby Head. Unlike Sigurd, who was now advancing with his whole force united, the Scots allowed themselves to be drawn into action before the arrival of an expected reinforcement; and although victory inclined to their side in the early part of the battle, Malsnechtan was slain at the close, and Hundi driven from the field; though any advantage that might have risen from Sigurd's success was neutralized by the approach of "Earl" Malcolm, who appears to have landed during the contest with a considerable force at Dungall's Bay. The Jarl's men, already exhausted by a protracted and hardly contested struggle, were in no condition for a second engagement, with the fresh army advancing under Malcolm, so collecting the trophies of his barren victory, Sigurd retreated to his island fastnesses, and the mainland conquests of the Orkney Jarls reverted to other possessors.

It must have been soon after this battle that Olave Tryggveson, returning from England to Norway, touched at the Orkneys and seizing upon Sigurd, who was totally unprepared for an attack, with all the zeal of a recent convert, offered

him the alternative of immediate execution, or of at once embracing the Christian faith, and acknowledging himself a tributary of Norway. Any lingering love of Odinism vanished before the necessity of the case, Christianity became the religion of the islands, and Olave carried off Hundi Sigurdson as a hostage for the fidelity of his father. His allegiance to Norway sat lightly on the Jarl, and ceased with the life of his son a few years afterwards; but as the conversion of the Orkney-men dates from this summary proceeding, and no allusion is ever made to a relapse, it may perhaps be concluded that his Christianity was more enduring.

About the same time as Malcolm's disaster before Durham, when he was defeated by Uhtred, Finlay MacRory, who had succeeded his brother Malbride, in the chieftainship of Moray—in the words of the Norwegian Saga—"marked out a battlefield for Jarl Sigurd on Skida Moor." To decline the proffered contest would have been disgraceful, but the Jarl had serious doubts about the result, for he was afraid that the Scots would outnumber him; and as his followers were infected with a similar misgiving, they murmured at the risk until Sigurd promised to restore the Odal privileges which their ancestors had resigned in the days of Einar Ragnwaldson. On this agreement they followed him with alacrity, and to increase their confidences, Sigurd bore with him one of those mystic banners, so famous amongst the ancient Northmen, wrought in the form of a flying raven whose wings expanded in the wind. It was the work of the Jarl's mother, the daughter of the Irish Kerval, and upon it she expended all the magic lore for which she was renowned, promising victory to all who followed, but death to him who bore it. On this occasion the charm was successful, three warriors who carried the fated standard falling one after the other in the battle; but Jarl Sigurd won the day, and the Bonders of Orkney were rewarded for their valor by the restitution of their Odal privileges. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, page 82-95 and 111-113.]

The success of Sigurd against the Moray Mormaor, far from embroiling him with Malcolm, appears to have been rather gratifying to the Scottish king, who immediately gave him the hand of his younger daughter in marriage; and from this union sprung *12 THORFIN SIGURDSON, who upon the death of his father in the memorable battle of Clontarf, was immediately confirmed by Malcolm in the mainland earldom of Sutherland and Caithness, whilst the Orkneys and other island possessions fell to the share of the elder sons of Sigurd.

Another of Malcolm's daughters, a younger sister of Beatrice, married Sigurd Lodverson soon after his victory over the Mormaor Finlay, the father of Macbeth, when it was evidently the object to the late king to secure the alliance of the Orkney Jarl as a formidable rival to the hostile family of Moray. After the fall of Sigurd in the battle of Clontarf, his son *13 THORFIN, as has been already mentioned, when a mere child was placed by his grandfather over the earldom of Sutherland and Caithness, whilst the Orkneys were inherited by his three half-brothers, *16 EINAR, *14 SOMARLED, and *15 BRUSI. Upon the death of Somarled, a few years later, Thorfin claimed a share of the islands, when Einar prepared to resist his pretensions by force, but through the intervention of the other brother, Brusi, Thorfin succeeded in attaining his object, and in this manner he first acquired a footing in the Orkneys.

*16. EINAR perished shortly afterwards in a feud, when a fresh difficulty arose about the division of his portion of the islands. Brusi, fearful lest King Malcolm, who was then alive, should support the claims of his grandson, determined upon enlisting the king of Norway in his own behalf, and for this purpose he sailed for the latter country, whither he was soon followed by Thorfin, who thought with much justice, to use the words of the Saga, "that though he stood well with Olaf, and many would support him in his absence, many more would do so if he were present." Before the arrival of his younger brother, Brusi had resigned his Odal rights into the hands of Olaf, agreeing to be bound by the royal decision, and to hold all his lands as a Lenderman or royal Jarl, at the will and pleasure of the king. When a similar resignation was demanded from Thorfin, he hesitated at first to acquiesce in any such arrangement; but after consulting with his friends, he agreed with such alacrity to every proposition of Olaf, that the suspicions of the king were aroused, and deciding that Einar's portion had reverted to the Norwegian crown, he restored it to Brusi, relying more upon the fidelity of the elder brother than upon the youthful and ambitious Thorfin.

The pacific Brusi soon found reason to complain of his brother, after their return to the Orkneys, for neglecting to contribute his allotted portion towards the defense of the islands; as Thorfin, residing continually on the mainland, was satisfied with limiting his connection with his insular fiefs to the punctual exaction of his duties. The younger Jarl offered to rectify his neglect, by taking the whole trouble out of the hands of his elder brother, on condition that the latter in return should surrender the disputed share; and as peace, not power, was the object of the indolent Brusi, he willingly purchased it at the price of insignificance, and at his death, which occurred about the year 1030, Thorfin, without further scruple, annexed the whole of the Orkneys to his dominions.

In the extreme north, dominions more extensive than any Jarl of the Orkneys had hitherto acquired, were united under the rule of Thorfin Sigurdson, whose character and appearance have been thus described—He was stout and strong, but very ugly, severe and cruel, but a very clever man. The extensive districts then dependent upon the Moray Mormaors were in the possession of the celebrated Macbeth and though the power of those northern magnates must undoubtedly have been weakened by the aggressions of the Norwegian Jarls, it tells not a little for the energy and vigor of the late king, that his grandson was able to ascend the throne without encountering any opposition from the formidable representative of the claims of the rival family.

The mainland possessions of Thorfin appear to have become an object of dispute, Duncan the king demanding the usual tribute, due from a dependancy of Scotland, whilst the Jarl denied the justice of his claim, maintaining that he held his earldom by Odal right, as an absolute and unconditional gift from their joint grandfather Malcolm. At length Duncan, to punish his kinsman's contumacy and assert the rights of the crown, determined upon appointing another member of his family, Moddan or Madach, to replace Thorfin in the earldom, and dispatching Madach with an army to the north, he empowered him to take possession of the royal grant. About this same time, the Scottish king, desirous of

extending the conquests of his grandfather towards the south, laid siege to Durham, but the town was destined to become as fatal to the hopes of Duncan as it had once been disastrous to those of Malcolm, a sudden and unexpected sally spread confusion amongst the besieging army, and again the heads of the Scottish slain were arranged in triumph around the hostile walls of Durham.

Madach had been equally unsuccessful in his attempt upon the earldom of Thorfin. Warned of the approach of his rival, the Jarl summoned Thorkell Fostri to join him with the Orkney men in Caithness, and Madach, perceiving that an engagement with their united forces would only be attended with a disastrous result, retreated southwards for reinforcements, whilst Thorfin availed himself of the opportunity to overrun the neighboring district of Ross. Intelligence of his proceedings reached the king at Berwick, deciding him to march at once towards the north, in order to support in person his grant of the earldom to Madach. It appears to have been Duncan's object to cut off Thorfin from the Orkneys, thus preventing his junction with Thorkell Fostri and his Norwegians, whom the Jarl, on the retreat of his rival, had permitted to return to the islands; and to carry out his purpose, he despatched Madach towards Caithness with the land army, whilst with eleven vessels he sailed round Duncansby Head to interpose his ships between the Jarl and his island home; hoping thus either to force him to fight at a disadvantage with the superior numbers of Madach, or to drive him southwards upon those highland districts which were less well affected to his cause.

The sight of Duncan's sails in Pentland Firth conveyed to Thorfin the earliest intelligence of his enemy's approach, and, baffled in an attempt to put to sea, and thus escape to Sandwich, he was forced to lie off Dyrness for the night and to await the king's attack on the following morning. The ships of Thorfin were laden with the plunder of the northern provinces of Scotland, and his men fought so desperately in defence of their booty, that the king was beaten off and obliged to make for the coast of Moray, whither he was speedily followed by the united forces of Thorfin and Thorkell Fostri; the Jarl watching the movements of Duncan and collecting reinforcements from Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross, whilst he despatched Thorkell to surprise Madach, who had now reached Thurso, where he was resting in unguarded security. The fidelity of the men of Caithness ably seconded the projects of their Jarl, so effectually concealing the approach of Thorkell, that the first notice of danger was conveyed to the unfortunate Madach by the flames of his burning house, and he perished in a vain attempt to burst through the ranks of his enemies, and escape from the blazing ruins. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. Wm. Robertson, vol. 1, page 113-116.]

The Sagas relate the following incidents of this campaign:—Earl Thorfinn held Orkney and Shetland in fief from Norway, and Caithness and Sutherland from Scotland. His mother was a daughter of Malcolm II, King of Scots. When the succeeding King of Scots demanded tribute from Earl Thorfinn for Caithness, the latter promptly refused, as he looked upon Caithness as his maternal inheritance. Whereupon the king transferred the earldom to Earl Muddan, who took up his residence in Thurso with a great force. Earl Thorfinn's friend, Thorkel, went by stealth to Thurso, seized Muddan's house and set it on fire. Muddan

slept in a loft, and as he leapt down from the balcony of the loft, Thorkel hewed at him, struck him on the neck and took his head off. Many men were slain, some fled, and others surrendered and got peace. [Scottish Historical Magazine, vol. 12.]

Earl Thorfinn carried the war into the enemy's camp and devastated 'south in Fife.' This expression 'south in Fife' occurs also in the old lay of Gudhrun in the Poetic Edda, a coincidence which has been noted by Vigfussion. The Scots, after craving for and getting peace, played the earl false, with the result that, the inhabitants having fled to the woods and forests, he burned all the thorps and homesteads in that district, so that not a cot remained. All the able-bodied men were slain, many were taken captive and put in bonds. In the words of Arnor, 'the earl's poet' (of which the following is a literal translation):—

Destroyed were the homesteads when he burnt—
Failed not that day danger,
Lept into the smoky thatch
Red fire—the Scots' dominion:
The slaughter-master dealt to men
Harm; in one summer
Got they, by the prince,
Three times worsted.

[Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson,
vol. 1, page 113-116.]

The personal energy of Thorfin, the great accession of territory resulting from his connection with Malcolm the Second, and the union of all the northern islands with his wide possessions on the mainland, enabled him in 1014 to take advantage of their weakness; and if the Sagas are correct, in attributing to him a large Riki in Ireland, and in extending his dominions from Thurso Skerry to Dublin. The Jarl of the Orkneys may have assumed the prerogatives of the earlier kings of Dublin, exacted tribute from their dependants, and become the acknowledged leader of the Scottish and Irish Northmen. During the ascendancy of Thorfin the islands were for some time under the rule of a certain Gille, and of Suibne Mac Kenneth, names pointing to the Gaelic element amongst the Callegael; and it is not unlikely that they owed their rise to the Jarl, and were amongst the earliest of the mainland chiefs of the Orir-Gael who disputed the possession of the Hebrides with the kings of Man. [Scottish Historical Magazine, vol. 12.]

Brusee had children: *17. Ragenwald, *18. Ingreda, *19. Margarita, *20. Olaus.

During this period Thorfin was for a while associated with his nephew *17. RÖGNWALD in the government of the earldom of the Orkneys. The sagas tell the story most beautifully.—Earl Thorfin and his joint-earl and nephew, Rögnvald, sometime in 1037-1045 (when King Hardicanute was away in Denmark), made an expedition into England, to avenge an indignity he had received from the English the previous year. Here he fought and won a great battle on a Wednesday morning, called in the saga Yggsmorgin, Yggr being one of the names of Odin, and then fared far and wide over England and harried and slew men and burned the habitations wherever he went. [Scottish Historical Magazine, vol. 12.]

In 1046, mischief-makers succeeded in estranging Earl Thorfinn, who ruled Caithness, from his joint-earl and nephew, Rögnvald, who ruled Orkney, with

the result that they came to blows. Earl Rögnvald, who had been in Norway, returned to Orkney unexpectedly, and came unawares upon Earl Thorfinn at night. He made fast the doors of the house. Most men had gone to sleep, but Earl Thorfinn sat up drinking. Earl Rögnvald bore fire to the homestead and it was soon on fire. Earl Thorfinn advised his men to get what terms they could, with the result that the women and thralls were allowed to come out. Earl Rögnvald said that Earl Thorfinn's bodyguard would be no better to him alive than dead, and so they were burnt. However, Earl Thorfinn broke through a wooden partition at the back of the house and escaped with his wife in his arms. It was pitch-dark without any moon (*nidh-myrkr*), and Thorfin got away unseen under cover of the smoke and darkness. He rowed in a boat, alone, that night over to Caithness. Everyone thought that he had been burnt in the house.

Earl Rögnvald now took possession of the island. Just before Yule he went from Kirkwall, with a large company, to an island to get malt to brew for Yule. Here they were to remain all night. In the evening they sat long over a baking fire (*bak-eldr*, a fire at which to bake the body and limbs). The person who kindled the fire remarked that the firewood was getting low. Then the earl made a slip of the tongue (*mis-mali*), he said, 'then are we FULL-OLD when these are burnt,' he had said 'full-old' instead of 'full-warmed.' When he discovered his slip, he remarked that he had never made one before and related what King Olaf had said to him at Sticklestead, when he had caught the king making a slip, 'If it ever so happened that I should make a slip in my speech I should not expect to live long after it. It may be that my kinsman Thorfinn is still alive.' At that moment the house was surrounded by Thorfinn and his men, who bore fire and laid a pile before the door. All the inmates were allowed to escape except the earl and his men. When most had come out, a man came to the door, clad in a linen garment, and bade Thorfinn to lend a hand to the 'deacon'; but, at the same time, he steadied his hands on the balk (a wooden bar across the doorway) and leapt out over the balk and over the heads of the ring of men, so that he landed far outside of them and disappeared in the night-mirk. Thorfinn recognized Rögnvald's agility and ordered his men to give chase. One went along the seashore and heard a dog barking—Rögnvald had his lap-dog (*Skikkju-rakki*) with him, which betrayed him—and there the earl was found and slain among the rocks.

Earl Thorfinn remained on the island all night, and next morning he slew those men who had escaped. He then rowed to Kirkwall, making it appear as though he were Rögnvald returning with his malt. Here he was met by Rögnvald's men, unarmed, who were forthwith seized and slain.

Earl Thorfinn ended his days as sole earl. He visited Rome in the same year as Macbeth, and built the first cathedral in Orkney at Birsá, where he died in 1064. His widow Ingibiörg, married King Malcolm III, and was the mother of King Duncan II. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. Wm. Robertson, vol. 1, page 162.]

This ended the line of Earls of Orkney who descended from Einar, the son of Rögnvald. As will be seen by the chart he was the ancestor of the Royal Scottish house of Bruce.