CHAPTER ELEVEN

ROBERT DE PESHALE
Seventeenth in Ancestry

Section 1, Family of Robert de Peshale—Section 2, Ancestry of Ormunda de Lumley de Stafford—Section 3, Ancestry of Ligulph and Ealdgyth—Section 4, Collateral Family and General History.

Note:—We have now reached the generation which first called themselves by the family name. The story of the paternal ancestor of this the first Pearsall has been told in the preceding chapters. The story of his wife and her ancestry will be told in this chapter. It is therefore very much desired that the reader will not omit any part of this chapter in his study of the Pearsall genealogy as it is the connecting link between what has been told concerning our paternal ancestry and the history that will be related concerning their descendants.

SECTION 1.

*17. ROBERT DE PESHALE, son of Robert Fitz Gilbert de Corbeil, Chapter 10, Section 1, married Ormunda, daughter of Osbert de Lumley, County Durham, de Stafford and de Swinnerton in Staffordshire. Child:—

1. *18. JOHN DE LUMLEY DE PESHALE. Chapter 12, Section 1.

The family name of Peshale with all its variations, including that of Pearsall, had its beginning in Robert de Peshale, who was the first to call himself as of this manor.

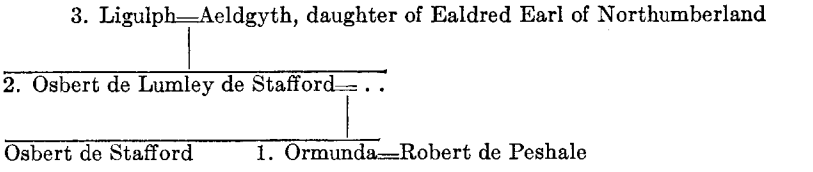
At the British Museum in the manuscript pedigree of Lumley 1578, under the title "Collectanea Genealogica ex Cartis Antiques, collected by R. Holme," being Harleian Manuscript No. 1985, appears the following deed,—'Robertus de Pesale dedit Johanni filio et haeredi suo totam terram illam de Lumley, quam habuit in Maritagio cum Ormunda filia Osberti de Lumleya matra euisdem Johannis, sicut ius haereditarium suum. Testibus, Willmo de Lumleya, Matheo de Lumleya, Roberto de Clifford, etc.' (Translation:—Robert de Peshale gave to John his son and heir all that land of Lumley which he had received through his marriage with Ormunda, daughter of Osbert de Lumley, the mother of this same John, and also the hereditary rights. Witnessed by William de Lumley, Mathew de Lumley, Robert de Clifford, etc.) The Rev. John Persall in his note book also cites Cambdens Hist. in Durham.—Hollingshead's Chronicle V. 2. 12. 13 Sin Seagar Vet. Bar. V. 2. 243.

Ormunda de Lumley de Stafford was descended from, and of the blood of all the Bernician-Northumbrian kings. Osbert de Lumley de Stafford, father of Ormunda and her brother, another Osbert, were at one time secular priests at Silverton or Swynnerton Church, Pirehill Hundred, Staffordshire. This church was tributary to Stone Priory about which gathered the most of the Northumbrian emigrants to Stafford, and which is also the burial place of the Staffords. Like two strong, clear, uncontaminated crystal mountain streams, coming together to make the head of a mighty river, so the ancestry of Robert, son of Robert

Fitz Gilbert de Corbeil, was well matched in the like royal ancestry of Ormunda de Lumley, and together, as they were the first to call themselves de Peshale, they were the beginning of that living stream which in all the subsequent generations has continued as the family of Peshale, Peshall, Pershall, Persall, Pearsall, Peirsall, Piersall, Peirsol, Piersol and Parshall, together with many other variations of spelling assumed by those who can trace their ancestry to them as their genearchs.

SECTION 2.

The following chart shows the ancestry of Ormunda de Lumley de Stafford back to her grandparents.



The numbers refer to the generations in ancestry beginning with Ormunda.

Early in the reign of Henry II. we have evidence of a difference of opinion between "Robert fitz-Eelen," the lord of Silverton, later called Swynnerton, and the canons of Stone Priory regarding the right of presentation to Swynnerton Church. An inspection of a charter of Helyas, the Archdeacon of Stafford, which Eyton shows to have passed about 1155, reveals the fact that this dispute had been of a very protracted character, the wording of this deed distinctly stating that there had been a long controversy between the two parties, as to their respective claims. "Robert fitz-Eelen," the lord of the vill, some years before, had presented to the living two secular priests, for there were then two incumbents, Osbert and another Osbert. These Osberts were father and son, as the only Osberts at that time connected with Stone Priory were the father and brother of Ormunda, the wife of Robert de Peshale.

Domesday Book makes no mention of any Church of Swynnerton in 1086. It did not form a separate parish at all, for this deed declares that even so late as 1154 it was parochially but a portion of the great parish of Stone. Nevertheless a church had been built there, probably before 1100, portions of which still remain, and practically it had been constituted a parish, but it remained always dependent, to the extent of two marks yearly, to the mother parish of Stone. From the tenure of similar disputes in subsequent times, it is probable that the quarrel was brought to a crisis by a refusal on the part of the two rectors to pay as a condition of undisturbed possession an annual pension claimed originally by the Priory of Kenilworth, then appurtenant to the daughter house of Stone. At last Bishop Walter Duredent, who died in 1159, was induced to interfere. He sent Helyas the Archdeacon to the spot, who, when he was come, summoned before him the two incumbents, and compelled them to surrender the church of Swinnerton on the altar of the blessed Mary in the church of Stone. This they accordingly did, and the deed recites that it was done with the assent of Robert fitz-Eelen, which Robert of the aforesaid vill of Swinnerton is lord. The rest of

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the charter in which Helyas records this arrangement translates thus:—Above all, the aforesaid clergy have pledged themselves on oath in the same place, that, with the church, and for the church, of Stone, they will everywhere devote themselves, body and soul, and specially to defend and to retain the aforesaid church of Swinnerton to the canons of Stone, as that which, legally and parochially of the said church of Stone, it is well known to be, and that they will never side against it with anyone. [Staff. Hist. Col., vol. 3, n. s., page 113.]

Osbert de Lumley de Stafford the elder of these two priests was son of Ligulph who married Ealdgyth, daughter of Ealdred, Earl of Northumberland. Both Ligulph and his wife Ealdgyth who were cousin german, were descended from the kings of Bernicia and Earls of Northumberland. When this kingdom of Bernicia-Northumberland was merged into the Saxon kingdom of England, the royal line of Bernicia became the earls of Northumberland. Lygulph and Ealdgyth had four sons,—namely, Uhtred, Morkere, Osbert and Adam. Uhtred remained in Durham where he had two sons William and Mathew, who, becoming possessed of Lumley, called themselves of that manor. William thereby became the ancestor of the De Lumley family. Morkere became a monk. Osbert and Adam emigrated to Staffordshire along with the other Northumbrians and settled in the parish of Stone where Osbert was known as de Stafford and Adam as de Audley. William and Mathew de Lumley were witnesses to the deed, cited at the beginning of this chapter, from Robert de Peshale to his son John for land in Lumley. The property seems to have been located in Great Lumley, probably at Wodeshende, for that is where Robert de Lumley appears as witness to a deed which is in a chartulary of Lumley at Wodeshende.

Omnibus &c. Uchtredus filius Uchtredi de Wodeshend, Sal't. Sciatis me dedisse, &c. Deo et S. Marie et S. Godrico, et Ecclesie S. Johannis Baptiste de Finchale, duas acras cum tofto et crofto in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Testibus: Matheo de Lumeleia, *Roberto de Lumeleia*, *Osbert de Latona*, Rogero de Epplindene, Rogero de Kibbleswrthe. To all &c. Uchtred son of Uchtred de Wodeshend, greeting. Know ye that I have given &c. to God and St. Mary and St. Godric, and the church of St. John the Baptist at Finchale, two acres with toft and croft in holy and perpetual eleemosynary (i.e. in holy and perpetual alms for the poor.) Witnesses: Mathew de Lumley, Robert de Lumley, Osbert de Latona, Roger de Epplindene, Roger de Kibbleswrthe. As to these witnesses, the first is Robert de Peshale, for Robert de Peshale would be called de Lumley in Durham, and Osbert de Latona is his brother-in-law, or Ormunda's brother. The family of Ligulph, says Robert Surtees, is one of the very few whose antiquity reaches, on indisputable evidence, to the Saxon era. The connection of Ligulph with the blood of Siward and Waltheof is confirmed by evidence not very usual in claims of such high and splendid antiquity; for when Waltheof II. Earl of Northumberland, granted to St. Cuthbert and his prior Aldwin the church of Tinmouth (the resting-place of the royal martyr Oswin) he also led to the shrine and dedicated to the service of the church, the boy Morkar, to be trained in the monastic institute; Uhtred the brother, and Liulph the father of Morkar, attested the donation, with a cloud of noble and reverend witnesses. [History of the County of Durham, by Robert Surtees, London, 1820, vol. 2.]

This is a very interesting statement as Earl Waltheof II. was a son of Earl Siward of Northumberland. Siward and Ligulph were brothers, while William de Lumley and Mathew de Lumley, sons of Uhtred, who was son of Ligulph, are witnesses to the deed made by Robert de Peshale, who married their cousin Ormunda, and in which he grants to his son and heir John, lands at Lumley.

The wars immediately preceding the Conquest, and the subsequent terrible harrowing of York and Durham by the Conqueror, played sad havoc with the ancient churches. The Conqueror, as the price for the help of the Catholic Church, had promised to faithfully support the churches. As a result we find that even before the Conquest was completed, the bishops, acting on suggestions from the throne, set about the rebuilding and replenishing of the churches, so that they soon were in a state of grandeur never before equalled in English history. The bishops were not at all particular as to how they obtained the money for this purpose. It is, however, to their credit that they seemed ashamed of the high-handed manner in which they taxed the old English nobility, as they invented all sorts of legends and fairy tales concerning the givers, many of which stories have come down to the present day. Among the rest is one relating to Ligulph. Among the plans of Paul, Abbot of St. Albans, who built the minster of Canterbury, was the replenishing of the tower of the minster with bells. Two of these were, so the story went, the gift of Ligulf, a rich thegn of the neighborhood, and his wife. The wealth of Ligulf consisted largely of flocks of sheep and goats. Of these he sold many, and with the price bought a bell, and when he heard its music in the minster-tower, he rejoiced and said merrily in his native tongue that his sheep and goats bleated sweetly. The other bell was the gift of his wife, who, when she heard her husband's gift, and her own ringing in concert, rejoiced in so happy a figure of their lawful marriage and mutual love. There may be some basis for this story as Ligulph was well known as a friend of the church, and of its officers. He was particularly friendly with Bishop Walcher of Durham. It was through this friendship that Ligulph came to be murdered. This and the subsequent killing of Bishop Walcher has furnished one of the most interesting incidents of the reign of William the Conqueror as King of England. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, page 269.]

The chartulary of St. Albans discloses that it was from the neighborhood of this church that most of the Northumbrian colony came to Staffordshire and Shropshire, what we know, however, is only a glimpse into the vast treasures of the information originally contained in the chartulary of this church. Would that we knew more.

The name of Aldred was borne by Liulph's contemporary, the Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York in 1060. (He held both sees for a short time, later he seems to have acquired the see of Gloucester, which he was compelled by the Pope to resign.) To this Aldred, Florence of Worcester, who died in 1118, was doubtless indebted for the account he gives of the murder of Liulph, translated from the original as follows. [Record of the Lumleys by Edith Milner and Edith Bunham, London, 1904.]

A. D. 1080. Walcher, Bishop of Durham, a native of Lorrain, was killed by the Northumbrians on Thursday, the 2nd of the Ides of May (May 14), at

Gateshead, in revenge of the death of Liulph, a noble and generous thane. This same man had many possessions far and wide throughout England by hereditary right, but because the Normans gave vent everywhere to their cruelty at that time, be betook himself with all his people to Durham, because with a sincere heart he loved S. Cuthbert; for this saint, as he was wont to relate to Aldred, Archbishop of York, and other religious men, appeared to him very often, both when he was sleeping and waking, and revealed to him as to a faithful friend what he wished to be done; under whose protection, now in the town, now on those possessions which he had in those parts, he had lived for a long time. His coming was not unpleasing to Bishop Walcher, who greatly loved this same saint in all things. For this reason Liulph was so greatly beloved by the bishop that he would by no means act or arrange weightier affairs of his secular business without his advice. Wherefore the chaplain Leobwin, whom he had so much exalted that both in the bishopric and in the country scarcely anything could be done without his advice, inflamed with the incentive of envy, and puffed up with excess of pride because of his power, set himself arrogantly against the aforementioned man; so that he regarded some of his judgments and counsels as of no value, striving in every way to annul them. Frequently, also, when disputing with him in the presence of the bishop, not without threats he would provoke him to anger with opprobrious words. Thus one day when this man Liulph, being summoned by the bishop to the council, had in all cases ruled legally and wisely, Leobwin withstood him obstinately, and exasperated him with contumelious speeches. But because he was answered more roughly than usual he at once left the place of judgement, and calling to him Gilbert, to whom the bishop had committed the government of the county of Northumbria, because he was his own kinsman, prayed him earnestly to avenge him and to put Liulph to death as soon as possible. He, at once acquiescing in the iniquitous request, having gathered together the soldiers of the bishop and of Leobwin himself, proceeded one night to the town where Liulph was then dwelling and wickedly slew him and nearly all his family in his own house. When he heard this the bishop sighed heavily from the bottom of his heart, and having pulled his hood off his head and thrown it to the ground, he said sadly to Leobwin, who was present: 'These things are thy doings, Leobwin, with thy crafty doings and most foolish wiles; therefore I would have thee know for certain that thou hast destroyed me, thyself, and all my household with the sword of thy tongue.' Having said this he hastened into his castle, and having at once sent messengers throughout Northumbria, he took care to announce to all that he was not privy to the murder of Liulf, but rather that he had outlawed from Northumbria his murderer, Gilbert, and all his associates, and he was prepared to purge himself according to pontifical judgement. Then, intercederers having gone between them and peace having been given and accepted, he and the relations of the murdered man were able to fix place and day where they could meet and confirm the peace.

The day having arrived, they met together in the appointed place; but the bishop did not wish to plead with them in the open air, so he entered into the church there with his clergy and the more honorable of his knights, and having held a council he sent out to them from among his people those whom he would

to make peace with them. But they would by no means acquiesce in his conditions, because they believed for certain that Liulf had been murdered at his demand, for not only had Leobwin in the very night after the murder committed by his relative received Gilbert and his allies familiarly and amicably into his house, but even the bishop himself had received him as at first in his grace and favor. Wherefore they first killed all who were found out of doors on the side of the bishop, a few having saved themselves by flight. Having seen this, in order to satisfy the fury of the enemy the bishop commanded his kinsman, the aforesaid Gilbert, whose life they were seeking, to go out of the church, upon whose exit the guards followed closely; but being quickly assaulted by the hostile swords and lances, they were destroyed in a moment, but they saved two English thanes on account of consanguinity. They also killed the Dean of Durham, because he had often given many attacks against them to the bishops, and the other clergy as soon as they went forth. But the bishop, when he understood that their fury could in no way be mitigated unless Leobwin, the head and author of all this calamity, was killed, asked him to go out to them. But when it was impossible to force him to go out, he himself gained the doors of the church and prayed that his own life might be saved. They, however, refusing, he, covering his head with the border of his cloak, went out and was instantly killed by his enemies' swords.

Another account [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, page 456 and 457] says—the bishop wrapped his face in his mantle and fell beneath the swords of his enemies, the actual deathblow, it is said, being dealt by the hand of Eadwulf. Still another account says:—One of them bore the name of Waltheof, a name which speaks of his kindred with the ancient earls. Another was Eadwulf, surnamed Rus, the son of Uhtred, the son of Gospatric, the son of that Earl Uhtred, who, seventy-four years before had delivered Durham from the Scots. (They were all nephews of Ligulph.) "Then they commanded Leobwin to go out, and when he would not, they set the church and other buildings on fire. He, choosing to end his life rather by burning than by slaughter, sustained the flames for some time; but when he was half burned he rushed out, and being cut to pieces received the punishment of his crimes and perished miserably. In revenge for which detestable murder King William in that year devastated Northumbria." Simeon of Durham gives exactly the same account, except that instead of the story about St. Cuthbert's appearing to Liulph, which, as we have said, Florence probably heard from Aldred at the time when he was Bishop of Worcester, we find the following: "Liulph married Algitha, daughter of Earl Aldred."

As has been stated both Ligulph and his wife Ealdgyth are descended from the ancient Bernician-Northumbrian kings through the later line of Bernician Earls. Ealdred, Earl of Northumberland had three daughters:—Aefflaed who married Siward Digera, Earl of Northumberland; Ealdgyth who married Ligulph a thane of Northumberland, brother of Earl Siward; and Aethelthryth who married Orm, son of Gamelo, a thane of Yorkshire. His son Orm le Gulden was also one of the Northumberland colony who settled near the Church of Stone Priory in Staffordshire, and his descendants have many deeds in the chartulary of this church. Many of which deeds, as we shall presently see, are witnessed by the

descendants of Robert and Ormunda de Peshale, and there were at least two intermarriages between the descendants of Orm and those of Ligulph. Earl Siward and Ligulph had a brother William, surnamed Pantulf. Sometimes the records called him Panton, which in the old provincial English means an idle fellow, that is one who proverbially played instead of being engaged in warfare or agriculture. He must have had large wealth to have not only afforded such license, but to have attracted the attention of the community to the extent of the awarding of this cognomen. William de Pantulf was also of the Northumberland colony and settled a few miles away from Stone Priory near a church named Edgmond. Here he became Baron of Wem. It is a curious fact in view of this peculiar surname, that the Barony of Wem was not only vast in extent and rich in its lands, but most of the tenants did not hold by military tenure but by quit rents, that is to say by the payment of money instead of a military service. Some of the descendants of Robert de Peshale were subsequently tenants in this barony.

It may also be well to state that Earl Waltheof I. of Northumberland had a son Frane or Franc, whose grandaughter Elizabeth married Robert de Toesni, who, on removing to Staffordshire, called himself Robert de Stafford. He was lord of many of the military tenants of Staffordshire including the manor of Peshale. It was his grandson who made the deed of confirmation to Robert Fitz Gilbert de Corbeil for the manor of Peshale noticed in the preceding chapter.

PEDIGREE OF UCHTRED DE LUMLEY ANCESTOR OF LUMLEY, EARL OF SCARBOROUGH.

Liulph, murdered by Gillebert, kinsman to Bishop Walcher, before 1080 = Aelgytha, dau. of Earl Ealdred Earl of Northumberland

- Uchtred, witness to the charter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, before 1080 = . .
  - . . William, assumed the local name, said to be a Baron of the Bishopric temp. Hugh Pudsey = Judith or Juetta dau. & heir of . . Hesilden of Hesilden
    - Sir William de Lumley, Knt. = . .
      - Sir William de Lumley Knt. witness to charters with Mathew and Henry de Magna Lumley before 1260 = . .
        - Sir Roger de Lumley, Knt. witness to a charter of William de Laton 1275 = Sibilla dau. & co-heir of Hugh de Morewic, Baron of Chevington in Northumberland
    - Mathew de Magna Lumley, = . .
      - Mathew de Lumley, witness to charters with William de Lumley = Christina
        - Henry de Lumley, witness with Mathew Lumley in charters of Finchale, living 1298 and 1305 = Joan 1305
- Morkar
- Osbert de Lumley de Stafford
- Adam de Audeley
- Matthew de Lumley . .
- Magelina, = Robert de Cambhous

A more extended pedigree of Ormunda, beginning with her grandparents and reciting interesting collateral facts, would read as follows:—

Ligulph married Ealdgyth, daughter of Ealdred, Earl of Northumberland: Children:—

*1. Uhtred, witness to the charter of Waltheof II, Earl of Northumberland before 1080. He was the ancestor of the family of Lumley in Durham.

*2. Morkar, whom Earl Waltheof II presented to the Monks of Jarrow when he gave them Tynemouth, which grant was confirmed by William I,

Bishop of Durham, 5 Kalands Maii. 1085, and no further notice is necessary concerning him.

*3. (2. P.) OSBERT, father of Ormunda who married Robert de Lumley de Peshale.

*4. Adam, the ancestor of de Audleys and of Engulph de Gresleye. The story of Adam de Audley will appear in Chapter 14, Section 4. The only line which is interesting at this time being that of Uhtred, whose children were:

*1. William de Lumley.

*2. Matthew de Lumley.

This statement of the children of Uhtred discloses that Matthew and William de Lumley, the witnesses to the deed set out at the beginning of this chapter, were first cousins to Ormunda de Stafford, wife of Robert de Peshale.

Great Lumley lies nearly a mile and a half to the south of Lumley Castle. A partition of property betwixt the two brothers appears to have taken place at an early period. Whilst the elder line retained the estate on which Lumley Castle was afterwards built (frequently distinguished as Lumley Parva), the vill of Great Lumley became the property of Mathew de Lumley Magna, son of Uchtred and brother of the first William de Lumley. This Mathew de Lumley appears in indentures with the Prior of Durham (relative to boundaries), and still more distinctly in his charter to Uchtred fil. Uchtred de Wodeshende, in which he expressly mentions his uncle as jointly entitled with himself to rents and services in Wodeshend within Lumley. Mathew was probably father of another Mathew (for all the charters can scarcely belong to the same person), and one of these gave or confirmed two acres in Lumley to the Monks of Finchale. The earlier records and traditions which have been preserved concerning the family gather round Lumley Castle, which for long was the only family seat. In Camden's "Britannia," first translated into English by Philemon Holland in 1610, we find the following: "From thence Were passeth by Lumley Castle, standing within a park, the ancient seat of the Lunleies, who descended from Liulph, a man in this tract of right great nobility in the time of King Edward the Confessor, who married Aldgitha, the daughter of Aldred Earl of Northumberland. [The History of Durham, by Robert Surtees, vol. 2, London, 1820.]

Just over against this place, not far from the other bank of the river standeth Chester-upon-the-Street, as one would say, the Castle or Little City by the portway side; the Saxons called it Concestor; whereupon, I would deem it to be condercum . . . . The Bishops of Lindisfarre lived obscurely here with the corps of Saint Cuthbert, while the raging storms of the Danes were up, for the space of an hundred and thirteen years . . . Anthony Bec, Bishop of Durham, and Patriarch of Jerusalem, erected here a Collegiate Church, a Dean, and seven Prebends. In which church, the Lord Lumley above said placed and ranged in goodly order the monuments of his Ancestors in a continued line of succession even from Liulph unto these our days; which he had either gotten together out of monasteries that were subverted or caused to be made anew.

The following appears in later editions of Camden's Britannia.—Lumley is briefly mentioned in connection with other families, and in the notice of Scarborough town it is stated "that the Right Honourable Richard Lumley has from

this place his title of Earl of Scarborough." In the mention of the last Earl of Arundel, John, Lord Lumley, is said to receive or rather to give himself honorable mention as having erected a very fulsome monument to his father-in-law's memory. After setting forth his virtues and exploits in a long Latin inscription, this post-scriptum is added: John Lumley, Baron of Lumley, his most dutiful and disconsolate son-in-law, and executor, with the utmost respect put up this statue with his own armour (after he had been buried in great pomp) for the kindest of fathers-in-law and the best of patrons, as the last office he was able to pay him; not to preserve his memory which his many virtues had made immortal; but his body in hope of a joyful Resurrection. [History of the County of Durham, by Robert Surtees, vol. 2, London, 1820. Banks Baronie, Anglica, vol. 1, page 300.]

It may be mentioned here that John, Lord Lumley, though nominally heir to this great earl, had paid dearly for the honor, in discharging the numerous debts that had resulted from his many achievements and high offices. Which brings to mind that the Albinis were ancestors of the House of Arundel, and for at least five generations the de Peshales are found witnessing their deeds, and at least one marriage took place between members of the family. The collection of paintings at Lumley is dispersed; those only remain which are strictly family portraits. In the great Hall, besides a statue of Liulph armed cap-a-pie like a gallant knight and bestriding his war-horse, are "fifteen pictures of my Lord Lumlie's ancestors, with a pillar of his pedigree," all which are noted in the Inventory of 1609.

An anecdote is related of King James that in 1603, when on his way from Scotland to take possession of the English throne, he stopped at Lumley Castle and was there entertained by the noble baron, who conducted his majesty through the long gallery containing the portraits of the Lumley family for many generations which so surprised the king that he exclaimed that he had never before heard that the sir name of Adam was Lumley. King James was descended from the Fitz Alans, to which family the Peshales were also related both by marriage and by feudal service. The Lumleys were interested in Shropshire contemporary with the coming of the Northumbrian Colony to the vicinity of Stone Priory. In the British Museum, on the back of chart 9374, relating to Wolverley, co. Salop, is a release temp. Henry III. (1216-1272) "Copy of Fareford's gift to Stephen de Lumhale." Testibus: Allano de Buntausdale, Ric. Paunton, Roberto de Lowe and others.

SECTION 3.

According to the plan of this family history the reader may, in the several chapters of this book, pass the collateral information and nevertheless get a complete story of our family genealogy. This does not, however, apply to this, the eleventh chapter. The reader must have a knowledge of the ancestry of Ormunda de Lumley if he desires to fully comprehend not only the generations that have preceded but the generations that will follow in our English ancestry. It is safe to say that in all English genealogy there is no pedigree more interesting than

that of Ligulph and his wife Ealdgyth, the paternal grandparents of Ormunda de Lumley de Stafford, nor is it possible for any other to begin at an earlier time in English history. They were cousins german,—she being of the direct line, while he was of a collateral line, removed by only three generations from the direct line of descent from the Royal House of Bernicia-Northumbria.

In setting out the ancestry of Ligulph and his wife Ealdgyth, through the rulers of this ancient kingdom, we shall begin at a time when, at the present day, the names of the kings are not known; we shall therefore divide the presentation into two parts, namely: 1. The Chronicles of the Kingdom of Bernicia which will disclose the continuity of its existence, and hence the unbroken succession of its kings. 2. The Genealogy of the Kings of Bernicia-Northumbria and of the Earls of Northumberland; which will begin with the earliest known king of whom we have special information to whom unbroken generations of ancestry can be shown as being in Ligulph and his wife Ealdgyth.

It must, however, be clearly understood that this is not a history but a genealogy and therefore it calls for the presentation of citations from recognized authorities to prove the existence of the persons named in each generation. Nevertheless the reader will find that an interesting story results from the weaving together of these detached quotations. For, as a fact, in all England there is no place that is so filled with entrancing incidents both of public and private history as this kingdom of Bernicia.

The name Bernicia in the Celtic is Bryneich, which indicates that it was a settled and separate part of the Island of Great Britain from the very earliest times. The ancient kingdom in its territory corresponded with the modern counties of Durham and Northumberland in England, together with all of modern Scotland which is south of the Firth of the Clyde and the Forth.

I. The Chronicles of the Kings of Bernicia.

According to the Danish Saga it was in circa 450 B. C. that Frode was king of Denmark and he had two sisters one of whom, Ulfhild, married Ubbe who tried to usurp the throne of Denmark while Frode was absent engaged in warfare in a foreign country. The other sister married Ragner, king of Sweden, who entering Denmark captured Ubbe and took Ulfhild his wife away from him and forced her to wed his friend Scot, the same man that founded the Scottish name. Ragner thereupon, after defeating Frode in battle, reinstated him in the kingdom of Denmark. In order to retrieve his name, Frode began to harry the nations that bordered on the adjacent ocean. Among the rest he assailed Middle Britain and, after defeating its king, he marched northward and attacked Melbrik, the governor of the Bernicia, which Saxo Grammaticus describes as a Scottish district. Just as Frode was preparing to fight him he heard from a scout that the king of Britain was at hand and realizing that he could not look to his front and rear at once, he assembled his soldiers and ordered that they should abandon their chariots, fling away all their goods, and scatter everywhere over the fields the gold which they had about them, for he declared that their one chance was to squander the treasure, and that now that they were hemmed in their only remain-

LIGULPH

ing help was to tempt the enemy from combat to covetousness. The ruse worked and while the Britons were engaged in gathering the unexpected riches, Frode traversed in a great march the forest of Bernicia which separates Scotland and Britain. When the Picts (whom the Saga calls Scots) beheld his line and saw that they had only light javelins, while the Danes had a more excellent style of armour, they forestalled the battle by flight. Frode pursued them but a little way fearing a sally of the British and on returning met Scot, the husband of his sister Ulfhild, with a great army he had brought from the uttermost ends of Scotland by the desire of aiding the Danes. Scot pursuaded him to turn back into Britain which he did, and there he pushed his victories over the Britons until he attacked and captured London (Saxo Grammaticus, book two). It was at this time that the Danes set up the kingdom of Bernicia which they assisted in every way until recorded English history begins. It was therefore out of this adventure by Frode that the kingdom of Bernicia had its beginning as a buffer state between Scotland and Britain.

The next notice of the Bernicians, whom the Danes called Britons, occurs in circa B. C. 347 during the reign of Rorik, king of Denmark, in which, so the story goes, Amleth, the avenger, is married to the daughter of the king of the Bernicians, called, in the Saga, king of Britain; but Saxo's references are always to this buffer kingdom of Bernicia when, without explanation, he speaks of the kingdom of Britain. It was this adventure which brought Amleth two wives. The other being Hermuntrude, the daughter of the king of Scotland, who, after Amleth's death, married his slayer Wiglak, the king of Denmark. Shakespeare derived from the other incidents in the history of Amleth, as told by Saxo Grammaticus, the story from which he composed his immortal tragedy of Hamlet. There had been an usurpation of kingly authority in Denmark without displacing the rightful king. This had resulted in the temporary setting up, in Bernicia, of a vassal king who was not of the Royal line. (Saxo Grammaticus, book four.)

In circa 100 B. C., king Fridleif of Denmark besieged Dublin which he took; but after this he lost his soldiers in Britain, and thinking he would find it hard to get back to the coast, he set up the corpses of the slain and stationed them in line, thus producing so nearly the look of his original host that its great reverse seemed not to have lessened the show of it a wit. By this deed he not only took out of the enemy all heart for fighting, but inspired them with the desire to make their escape. (Saxo Grammaticus, book four.) This adventure greatly weakened Danish authority in Britain and exposed Bernicia to the inroads of her Celtic enemies.

Circa B. C. 75 the Danes defeated the Britons. The Danish king Frode was led to attack the west, says Saxo, for his one desire was the spread of peace. So he mustered a fleet of all the kingdoms that did him allegiance and sailed to Britain with numberless ships and along the coast to the southern part, conquering all the way the British kingdoms in detail. The Bernicians and possibly the Deirans were part of this expedition, as Frode had a large land force cooperating with him. Frode thereupon proceeded to Ireland where he overcame the Irish in battle and slew their king Cearbal and received the surrender of the country from Caerbel's brother who survived. After his triumphs in Britain, and the

spoiling of the Irish, Frode went back to Denmark and for thirty years there was peace.

Britain was visited by Augustus Caesar in B. C. 55 with a large army but they made such poor headway that Caesar was glad to leave so unpromising a field. [History of the Ancient Britons by J. A. Gile.—Unless otherwise noted all the statements in these chronicles concerning the Romans in Britain are from this work and follow here in the same sequence as therein presented.]

Circa 10 B. C., Frode, the grandson of Frode, who was then ruling Denmark, sent his chief sea captains, Starkad and Hakon, on an expedition to Ireland where they despoiled the country and killed its king Hugleik, and brought the Irish back into subjection to the Danes. Whilst this Frotho or Frode was monarch of Ireland the light of the world the comfort of all Christians, Jesus Christ, the Son of God was born in the flesh [Doctor John Hanmer's Chronicles of Ireland, page 36]. This Frotho was the third of the name and he wantonly assailed Bernicia and Albion, rather taking a view of the Island than subduing it [*Ibid.*].

A. D. 43 the Romans, under the generals appointed by the Emperor Claudius, secured a foothold in southern Britain; the emperor came personally to the country and, after a stay of six weeks, he returned to Rome to receive the honors of a triumph. The warfare continued and shortly before the year 45 the Romans subdued the Brigantes. Seneca tells of this in his verses as follows:—

The Britaines, farre from knowne seas,
and Brigantes Bucklers blue,
The Roman Claude to Roman Becke
did bring, and rebels slue.
[Doctor Hanmer's Chronicles of Ireland, page 38.]

What Roman conquest meant to the conquered is shown by the following from Seneca:—

The Britons, he, beyond the sea,
and Brigantes with azure shield,
Their arms and lives, their sons and wives
to Roman chains compelled to yield.

The Brigantes at this time occupied the country that is now included in the counties of York, Lancaster and the southern parts of Cumberland and Westmoreland. It represented the power of the ancient kingdom of Deira which at that time had secured control of the country extending to the ocean on the east. It was the country of the Angle, as it had been settled by that people for several centuries. Nennus by his genealogies discloses that it was composed of at least two kingdoms, namely, Deira and one of the Silurian kingdoms. Later the inroads of the Cymri, Celts and Scots cut this Silurian kingdom off from its place on the shore of the Irish sea and it became an interior kingdom, largely absorbed in Deiran history, and later emerging as part of the kingdom of Mercia in Britain. There never was any section called Brigantie, nor was there a kingdom of this name. It simply indicates that the Roman had at this time come into contact with a people who were largely of Celtic composition. This word Brigantee being the common place word used by the Celts; by it one is able to quite clearly distinguish the course of their wanderings whereby they ultimately came from the far east to Ireland and Scotland. The Romans were well acquainted with

the Celts and their previous history as many of the places and countries they occupied, or had occupied, were within the bounds of the Roman Empire. The Scottish Chronicles disclose that the progenitor of the Celtic population in Scotland first built a fortified city in Galloway which he called Brigante. There was also a place by the same name in Ireland, just across the Irish Sea from the western shores of the country in which the Brigantees of Britain lived. The Celtic strain at this time predominated in the western part of this section of Britain and the Anglian in the eastern part, or in Deira. Hence it is quite clear that the Romans first came into contact with these people along the western shores of Britain, and they at once distinguished the difference in dialects and the marked religious differences between them and the southern Britons. Likewise they distinguished the inhabitants of Bernicia as Otadinoi or Scythians from Scandia, i.e. Danes who worshipped Odin as a god as distinguished from the Brigantees who were druidical in their worship of the deity. The Otodinii were seated in the present counties of Northumberland, Merse and the Lothians. The Gadini, another tribe, were seated to the northwest of the Otodinii and inhabited the mountainous parts of Northumberland and Tivotdale. The Selgorae, a third tribe, were seated to the west of Gadeni in the present counties of Eskdale, Annandale and Nethsdale. A fourth tribe, the Novantae, inhabited the counties of Galloway, Carrick, Kyle and Cunningham. A fifth tribe, the Daninii, lay further to the north and inhabited the present counties of Clydesdale, Renfrew Lenox and Stirlingshire. These five tribes were one kingdom and possessed the large tract of land which was later enclosed between the walls of Severus and Antonius Pius, (to which walls reference will later be made in this recital of this pedigree) and which was actually the country between the Tyne and the Firths of the Clyde and Forth. These tribes were sometimes called by the ancient writers, as well Greek as Roman, by the general name of Maaeatae, which correctly differentiated them from the rest of the inhabitants of the Island of Britain and Scotland. [Chronicles of England, by Joseph Stritt, vol. I, page 244.]

At the time of the conquest by the Romans certain Brigantes and other nations of Britain also, even from the coming of the Romans into Britain, departed into Ireland, some for quietness sake and to live at ease, some for that their eyes should not be infected with the sight of the Roman dominions, and last of all others lest in their latter age they should willingly seem to lose the liberty which from nature they had received in their youth. (Says Camden, cited *Ibid.*, page 38.) It is also generally accepted among historians that at this time some of the Brigantes went north into Pictland and Scotland. But as this was a migration of Celt to Celtland it can hardly have made any distinguishable difference in the inhabitants of these countries. There is however no pretence on the part of the Romans that they had in any way secured the subjection of the Bernicians. It is at this date that we come into the beginning of that period of the history of these two adjoining kingdoms when Deira is under Rome and Bernicia is free, although fighting for her own freedom and likewise Bernicia and Deira are in the closest sort of alliance to the end that Deira may likewise be free. If, therefore, the reader of these chronicles will keep in mind that Deira was the pawn for which the kingdoms contested, and that Bernicia was at all

times her friend and ally and frequently her protector, until they both became merged into the kingdom of Northumbria, it will be easy to comprehend the significance of the incidents which are herein chronologically presented.

A. D. 50 the Britons having overrun the kingdom which had yielded to Rome, the Emperor Claudius sent Ostorius Scapula, a general of consular dignity, with the title of protector, to manage affairs in Britain. He soon overcame the southern kingdoms and had followed the natives almost to the sea that looks toward the Island of Ireland, when disorders arising among the Deirans he was obliged to return for he was ever attentive not to make new conquests till former advantages were secured. The Brigantes or Deirans, so the Roman historians say, after the slaughter of a few who had taken up arms returned to their obedience and obtained forgiveness.

From A. D. 50 to 58 the Romans were engaged in a bitter conflict with the kingdom of Silure, the country now in the counties of Cumberland and Lancaster, which was part of the country of the Brigantes. In this war the Silures were supported by the Deirans under their king Venusius, who was credited by the Romans with being one of the most able military commanders they had met in Britain. The Romans resented this alliance as they said they had defended the Brigantes against the inroads of the hostile tribes, specially meaning the Bernicians. The wife of King Venusius sided with the Romans and secured possession of the king's brother and relatives whom she brought into her domain, which she held under Roman protection; thereupon a chosen body of young men invaded her territory but the Romans repulsed them.

In 79 A. D. the Romans sent over into Briton their general Agricola who here won his military reputation and here his military genius was formed. The next year by a series of expeditions, campaigns and battles he advanced as far north as the River Tay in Scotland so that Bernicia was for the first time brought to feel the destructive force of Roman military effort. The historians say that it was a painful task to record the unpitying progress which a powerful people like the Romans, provided with everything which art or science could furnish, thus made against the Britons who had nothing but their valour to present to the panoply of their enemies. The next year was spent by the Romans in building a wall which was really an earth rampart with a chain of forts between the Firth of the Clyde and the Forth, a distance of little more than forty miles. Thereby the whole of Bernicia was brought within the Roman lines. The Bernicians finding Agricola so far north of their land and with his army very much attenuated by reason of the necessity of his keeping in connection with his base of supplies, they, with the help of the Irish, attacked the rear of the Roman army. The Romans were soon compelled to retreat south of the Tyne and there is no evidence either that the northern wall was completed at this time or that it was ever occupied permanently over any long period. And notwithstanding all these defensive structures Agricola was compelled in the summers of 82, 83 and 84 to campaign with large armies against the Bernicians and Caledonians into whose country he advanced until he had reached the extreme northern boundary of Scotland. It is remarkable that in all these three years he did not succeed in capturing a single commander of the Bernicians or Caledonians, nor did he

succeed in bringing a single one of the three kingdoms of Bernicia, Scotland and Pictland under his peaceful control. The Roman general boasted of defeats, and punishment inflicted on the enemy, not saying that this is the means by which the nation that can take punishment, ultimately defeats the would-be conqueror, for as long as the spirit of fight remains the invader has not succeeded in his purpose.

Agricola had no sooner departed from Britain than the Bernicians drove the Romans south of the Humber and ruled the north of Britain without regard to the mandates of the Roman governor whose commands were of very much less force in the southern parts of the Island now that the Bernician king was able to defy the foreign master. Roman supremacy in Britain became weaker and weaker until at the accession, in A. D. 117, of Hadrian as Emperor of the Roman Empire all of the Britains refused any longer to be held in obedience.

In A. D. 120, Hadrian crossed into Britain where he found many things that required a healing hand. The historians have given no account of the military measures that he took to restore the supremacy of the Roman government except that previous to his departure he constructed a huge wall or rampart, eighty miles in length, across the Island to protect the Romans from the Bernicians, Scots and Picts. This wall extended from north of the river Tyne on the coast of Bernicia to the town of Bowness on the coast of the Irish sea. All the country which lay to the north of this fortification to the wall from the Clyde to the Forth was acknowledged to belong to the Kingdom of Bernicia. Thus it appears that in the course of thirty-five years the Bernicians and their allies, Irish and Caledonians, had driven the Romans southward nearly a hundred miles. And that the Roman emperor felt called upon to erect this mighty fortification against the inroads of the Bernicians, shows that they were so pertinacious that none of Rome's great armies could subjugate them and no reverses could dispirit them. Hadrian's wall during the time of Rome's power, became the permanent southern boundary of Bernicia, in Britain, and thereby all that part of her domain which is now in the County of Durham became permanently detached from Bernicia and annexed to the Roman Province of Brigante, subsequently called Maxima, and this section, consequently, became essentially a part of the kingdom of Deira. The account which the historian Appian gave of the visit of Hadrian to Britain says:—The Romans have penetrated into Britain which is greater than a large continent and have got possession of more than half of it and that the best part; but they do not wish to possess the other part for what they already possess is of no use to them—which remarkable statement might be set down as the historical basis for the fable of the fox and the grapes in view of the expense in money and the cost in men to build the great line of fortifications eighty miles long across the southern borders of the kingdom of Bernicia, and of the many thousand Roman soldiers who gave their lives that Rome might hold her British provinces.

It was at this time, circa 142, that the Christian church in Ireland was extended to Bernicia, where churches were founded at what is now known as Glasgow and Paisley and later at Dumbarton and on across the country east to what is now known as Edinburgh and across the Forth at Culross. And no doubt

further research will disclose other places where this church had familia for it very early became episcopal, which indicates that there were a number of branches of the parent congregation. This was different from the church in Ireland which owing to the numerous monarchies, each holding a very small territory and the law which made the king elective, did not in early times cease to be composed of independent familae.

At this time also the kingdom of Deira, or Brigantes, became quite powerful and, with the assistance of the Bernicians, they overran the country to the south of the Humber and despoiled the provinces that paid tribute to Rome. This coming to the attention of the Emperor Antonius, he called upon his lieutenant in Britain, Lollius Urbicus, to punish these marauders and make them own the power of the empire. Accordingly, in 139, he made a campaign in the north and secured possession of the country north of Hadrian's wall to the northern boundaries of Bernicia, and he built a substantial wall on the line of that erected by Agricola. Thus the kingdom of Bernicia was again brought within the temporary control of the Romans. Lollius Urbicus, however, returned to Rome very shortly after this and the Bernicians renewed their hold on their country.

For the next forty years the tide of battle continued to ebb and flow around the wall of Hadrian. At one time the Bernicians had pushed their armies so far south that the Deirans or Brigantes who lived just south of the wall of Hadrian, set up an independent kingdom, but this the Romans recovered in the year A. D. 161. The Deirans were Angle-Britons and in all the years covered by these Bernician Chronicles there is no instance of a disagreement between the two nations. The harmony between Bernicia and Deira made the passage of the wall of Hadrian quite easy, as thereby the enemies of Rome were on both sides of it and the foreign soldiery were situated in the midst of a very hostile country, and every time Bernicia and her northern allies reached the Roman provinces south of the Humber they were assisted and accompanied by the Deirans.

In A. D. 180, the Roman historians record that in their effort to keep the Bernicians and their allies north of the wall of Hadrian one Roman general who opposed them was cut to pieces with all his men. It was at this time that they began to see that there were different nations allied to prevent the Roman conquest of the rest of Britain. Dion, one of their historians, says:—among the Britons are the Caledonians and the Maeatae, for even the names of all the other tribes have in a manner merged in these two. The Maeatae dwell close to the wall which divides the island into two parts and the Caledonians live beyond them. Likewise all the authorities agree that the Maetaeans were the Britons who lived between the two walls; i. e. they were the Bernicians. The term Maeatae, i. e. men from the Black Sea country of the far east, could only be taken to mean that the Bernicians were Scythians like the people of the Scandinavian peninsula with whom the Romans were not as yet well acquainted, although they used the exact term that described the Norsemen. In this special instance it refers specifically to the Danes and the thought intended to be conveyed to the reader is that the Danes and the Bernicians were not distinguishable the one from the other although the Bernician part of the army was made up of representatives of both nations, who through the long continued and large emigration from Den-

mark had become so largely of the same general characteristics and personal appearance that the Bernicians had assumed the Norse national characteristics and hence were easily distinguishable from the Caledonians. Shortly after this the Romans began also to notice the Picts whom they thought to be a new tribe which had settled in Scotland; which name they gave to the reinforcements which they had already noticed, as coming from Denmark whereas the three divisions of the northern country had continued since the time of the establishment of the kingdom of Bernicia by the Danes as related in the beginning of these chronicles. That Pictland was the oldest of these divisions, although last noticed by the Roman writers, is shown by the native name for the whole island of Britain which is Yns Drydain, i.e. Picts Island.

In A. D. 208 the Emperor Severus sent Virus Lupus to govern Britain with instructions to defeat and conquer the Bernicians, Scots and Picts who had overrun much of the country that had been conquered by the Romans. He proved inadequate to the undertaking and for a time it seemed as though the northern kingdoms would drive Lupus and his army into the sea and thereby recover southern Britain from the foreign ruler. The Roman historians say that Virus Lupus entered into a treaty or engagement with the Bernicians for them to return to their own country, but that they were encouraged to break their compact with promise of assistance from the Caledonians. This alliance alarmed Virus Lupus and, as it was not possible to get help from the emperor, who was hard pressed with his wars nearer home, he paid the Bernicians a large sum of money to return to their own land; which they accordingly did only to sally forth again at the end of two years with their appetites for plunder whetted, furnishing to their enemies, the Romans their first lesson of caution against the principle of buying with money what must always in such emergencies be secured by the sword—the liberty and independence of one's country. But now the Roman governor of Britain, unable to meet the attacks of the Bernicians and their allies, which were made with greater fury than before, sent hasty letters to the emperor urging him to send considerable reinforcement of soldiers and, if possible, come himself to repel the armies of these northern kingdoms.

The Emperor Severus paid instant heed to this request and passed over into Britain in the latter part of A. D. 208. He immediately drew together the Roman armies from all sides and having concentrated a vast force marched to meet the enemy. The Caledonians, alarmed at the emperor's unexpected presence, and hearing that a large army had been brought to oppose them, sent ambassadors with terms of peace and offered to give satisfaction for their previous expeditions south of Hadrian's wall. Severus without actually entering into a treaty led the Caledonians to believe that his object was to conquer the Bernicians. This the Caledonians did not seek to prevent and the Roman Emperor went ahead with his preparations for the conquest. In the spring of the next year the war with Bernicia was bitterly contested and the Romans complained that the Bernicians did not fight according to the rules of civilized warfare in that they hid in the fastness of their mountains and thereby compelled the Roman army to hunt them in small detachments which were more nearly of the same man power as the Bernician units. But Severus at last reached the northern boundary of

Bernicia and then not stopping he continued northward until he had marched to the extreme north of the island, encountering formidable opposition at every step of the way and enduring enormous hardships to which no less than fifty thousand of his soldiers succumbed and of course, the total casualties in sickness and wounds ran into several hundred thousand. He not only secured no permanent advantages from this effort but recent research in the Roman records has disclosed that Severus was compelled to enter into a treaty with the Bernicians and the Caledonians that he would withdraw the Roman army to the country south of the wall of Hadrian. This wall he repaired and renewed and gave it his own name. He died at York on February 4, 211, from the result of his exposure on this expedition which on account of his advanced age and his long sickness were all the more severe. Appreciating that his life would not be spared to renew operations against the northern kingdoms, and that so formidable an enemy could not be confined by the weak barrier erected by his predecessors, he provided for the security of his sons, who succeeded him, by commencing a line of fortifications which was not completed until after his death. This new wall, which followed the line of Hadrian's wall, was twelve feet in height and its breadth was eight feet. Three different kinds of fortresses, which may be called stations, castles and turrets, were created along its line. There were eighteen stations, which really were forts and towns combined, each accommodating several thousand people. The castles numbered eighty-one and were but slightly inferior to the stations; there were three hundred turrets which were guarded by sentinels who, upon the approach of danger, were thus able to spread alarm from one extremity of the wall to the other. The ditches, roads and other military accommodations accompanying the wall were worthy of the Romans. The Roman records disclose that to hold the Bernicians and their allies behind this great line of forts the Dux Britainium, or commander of this particular line, had constantly under his command fourteen thousand foot soldiers and nine hundred cavalrymen. While behind this front there was the balance of a great army which aggregated ninety-nine thousand infantry and seventeen hundred cavalry, with fort upon fort, and barricade upon barricade, in every direction. On the north side of this wall the Romans dug a deep trench so that the attacking Bernicians would have to descend into this deep depression before they could approach the wall proper. The Bernicians in turn dug the same sort of a trench to the south side of the wall so that the Romans were equally handicapped. Thereby they made it a two faced fortification equally effective against invasion either into Bernicia or into Deira. The barrier proved futile against the Bernicians and their allies, as the northern nations were not only able to maintain their independence, but they constantly carried into southern Britain the terrors of their expeditions and forays.

The outstanding incident of the expedition of the Roman Emperor Severus against the Bernicians was the discovery that there were Christian churches in the northern part of Bernicia. The emperor was a confirmed invalid and therefore he was accompanied by his wife who was the daughter of a priest of Baal and herself worshipped as a goddess. Severus, under her suggestion although in his early life he owed much to the Christians, was everywhere he traveled through the empire causing the persecution of Christians. The astounding fact

that there were Christians in northern Bernicia was reported at once to Rome where the great historian Tertullian in his history of the same year records that there were Christians "in those places of the Britians which are inaccessible to the Romans" thereby recording both the finding of these churches and the defeat of the Romans by the Bernicians. [Ayer Source Book of Ancient Church History, page 52.]

The Bernicians appealed to their relatives and allies, the Danes, and in A. D. 213 King Harald of Denmark assisted them in conquering the Roman king of the Humbrians and to reinstate therein the Bernician kingdom under its rightful king named Orm the Briton. (Saxo Grammaticus, book eight). The reader will at once recognize this as a good old Bernician name. The preservation of the name Orm among the sons and daughters of the royal line of Bernicia down to Ormunda, the granddaughter of Ligulph and of his wife Ealdgyth, is no accident, particularly when the history of Bernicia discloses this as a favorite name for their royal children. More than one thegn or prince of Bernicia and Northumbria has had this name bestowed upon him. At the time of Ormunda de Lumley de Stafford there were several princes having this ancient name. Such things are not accidents but the unfailing signs of continuity of ancestry as the student of the names of the kings and of the children of the rulers of every kingdom will bear witness. In this venture the Bernicians were aided by a force under Fulgenius, king of the Scots, who also promised a fleet to aid the Danish navy. [John of Fordum's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation, page 560.]

The Bernicians and the Deirans were the best of friends but on the continent of Europe they severally had alliance with different nations. The Bernicians being allied with the Danes and the Deirans with Swedes. It happened a few years later that there was warfare between the Danes and the Swedes and at this time Saxo records that Orm the Briton, i.e. the Bernician, fought with King Harald the Dane, and Odd, i.e. Aodh, the Angle, i.e. the Deiran, fought with the Swedes. It was from this Orm king of Bernicia that Ligulph and his wife Ealdgyth trace their ancestry.

A. D. 240 Cormac, King of Ireland, obtained the sovereignty of Alba, i.e. Scotland and Pictland [Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, vol. 1, page 95], but this did not affect Bernicia, which was located south of the northern Roman Wall.

In 293, Carusius, who was admiral of the fleet of galleys sent by Rome to protect the coast of Gaul from the depredations of the northern sea rovers, took his fleet to Britain where he set himself up as emperor and where he held independent rule for eight years. Nennius, in a passage disputed as to its being part of his works, relates that attended by the leaders of the Roman people he avenged the death of Severus upon the chiefs and rulers of the Britons. One of the accounts tells that at this time he refortified the wall of Severus. But all this is doubtful as he was not likely to consume his forces fighting the Bernicians and their northern allies. The best information is that contained in the works of his panegyrist who tells that Carusius disdained to admit the forests and the marshes of the Caledonians and other Picti within the boundaries of the Roman Empire. [History of Scotland by John Hill Burton, vol. I, page 42.]

In 306 the Emperor Constantius came to Britain where a military expedition against the Bernicians and the Caledonians was in preparation. There were no tangible results so far as the conquest of the Bernicians was concerned and it ended in the death of the emperor at York, in Deira, on July 25, 306.

Circa 314, Baldeg, King of Bernicia. (This and the following names of kings of Bernicia in the chronicles are from the list which appears in the history of the Britons by Nennius.)

There is no pretense that Roman Christianity ever found a foothold in Bernicia during the time of the Roman occupancy of Southern Britain. It is true that at the Council of Arles, a City of Gaul, in 314, there was present Eboricus bishop of the city of York in Deira, thus showing that the Roman Christians in the Roman army carried with them the religion of Christ to the uttermost bounds of the Roman Empire. Ninnian the so-called Roman apostle to Scotland was not ordained as bishop until the close of the fourth century and he built his church in Galloway, at Whithorn, which is in the extreme southeastern part of Bernicia. But the history of his life, even as written by Roman clerics, discloses that he had long previously been a Christian and a presbyter in the episcopal Christian Church of Bernicia. The reflections on Bernician Christianity as set out in the lives of the Bernician saints and scholars as written by Roman church writers disclose the feeling which was mutually experienced by these people against each other. War, specially war continued for many centuries, does not tend to good feeling or warm friendship but on the contrary it engenders intense hatreds.

Circa 342, Beornec, King of Bernicia.

In the time of the Emperor Julian, A. D. 360, the Britains having experienced an unusually severe beating at the hands of the Bernicians and the Caledonians addressed themselves to the emperor who was then in Gaul for assistance. He feared to leave the army in Gaul in the midst of its menace by the Germans, so he sent Lupucinus one of his marshals, a brave and experienced officer, who took along with him reinforcements from the army in Gaul. He arrived in Britain in the depth of winter and as the campaign of Bernicians had come to an end by reason of the inclemency of the weather, nothing came of his visit to Britain other than to hearten the Roman provinces of Southern Britain.

In A. D. 364, the Roman historians say that the tranquility of Britain was fearfully disturbed by the invasions of the Northern armies. At this time they say the Picts, Saxons, Scots and Attacots vexed the Britains by unceasing calamities. They also noticed that the Picts, or those living on the left hand side of Britain, were divided into the two old classes, which they designated Dicaleons, i.e. Bernicians, and the Venturions, i.e. Picts proper. The term Attacots or the Scots from this side (of the wall) designated the Irish who were then known as Scots and the peculiar name told that they had landed in Britain south of the wall at some point opposite to their Island home and there joined the hosts from the north. The appearance of the Saxons is noteworthy as it was the first time this foreign people are noticed as being engaged in warfare in Britain along with the Irish, the Scots and the Picts; an alliance which was thereafter to greatly affect not only Roman Britain, but Bernicia as well. At this time the Irish and the Saxons came into Britain at a point south of the wall and their presence did

not give Bernicia any special alarm. The Scots and Picts had come under the rule of the King of Ireland, and Bernicia, the only free kingdom in Great Britain, found herself between two would be conquerors.

In the Psalter of Cashel, said to be the oldest Irish Ms., it is recorded that in A. D. 367, Criothan, who is styled Monarch of Ireland and Albany, and leader of the Franks and Saxons, prepared a formidable fleet and raised a large body of troops which were transported to Scotland for the purpose of acting in conjunction with the Picts and Saxons against the Roman wall and devastating the Provinces of Britain. This placed the Bernicians in a predicament as the army of Criothan could only reach the Roman wall by passing through Bernicia which was still an independent kingdom. The success of the Irish king would necessarily result in the subjugation of their kingdom, as had happened to their allies the Scots and Picts. There was nothing, however, to do in the face of such a force but to join in the expedition and trust to the sequence of events to extricate themselves from the difficulty. The Emperor Valentinian had left Amiens and was making the best of his way to Treves when he was astounded by the news of this expedition, and that Britain was suddenly reduced to the greatest extremities by a general combination of the Bernicians, Caledonians, Irish, Franks and Saxons. Alarmed at this intelligence, he sent his General, Severus, to settle matters in Britain, but he was soon after recalled and Jovinus sent in his place. Conditions continuing to grow worse, it became evident to the emperor that if he desired to retain the Roman provinces of Britain he must take most decisive steps, so he sent the greatest man in his dominions, the celebrated Theodosius, who when he arrived at Richborough in Britain, and had debarked his army, marched toward London which was in the hands of the invaders. When he arrived here he divided his men into several bodies and fell upon the straggling rear of the enemy whilst they were out plundering and encumbered by the load of their booty, for by this time the invaders had begun their march to the north. He speedily routed these stragglers and entered with triumph into the city which a short time before had been plunged into the greatest distress. After a short wait which he said was for reinforcements but really to permit the enemy to continue their march northward with their booty, Theodosius left London and following the enemy as they retired northward he restored all the cities, and garrisons and fortresses without having a single general engagement to recover them. In due time the allied army passed northward of the Clyde and the Forth. This gave the Bernicians the opportunity for which they were seeking to secure themselves so that they could defy the Irish king should he decide to renew his visit to Britain. They therefore entered into a treaty of peace with the Romans. This event so delighted the Romans that in their own records they conferred on Bernicia the name of Valentia in honour of the Emperor. But this was made for the benefit of the Romans at home and for the purpose of advancing the rank of Theodosius who derived much renown from his supposed conquest of the Bernicians. No effort was made to set up a servient king to govern the Bernicians. Nor were they in any way brought under Roman control. Theodosius, however, reported that the Roman province which a little before had been wholly in the possession of the enemy was so completely restored to its *former* state, that the lawful

authority of its governor was perfectly established, and it had assumed the name of Valentia in honour of the emperor under whose administration such a successful accomplishment had been accomplished. This treaty with the Romans secured the Bernicians from Roman interference while they assisted the Scots in recovering their independence.

Circa 370, Gechbrond, King of Bernicia.

Circa 385 a child who was named Succat was born at Nemthur later called Dumbarton in Bernicia. His father was a deacon and his grandfather a presbyter in the episcopal Christian church of Bernicia. In a memorandum said to be in his hand writing written during his advanced age he states that his great grandfather was named Aodh or as it is written in his Latin, Odissi. So that this child was the offspring of three generations of Bernician Christians which carried his ancestry not only back to the royal line of Bernicia but to the beginning of the century in which he was born. Later he assumed the name of Patrick and became the renowned apostle of northern Ireland and still later the patron saint of all Ireland.

Peace lasted about thirteen years, until in 390, the Bernicians and their old allies, the Scots and Picts, over run Britain and the emperor was compelled to come in person to secure the Romans in the possession of the provinces south of the line established by Hadrian and Severus, as the northern limit of Roman control in Britain. This effort by the Bernicians marked the end of the Romans in northern Britain, for six years later Niall of the Nine Hostages observed that after breaking up the encampments along the coast the Romans opposite to Ireland had retired to the eastern shore and the Roman wall, thereby disclosing that the Romans were not able to do more than attempt to hold the Bernicians within the bounds of their own kingdom.

Circa 398, Alnson, King of Bernicia. It was during the reign of this king that the Deirans drove the Roman governor out of their country and their king, Soemil, became an independent ruler. Nennius, in his History of the Britons, noticed this event by saying that it was this king who first separated Deur from Birneich (Deira from Bernicia). He gives the ancestors of Soemil as follows:— Brond begat Siggar who begat Sebald who begat Zegulf who begat Soemil.

In 410 the Romans finally and voluntarily gave up the effort to hold any part of the Island of Britain. Measured by any rule of values the Roman expenditures in these four centuries must have greatly exceeded the benefits derived by the empire from the possession of so small a part of the island, while the constant losing warfare, even though far removed from the home government, must have been bitterly galling to the pride of the Romans. During four centuries the great armies and all the power of the Romans were constantly met in Britain by the Bernicians, as they were the front of the forces and bore the brunt of the continued battles which kept the Romans behind the wall of their Emperor Hadrian. In the book known as the Itinerary of Antonius, and which is the most distinct topography of the Roman Empire which is available from a contemporary source, the roads, towns and stations are brought up to the wall of Hadrian and stop there as abruptly as any modern map does at the boundary of the territory to which it applies. [History of Scotland, by John Hill Burton, page 59.] Which discloses that the Roman themselves looked on the wall from the Solway to the

Tyne as the northern boundary of their empire in Britain, and that Bernicia was the frontier nation and the vanguard of the forces that opposed the Roman conquest of the northern parts of the Island of Great Britain; and that this nation had successfully guarded the allies and taken the first shock of the Roman army in every movement they made north of Hadrian's wall. It is in that unconquered country, Bernicia, that the memorials of Roman contest chiefly abound. [*Ibid.*, page 70.] The departure of the Romans from Britain was not however the end of fighting as they were no sooner gone than the Saxons combined with the Irish and together with the Scots and the Picts were down on the Britons in great force.

Circa 426, Inguec, King of Bernicia. Squerthing, King of Deira. There is no record which clearly shows the Bernicians as being part of the invasion in the year 429 when the Britons appealed to the Bishops of the Christian church to save them from their peril. The Saxons were not friendly to the Bernicians at any time and it is therefore more than likely that in this foray was the beginning of the warfare which compelled the Bernicians to defend their kingdom from the Saxons and Irish who so soon became the masters of southern Britain. The alliance of the Irish, Scots, Picts and Saxons boded no good and promised no peace for the Bernicians.

In 446 the Bernicians and the Picts and Saxons along the line of the east coast and the Irish and Scots along the line of the west coast invaded southern Britain and carried havoc through the whole land. This foray lasted during several years. This was in the seventh year of the reign of Eugenius II of Scotland, and with the aid of the Bernicians Britain was brought under the control of the kingdoms north of Hadrian's wall and agreed, not only to pay tribute, but to remove from all the territory lying between the Tyne and the Humber, i.e. Deira, which since the second year of that king's reign had been really under the control of Scotland and Bernicia. It was during this period that the southerners appealed to Rome who sent a well disciplined legion to combat the Bernicians, Scots and Picts. After this the northerners, having secured all the booty that was obtainable, remained at home and there was a brief time of peace. The southerners took advantage of this respite to invite the Saxons to come in and defend them against their northern foes. The Saxons soon conquered those parts of southern Britain which the Romans had noticed as being essentially and respectively Iberian, Gallic and Frankish.

By a strange coincidence, the history of nations had reached a time when the Maeatae or Aryans, i.e. the people who originally came from the country about the Black Sea, were to take another step in their irresistible movement to the west. All over the sections of Europe where these people were then located there was experienced an onrushing of this tide of emigration which bore heavily upon the established nations by the force of their numbers, by the strength of their arms and by the cruel extermination of the natives who opposed their coming into the country. This movement extended to southern Britain, which was speedily overwhelmed by foreign emigrants.

Circa 454, Aedibrith, King of Bernicia. Guilglis, King of Deira.

The incoming hordes of Angles, Jutes and Saxons completely changed the characteristics of that part of Britain which had been under Roman rule. All such movements are called streams because they follow along well defined boundaries which while geographical are nevertheless peculiarly ethnological and ethnographic. The Saxons followed into the country in which their first emigrants settled; the Angles came in great numbers to the country of Deira whose natives were their national predecessors, and from here spread southward; while the Jutes, securing a foothold between the two, made a stream into the country as well defined as the course of any river in Britain. The first result of this great immigration was that forays and pillaging expeditions from the north into the country south of Hadrian's wall ceased entirely because these newcomers not only absorbed all that was worth taking from the natives, but they were able to defend themselves against any invader.

At this same time there were three kingdoms adjacent to Britain each of whom hoped to be the successor to the larger part, if not the whole, of the abandoned Roman provinces. First there was Gaul who finding itself unable to continue the old sphere of influence in southern Britain looked to Deira or the country of the Roman province of Brigantes, as the next best place; they entered into some sort of an alliance with the Irish and Saxons to accomplish this purpose. Then there was the Dane who also hoped to conquer Deira and to extend the sphere of his influence in Pictland. And finally there was the Irish who expected to take over the kingdoms of Scotland, Pictland, Bernicia and Wales, and to have a preponderating influence in Deira along with the Gauls and Saxons. The new allies did not take the Angle emigration into serious account as the Irish believed that if they could make a permanent foothold north of the Clyde and Forth they could overcome the nations to the south in detail, and also beat the Dane who would have to transport his armies over sea. The Irish had been for a long time the allies of the Saxons and in many ways promoted their efforts to conquer southern Britain. So no trouble was anticipated with them so long as each remained within his own sphere of conquest.

Circa 480, the Saxons conquered the left hand parts of Britain which were under the control of the Anglians. Nennius tells of this in his History of the Britons. He says:—Hengist said to King Vortigern;—I will send for my son and his brother both valient men who at my invitation will fight against the Scots (meaning the Bernicians) and you can give them the countries in the north near the wall called Gaul. The incautious sovereign having assented to this Octha and Ebissa arrived with forty ships. In these they sailed round the country of the Picts, laid waste the Orkneys and took possession of many regions (in the north of England) even to the Pictish confines, that is to say to the Wall of Hadrian (which included Deira within the territory they occupied). At this time Loth was king of the Picts; he entered into an agreement with the Saxons whereby Occa, the son of Hengist, settled in Deira and became king of the country between the Humber and the Tyne, and from this time it began to be called Northumberland, that is to say the land north of the river Humber, and so it doth continue to this day, says Hollinshead, in his chronicles. (Page 144.) This is also in conformity with the statement that appears in Malmsbury [Green,

Making of England, page 68], which discloses that the Saxons did actually conquer Deira as related by Nennius. The Angles had long before this time settled in Britain and controlled a large section of the country south of Hadrian's wall and were peacefully enjoying their kingdom as part of Britain. Of the conquest of Yorkshire, i.e. Deira, we have no historical record either on the part of the conquered or conquerors—the record of the conquest of Anglia and incidentally of Deira, by the Saxons is therefore the first light thrown on the subject and discloses that the two peoples were enemies and not allies against the Britons. [The Making of England, page 48.] While as to Bernicia there is absolutely no record showing any inroads therein by the Saxons at this time.

Hengist proposed to Vortigern the king of the Britons, says another account, that he make the entire subjugation of the northern insurgents who had so long disturbed the southern parts of Britain, and he made such fair promises of success that Vortigern soon permitted him to send for additional supplies of men from Germany that they might settle in Northumberland, i.e. Deira, in order that they might perform this important business [Chronicles of England, by Joseph Strutt, vol. 1, page 126]. Hengist having conquered Kent sent his brother Octa and his son Jebus (Ebissa) into Northumberland, i.e. Deira, and they and their successors were dukes under the kings of Kent. [*Ibid.*, page 127, quoting from the Scala Chronicles, Lib II.]

Circa 482, Ossa King of Bernicia. Usfrea, King of Deira.

Aurelius Ambrosius, King of Britain, being without heirs of his body begotten began to barter with the other kings for their aid in his ventures against the Saxons by promising them payment by secretly granting them the right severally and exclusively to the succession to his throne upon his decease. Among those who were taken in by this palpably thin expedient, and who accepted it at its face value, was Loth, king of the Picts. He accordingly joined with Aurelius in an expedition against the Saxons in Deira. The allies were successful in their warfare and Deira was conquered. In this venture they were assisted by Corwanus, king of the Scots. The Scottish chronicles say:—Aurelius granted unto the king of the Picts and the noble Corwanus The lands all they did before posseid From Humbers fluide on to the water of the Tweed He gave to theim with strengthing les and more. He also gave his eldest sister Anne to King Loth for wife, and to Corwanus he gave his second sister Ade for his wife. It will be noticed that in the division of the lands Loth was to receive that part of Bernicia which lay between Hadrian's wall and the Tweed. Which discloses that Loth had now cast envious eyes on the tight little kingdom of Bernicia which had so long been the ally of his country and which had for many centuries stood faithfully between Pictland and the Romans. Aurelius died in 497 so this must have been circa 495 and not long before the time of his decease. The tide of battle did not however bring defeat to the Bernicians and they made every effort to help their old ally Deira but this was in vain although they prevented the Irish from coming into the fracas by making a great raid into that Island in which they took many captives. It was at this time that Caroticus one of the sub-kings of Bernicia made his capture of the baptized converts of Patrick and so far incurred his ire as to make Patrick write his celebrated letter to Caroticus which is one of

the two authentic writings of Patrick that have come down to modern times. The Scottish chronicles therefore disclose the intention but not the consummation of the desires of the Scottish king.

In 499, the Saxons returned to battle for the possession of Deira, for King Loth, finding the promises made to him by King Aurelius were not to be fulfilled, entered into a renewal of his alliance with the Saxons. But the latter were not to be fooled again, so they conquered the country with their own forces and simply depended on the non-activity of Loth and his Pictish army.

Malmsbury says that in 499 the Lords of the country north of the Humber (Deira) made themselves private citizens under the rule of Kent. [The Making of England, by Green, page 68.] Which is to say that the Deiran king, Usfrea, became a Kentish governor upon the re-conquest by Octa as above related.

The Scottish chronicles tell of this as follows:—

And soon after ane chieftan Chenalrus
The quhild to name was Colgernus
He brought time out of Germanica
Syne gaif to him ten for reward and meid
The landis lying betwixt Tyne and Tweed
With all the freedom of forth forest and feel
Both Scot and Pict that he would repel
By strength and force other of blood or fyre
And he thereof to be lord and syre
And so thai did some efter on and da
This Colgergus and also king Occa
With one great host richt large of length and braid
They entered syne betwixt Tyne and Tweed
Both Scot and Picht that they found in that steid
Right suddenly they put them all to deid
Then all the laif they fled right fast away
Sum in Pichtland and sum in Galloway
To their kings with great reuth and petie
Schwarand to them all their calamity
And for that cause dredend that it suld be trew
Richt mony strength hed biggest of the new
The old strength destroyed was befoir
Gast big again at lassar les and moir

[Book of the Chronicles of Scotland, vol. 2, page 217.]

Circa 499, Octa, grandson of Hengist, after his grandfather's death departed from the sinistral, i.e. the left hand, or Anglian, part of the Island of Great Britain to the kingdom of Kent. It appears that after the death of Hengist his son Aesc took refuge in York in Deira where Aurelius Ambrosius pursued him and planted a close siege before the walls of that town. Fortune favored the Britains and Aesc was expelled from thence and fled into Kent at which time he was accompanied by his son Octa. [Chronicles of England, by Joseph Strutt, vol. I, page 72.]

In 503, under Lewy the second of the Hy Neill kings of Ireland, there began a great emigration from that island to Scotland under the brothers Fergus, Angus and Lorne, which resulted in the kingdom of Argyle, and in making the kingdom of Scotland tributary to Ireland, which it remained for nearly three-quarters of a century.

Circa A. D. 510, Eoppa, King of Bernicia. Iffi, King of Deira.

Loth, to save his kingdom from conquest by the Irish king, entered into an alliance with the Saxons and thus he was able to escape the fate of being a tributary king like the Scottish king Gorwanus. As soon, however, as things began to quiet down he was open for some alliance that would advance his personal fortunes. Accordingly we are told in the chronicles that Loth king of the Picts and Gorwamus king of the Scots joined king Arthur of Britain against the Saxons. Gorwanus came to the throne of Scotland in 501 and ruled until the time of his death in 531 when he was succeeded by his nephew, Eugenius III, son of his brother Cougall. Arthur was the celebrated king of the round table and primarily was king of the Silures, one of the kingdoms of the Brigantes, which was located along the west coast of Britain. He began to reign in 515. When both armies approached near together they prepared for battle and first Colgerne, whom the Chronicle of Hollingshead names Duke of Northumberland, mounting upon a light gelding, rode almost over hard to the face of the Picts where they stood in their order of battle right stoutly and there uttered many reproachful words unto Loth and other of his nobles for their breach of promised friendship to him and his Saxons. [Hollingshead, page 155.]

A battle ensued wherein Colgernus and Occa were slain, but not before Colgernus had in personal combat dehorsed Loth.

He hit him upon the farrar syde
And festrut his spear into his shield
Down to his horse draif into the field
Two pert Pichts were huvand by
Schir Colgernus right sone ane suddenly
With their speir him sticket in that steid
Down of his horse syne to the ground feel died
King Loth and his herd without any pane
Boith haill and feir syne horset hes agane
Colgernus men seance that he was slain
Into the feild no langer wold remain
* * * * * * * *
Occa himself into the se he fled
Syne in ane schip quhild reddee there he had
Right quiqitlee soir woundit on an da
That sayme tyme fled into Saxane
[Book of the Chronicles of Scotland, vol. 2, page 234.]

This Occa was the nephew of Occa, son of Hengist, as the Scottish Chronicles disclose:—

Quhen that their king (Occa) as y haif hard was died
His brothers sone they crounit in his steid
Quhik in his tyme and freid was of grit fame
And Occa als he callit to name
[Book of the Chronicles of Scotland, vol. 2, page 214.]

This alliance between these three kings, Arthur, Loth and Gorwanus, continued until after the year 519, as in that year, so the Book of Houth recordeth, Arthur summoned to a special feast of solemnity of the round table, Gillomer, Monarch of Ireland and King Anguish of Ireland with the princes and nobles of the land, where they continued during the whole time of the solemnity. In which triumph it is recorded that Garret, king of Orkney, sonne of king Loth, and nephew of Arthur, being one of King Arthur's knights, together with two brethren, performed most valiant exploits, encountering with Anguish king of Ireland, Gorwanus king of Scotland, Cador Duke of Cornwall and with other princes, and won great honour. [Doctor Hanmer's Chronicle of Ireland, page 102.]

In 525 Lotho king of the Picts, and Gorwanus king of the Scots, again changed their allegiance and joined with the Saxons to recover Deira for Arthur; they drew to their aid Gillomer II, king of Ireland. King Arthur sent for Howell, his sister's son, king of Little Britaine in France, who came with fifteen thousand fighting men and joined forces with Arthur who defeated the Picts, Scots and Saxons and chased the Irish king into Ireland. [*Ibid.*, page 101.] Thereby Bernicia was again relieved from the menace of the Pictish king. Shortly after this Loth the king of the Picts deceased leaving his name says a celebrated historian as a perpetual memory unto his country which has ever since been called Lothain. [Hollingshead, page 160.] And the chronicles say:—

> Schir Loth the king of Pechtis in his days
> The quhilk Pechtland, efter the sammin da
> Efter his name callit Loudanie.
> Departed was ane quhit before nocht langi
> Modred his son into his staid then rang.
> [The Book of the Chronicles of Scotland, vol. 2, page 25.]

Which is one of the most remarkable statements made by the Scottish Chronicles, as Loth never exercised any power whatsoever over the Lothians and in fact it is doubtful if he ever had any jurisdiction of any kind even inferentially, with reference to this part of Bernicia, and he certainly had no power over it at the time of his death. Nor was Pictland called Lothia, as the Chronicles would lead one to believe. The country known as the Lothians was settled for many centuries by a continuous stream of Danish settlers and at the time they first came to that country they were more likely known as Lothians, after their king than as Danes. It would seem as the better view that the homeland was called Denmark after King Dan and the land of their people across the sea should be named Lothian after the progenitor of their kings, the great Lother, the brother of Dan. And the land of Deira called Humber after another of their early God-like kings. All of which is disclosed by the Danish sagas.

This interesting recital of the incidents of the warfare by which the Saxons were trying to obtain a foothold in Deira has disclosed that during this period Bernicia was able to maintain itself although hard pressed at times by the opposing forces engaged in this contest of Britain vs Irish and Saxon, with the Scot and Pict alternately allied with one or the other of the contestants. The last change of rulers in Deira, whereby the Saxon was defeated by the Britain, Scot and Pict, lasted for circa twenty years and the final victory of Arthur held good for over ten years longer, during which time the Bernicians were constantly on the defensive against their old allies the Scots and Picts. In fact from this time there was never afterward any cordial alliance between the kingdom of Bernicia and its northern neighbors, as this history will reveal as we progress in the statement of the genealogy of the Bernician kings.

In 537, at the battle of Camlann, King Arthur and his betrayer, Modred the son of Loth, were both slain and there was a plague in both Britain and Ireland. [Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. I, page 9.] Henec Bernicia and Deira were again open to Saxon aggression.

In circa 538, the Saxons along with their allies the Gauls and Irish, returned to the contest and at this time they not only recovered Deira, but they set up a Saxon king named Hame as its ruler. He was the next in line of lawful Saxon succession to the Kentish kingdom of Deira. It was at this time that the Northern Irish took a terrible revenge on the Christians of Bernicia for the cruelties of Caroticus in his taking the baptized converts, specially the maidens, of Patrick as captives and selling them as slaves to the Picts. It also happened that at this time there had been a remarkable revival of Druidism in northern Ireland and in northwestern Bernicia and this added to the Christians' zeal for revenge brought about the complete destruction of every Bernician Christian church except that at Culross where the great Serf was the saint and scholar. There were, by this means, thousands of Christians in Bernicia left without shepherds and the great schools of learning and religion were no longer open for the education of the people.

Bernicia was now hemmed in on all sides by enemies, as the Irish had as early as 396 begun the conquest of the Welsh nation that existed to the west of Bernicia. But the Bernicians were too powerful to be attacked by either party so long as they enjoyed an alliance with the kingdom of Denmark. This same fear of Denmark had in fact protected and preserved Bernicia from its enemies during this trying period of Saxon conquest of Britain, although it had to part company with its old ally the kingdom of Deira, over which for so many centuries it had exercised a protecting influence. This closes the Chronicles and the story of Hame and the effect on Bernicia of his accession to the kingship of Deira will be related in the story of the genealogy of the kings of Bernicia which immediately follows.

*25. Aodh or Eoppa, son of Ossa. See the Chronicles of the Kings of Bernicia. He was King of Bernicia circa 509 to 547. Nennius in his History of the Britons says;—Eoppa son of Ossa. Married ——. Children:—

1. *24 Aedh or Ida, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 24.
2. Glappa. Following the Celtic order of succession he succeeded his brother Aedh or Ida as king for one year.
3. Theowald, succeeded his brother Glappa as king of Bernicia.
4. Frethulf, succeeded his brother Theowald as king of Bernicia.

II. The Chronicles of the Kingdom of Bernicia.

The chronicles of the kings of Bernicia closed with the statement that the Irish, Saxon and Gaul allies had accomplished the conquest of Deira and had set up a Saxon, named Hame, as king in Deira, which included modern York and Durham, or all the country south of Hadrian's wall to the Humber. This left Bernicia completely isolated and threatened by enemies on all sides. Her only ally being Denmark where at this time Ragner Lodbrok was king. The Saga of Saxo Grammaticus has preserved a very accurate account of the reign of this remarkable, very renowned and mighty king. Eoppa, the Bernician king, appealed to Ragner for assistance and also pointed out that Deira, the closely allied country to the south of Bernicia, had become part of the conquest of the Irish, Gauls and Franks through the setting up of a king of their appointment,

Note:--In the following chart the numbers indicate not only the succession of kings and later the succession of earls, but also the generations in ancestry from Ormunda.

The reader will kindly bear in mind that the purpose of this compilation is not to present a complete history of Bernicia-Northumbria, but to prove the genealogy of Ormunda. Hence the object is to show, and to fortify by quotations from recognized authorities, the continuity of descent of Ormunda from Eoppa, King of Bernicia.

As the purpose of this compilation is therefore genealogical and not historical, no effort has been made to get a connected story, or to avoid repetition of facts; on the contrary there has been an earnest effort to find as many authorities as possible to sustain the genealogy, hence there must be considerable repetition of facts and incidents. But taken all together the reader will be delighted with the golden thread of wonderful history, that connectedly runs through this the earliest continuous English genealogy.

In the following chart Column One in the early kings represents the Kings of Bernicia; and Column Two the Contemporary Kings of Denmark to the end of the Bernician Chronicles.

The Kings named in the Chronicles and Contemporary Danish Kings.

Column 1	Column 2
Orm, king of Bernicia, A.D. 213	Harald
N.N.	Omund
N.N.	Siward
N.N.	Siwald
Baldeg	Snio
Beornec	Biorn
Gechbrond	Harald
Alnson	Gorm
Inguec	Gotrick
Aedilbrith	Olaf
Ossa	Siward
*25. Eoppa	Ragner

The Kings in this Genealogy.

*25. Eoppa
*24. Ida
*23. Aethelric
*22. Aethelfrith
*21. Oswy
*20. Aldfrid

Osred
Osric
Ceolwulf
Osulf

*19. Ecgwald
*18. Leodwald
*17. Eatta, Bishop of Hexham
*16. Eadbert
*15. Oswulf
*14. Alfwold
*13. Eardwulf
*12. Eadred or Eanred
*11. Ethelred
*10. Egbert (This king was contemporary with Harold Fairhair and Earl Rognvald in Norway.)

The Earls in this Genealogy.

*9. Eadwulf
*8. Ealdred
*7. Oswulf I.

*6P. Ligulph
*6M. Waltheof I.

It is with the generation of Ligulph and Waltheof that the lines of ancestry of Ligulph and Ealdgyth, the grandparents of Ormunda, merge, Ligulph being descended from the above last named Ligulph, and Ealdgyth being descended from the above named Waltheof I.

The numbers on the Chart not only represent the generations of ancestry prior to Ormunda but the divisions of the text which follows.

and thereby the Danes had lost out in the race for the acquisition of that land. The Scots and Picts were allied with the conquerors of Deira and these present allies were threatening Bernicia from the north as well as from the south and west. Thereupon, circa 537, King Ragner lifted up his arms against his enemies in Britain and slew in battle Hame, the father of Ella, who was a noble youth. Then he proceeded north where he killed the earls of Scotland and Pictland and of the Isles that they call southern or Meredonial, and made his sons Siward and Dadbard masters of these provinces which were now without governors. He thereupon, after appointing his son Iwar king of Deira, visited Saxony where he defeated them in battle and loaded them with the duty of paying heavy tribute. In the operations against King Hame in Deira the Bernicians were part of the forces of King Ragner and, by the conquest of this kingdom, and by its being brought under the rule of the Danes, Bernicia was freed from present fear of her enemies.

The Irish influence however, was soon dominant again in Scotland and King Ragner in order to obtain the allegiance of the country visited the Orkneys and landed on the territory of Scotland, where, in a three days battle, he wearied out their king, Murial, and slew him. In this battle Ragner's two sons, Dunwant and Radbard, were killed so that the Danish government of Scotland and Pictland fell on Siward, son of King Ragner. The latter thereupon returned to Denmark only to learn of the death of his wife during his absence. The period of mourning for his queen was disturbed by the sudden arrival of Iwar whom the enemy had driven out of Deira and made to fly for his life when they had placed Ella, the son of Hame, on the throne as ruler.

Ragner without delay started for Britain, taking with him his son Iwar to guide him since he knew the country, and giving orders for a large fleet, he soon approached the harbor called York. Here after a battle which lasted three days he made Ella, who trusted to the valour of the allied troops, desirous to fly and speedily get out of the country. Ragner remained a year in Deira during which time, in cooperation with Eoppa, he completely conquered the country. Then, summoning his sons to accompany him, he went to Ireland, slew its king Malbrik, besieged Dublin, which was filled with wealth of the barbarians, attacked it and received its surrender. He also won signal victories in all the countries that lay between Deira and Ireland. This freed Bernicia again from the menace of her foes for a few years.

Ragner then engaged in an expedition to the east which lasted five years and meanwhile Ella, who on his departure for Deira, had gone to Ireland, returned with an army with which he drove out of the country, or put to the sword, or punished, all those who were closely attached to Ragner. This happened just as the latter was returning from his eastern expedition which had proven disastrous in its ending through the attack Ragner made on the Perms. Ella had driven Iwar out of the country and he had returned to Denmark when Ragner, getting

news of the turn of events in Deira, did not go to Denmark to recruit his forces, but just as his fleet and forces were he proceeded to York where he gave battle to Ella. Ragner was defeated and captured and Ella thereupon put the old king to a most ignominious death. This gave the Scot, Pict, Irish, Gaul and Saxon allies their opportunity and they carried the war into Bernicia, which they overrun and compelled Eoppa and his son Ida to flee the country. It now looked as though the last had been seen of the Dane and of the Bernician kingdom in Britain. Eoppa proceeded to Denmark where Iwar, after he heard of the disaster to the Danish army, and of the unhappy death of his father, proceeded at once with Eoppa and Ida in a fleet to the coast of Bernicia.

When they arrived off this country they found that Ella and his allies had closed every river and harbor against their possible approach, and as their force was too small to force an entrance Iwar and Eoppa proceeded along the coast until they came to the rocky promontory of Dinguaroy, later called Bamborough, and here they landed through the surf and took possession of that natural fortress. The Danish Saga says that Iwar asked Ella for permission to remain here and the boon of a hide of land, which meant only sufficient land to support a single family. Ella looked on this small expedition as of no importance and was glad to be so cheaply rid of a foe and he therefore consented to Iwar's request. Here out of wood and hedge, to follow the description in the old accounts, Iwar built a mighty fortress which is famous to this day. The British historians, however, give Ida, the son of Eoppa, credit for this fortification, but Saxo fairly gives the credit to Iwar, the Danish king, who was the ranking military officer. The place was supplied with everything needed to stand a long siege and with all the essentials for the supply of a military expedition. Everything being arranged, the Bernician army being on the frontier ready for the attack, and the plans being agreed upon for the cooperation of the land and naval forces, Siward and Biorn came up with a fleet of four hundred ships and with open challenge declared war against Ella. This they did at the appointed time, and when they had defeated his army, and captured Ella, they ordered that his death should be made equally as ignominious as that he had inflicted on their father, King Ragner. In this warfare King Eoppa was killed and the kingdom of the Bernicians fell to his son Ida.

*24. AEDH, ADDA, IDA (to give the Irish, Scottish and English spellings of his name) son of Eoppa, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 25. Married Bearnoch. They had twelve sons:—

1. Adda. Married. Child, Aldric, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 23.
2. Osmer, or Hussa, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 23.
3. *23 Aethelric, or Aedlric, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 23.
4. Deoric, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 23.
5. Edric, or Ethric.
6. Deothere, or Omerno.
7. Ealric, or Alric.
8. Friodolgauld, or Theofreden. He reigned for six years and in his time the kingdom of Kent received baptism at the sending of Gregory.
9. Ocga.

10. Eccle.
11. Osbald.
12. Segora, or Segothae.

[Nennius History of the Britons.] Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 23.

The English Chronicle says: A. D. 547. This year Ida began to reign, from whence arose the royal race of Northumbria, and he reigned twelve years, and built Bamborough, which was at first inclosed by a hedge and afterwards by a wall. [Readings in English History, by Edward P. Cheyney, page 40 and 37-39. See also The Making of England, by Green, p. 160; Baeda Hist. Eccl. i. p. 15.; Genealogies in Flor. Worc. ed. Thorpe i. 248, et seq.]

After the conquest of Deira, and the death of Ella in 547, Iwar ruled in that country for two years when he was compelled to return to Denmark, owing to the civil warfare in that country growing out of the contest for the succession to his father's throne. When Iwar departed he placed his younger brother Agnar on the throne of Deira. Agner, says the saga of Saxo, was stung because the Angles rejected him and with the help of Siward chose rather than foster the insolence of the province that despised him to dispeople it and leave its fields, which were matted in decay, with none to till them. He covered the richest land of the Island with the most hideous desolation thinking it better to be lord of a wilderness than of a headstrong country. This is Saxo's description of the conditions not only in Deira, but in all of Britain, growing out of the emigration into the country of Angles, Jutes and Saxons, at this time. The informed reader will recognize the recital as being essentially the same as has been so very clearly described by English historians in reference to all the parts of Britain south of Hadrian's wall during the Saxon invasion. A recent survey of the names and other monuments that now remain of this emigration, discloses that fully one-eighth of these emigrants settled in modern York and Durham or Deira, and that less than two per cent settled north of the wall of Hadrian in Bernicia, for it must be kept in mind that during four centuries that wall had, under the Romans, been the boundary line between Bernicia and Deira. The northern boundary line of the County of York marks the furthermost bounds to which the Angle drove the Britain says John Richard Green [The Making of England, page 63]. So that the monuments in Bernicia south of the wall of Hadrian represent the overflow during the period when Bernicia and Deira became one kingdom. In the time of Ida it was the country north of the wall which the Danes recognized as being his kingdom, and the country south of the wall to the Humber was their province ruled by the sons of the king as appointive governors. With so great an emigration of Angles there is no wonder that King Agner had trouble with his people and that they despised him for his want of power to control them.

The Danes, however, ruled in Deira during the whole of Ida's reign of twelve years in Bernicia. This left him free to push the enemy back beyond his country on his northern and western frontiers. The records of his reign are written in the terms of a British awakening rather than in the usual ravages of a line of foreign kings, says John Richard Green, the great English historian. [The Making of England, page 69.] Among the chief signs of this awakening was the reestablishment of the Bernician Christian Church. For Serf sent out from Culross

his greatest scholar and foster son, Kentigern, who established his familia at the old place on the Clyde of which he changed the name to Glasgu meaning dear friends. In 563 this work of reviving and spreading the Christian church was supplemented by the arrival of that outstanding saint and scholar, Columba, who set up his familia at Iona. Here he founded the episcopal church of Scotland which sent its ministers out all over the country north of Hadrian's wall. It is said that the fame of Columba and of his school extended throughout all Ireland, in all Britain and the islands of the Atlantic as well as in Gaul and Spain. He was of the royal line of Ireland and Scotland. The son of a king he would have been king had he not been a great saint and scholar by whose hands alone there were more than three hundred copies of the Gospels made and distributed to the people to whom he ministered. It can well be believed that the supplementing work of his followers carried the knowledge of the words of Jesus Christ to all parts of north Britain About the same time a saint and scholar of almost equal fame, Comgellus, established a branch of his home familia at Bangor just across the borders from Deira. Together with Serf these three foundations furnished hundreds of intinerant preachers who traveled everywhere preaching and teaching the living word.

Says Nennius: Ida, the son of Eoppa, possessed the countries on the left hand side of Britain, i.e. of the Humbrian Sea, and reigned twelve years and anointed, that is created Dinguayrdi Guurth Berneich into a holy place by being anointed with the Chrism according to the ancient custom of the Christian church in Palestine and Asia Minor and which custom from the beginning was followed by the Bernician presbyters. And thereby the rock of Bamborough was the place of royal residence for the kingdom of Bernicia, by special sanctification, owing to its being the place whereby he and King Iwar of Denmark obtained the foothold that enabled them and his father, King Eoppa, to recover both Bernicia and Deira from the Saxons. Ida, the son of Eoppa, held the districts in the northern part of Britain, that is to the north of the Sea of Humber. He reigned twelve years and he united Dinguayrdi and Guurth Berneich. [Early Sources of Scottish History, vol. 1, page 10.] At that time Dutgirn fought valiantly against the nation of the Angles. Talheern Tataguan was renowned in verse, and Neiren and Talisessin and Bluchbard and Cran, who was called Gulnith Guant, were famed together at one time in British verse. [Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 1, page 12.]

Ida had not only to combat the Welsh and the Picts as well as the powerful Jutish (Saxon) king of Deira, but he had to meet the internal opposition of the druids who for some time had been dominant in the northern parts of his kingdom. The original home of the modern Cymri—that is to say the Welsh or Britons, or rather, perhaps, of the ancestry of the noble tribes of Wales—was found amongst the extra-provincial Britons beyond the Wall of Severus. Here flourished the (druid) poets who celebrated the stand made by their favorite Urien against Ida the flame-bearer; here was the fatal Bamborough, known to the Britons as Bernicia's thraldom, the keystone of the early Briton-Anglian power in the North.

Ida fell in battle, slain, say the British authorities, by Owen of Reged, whose father Urien, the favorite hero of the (druid) bards, and a warrior from whom

many a laurel has been stolen to adorn the chaplet of the fabulous Arthur, was hailed unanimously as leader of a confederacy which was to drive the invader from the soil. This marks the beginning of the history of Anglo-Saxon England which is the story, not of a heptarchy of independent and equal, or nearly equal, kingdoms, united by any kind of federal bond, but of the rise and progress of the kingdom of Bernicia-Northumberland from the end of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century, the predominance of Mercia during the latter half of the eighth century, and the gradual union of England between the close of the eighth century and the Norman Conquest. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 2, page 230, vol. 1, page 3 & 4.]

During all this period of nearly five centuries Northumberland, specially that part called Bernicia, never ceased to be an important factor in English History. Strange to say she maintained an unbroken descent in the line of her royal house, not only during the period when they sat on the throne as kings, but during the subsequent period of the earldom to which they were voluntarily reduced, that England might be brought under one government. And still more remarkable is it that this unbroken line of ancestry continued in England on down to the most modern times, where we find the lineal male representatives of these kings acting as the hereditary sheriffs of Bernicia in Durham, who continued to exercise their authority until the middle of the reign of Queen Victoria, that is to say until a time when the exact line of ancestry, by which they held their inherited rights, had long since become confused and lost sight of in the records of the dim past. It is most remarkable that our American family can trace its own unbroken line of ancestry to these the first great kings in England who are not only the oldest line of English kings, but whose lives form the earliest and brightest pages in the history of the welding of England into one homogeneous nation. It is of the greatest and most momentous historical importance that the present king of England can trace his ancestry through Ida to Orm the Briton who, in A. D. 210, founded his royal line, and that he can say that they are a line of kings who have never been conquered in all these seventeen centuries.

To these Bernician kings England owes her first advance towards unity. They of all the early kings were the first Bretwaldas, or wide ruler of England, that is to say—kings whose power was so great that they were the wielders of Britain although the actual rulers of only a part thereof. The Bernician-Northumbrian kingdom at the time of its greatest power extended from the Humber to the Forth, and was bounded on the east by the German Ocean and on the west by an irregular and gradually receding line, at times overstepped, of the country, more or less mountainous, retained by the Celts of Strathclyde and Cumbria between the Clyde and the Mersey, and they wielded a strong influence in every part of Britain, which made their position equivalent to that of Britannia Rex. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 1, page 367.]

It is stated by A. O. Anderson, in his Early Sources of Scottish History (vol. 1, page 87), as showing how wide Ida spread his kingdom, that Baeton, Carvill's son was king of Ireland and Scotland and died circa 581. By him the Isle of Man was cleared of foreigners so that dominion over this has belonged to the Ulster men from that time forward. In the second year after his death the Geals aban-

doned Man. By these foreigners was meant the Angles of Northumberland. So that Man belonged to the kingdom of Northumbria for thirty-four years after the establishment of that kingdom in 547.

*23. ATHELRIC, son of Ida, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 24, married ——. Children:—

1. *22 Athelfrith, Chapter II, Section 3, Division 22.
2. Theobold, a valiant youth slain by the Scotts in the reign of his brother at the battle of Daegstain.

With the death of Ida the tide of conquest now rolled back upon the Bernicians and Bernecia was overrun by the Deirans, and the sons of Ida were driven from the land, when, at the very moment of his triumph, the bravest champion of his race fell by the dagger of "Llovan of the accursed hand," and his death was fatal to his countrymen. But the Bernicians returned to the fray and Ida's sons step by step recovered their ascendancy, winning their way at the point of the sword, until the whole of the eastern coast was wrested from its possessors, confined henceforth to the westward of "the Desert."

To save repetition of names of authorities and references thereto it is to be understood that all the citations in this and the succeeding Divisions of Chapter 11, section 3, unless otherwise stated are from The Making of England by John Richard Green which covers this period of English history and down to the year 829.

Ida, who reigned here eighteen years, was succeeded in rotation by six of his sons, whose brief careers may be safely attributed to a passion for arms and redoutable foes rather than to any lack of constitution. [The Romance of Northumberland by A. G. Bradley.] Nennius, in his History of the Britons, says that Adda, son of Ida, reigned for eight years and his son Aedlric for four years. Deoric, son of Ida, reigned four years. Friodolgauld, son of Ida, reigned six years. Hussa, son of Ida, reigned seven years; against him fought four kings, Urbgen and Riderchhen and Guallane and Morcant. Deodric, son of Ida, fought bravely together with his sons against that Urbgen. But at that time sometimes the enemy and sometimes our countrymen were defeated and he shut them up three days and three nights in the Island of Metcaud. Whilst he was on an expedition he was murdered at the instance of Metcauld out of envy because he possessed so much superiority over all the kings in military science. Some of the accounts say that Adda was succeeded by his uncle Glappa who reigned five years, and that he was succeeded by his brother Theowald who reigned one year, and he by his brother Frethulf who reigned seven years. And he by Theodoric, son of Ida, who reigned three years. Recent investigations have, however, disclosed that it was at this time that the Celts from Ireland began to be ascendant in the west of Bernicia and there was a disposition to set up separate sub-kingdoms independent of Bernicia. These efforts finally resulted in the kingdom of Strathclyde. This was hastened by the effort of Ida's sons to displace these subkings. Hence the list of kings among the sons of Ida must be understood to mean that some of them were serving at the same time; one brother as high king and the other or others as subkings.

The Britons, i.e. the Celts, and Picts to the west and north, pressed the sons of Ida sorely, and for one brief moment actually expelled them from Bamburgh, to a temporary refuge beyond the tide-washed sands on Lindisfarne or Holy Island. But it was the fiercest of them all, Hussa, called by his foes Flamdwyn,

the torch or flame-bearer, who was thus driven to bay. In the moment of his victory, too, the much-sung-of Urien, the leader of the Celtic alliance, though himself but Lord of Redesdale, was killed by a traitor in his own ranks and in a short time the pendulum swung back. Hussa carried his torch and his sword far into the Celtic country, and restored the terror of his name by vanquishing and slaying Owen, Chief of the glittering West. [The Romance of Northumberland, by A. G. Bradley.]

Hussa was the third son of Ida, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 24, who during this generation sat upon the throne of Bernicia. Having driven the Picts and Scots from Bernicia, Hussa turned his attentions to the country south of Bernicia and west of Deira. Here he fought against four British kings, Urbgen, Rhyderch who became king paramount of Strath-Clyde, Guallauc, and Morcant. Contemporary with this movement to establish a kingdom in Bernicia we find Aella, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 22 and 21, in Deira, and Athelbert in Kent, building kingdoms by the help of some of the local chieftains and the annihilation of those who failed to give allegiance to the new king. The making of these three kingdoms would therefore seem to be no accident, but the result of forces that were acting universally throughout the newly awakening England.

Hussa was succeeded by his brother *23 Aethelric. The kingdom of Bernicia had been divided among the sons of Ida and hence there was considerable overlapping of dates in the succession of Ida's sons as kings. Aethelfrith appears to have been king of the whole country from 593 to 617, and under him Hussa held the northern part. It was Hussa's son, Hering, who led the Northumbrian forces against the Scots in 603. After the death of Hussa he claimed the throne of Bernicia against Aethelfrith and he removed to Scotland where he combined with Aethelfrith's enemies against him. [Earl and Plummer Saxon Chronicles, vol. 2, page 19. Early Sources of Scottish History, vol. 1, page 19.]

Aethelric was a strong ruler and under him the kingdom of Bernicia increased in strength and power. The old Deiran kingdom passed away with the death of Ella in 588. The strength of Deira seems suddenly to have broken down. As the Bernician king, Aethelric, entered Deira in triumph, the children of Aella fled over its western border, while their land passed under the lordship of its conqueror. It was from the union of the two realms which his inroad and rule brought about that a new kingdom sprang which embraced them both—the kingdom of the Northumbrians. The supremacy of Aethelric was thus of a closer and more direct sort than that of Aethelberht, of Kent; for while the Kentish king was content to rule over peoples who retained their own kingly stock and political unity, the King of Bernicia was striving to establish a direct rule over Deiran as well as Bernician, and to blend the political life of both peoples into a single realm. Different, however, as the character of the two lordships might be, they were parts of the same movement towards a larger unity; and with their rise the aspect of the conquered Britain was suddenly changed. Instead of a chaos of isolated peoples, its conquerors were gathered into three great groups, whose existence remained the key to the history of the country during the next two hundred years. The kingdom of the north had reached what remained its final limits, from the Forth to the Humber. The southern kingdom of the west

Saxons stretched from the line of Watling Street to the coast of the Channel. And between these was already roughly sketched out the great kingdom of Mid-Britain, which, however its limits might vary in this quarter or that, retained a substantial identity both of character and of area from the days of Aethelberht to the final fall of the Mercian kings. [The Making of England, by John Richard Green, pages 211-212 and 266.] In 593, Aethelric was succeeded by his son Aethelfric. [History of Nations, vol. II, by Samuel R. Gardiner, page 30.]

*22. AETHELFRITH The Wild, son of Aethelric. Chapter 11, Section 3, Subdivision 23, married Acha, daughter of Aella, Chapter 11, Section 3, Subdivision 23 and 21, and sister of King Eadwine of Deira, later king of Northumberland; the first Bretwalda or king who ruled beyond his own kingdom and exercised influence over all England. He later married Bebba. [The Making of England, by John Richard Green, pages 211-212 and 266.] Sons of first marriage:—

1. Eadfrith, king of Bernicia, 635, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 21.
2. *21 Eanfrith. A battle with the Saxons (Northumbrians) was fought by Aidan and there Eanfrith, Aethelfrith's son, fell slain by Malcuman, Bactan's son, and there Aiden was conquered. [Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 1, page 123.]
3. Oswald, King of Northumberland, and Bretwalda, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 21.
4. Oswin, King of Northumberland.
5. Oslac.
6. Oswid.
7. Offa.
8. Offa.

Son of the second marriage:—

9. Oswy, King of Northumberland and Bretwalda, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 21.

(Thus we see that five of the sons of Aethelfrith became kings.)

The daughters of Ethelric:—

10. Oswitha, who became a nun and was later canonized as a saint.
11. Ebba, Abbess of the Abbey of Coldingham, see Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 20. Ebba, the daughter of Ethelfric, king of Northumbria, was miraculously saved from the Deirans when she was compelled to flee the country and in a boat she safely went from the Humber to the Forth where she established a nunnery at a place called after her St. Abb's head. [The Book of Chronicles of Scotland, vol. 2, page 298.] Ebba, a glorious virgin, uterine sister of Oswald, king of Northumberland, was sent with her seven brothers to exile in the land of the Scots. And like her brothers and many more she received the faith of Christ from the Scots. Ebba became a nun taking the veil from St. Finan, a Scot by race, bishop of Lanisfrane. She died 683. Her remains were found by the prior in the convent of the monastery of Coldingham by command and revelation of the holy virgin and transferred to the church of St. Mary of Coldingham where the oratory was in ruins. A few days later Ebba appeared to the monk Henry and commanded that an oratory be built to her in that place in the year 1188. [In the Aberdeen

Breviary II, 3, 87, under August 22. Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 1, page 142.]

The wives of Aethelfrith were Saxons and pagans. The king perverted to the worship of Odin and his children were raised as pagans.

Nennius, in his History of the Britons, says that Aethelfrith ruled twelve years in Bernicia and twelve others in Deira (and Bernicia combined into one kingdom).

More historical light dawns with Aethelfrith. The most powerful and covetous of glory of kings, as he is called by Bede, Aethelfrith wasted the race of the Britons more than all the chiefs of the Angles, and made more land than any of them subject to or inhabited by Angles, exterminating or subjecting the indigenous tribes. [Bede, i. 34.] Ethelfrith is compared by Bede to a ravening wolf, and received from the Britons the surname of Flesaurs, or the Destroyer, on account of the devastations he carried across the island as far as Chester-on-the-Dee. A brief summary of his career is contained in the following citation. Details of these events will appear in the other citations which follow under this same heading. By one of his victories, that of Catraeth (596) commemorated in the verse of Aneurin, he overcame the Britons, who were driven back into Cumbria, and by another at Daegsastan, (Dawston in Liddisdale) over Aidan, king of the Scots of Dalriada, in 603, he put a stop to incursions of the Scots down to Bede's own day. A third victory of Caerleon (Chester-on-the-Dee) 613, followed by the slaughter of the monks of Bangor, marks the fact that the Northumbrian Angle * * * (king was a) heathen fighting against Christian Celts. It was these successes that led to the extension of Northumberland to the borders of Cumberland and Westmoreland. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, pages 10-14.] Ethelfrith having married a sister of Edwin and daughter of Ella of Deira, after Ella's death, during the minority of Edwin, seized Deira, over which he reigned for twelve years.

When Aethelfrith, on the death of Aethelric, became king of Northumbria, in 593, the threefold division of Britain was fairly established. In the meantime Northumbria was having trouble with the Picts and Scots. During the forty years which elapsed after the victory of Nectan's Mere an occasional conflict with the Angles testifies to the embittered feelings which had arisen from Northumbrian aggression. Confined within the narrow district to the southward of Loch Linne, and to the westward of the mountain range of Drumalban, the Dalriad princes exercised but little influence upon the great confederacy of the Picts, their usual opponents being the Britons, and in early times the Angles, against whom Britons and Dalriads occasionally appear to have united. The most prosperous era in the annals of the little kingdom coincides with Aidan Mac Gauran, the enterprising and able leader of the clans of Kintyre, the names of whose numerous battles, preserved in the annals and biographies of the period, amply testify to his warlike qualities without throwing much light on the causes of their display. His latest antagonist was the Northumbrian Ethelfrith, from whom he received so severe a check at Degsa's Stone, that the Angles were allowed henceforth to prosecute their career of conquest over the Britons without interference from the Dalriads who, with the exception of an occasional contest with their neighbors

on the Clyde, seem to have turned their attention to the opposite coast of Uladh. [Scotland Under Her Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, pages 10-14.] Bede says that at Degsa Stane Theobald, brother of Ethelfrid, was killed with almost all the forces which he commanded and Aedham fled from the field with only a few followers leaving his third son Domhangart among the slain. In the year 603, Aiden, King of the Scots, who dwelt in Britain, came against Aethelfrith, the King of the Northumbrians, with an immense and powerful army. But, beaten, he fled away with fear. For in a removed place called Dexastan, that is to say Dexa-stine, almost all his army was slain. And Aethelfrith accomplished this battle in the eleventh year of his kingdom and the first year of Phocas who then occupied the summit of the Roman realm, and the aforesaid Aethelfrith reigned for twenty-four years. [Chronicle of the Holyrood cited, Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 1, page 123.]

The Chronicles of Mercia tell the story of Aethelfrith quite fully and circumstantially as follows: Wibba, the son of Crida, began his reign of Mercia anno Dom. 595. Having enlarged his dominions upon his neighboring Britons, after his twenty years' reign, he surrendered up his sceptor to death. Wibba was the second of the Mercian kings. This king's reign is famous for the notable battles of Ethelfrid the Wild, king of Northumberland; but especially for that notorious slaughter of the (Celtic Christian) monks of Bangor, about one thousand two hundred at least, which happened anno Dom. 604, which I prove thus. H. Huntington tells that King Ethelfrid fought against the Britons at Caerlegion, in the ninth year of Ceolulfe, king of West-Sex, and that the seventh year of Ceolulfe, was the first year of Phocas the Emperor. But the first year of Phocas was anno Dom. 602; therefore, it must needs follow, that this butchery was committed anno Dom. 604, I know some cast it 603, as Matthew Westm. and others anno 607, as the Saxon Annals. Others 613, as bishop Usher in his Index Chron. but all without any fixing character. For further confirmation of this time, the Saxon copy of Bede's Eccles. Hist. assures, that by and by after this sad accident, Augustin ordained two bishops, where the Latin copy supplies the year 604. The reason why I have been so careful to fix this time, is, because our noble city of Chester, having been all the while since the Roman's departure in the hands of the Britons, was now wrested out of their power, and fell into the possession of the king of Northumberland, from the time of this his victory, as Malmsbury witnesses. [History of Cheshire, by George Omerod.]

But this cruel king was soon stopped in his furious course, by the joint union of the British forces that very same year (as the learned knight Sir Henry Spelman hath recorded), under the conduct of Blederick, duke of Cornwall, Margaduc, duke of South-Wales, and Cadwin, duke of North-Wales, who having bid him battle, overthrew him, dangerously wounded the king himself, slew ten thousand and sixty of his soldiers, and after forced him by articles of composition, to retire into his own country, north of Trent, and leave the dominion of Wales to the British sceptor. In the chief city whereof, being Chester, now recovered, they crowned valiant Cadwan for their king.

Ethelfrith continued to hold the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira and carried his arms, as has been stated in the Mercian Chronicles, as far as the Welsh border.

During this reign we have direct proof that the Britons were no longer driven from the soil by their assailants in the conquests which the Northumbrian king Aethelfrith won from the Britons from Strathclyde. The policy of accepting the submission and tribute of the Welsh, but of leaving them on the conquered soil, became, indeed, from this moment the invariable policy of the invaders; and as the invasion pushed further and further to the west, an ever-growing proportion of the Britons remained and mingled with the conquerors. [The Romance of Northumberland, by A. G. Bradley, page 102. The Making of England, by John Richard Green, pages 192-193.]

It would seem likely that as a result of so much warfare one kingdom would very shortly become conqueror and ruler of all England. The most interesting question is as to when began the welding of England into one solid kingdom. If any one of the three kingdoms was to rise to permanent supremacy, it must be one of those engaged in strenuous warfare, and as yet strenuous warfare was only carried on with the Welsh. The kingdoms which had the Welsh on their borders were three—Wessex, Mercia and Northumberland, and neither Wessex nor Mercia was as yet very strong. Wessex was too distracted by conflicts amongst members of the kingly family, and Mercia was as yet too small to be of much account: Northumberland was therefore the first of the three to rise to the foremost place. Till the death of Aella, the king of Deira, Deira and Bernicia had been as separate as Kent and Essex. Then, in 588, Aethelric of Bernicia, having driven out Aella's son, seized his kingdom of Deira, thus joining the two kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia into one, under the new name of Northumberland. [Student's History of England, by S. R. Gardiner.]

In 593, four years before the landing of Augustine, Aethelric was succeeded by his son Aethelfrith. Aethelfrith, who was a pagan, began a fresh struggle with the Christian Welsh. We know little of internal history of the Welsh population, but what we do know shows that towards the end of the sixth century there was an improvement in their religious and political existence. The monasteries, i. e. familae, were thronged, especially the great monastery (familia) of Bangor-iscoed, in the modern Flintshire, which contained 2,000 monks. St. David and other bishops gave examples of piety. In fighting against Aethelfrith the warriors of the Britons were fighting for their last chance of independence. They still held the west from the Clyde to the Channel. Unhappily for them, the Severn, the Dee, and the Solway Firth divided their land into four portions, and if an enemy coming from the east could seize upon the heads of the inlets into which those rivers flowed, he could prevent the defenders of the west from aiding one another. Already, in 577, by the victory of Deorham, the West Saxons had seized on the mouth of the Severn, and had split off the West Welsh of the south-western peninsula. Aethelfrith had to do with the Kymry, whose territories stretched from the Bristol Channel to the Clyde, and who held an outlying wedge of land then known as Loidis and Elmet, which now together form the West Riding of Yorkshire. [*Ibid.*]

The long range of barren hills which separated Aethelfrith's kingdom from the Kymry made it difficult for either side to strike a serious blow at the other. In the extreme north, where a low valley joins the Firths of Clyde and Forth, it

was easier for them to meet. Here the Kymry found an ally outside their own borders. Towards the end of the fifth century a colony of Irish Scots had driven out the Picts from the modern Argyle. In 603 their king, Aedan, bringing with him a vast army, in which Picts and Kymry appear to have taken part, invaded the northern part of Aethelfrith's country. Aethelfrith defeated him at Degsastan, which was probably Dawston, near Jedburgh. From that time no king of the Scots durst come into Britain to make war upon the English. Having freed himself from the Scots in the north, Aethelfrith turned upon the Kymry. After a succession of struggles of which no record remains, he forced his way in 613, to the western sea near Chester. The Kymry had brought with them the 2,000 monks of their great monastery Bangor-iscoed to pray for victory whilst their warriors were engaged in battle. Aethelfrith bade his men to slay them all. 'Whether they bear arms or no,' he said, 'they fight against us when they cry against us to their God.' The monks were slain to a man. Their countrymen were routed, and Chester fell into the hands of the English. The capture of Chester split that kingdom into two, as the battle of Deorham thirty-five years before had split the Kymric kingdom off from the West Welsh of the southwestern peninsula. The Southern Kymry, in what is now called Wales, could no longer give help to the Northern Kymry between the Clyde and the Ribble, who grouped themselves into the kingdom of Strathclyde, the capital of which was Alcluyd, the modern Dumbarton. Three weak Celtic states, unable to assist one another, would not long be able to resist their invaders. [Student's History of England, by S. R. Gardiner.]

Upon being driven from Deira, Edwin, son of King Aella of Deira, took refuge first with the Welsh princes, then amongst the Britons, and afterwards with Redwald, king of East Anglia, who restored him to his kingdom by the defeat and death of Ethelfrith at a battle on the Idle, a tributary of the Trent, in 617. This turn of fortune drove Eanfrid, Oswald and Oswy, the sons of Ethelfrith, into exile amongst the northern Celts, and Edwin, like Ethelfrith, ruled over the whole Angles north of the Humber to the Forth. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson.]

The Chronicles of Mercia confirm this as follows:—Ceorlus, the son of Kinemund, the brother of Wibba, began his reign anno Dom. 615, and is called Cherlus by Huntington; and according to the general consent of historians reigned ten years. In the king's reign was the famous battle of Idleton, a little village upon the river Idle, about a mile south of Retford, in the division of Southclay, in Nottinghamshire, wherein Ethelfrid, the furious king of Northumberland, the great afflicter of Chester, and the Britons, was slain by Redwald, the king of East-Angles, anno Dom. 617, as Matthw. Westm. and bishop Usher in his Index Chron. places it; though Florence, Cambden, and others put it 616. [History of Cheshire, by George Omerod.]

Nottinghamshire in Saxon times was essentially a piece of border territory. When the kingdoms of the heptarchy were fighting among themselves the boundaries were ever changing, so that at one time a piece of Nottinghamshire would be in Lindsey, another piece in Northumbria, and yet a third in Mercia. During the early part of the Saxon period it was pretty equally divided between North-

umbria and Mercia. Of actual history there is little. [Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 1, page 182.]

From this time the story of the Northumbrian kings centers around the Castle of Bamborough. We shall therefore suspend our story long enough to give a short account of this wonderful stronghold. King Aethelfrith gave the stronghold of Dinguaroy to his wife Bebba, and possibly, after his death at the battle of the Idle in 617, she may have held out in her great rock fortress against the invasion of Edwin of Deira. It is from Queen Bebba that the name of Bebbanburh or Bamburgh is derived. History tells us the story of that great building, the Castle of Bamborough, which must rank second in importance in the county to the Roman Wall. The coast of Northumberland is fringed with sandhills, held together in some places by the bent grass, gray against the blue sea, and in others where rock has mingled with the sand, carpeted with soft grass and flowers. But here and there along the coast the basalt, the presence of which at intervals all over the county is one of its most striking geological features, crops out. Sometimes it appears as a great cliff or point of rock running out into the sea; sometimes as a heugh, as the long ridges of rock are called which, sloping on the sea side, drop down suddenly far inland in a perpendicular cliff; sometimes in loose masses of rock strewn upon the shore, as if they had been poured forth molten from the cauldron of a volcano. At Bamborough a solitary cliff, its perpendicular side facing inland, rises suddenly on a wide stretch of sand. It is a site which seems to compel a castle; and here in 547 Ida, and his father's ally, Iwar of Denmark, obtained a foothold. He planted his standard and enclosed his settlement first with a hedge and afterwards with a wall. [History of Northumberland in Quarterly Review, vol. 205, pp. 110-112.]

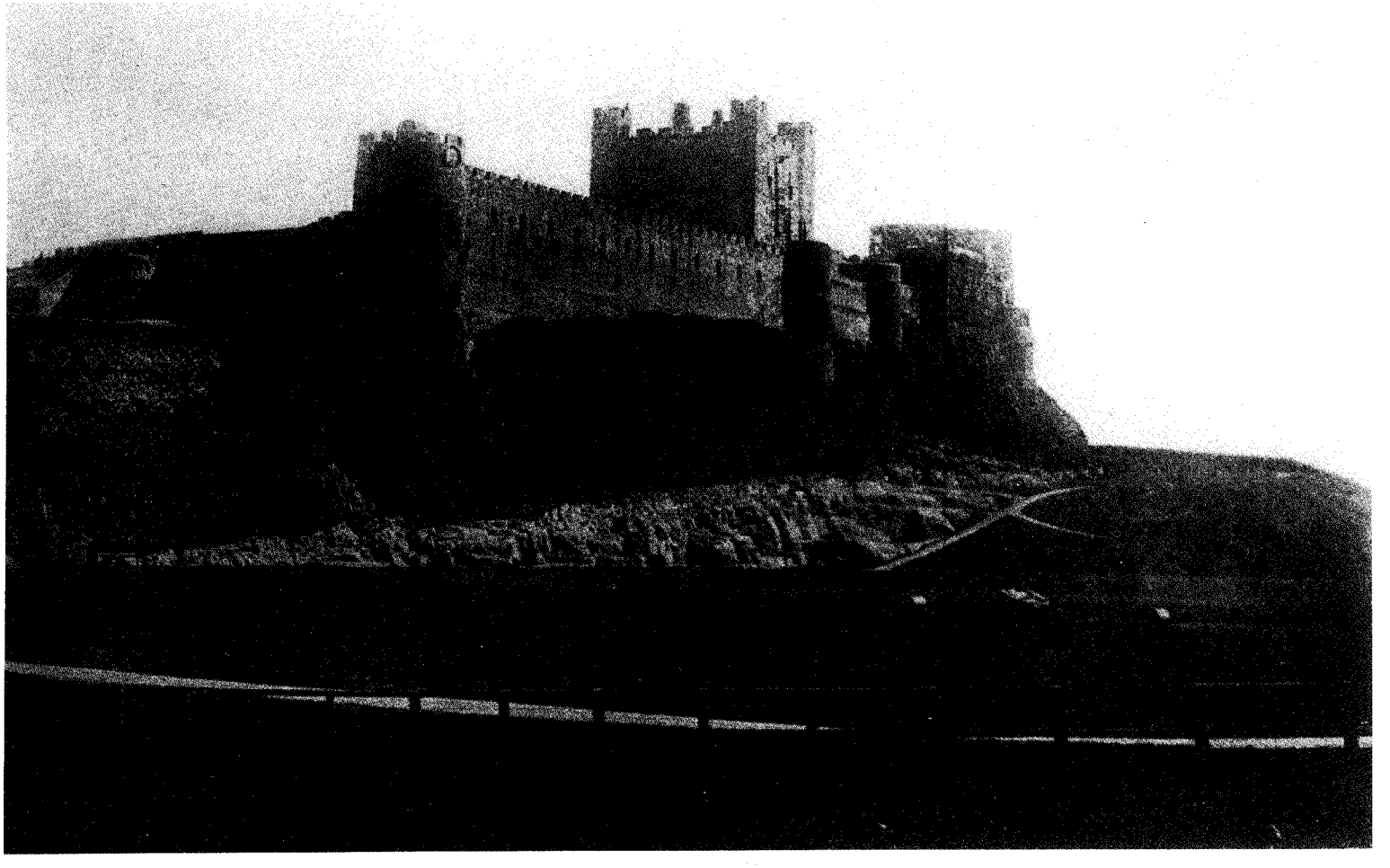
Bamborough Castle, as a mere spectacle, has no rival in Britain; and in the significance of ancient English story, scarcely any. It combines the vastness of Alnwick or Caerphilly with the pose of Harlech or Cerrig Cennen. For it stands in sublime isolation on a huge Whinstone crag some one hundred and fifty feet above the waves which break at its feet, while on the landward side the cliff is so precipitous that a coin dropped from some of the castle windows would fall directly upon the green far below. The ridge is long and narrow, planted broadwise as it were to the sea, while either end, both north and south, dips to the level at a slope sufficient to give access to the castle by winding roads. The imposing main gateway to the castle, hewn through the solid rock on the side of the sea, is in form unaltered. The village lies below and away from the sea and chiefly consists of a wide main street bordered with pleasant, mostly old-fashioned, well-cared-for houses, expanding fan-like for the better enclosure of an ample grove of trees. Altogether a place far above the average of Northumbrian villages, with its churches, both interesting and ancient, set back in a wide open graveyard at the head of the street and looking out over the sea.

It would be hard to say which is the more inspiring—the broadside view of the castle, which fronts inland towards the village, with its quarter of a mile of Norman masonry clinging to the edge of the precipice, or the lengthwise prospect from the north, with waves breaking on the rocks below, and the older buildings grouping themselves in gradual ascent to the commanding keep, but we must

bear in mind that even the hoariest of these towers and curtains only represent one of the greatest of Border castles. For the full significance of Bamborough we must sweep them away, and crown the mighty rock with whatever may be our conception of Bernician defence and habitation when Bernician kings were seated there. The humble pilgrim may well fell abashed, and keep his emotions to himself when gazing upon what was once, in a sense, the capital of England, since Bamburgh was the capital of Northumbria during its brief ascendancy over the sister kingdoms. [A Romance of Northumberland, by A. G. Bradley, page 107-108.] No part of England is more truly English than Northumberland, i. e. Bernicia. Untouched in later years by the invasions of the Danes, who settled in Durham and Yorkshire, too remote to be much influenced by the Normans, yet their refuge in time of trouble with the rulers of Scandinavia, Scotland or Normandy; the Northumbrian dialect is one of the purest and richest forms of the English tongue. [History of Northumberland, by E. Bateson, vol. 1.]

The stronghold of the Northumbrian kings, the greatest rulers of their day in England, was called Bebbanburh or Bamborough, after Bebba, Queen of Ethelfrith. It was the royal city, a center of beneficent influence for the north. As we look out from the castle rock, we are reminded on every side of the old greatness of the Northumbrian kingdom. To the north the sands of Budle Bay, the haunt of the curlew and the plover and of countless sea-birds, stretch out towards the flat sandy reach of Lindisfarne or Holy Island. Straight in front, purple-black amongst the waves, lie the scattered Farne Islands. We do not wonder when we see the rocky sides of the islands, densely covered with the myriads of sea-birds that gather there to breed, and our ears are deafened with their discordant cries, that the fancy of the time peopled the islands with evil spirits. The charm of Northumberland takes hold of those who feel it until it becomes part of their very nature. It is a grey land, yet it is full of color. [Hist. of Northumberland, in Quarterly Review, pages 110-112, 114, 124-25, vol. 205.] The great masses of yellow rag-wort rise like a cloud of gold above the soft grey of the grass on the Bamborough links against the deep blue of the sea. In the summer, the rich crimson of the Geranium Sanguieum gleams amongst the grass on the Embleton sand hills, which slope upward from a beach yellow with the dust of the shells crumbled by the waves of the North Sea against the basalt rocks. Autumn turns the bracken on the moors and links into sheets of tawny gold; and the trees in the river valleys keep their glowing leaves till long into the winter. But more beautiful than even these rich colors are the luminous greys of sea and sky in the clear northern air. The wind is seldom quiet; it sweeps the clouds off the land and piles them in huge masses on the edge of the sea. Birds fill the great solitudes of moor and shore, and break the silence with their cries. It is a land for those who love the sense of space and freedom, who know how to be alone. The luxuriance of the river valleys, the rich profusion of flowers which grow so freely in the sheltered gardens comes as a relief to any possible feeling of bleakness; and in every wide view the eye seeks eagerly the long level of the sea and the beautiful outline of the Cheviots towards the north-west.

In such a royal setting is Bamborough Castle. It was into this environment that our ancestor, Gilbert de Corbeil, came, and it was from here that his son



BAMBURGH CASTLE

went first to Chester and later to Staffordshire. The call of the ocean never can be bred out of the sea-king's offspring. It is no wonder that even after centuries of existence in the interior and border lands of Staffordshire-Shropshire, the family listened to the call of the new land beyond the great sea in Virginia. From the day when some great volcanic convulsion first heaved it through the earth's crust, the castle-rock of Bamborough must have been a natural fortress. Upon its basalt ramparts the throne of a line of English kings was so firmly established during the most decisive period of the early history of our nation, that though the highest ecclesiastical dignity was attached to the chief city of the Jutish kingdom of Kent, and the supreme power in the island passed eventually to monarchs of Saxon descent, the English name had nevertheless always retained the proud pre-eminence originally won for it by the Bretwaldas of Bamborough. When Northumbria became an earldom, and reached again from the Humber to the Forth under the West Saxon kings, Bamburgh became the vice-regal court, the base of military action, the central object of hostile attack. From the time when William the Conqueror made his desolating march through Northumberland, the castle was a rallying-place in the interminable wars, local and national, that raged unceasingly in the north, and almost every crowned head and warrior of note for centuries had something to say of it. [A Romance of Northumberland, by A. G. Bradley, page 107.]

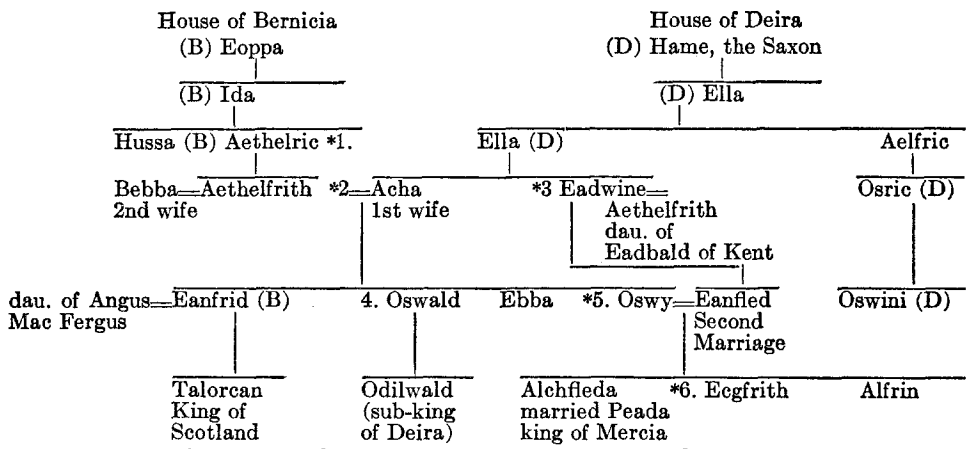
Having made this altogether too brief a visit to Bamborough we will now return and resume the genealogy of the kings of Bernicia-Northumbria.

*21. OSWY, while he is the next in the order of succession so far as our family genealogy is concerned, there were other kings who ruled before him, after the death of the father Aethelfrid, and it will therefore be necessary to take up the family history in the order of its happening to the end that an intelligent story may be told and the full account of our ancestors be related. The reader is therefore advised at this time that the special history of Oswy will be found further along in this same division at the place where he comes into the story of the kings of Bernicia-Northumberland.

The sons of Aethelfrith were postponed in their succession to the Bernician throne by their maternal uncle Edwin, King of Deira, and of England, who was slain by King Penda of Mercia in 635. Most of these events are fixed accurately by the Mercian Chronicle which says: Penda, the stout son of Wibba, began his reign anno Dom. 625. For the beginning whereof, that we may obtain the exact time, Huntington tell us, that it was coincident with the sixteenth year of Kinigilsus, king of the West-Saxons. In the sixth year of whose reign he tells us, that Ethelbert, King of Kent, died. (Edwin married Ethelburh, granddaughter of this Ethelbert, and Oswy married her daughter, Eanfled.) In the year 625, about the middle thereof, this king Penda began his reign. The epitome of Bede's history avers, that he was slain anno Dom. 655, being nine years before the famous eclipse in the year 664, May 1st, close by Kerstal-abbey, near Leeds in Yorkshire, in Winwedfield. According to the saying of Huntington: In Winweed amne vindicata est caedes Annae. This eclipse was celebrated in the year 664, May the 1st. The sun in the thirteenth of Taurus being darkened above 11 digits, on Wednesday afternoon; In which very year, viz. 655, Ethelwerdus notes the death

of Penda to fall out; from which subtracting thirty years, by the consent of all writers, for the term of his reign, there remain 625 for its beginning. This king was a notable warrior, as these memorable passages do amply testify. Anno Dom. 629, he warred against Kinigilsus, king of the West-Saxons, at Cirencester, in Gloucestershire, and compelled him to composition anno Dom. 633, October 12. He slew the famous Edwin, king of Northumberland, at Hethfield, or Hatfield-chase, in Strasforth-Wappentake, in the West-riding of Yorkshire, anno Dom. 635. He besieged and burnt the city of Bebbanburg, now the ruinated castle of Bamburgh, in Northumberland, that is the city which has been violently overthrown. The same year he received a notable overthrow by Oswald, king of Northumberland, at Havenfield, now Halydon, or Holydown, in the same county. Anno Dom. 636, he slew Erpenwald, alias Carpwald, alias Eorpwald, king of the East-Angles. Anno 638, he slew Sigebert, king of the same province. Anno 642, he slew Oswald, the most Christian king of Northumberland, August the 5th, at Maserfield, now Oswald-street, or Oswestry (from that fatal accident), in Shropshire. The same year also he slew Egrick, king of East-Angles; as by computation of the years of his reign may appear out of Malmsbury and Florence. Anno 645, he invaded Kenwalch, king of the West-Saxons, and deprived him of his kingdom for some years. Anno 654, he slew Anna, king of East-Angles, in a sore battle; but was at last, for all his cruel wars, slain himself by Oswy, king of Northumberland, anno 655, November 15th.

As a result of the events that happened at this time in Northumberland, the male line of Ella became extinct, and by the marriage of Edwin's daughter, Eanfeld, to King Oswy, their children became the sole representatives of both lines of Northumbrian kings, as shown most clearly by the following pedigree. (But on the extinction of this line then the descendants of Aethelfrith and his wife Acha, daughter of Ella, became the representatives of both the ancient Bernician and the later Saxon line of Deira.)



(The figures denote the order of succession of those who ruled over the whole of Northumberland. Names marked by B. or D. ruled over Bernicia or Deira respectively.)

In this Chapter 11, Section 3, and Divisions 25 and 24, we have related much of the history of the kingdom of Deira in connection with the history of Bernicia.

But as the following recital at first revolves around the kingdom of Deira, it will be well to restate the history of that kingdom, thus making the story a continuous one and thereby showing more clearly the chain of events by which the two kingdoms became united as the kingdom of Northumbria. Briefly, contemporary with King Eoppa of Bernicia, the Gauls, Irish and Saxons had overcome Iffi, King of Deira, in battle and having slain him and all his household they had set up a Saxon king, Hame, in Deira, in 536. The next year he was slain by King Ragner of Denmark and a Danish kingdom attempted under his son Iwer. This king was made to flee by the return of Ella the son of Hame who, upon his father's death, had gone to Ireland for reinforcements. Ragner learning of this at the time of his return from a disastrous campaign against the countries of the east and north and without getting reinforcements sailed into York with his diminished forces where he engaged in battle with Ella. He was defeated and captured. He was cast into prison where his limbs were given to serpents to devour and adders found ghastly substance in the fibres of his entrails. His liver was eaten away and a snake like a deadly executioner beset his heart. Then in a courageous voice he recounted all his deeds in order and at the end recited the following sentence:—If the porkers knew the punishment of the boar-pig surely they would break into thy sty and hasten to loose him from his affliction—At this saying Ella conjectured that some of his sons were yet alive and bade that the executioners should stop and the vipers be removed. The servants ran up to accomplish the order of the king but Ragner was dead and forestalled the order of the king. Iwar, Siward and Biorn, the sons of Ragner, determined to avenge their father, to conquer Deira, recover the lost kingdom of Bernicia and place the Bernician king on his throne. Iwar determined to at once try to defeat Ella so he and Eoppa, King of Bernicia, and Ida the Bernician king's son, sailed to the coast of Bernicia where they landed in the early part of 545 on the rocky coast at the place now known as Bamborough. When Iwar saw that his fleet of forty vessels was not strong enough to join battle with the enemy he landed on the coast at the rock of Bamborough and he chose to be cunning rather than bold and tried a shrewd trick on Ella by begging as a pledge between them a strip of land at this place as great as he could cover with a horse's hide, i.e. as much land as would support a single family. He gained his request for the king supposed that it would cost little and thought himself happy that so strong a foe begged for a little boon instead of a big one; supposing that a tiny skin would cover but a very little land. But says the Danish saga, Iwar cut the hide out and lengthened it into a very slender thong thus enclosing a piece of ground large enough to build a city on. Then Ella came to repent of his lavishness and tardily set to reckoning the size of the hide, measuring the little skin more narrowly now that it was cut up than when it was whole. For that which he thought would encompass a little strip of ground he saw lying wide over a great estate. Ivar brought into the city when he had founded it, (the reader will notice that the Danish historian makes Iwar the founder of Bamborough), supplies that would serve amply for a siege, wishing the defences to be as good against scarcity as against an enemy. King Eoppa busily marshalled the fighting forces of Bernicia and under his son Ida, the workmen soon had a fort erected which would defy

Ella should he overcome them and meanwhile it protected the rear of the Bernician army which was placed within striking distance of York the capital of Deira. A plan of campaign was thereupon agreed to whereby the land and naval forces should operate together. Meantime Siward and Biorn came up to York with a fleet of four hundred ships and with open challenge declared war against Ella. This they did at the appointed time; and when they had captured him they ordered the figure of an eagle to be cut in his back, rejoicing to crush their most ruthless foe by marking him with the cruellest of birds. Not satisfied with imprinting a wound on him they salted the mangled flesh. Thus Ella was done to death. This occurred in 547 and at this time Eoppa was killed in battle, and thereby Ida his son came to rule over Bernicia. These happenings were not known to Nennius, hence there comes much confusion at this period in his genealogy of the kings of Northumbria.

When Biorn and Erk had gone home to Scotland, Iwar and Siward settled in Denmark, setting Agnar to govern Deira. Agner was stung because the Angles rejected him, and with the help of Siward chose rather than foster the insolence of the province that despised him to dispeople it and leave its fields which were matted in decay with none to till them. He covered the richest land of the Island with the most hideous desolation thinking it better to be lord of a wilderness than of a headstrong country. [Saxo Grammaticus, book nine.] Which was quite natural as the Angles had greatly increased in numbers through the recent immigration and they had no particular love for a Danish king as it was by the harrowing of the Danes that their home land had been made very uncomfortable. After this Agner wished to avenge Erk who had been slain in Sweden. But while he was narrowly bent on avenging another he squandered his own blood on the foe; and while he was eagerly trying to punish the slaughterer of his brother, sacrificed his own life to brotherly love.

There was a very destructive civil war in Denmark growing out of the succession to King Ragner, although Grammaticus has disguised it in his most polished manner. As a result the kingdom of Deira was easy of conquest circa 575, by Ella, the son of Ella, who had now grown to manhood. He was a strong king and carried his warfare far beyond the boundaries of Deira and greatly harried the Bernician kingdom. It is in his reign that is said to have occurred the often quoted but improbable incident about the Deira slaves in the Roman slave market. The date of Gregory's meeting with the English slaves at Rome is fixed between 585 and 588 by the fact that after his long stay at Constantinople he returned to Rome in 585 or 586. On the other hand Aella, whom the slaves owned as their king, died in 588. [The Making of England, by John Richard Green, pages 208-211.] At this date there was no warfare betwen Bernicia and Deira. There is, moreover, no record which in any way sustains the statement that the Bernicians ever sold captives taken from their old ally, Deira, into slavery any wheres either in Britain or on the continent of Europe, including Rome. And finally at this particular time the whole country of Deira was so thoroughly covered by the preachers and presbyters from Glasgow, Iona, Culross and Bangor that a large part of the people were actually Christians, hence the larger part of these slaves would have been already followers of Jesus Christ. There were other

parts of England besides Deira which were occupied by Angles and it is possible that the slaves may have come from these sections. It is also true that king Ella was a Saxon and a pagan but Aethelric the Bernician king was a Briton and a Christian as his father and grandfather had been before him. It was the invariable rule of the ancient Celtic Bernician Christian Church that its saints and scholars were of the royal blood.

Upon the death of Ella the kingdom of Deira was seized by Aethelfrith, king of Bernicia, and the sons of Ella were compelled to fly for their lives. Of Aella's children, the elder died in exile, and his son Hereric, while sheltered at the court of the British king Cerdic, after the battle of Chester, was removed by poison in 615. The second child of Aella, Eadwine, had been a boy three years old when his house was driven into exile, and it was only at Hereric's death that he became the representative of the kingly stock of Deira. While his brother's line found shelter among the Welsh, he seems to have sought refuge among the wild fastnesses over the Mercian border with Cearl, who was at that time king of the Mercians. Cearl gave the fugitive his daughter Quaenburg to wife; and two boys were born of this marriage. But even from Mercia, Eadwine was at last driven, doubtless by the pressure of his Northumbrian rival; and in 617 he appeared at the court of the East Angles, where Raedwald gave him welcome and promises of security.

The welcome and pledge showed, perhaps, that the East-Anglian king believed war with the Northumbrians to be inevitable. Eadwine's presence, indeed, at his court was no sooner announced in the north than three embassies from Aethelfrith followed in quick succession, each offering gold for Eadwine's murder, or threatening war if his life were spared. In spite of his pledges, greed and the fear of war seemed to shake the resolve of Raedwald; and he promised the envoys either to slay the Aellinger, or to give him into their hands. It was at sunset that Paulino, a Roman Catholic priest, a friend of the exile, who had learned of the king's will, called Eadwine from his sleeping-chamber to warn him of the danger and offer him guidance to a fresh lurking-place. The noble temper of one who was destined to greatness breathed in the exile's answer. "I cannot do this thing," he said; "I cannot be the first to treat the pledge which I have received from so great a king as a thing of nought, and that when he had done me no wrong, nor shown me enmity. Better, if I am to die," he ended in words that told of the weariness of a life of wandering—"better Raedwald should slay me than some meaner man!" The silence of the night gathered round Eadwine as he sat where his friend had left him on the stone bench at the door of the king's court.

On the defeat of Aethelfrith, Deira rose against her Bernician masters, and again called the line of Aella, in its representative Eadwine, to its throne. Eadwine, however, was as resolute to hold the two realms together as Aethelfrith had been; and he was no sooner welcomed back by his people of Yorkshire than he marched northward to make the whole of Northumbria his own. As it had been originally created by the subjection of Deira to the king of the Bernicians, so it was now held together by the subjection of Bernicia to the King of the Deirans. The march of Eadwin drove Aethelfrith's sons from their father's realm; and, followed by a train of young thegns, whose exile was probably the

result of the fruitless struggle, the descendants of Ida took refuge over the Forth among the Picts.

Nor was there any loss of strength for the realm under its new ruler. Eadwine was in the prime of life when he mounted the throne, and the work of government was carried on with as ceaseless an energy as that of Aethelfrith himself. On his northern border, Eadwin crowned a hill which overlooks the Firth of Forth with his own "Eadwine's burh," or Edinburgh, which was to grow from a mere border post against the Picts into the capital of a northern kingdom. But it was not in the north or in the northwest that this main work seems to have been done. To the Bernician house of Ida, the most pressing foes would be the Britons of Cumbria and Strathclyde; but to the Deiran house of Aella the most pressing foes were the Britons of Elmet. York, and not Bamborough, was the center of Eadwine's kingdom, and from any of the Roman towers which still recall the older glories of that city, the young king could see rising but a few miles off to the westward the woodland and moorlands of a British (i.e. Celtic) realm.

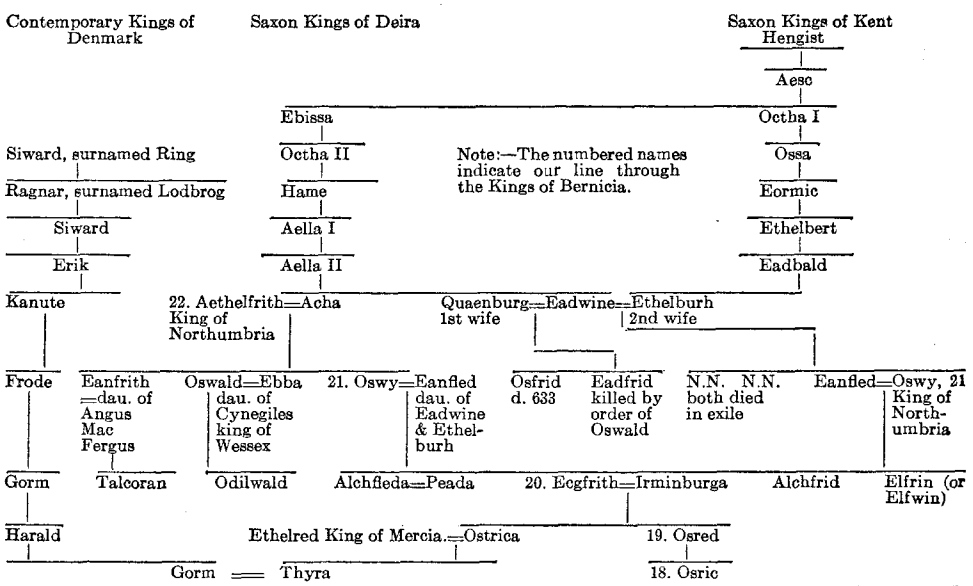
The kingdom of Elmet answered, roughly speaking, to the present West Riding of Yorkshire. We know nothing of the winning of this district or of its settlement. On the very edge of the British kingdom, however, on a rise of ground westward of the road from Castleford to Tadcaster, we find what is probably a memorial of this conquest, in the group of earthworks at Barwick in Elmet, intrenchments and ditches enclosing a large area with a mound in its center, which probably marks the site of one of the burhs or fortified houses with which Eadwine held down the country he had subdued. At Leeds itself, too, the king seems to have established a royal vill, which would be of the same military character; while yet further to the westward, in the upper valley of the Calder, where no others had as yet settled in the field of the coming Hudderfield, but through which a solitary track struck to the border moorlands, we may perhaps find the site of another of Eadwine's dwellings and fortresses beside the site of the ruins of Campodunum.

But in such a reign we naturally find scanty traces of English settlement. The importance of the conquest, indeed, lay not so much in its addition of long ranges of moorland and woodland to Eadwine's realm, as in its clearing away the barrier which this British kingdom interposed between Northumbria and Aethelfrith's conquests to the south of the Ribble. The kingdom of Eadwine thus stretched without a break from the eastern to the western sea, and Chester must have acquired a new importance as the western seaport of Eadwine's realm, for it can only have been in the harbor of Chester that the king can have equipped the fleet which he needed to subdue the sites of Anglesea and Man. But the conquest of Elmet did more than raise Northumbria into a sea power. With the reduction of this district, the border of the northern kingdom stretched without a break along the border of Mid-Britain, and the pressure of Eadwine upon the Southern Engle became irresistible. Readwald's death followed immediately after his victory at the Idle, and the dominion he had built up may have fallen to pieces in the hands of his son Eorpwald; it is, at any rate, certain that before the close of his reign the tribes of the Trent valley had come to own the supremacy of Eadwine. It was, in fact, his mastery over Mid-Britain that brought the North-

umbrian king to the borders of Wessex. Eadwine prepared for a struggle with this last rival by a marriage with the daughter of the Kentish king, Eadbald, which if it did not imply the subjection of the Kentish kingdom, in any case bound it to his side. In the summer of 625, the priest Aethelburh or Tate came to the Northumbrian Court at York.

As this brings us to a point where there is the second marriage between the royal line of Bernicia and the Saxon line of Deira we shall briefly tell the Saxon ancestry of Aethelburh, the Kentish princess who married Eadwine. She traces from Hengest one of the most noted of the conquerors of England in the fifth century. Says the English Chronicle:—A. D. 455. This year Hengist and Horsa, sons of Wihtgils, fought against King Vortigern at the place which is called Aeglesford and Horsa was there slain, and after that Hengist obtained the kingdom, and Aesc, his son. A. D. 457. Hengist and Aesc, his son, fought against the Britons at the place which is called Crayford, and there slew four thousand men; and the Britons then forsook Kent and in great terror fled to London. [Readings in English History, by E. P. Cheney, page 39.]

The line of her descent is disclosed by the following chart:



In 697, Ethelred's wife, Ostryth (or Ostrica), was put to death by the primates of Southumbria (E. Chron. a. 697, Baeda Hist. Eccl. v. 24).

The Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 375. Ostryth was (grand) daughter of Oswy, king of Northumberland, and wife to Ethelred, king of Mercia. She translated the bones of her (grand) uncle Oswald to Bardney. His tragic death is noted in Bede. (Earle and Plummer Saxon Chronicles, vol. 2, page 34.) According to Saxo Grammaticus, Thyra, daughter of King Ethelred called by Saxo King of England, married King Gorm of Denmark. Saxo Grammaticus, book nine, which also see for the genealogy of the kings of Denmark. Nennius in his History of the Britons gives the ancestry of Hengist as follows: Hengist was the son of Guictglis, who was the son of Guicta, who was the son of Guechta, who was the son of Vuoden, who was the son of Frealof, who was the son of Fredulf, who was the son of Finn, who was the son of Folegauld, who was the son of Geta.

The marriage of Eadwine and Aethelburh was taken by the West Saxons as a signal of the coming attack; and a story preserved by Baeda tells something of the fierceness of the struggle which ended in the subjection of the conquerors of Southern Britain to the supremacy of Northumbria. In the Easter court of 626, which he held in a king's town, near the river Derwent, Eadwine gave audi-

ence to Eumer, an envoy of the West Saxons. Eumer brought a message from Cwichelm, who was now joined in their kingship with his brother Cynegils; but in the midst of the conference he started to his feet, drew a dagger from his robe, and flung himself on the Northumbrian sovereign. Lilla, a thegn of the royal war band, threw himself between Eadwine and the assassin; but so fell was the stroke, that even through Lilla's body the dagger still reached the king. The wound, however, was slight, and Eadwine was soon able to avenge it by marching on the West Saxons and slaying or subduing all who had conspired against him. The issue of such a triumph must have been the recognition of his supremacy by Cynegils; and with the submission of Cynegils the overlordship of Eadwine practically stretched over the whole of Britain.

In the nine eventful years which had passed since he mounted his father's throne, Eadwine had thus gathered the whole English race into a single political body. He was king or overlord of every English kingdom, save Kent; and Kent was knit to him by his marriage with Aethelburh. The gathering of the English conquerors into the three great groups, southern, midland and northern, which had characterized the past forty years, from the battle of Deorham to the battle of the Idle, seemed to have ended in their gathering into a single people in the hand of Eadwine. Under Eadwine, indeed, the greatness of Northumbria reached a supreme height. Within his own dominions the king displayed a genius for civil government which shows how utterly the mere age of conquest had passed away. With him began an English proverb often applied to after kings, A woman with her babe might walk scathless from sea to sea in Eadwine's days. Peaceful communication revived along the deserted highways; the springs of the roadside were marked with stakes, and a cup was set beside each for the travelers' refreshment. Some faint traditions of the Roman past may have flung their glory round what Baeda ventures to call this Empire of the English, some of the Roman majesty had, at any rate, come back with its long-lost peace. In his wide rule over the whole of Britain, Eadwine seems to have felt himself a successor to its Roman masters. [Eccl. Hist., lib. 2, 16.] A standard of purple and gold, which was called Thuf, floated before the king as he rode through village and township, while a feather-tuft attached to a spear, the Roman tufa, was borne in front of him as he walked through their streets.

After Eadwine, the Royal Banner or English Standard is often mentioned with considerable circumstance by the English chroniclers. He may fairly be called the originator of the British Royal Standard, the father of English national sentiment and of the spirit of national loyalty.

Nennius says:—Edwin son of Ella reigned seventeen years, seized on Elmet and expelled Cerdic its king. Eanfield, his daughter, received baptism on the twelfth day after Pentecost with all her followers both men and women. The following Easter Edwin himself received baptism and twelve thousand of his subjects with him. If any one wishes to know who baptized them it was Rum Map Urbgen, i. e. Paulinus, archbishop of York. [Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 1, page 15.] He was engaged forty days in baptizing all classes of the Saxons and by his preaching many believed on Christ (according to the ritual of the Roman Church) for the Celtic Bernician Christian

church had never ceased to cover both Deira and Bernicia with its preachers and presbyters and thousands of the people of all ranks were connected with that church. It was the state church which Paulinus introduced into Northumberland and this was for the benefit of the royal ruler and his followers. It is true that Edwine was a Saxon and a pagan, a follower of Odin, and to this extent Paulinus deserves the fame that has come to him for the conversion of the king and the baptism of thousands of Saxon pagans. The influence of the Roman Church in Northumbria never did get very far removed from the royal household and the state religion. It is important to remember this as the history of our family revolves around the state church as we continued to rule Northumbria.

Eadwine, says a distinguished modern historian, became a recognized character in the work of changing England from Odin to Christ. Pope Honorius wrote him a letter addressed, "To his most noble son and excellent lord, Edwin King of the Angles," testifying to the integrity of his Christian character, which is so inflamed with the fire of faith that it shines far and near, and being reported throughout the world, brings forth plentiful fruits of your labors. The Pope sent him two palls, one for Honorius, Bishop of Canterbury, and one for Paulinus, Bishop of York. This letter shows the extent of Edwin's rule, embracing almost the whole of England and the supremacy of Northumbria. [The Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 1, page 46.]

But hardly had the change in religion been made, when its issues justified the king's long hesitation. Easily as it was brought about in Eadwine's court, the religious revolution gave a shock to the power which he had built up in Britain at large. Though Paulinus baptized among the Cheviots as on the Swale, it was only in Deira, that the Northumbrians really followed the bidding of their king. If Eadwine reared a new church at York, no (Roman) church, no (Roman) altar, rose in Bernicia from the Forth to the Tees. Nor was the new faith more fortunate in the subject kingdoms. Lindsey indeed hearkened to the preaching of Paulinus, and Raedwald's son Eoprwald of East Anglia, bent to baptism soon after the conversion of Eadwine. But even here the faith of Woden and Thunder was not to fall without a struggle. Eorwald was at once slain by a pagan thegn; and his people returned to their old heathendom. Such a rejection of the faith of their overlord marks, no doubt, a throwing-off of Eadwine's supremacy by the men of East Anglia; and thus prepares us for the revolution which must have taken place at the same moment throughout the valley of the Trent, and, above all, among the West Engle, or Mercians.

Till now the Mercians had in no wise been distinguished from the other Engle tribes. Their station, indeed, on the Welsh border had invited them to widen their possessions by conquest while the rest of the Anglian peoples of Mid-Britain were shut off from any chance of expansion; and this frontier position must have kept their warlike energy at its height. But nothing had yet shown in them a power which could match even that of the Engle on the eastern coast. It was only at the close of the sixth century that the settlers along the march had drawn together into a kingdom; and the bounds of the Kentish and East-Anglian overlordships show that the two earliest Mercian kings, Crida and Wibba, must have owned the supremacy of Aethelberht, and bowed beneath the supremacy of

Raedwald. When East Anglia fell from her pride of place into subjection to Eadwine, we can hardly doubt that a third king, Cearl, who seems to have seized the throne in spite of the claims of Wibba's son, Penda, submitted with small reluctance to an overlord who had wedded his daughter while in exile at his court. But Quaenburg and Cearl had alike passed away, and at this moment the old relations of friendship between Northumbria and these Western Engle were changed into an attitude of mutual hostility by the accession of Penda.

It was in 626, on the very eve of Eadwine's conversion, that Penda, the son of Wibba, became king of the Mercians. Penda was already a man fifty years old, and famous for the daring of his raids on the neighbors of his people, during the years of his exclusion from the throne. He seems to have seized the kingship at last after a violent struggle, in which the sympathies, if not the actual aid, of the Northumbrian overlord must, from his ties of kindred, have been with Cearl and his house. With Penda's success, therefore, Eadwine saw himself fronted by a formidable foe in the upper Trent valley. Whatever was the cause of his success, Penda must have already asserted his superiority over the English tribes about him before he could have ventured to attack and triumph over the West Saxons. Such a triumph at once changed the political aspect of Britain. Not only had Mercia risen to supremacy over the valley of the Trent, but her conquest had carried her dominion to the mouth of the Severn and added to her realm Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and Hertfordshire. The West Saxons, stripped of Ceawlin's winnings, not only shrank into a lesser power, but necessarily passed from their subjection under Eadwine to a virtual submission to Penda. The Northumbrian king was in fact thrown suddenly back across the Humber; and the work of his earlier years undone at a blow. But Eadwine was far from relinquishing his aims. The religion he had embraced was used to restore his shaken power; and a Burgundian bishop, Feliz, was sent by his brother-in-law, the Kentish king, to again attempt the conversion of the East Angles. Eadwine, however, had a stronger arrow in his quiver. Another son of Raedwald, Sigebert, had been driven under Eorpwald from East Anglia; and had taken refuge among the Franks over-sea. There he had become a (Roman) Christian; and Eadwine was thus enabled to bring a Christian king of their own stock to the East Anglians in 631. The reception of Sigebert involved a fresh reception of Roman Christianity, and, doubtless, the overlordship of Northumbria with it. But the winning of East Anglia made a war with Penda inevitable. East Engle and West Engle had to settle which should be supreme over their fellow-peoples about them, and around which should be built up the great Engle State of Mid-Britain. And beyond this strife lay the greater struggle which was to decide whether the Engle of Mid-Britain could hold their own against the Engle of the north.

In such a strife the odds were heavy against Penda, had he waited to encounter the hosts of East Anglia and of Northumbria at once. To crush the northern state, and then deal singly with his rival in Mid-Britain, was his obvious policy, and accounts for his choosing the part of assailant in the coming struggle. But even single-handed Northumbria was more than his match, and he could hardly have ventured on an attack on Eadwine had he not found aid in the people which

had till now been the special enemies of his own border-fold. Cadwallon, the Christian Welsh king of Gwynedd, may have seen in Eadwine's difficulties a chance of avenging his race for the conquest of Elmet, as well as of winning back the country which Aethelfrith had reft away; and it was with Cadwallon that Penda leagued himself against their common foe. The absolute severance between conquerors and conquered, which had played so great a part in the events of the last two hundred years, was fast breaking down. The union of Britons with the Hwiccas in their attack on Ceawlin, the home which the House of Aella found among the Welsh of Elmet, as well as the home which the House of Aethelfrith found among the Picts, were indications that the Britons would henceforth look for help in their struggle to divisions among the Englishmen themselves, and that Englishmen, in their turn, were willing to seek British aid against their countrymen. Penda boldly recognized this fact as an element in English politics, when his host marched with the largely Christian host of Cadwallon, to attack the Northumbrian king.

The district in which Eadwine took post to meet Penda's attack was on the northernmost skirt of that vast tract of fen-land which formed a natural barrier for Northumbria against any assailant from Mid-Britain. Even the Roman engineers failed to carry a causeway directly from the south across the marshes of the Trent; and the traveler on his way to Eburacum (York) was forced to make a circuit from Leicester to Lincoln, and to cross the fen, perhaps by a ferry, in the neighborhood of Gainsborough, ere he could reach a firmer road to Bawtrey, and strike directly for the north. But even this firmer road was little more than a strip of ground hard pressed between forest and fen; for on one side it was closely bordered by an oak woods without a break from the course of the Trent to the lower channels of the Don, the Aire, the Derwent, and the Ouse. And not only was this gateway into the Northumbrian territory a narrow one, but it had from very ancient times been barred by strong defences. The British tribe of the Brigantes, i.e. the Deirans, had drawn across this strip of land, behind the upper course of the Don, so strong a line of intrenchments that they seem to have held, for a time, even the Romans in check; and this work, which may still be traced after the waste of a thousand years, would, if manned by the soldiers of Eadwine, have been too formidable a barrier for Penda to face. To right or left advance was scarcely less difficult; for it would have been hard to force a way through the southern fastnesses of Elmet, and it seemed even harder to find a road through the skirts of the fen which stretched away to the east. It was into the fen, however, that Penda plunged. Its wide reaches of mere marsh and broad pools of water swarming with eels were broken by lifts of slightly higher ground, covered by turf which rose and fell (so ran the popular belief) with the rise and fall of the rivers that ran through the district, and whose soil was so soft that it was easy to thrust a pole through it into the waters beneath. The rises, however, were firm enough to afford covert for vast herds of deer, and it was from one such rise to another that the Mercian army must have made its way along the fen-tracks that threaded this desolate region. Hatfield, or the Heathfield, was one of the northernmost of these reaches of soppy moor; it lay, in fact, just south of the Don; and Eadwine, crossing that river by the paved ford which has left its mark

on the name of Stainford, may have hoped by the seizure of this position to crush his assailant as he struggled through the pools and moor-paths of the fen. It was here, at any rate, somewhere near the present town of Hatfield, that the two armies met; but in the fight which followed, the Deiran king was defeated and slain. [Making of England, by John Richard Green, pages 245-300.]

Eadwine's overthrow proved the ruin of his house. Of his elder sons by the Mercian, Quaenburg, one fell on the field, and another took refuge with Penda; while Aethelburh, wife of Edwine, fled with her own two younger children to her brother in Kent. With her fled Paulinus, for the battle was at once followed by a revival of the old heathendom in the royal household and among the Saxon nobility. But on the contrary Queen Ethelburh founded in Kent the Priory of Liming of which she became the patron saint. Later, we shall find the Northumbrian nobility granting gifts to this church. [History of the House of Arundel, by J. Pym Yeatman.]

OSRIC, a son of Aella's brother Aelfric, who mounted the throne on Eadwine's fall, threw off Christianity and set up the faith of Woden again. But Osric reigned over Deira alone. Says the Chronicle, "Osfrid, et Eadfrid, filii regis Aedwini, qui ambo ei exuli nati sunt de Quaenburga, filia Cearli regis Merciorum." Translation: Osfrid and Eadfrid, sons of King Aedwin, who were both born during his exile by Quaenburga, daughter of Cearlus, king of the Mercians. [Baeda Hist. Eccl. ii. 14.] The boys were born, therefore, before 617, when Eadwine's exile ceased; and in 633 Osfrid was old enough to have a son Yffi, who was carried off to Kent with the children of Eadwine. But as Osfrid is called "bellicosus juvenis" when he fell at Haeth-field in 633, he may well have been some eighteen years old, which would bring his birth and Quaenburg's marriage to the period just after the battle of Chester. There is evidently some confusion here growing out of the similarity of the names of the sons and of the brother of Edwin. Nennius relates: There were two sons of Edwin who fell in battle with Edwin at Meicen and the kingdom was never renewed because not one of his race escaped from that war, but all were slain with him. If we say that Osfrid and Eadfrid were two brothers of Edwin who were slain with him at the battle of Meicen then all the records agree with the genealogy as stated by Mr. Green.

EANFRITH, son of Aethelfrith, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 22.

The residence of the Northumbrian Aethelings, the sons of Aethelfrith, amongst the Picts was productive of important consequences; Eanfred, the eldest of the brothers, became the husband of a Pictish princess, the daughter of Angus McFergus—and their son Talorcan was numbered among the Pictish kings. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, vol. 1, page 11.]

The Bernicians seized on the defeat of Eadwine to break up the Northumbrian realm by throwing off the overlordship of their southern neighbors. They recalled the House of Ida; and Eanfrith, a son of Aethelfrith, returned from his refuge among the Picts to be welcomed as their king. Bernicia, as we saw, had never received the faith of Eadwine; and Eanfrith, though he had become a Christian at Hii, i.e. Iona, no sooner found himself among his people than, like Osric, he threw off the faith of Christ. The reigns of the two kings lasted one miserable year—a year whose shame was never forgotten among the Englishmen

of the north. Penda, indeed, showed no inclination to follow up his victory by any attack on Northumbria; he even gave shelter to one of Eadwine's sons, when he was driven out, after some vain struggle, perhaps with Osric for the Deiran throne. His aim was to complete his dominion over Mid-Britain; he had, in fact, fought with Eadwine only to isolate East Anglia. If Penda withdrew, however, Cadwallon remained harrying in the heart of Deira, and made himself master even of York. Osric fell in an attempt to recover the town; and even the Bernician Eanfrith, while suing for peace, was murdered by the British king. The Scottish Chronicles tell the story somewhat differently as follows:—

Donewaldus, youngest son of Eugenius IV, succeeded his brother Ferquhard II as king of Scotland. He sought that Gadwalla, the king of the British,

Enfrid the son of Edelfred befoir
On to his crown he wold agane restore
Quhilk wanqustes for Edelfrid was taine
Be this Edwyn that latter now is gone
The landis all now of Northumberland
He wold resign unto Elfridus hand
At the request of Doewald the king
The Galwalla content was of that thing
That same time as my author did sa
This king hes dinydit into tua
Northumberland both firth, forrest and fell
Quilat was the caus I can nocht to you tell
To this Enfried the Northermost part he gaif [i.e. Bernicia]
To one Osric syne gaif tha all tha laif. [i.e. Deira]
This tua kings but stop a yet ganestance
With peak and rest of range Northumberland
And for the main security of the peice
All weis and wrang and seisina to gar ceis
Osricus daughter fair and young of age
This Enfridus has take in Marriage.

[Book of the Chronicles of Scotland, vol. 2, page 303.]

OSWALD, son of Aethelfrith, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 22, married the daughter of Cyngils, King of Oxford. The courtship and marriage of Oswald took place under circumstances which the Chronicles thought worthy of preservation in their records. Early in the seventh century Christianity came to the West-Saxons, and their apostle was St. Birin. At that time Cynegils was King of Wessex, and to his court at Cholsey the missionary came to proclaim the Gospel. Tradition tells of a great conference at Churn Knob on the Berkshire Downs, which impressed the monarch. The visit of Oswald, the Christian king of Northumbria, who was seeking the hand of his daughter, further influenced him, and Cynegils embraced the Christian faith and was baptized at Dorchester, Oswald acting as sponsor. His people followed his example, and Dorchester was given to St. Birin to make there an episcopal see. This little Oxfordshire village thus became the seat of a bishopric, which afterwards extended from the Thames to the Humber. The name of this first bishop still survives in "Birin's Hill" on the Chilterns. [Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 1, page 351.]

The triumph of the Britons was as brief as it was strange. Oswald, a second son of Aethelfrith, left Hii, on his brother's death, to place himself at the head

of his race; and in 635 a small force gathered round the new king near the Roman Wall. Oswald had no mind to cast away his faith like his brother Eanfrith. On the night before the battle, a dream came to his aid. He saw the tall form of the founder of Hii, Columba, shrouding with his mantle almost the whole English camp, while his mighty voice bade the king "Be strong, and do like a man; lo! I am with thee." As Oswald woke he gathered his witan to tell them the vision; and with the quick enthusiasm of a moment of peril the whole host pledged itself to become (as most of them already were) Christian if it (they) conquered in the fight. Obedient to the counsel Columba had given him in his dream, the king stole out from his camp on the following night, and fell with the dawn on the host of Cadwallon. Legend told how Oswald set up a cross of wood as his standard ere the fight began, holding it with his own hands till the hollow in which it was fixed was filled by his soldiers, and how then, throwing himself on his knees, the king cried to his host to pray to the living God. This cross was still standing in Baeda's time. They rose to fall upon the Britons. The surprise seems to have been complete. The Welsh were cut to pieces. Cadwallon fell fighting on the Heaven's field as aftertimes called the field of battle; and the fall of this last great hero of the British race left the Englishmen of Bernicia supreme in the north.

To England the battle was of large import. It restored in great part the political work of Eadwine; for Deira submitted to Aethelric's grandson as it had submitted to Aethelric, and the Northumbrian kingdom found itself restored in the firm hands of Oswald. As a son of Eadwine's sister, Acha, Oswald partly shared the royal blood of Deira, and would thus be more acceptable to the Deirans than his father. But it did more than restore his religious work. The conversion of the Bernicians gave Northumbria a religious unity such as it had never known during the last few generations till now, and with this unity Christianity rose to a yet more vigorous life. It came, indeed, in a different form from the Christianity of Eadwine; for it was not the Roman Church of Paulinus which had nerved Oswald to his struggle for the cross, or which carried out in Bernicia the work of Christianization which his victory began. Paulinus had fled southward at Eadwine's fall; and the Roman Church, though safely established in Kent, ceased to struggle elsewhere against the heathen reaction. From that moment its place in the conversion of Northern England was taken by missionaries from . . . . . the Celtic Bernician Christian Church, which was henceforth to play a part in general English history. Here we have the key to subsequent religious history in England. For while the Celtic Bernician Christian Church brought about the change from Odin and from Druid to Christ in England and the Roman Church subsequently overcame the Celtic Bernician Christian Church at the Council of Whitby yet the Celtic Bernician Christian Church displaced the Roman Church by a national state church and the efforts of the Roman Church at the time of the conquest by the Normans to accomplish the permanent substitution of their communion for that of the national state church failed because of the long continued Celtic Bernician Christianity which had become an irremovable part of a large majority of the inhabitants of the whole Island of Great Britain.

Baeda makes mention of two banners which Oswald, King of Northumbria, had, ye one wherein was ye figure of a Crosse which he erected in ye place where

he was to fight (lib. iii, cap 2); ye other of gold and purple which was put upon his tombe after his death. [*Ibid.*, lib. iii. cap 11.]

On a low island of barren gneiss rock off the west coast of Scotland St. Columba had set up his mission station for the Picts at Hii (Iona); and it was within the walls of this monastery that Oswald with his brothers had found refuge on their father's fall. It was a royal episcopal church with a dignity and an impressiveness which has seldom been surpassed in Christendom. While Oswald and his brothers were there they were treated as princes by those who were likewise of royal rank and station. It can therefore be easily understood that when Oswald came to his own kingdom and thereby displaced the Roman state church he not only hankered after the glittering show of the standards of his predecessor but he wanted the parade and ritual of a royal state church the same as had been enjoyed by Eadwine. He thereupon sent to Iona for a bishop to preside over the state church of Bernicia. This request was granted in the person of Aiden, who became the first bishop of the state church of Northumbria. As soon as he was master of Northumbria, he naturally called for missionaries from among its monks. In his own court the king acted as interpreter to the Irish missionaries in their efforts to convert his thegns. A new conception of kingship began to blend itself with that of the warlike glory of Aethelfrith or the wise administration of Eadwine, and the moral power which was to reach its heights in Aelfred first dawns in the story of Oswald. For after-times, the memory of Oswald's greatness was lost in the memory of his piety. By reason of his constant habit of praying or giving thanks to the Lord, he was wont wherever he sat to hold his hands upturned on his knees. As he feasted with Bishop Aidan by his side, the thegn whom he had set to give alms to the poor at his gate told him of a multitude that waited fasting without. The king at once bade the untasted meat to be carried to the poor, and his silver dish be divided piecemeal among them. Aidan seized the royal hand and blessed it. May this hand, he cried, never grow old.

But if Oswald was a saint, he was none the less resolved to build up again a power such as that of Eadwine. His earlier efforts to widen his dominion seem to have been mainly in the northwest. Here his sway not only stretched over the Britons, who formed the mass of the population in the district between Chester and the Ribble, but it is probable that he was owned as overlord by the Welsh kingdom of Strathclyde; for otherwise he could hardly have gone on to receive into his lordship the Picts and the Dalriad Scots across the Forth. Nennius says:—that Oswald reigned nine years the same is Oswald Lamnguin; he slew Cathgublaun, King of Guenedot in the battle of Catscaul, with much loss to his army. In Southern Britain his success seems to have been more checkered. It may be doubted whether Mercia or the tribes along the Trent yielded more than a nominal submission to him; but Penda must have shrunk for the while from any open struggle, for at the pressure of Oswald he murdered Eadfrid, the second son of Eadwine by his Mercian wife Quaenburg, who had for a while found refuge at his court. Kent, too, yielded to the same pressure, and drove Eadwine's children by Aethelburh to a refuge in Gaul. In these realms, however, Oswald could hardly claim any direct overlordship; but elsewhere he was able

to restore the realm of Eadwine. His arms wrested an acknowledgement of subjection from the Lindiswaras, after a struggle whose fierceness was shown by the bitter memory it left behind it among the conquered people. East Anglia, which had remained Christian amidst the heathen reaction elsewhere, after the fall of Eadwine, seems still to have remained subject to Penda; but in the south Oswald succeeded in effectually restoring the Northumbrian supremacy. The battle of Cirencester and the loss of the country of the Hwiccas had taught the West Saxons to look on Mercia as their most dangerous foe; and they were ready to seek aid against it in recognizing the overlordship of Oswald. Here again the new religion served as a prelude to the Northumbrian advance. Immediately after the victory of the Hevenfeld, in 635, Wessex declared itself Christian. The work of a preacher Birinus, who had penetrated from Gaul into Wessex, proved so effective that King Cynegils received baptism in Oswald's presence, and established with his assent a see for his people in the royal city of Dorchester on the Thames.

It was this supremacy over so wide a ring of subject people which seemed to lift Oswald out of the rank of kings. In him, even more than in Eadwine, men saw some faint likeness of the older emperors. Once a writer from the land of the Picts, the abbot Adamnan of Hii, calls Oswald "Emperor of the whole of Britain." But, great as he was, the doom of Oswald was fated to be that of Eadwine. Though the conversion of Wessex had prisoned it within the central districts of England, heathendom fought desperately for life. Penda remained its rally-point; and the long reign of the Mercian king, was, in fact, one continuous battle with the Cross. But so far as we can judge from his acts, Penda seems to have looked on the strife of religion in a purely political light. Christianity meant, in fact, either subjection to, or alliance with, Oswald; and the Northumbrian supremacy was again threatening his dominion on almost every border when Penda resolved to break through the net which was closing round him. The point of conflict, as before, seems to have been the dominion over East Anglia. Its possession was as vital to Mid-Britain as it was to Northumbria, which needed it to link itself with its West Saxon subjects in the south; and Oswald must have felt that he was challenging his rival to a decisive combat when he marched, in 642, to deliver the East Anglians from Penda. But his doom was that of Eadwine; for he was overthrown and slain in a battle called the battle of the Maserfield. It is at this point that the story of Oswy, our ancestor, comes into this history of the kingdom of Northumbria.

*21. OSWY, son of Aethelfrith, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 22. He married first Fina, daughter of Caennfalladh, surnamed the Wise, acclaimed as a paragon of wisdom and one of the outstanding scholars in his day in Ireland, which was then the land of great saints and scholars. He was a prince of the royal line of Niall of the Nine Hostages, the most famous king of that country. In the time of Fina, Oswy was a most devoted adherent of the Celtic Bernician Christian Church and a staunch supporter of the state church of Bernicia-Northumberland. Oswy married second, after the time of his accession to the throne, Eanfield, daughter of Edwine and the last survivor of the Saxon line of Deiran rulers. Through her influence Oswy became strongly inclined toward the Ro-

man Church as the state church. Later in life Oswy married Riemmelth, daughter of Royth. Children of the first marriage:—

1. *20 Aldfrid, the Irish called him Flann Fina, meaning Flann son of Fina, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 20.
2. Elfrin, who was slain at the battle of Trent, 678.
3. Alchfleda, who married Peada, son of Penda, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 20. Peada's name and fame are perpetuated in the name of the manor of Peshale, i.e. Peada's shield or temporary shelter, and in the family name of Peshale, corrupted into Pearsall, Parshal, Pascal, Parsall, and many other forms.

Children of the second marriage:—

4. Ecgfrid, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 20.
5. Elfleda. She was dedicated to the Holy Virgin by her father when she was a year old as a thank offering for victory over King Penda and the Mercians. She later became the abbess of the monastery founded by Hilda at the Promontory of the Becaon Light. Bede says of her that she visited Cuthbert in 684, who answered many questions she put to him. She asked Cuthbert how long her brother Ecgfrid would live and govern the English nations. Cuthbert foretold that Ecgfrid would not live but one year longer and when she asked him who would succeed him in his kingdom as Egfrid had no son nor brother (meaning of the Roman Church communion) he gave her to understand that it would be Aldfrid, who was said to be a son of her father (the slur being because he was of the communion of the Celtic Bernician Christian Church).

There were no children by the third marriage.

For a few years after his victory at the Maserfield Penda stood supreme in Britain. Wessex must have been forced to own his supremacy, for its king, Cenwealh, threw off the Christian faith and married Penda's sister. East Anglia and Central Britain remained under Mercian sway, while the Northumbrian realm was a third time broken up; for even the men of Deira seem to have bent their necks to Penda; and Oswini, the son of Osric, whom they took for their king, in a rising on Oswald's fall, was a mere underking of the Mercian overlord. Bernicia alone refused to yield. Penda had become ruler of an enlarged Mercia, stretching from Hereford and Chester in the west to the Humber and the Wash in the east. The middle Angles in Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Leicestershire he put under the rule of his son Peada. [The story of Staffordshire, by Mark Hughes, B. A., page 33.] Staffordshire was not merely included in Mercia, but was peculiarly the royal county, where the Mercian kings generally lived, just as Hampshire was of Wessex. [*Ibid.*, page 27.] Year after year Penda carried his ravages over the north; once he reached even the royal city, the impregnable rock fortress of Bamborough. Despairing of success in an assault, he pulled down the cottages around, and, piling their wood against the walls, fired the mass in a fair wind that drove the flames on the town. "See, Lord, what ill Penda is doing," cried Aidan, from his hermit cell in the islet of Farne, as he saw the smoke drifting over the city: and a change of wind—so ran the legend of Northumbria's agony—drove back at the words the flames on

those who had kindled them. But, burned and harried as it was, Bernicia still clung to the Cross. Oswy, a third son of Aethelfrith, who had been called from Hii in 642, to fill the throne of his brother Oswald, gave little promise in his earlier days of those qualities which were to make his later reign a landmark in history. During the first nine years of his reign, indeed, he was king only of Bernicia, and over Bernicia the host of Penda poured summer after summer in the terrible raids which we have described. But, terrible as they were, Oswy held stoutly to his ground; and after some years he found himself not only master of his own people, but able to build up again the wider realm of the Northumbrians.

Oswini, who had occupied the Deiran throne since the fight at the Maserfield, was a son of that Osric who had reigned for the miserable year which followed Eadwine's defeat at Heathfield. But the religious activity of Oswald and of Aidan had done its work. Unlike his father, Oswini was a Christian to the core; and his piety and humility won the love of Aidan; as his personal beauty and liberality won the love of his people. But neither the one love nor the other could avert the young king's doom. A marriage which Oswy concluded showed his purpose of recovering Deira. Eadwine's younger children by his Kentish queen had been carried by her, after her fall, to her Kentish home, and the death of two of them left the girl Eanfled the representative of his line. Oswy took Eanfled to wife, as his father Aethelfrith had taken her aunt Acha. It was followed, in 651, by the march of the Bernician king to the south. The news of Oswy's approach with an overpowering host filled Oswini with despair—a despair quickened, no doubt, by consciousness of the treachery which was at work among his subjects; he fled to the house of an ealdorman near Richmond, and was betrayed by him and killed by a thegn whom Oswy had despatched to make way with him. The fall of Oswini made Oswy master of Deira; and Northumbria rose anew from the union of the two northern states—a union which was never henceforth to be dissolved. Oswini was the last male of the old kingly stock of Deira of the line of Ella and with the extinction of their regal line passed away the reluctance of the Deirans to submit to the House of Ida. The restoration of the Northumbrian realm left Oswy supreme from the Humber to the Forth; the Scots, on his western and northern border, not only bowed to his overlordship, as they had bowed to Oswald's, but even owned their subjection by payment of tribute.

Nennius says:—Oswy reigned twenty-eight years and six months. During his reign there was a dreadful mortality among his subjects, when Catagualart was king among the Britons succeeding his father, and he himself died amongst the rest. He slew Pantha in the field of Gai and now took the slaughter of Gai Campi and the kings of the Britons who went out with Pantha on the expedition as far as the City of Judeu were slain. Then Oswy restored all the wealth which was with him in the city to Penda; who distributed it among the kings of the Britons, that is Atbret Judeu but Catgabail king of Guenedot rising in the night escaped, together with his army wherefore he was called Catgabail Catguommed, i.e., the battle fighter who evades battle.

But the reconstruction of the Northumbrian kingdom was hardly brought about when a succession of events in Central Britain showed that Oswy had taken up again the wider task of Oswald and Eadwine. In the year after the annexation

of Deira, in 652, Penda's son Peada, whom his father had set as underking over the Middle English, or Leicester-men, sought Oswy's daughter Alchfleda to wife. It is noteworthy how the history of King Peada is so closely interwoven with that of these Northumbrian kings. The two royal houses were already linked by marriage, for Penda's daughter was the wife of Oswy's son, Alchfrith, and Alchfrith's persuasion won over Peada to Christianity as the price of his sister's hand. He was baptized by Bishop Finan, Aidan's successor in the see of Lindisfarne, and the priests whom Peada brought back with him preached busily and successfully, not only among his own subjects, but ventured in the following year to penetrate even among the Mercians themselves. Penda gave them no hindrance. In words which mark the temper of a man of whom we would willingly know more, Beada tells us that the old king only hated and scorned those whom he saw not doing the works of the faith they had received. They were miserable and scorn-worthy men, he said, who shrank from obeying the God in whom they trusted. His attitude proves that Penda looked with the tolerance of his race on all questions of creed, and that he fought not for heathendom but for independence. If he struck down Eadwine and Oswald, it was not because their missionaries spread along the eastern coast, but because their lordship spread with their missionaries. Quietly, therefore, as he watched the spread of the new religion among his own people, he may have watched with jealousy the conversion of Essex, which took place in the same year that the Northumbrian preachers appeared on the upper Trent. The throwing-off of Christianity, and of the Kentish supremacy, by the two young kings of the East Saxons in the days of Bishop Mellitus, had been quickly followed by their fall in a disastrous conflict with the West Saxons, but we do not again catch sight of the little realm till we find its king, Sigebert, a friend and guest of Oswy's in the king's vill by the Roman Wall. The pressure of Oswy brought about Sigebert's baptism and conversion, and his return to his people was followed by Oswy's despatch of the missionary Cedd, who was working among the Middle Engle, to this new work on the eastern coast.

The extension of Oswy's influence over Essex was obviously a prelude to a renewal of the old strife between Penda and Northumbria for the domination over East Anglia. Now, as before, the supremacy over East Anglia was essential to the wider supremacy of Northumbria over the center of the island. For the new state of Mid-Britain it was more; it was a question of life and death. Without the East Engle, the power which had again and again grouped itself round Aethelberht and Raedwald and Penda must cease to exist. On the other hand, the East Engle were still averse to the rule of their fellow-Engle in the west; and now that dependencies of Oswy's lay on either side of them, they would naturally begin to stir. There can be little doubt that Penda's fresh attack on them in 654—an attack in which Sigeberht's successor Anna was slain and his kingdom cruelly ravaged—was the result of a fresh attempt at revolt. A third brother, Aethelhere, bowed anew to the Mercian yoke, and marched among the soldiers of Penda. Aethelhere, we know not how, was the cause of the war which followed with Northumbria. It is possible that the under-king endeavored to win independence by playing off the two great powers on either side of him against one another. But that Oswy strove to avert the conflict we see from the delivery

of his youngest son, Ecgfrith, as a hostage into Penda's hands. The sacrifice proved useless. Penda was again the assailant, and his attack was as vigorous as of old. He was aided, too, by internal dissension in the Northumbrian realm. Odilwald, a son of Oswald, had been set by Oswy as an underking over at least part of Deira; but in this crisis he joined the Mercians, and his defection opened a way for Penda's march into the heart of the land.

The old king again passed ravaging over the country as far northward as Bamborough, destroying all he could with fire and sword, while Oswy, unable to meet him in the field, was driven by need to seek for peace. Penda, however, set roughly aside the gifts which the king offered; he had resolved, so men believed, to root out and destroy the whole people of the Northumbrians. But, broken as they were, despair gave strength to the men of the north. A small host gathered round Oswy and the king vowed—should the day be his—to give his daughter to God and to found twelve monasteries. Since the pagan will not take our gifts, he said, let us offer them to One who will. Oswy, before encountering Penda, vowed to the service of God duodecim possessiones praediorum ad construenda monasteria . . . singulae vero possessiones decem erant familiarum, id est, simul omnes centum viginti (20 pieces of land or farms towards the construction of a monastery . . . . in fact 10 are special possessions of the family, therefore the whole almost equals 120), and Hilda, two years afterwards, comparata possessione decem familiarum (she procured 10 pieces of land belonging to the family), founded the minster at Whitby. Each of these ten hides Beda describes as a possessiunculus, rendered in the Saxon version by Bocland-aeht, representing the amount of land conferred upon an ordinary minster, often known in the South-country as the twelve hides, and corresponding with the Banleuga, Rape, or square league of 1440 acres, allotted by the Conqueror to Battle Abbey. [Robertson's Historical Essays, page 98. Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 245-300.]

Success, however, seemed hopeless; for when Oswy met the Mercian army near the river Winwaed in 655, he found it thrice as strong as his own. Thirty ealdormen followed Penda; Aethelhere brought his East Anglians to his aid, and Odilwald the men of Eastern Deira. Never had the odds seemed more unequal, but never was an overthrow more complete. Odilwald proved as faithless to Penda as he proved to Oswy; he drew off his men in the midst of the fight and waited for its issue. It ended in the rout and slaughter of the Mercians. Great rains had swelled the river in the rear of their broken host, and more were drowned in their flight than fell by the sword. But the noblest of the Mercian warriors remained on the field. Of the thirty ealdormen who marched at Penda's bidding, hardly one was left alive; Aethelhere fell fighting in the midst of his East Englishmen, and Penda himself was slain. In the river Winwaed rang out the triumphant battle song of the conquerors:—

> In the river Winwaed is avenged the slaughter of Anna,
> The slaughter of the kings Sigberht and Ecgrice,
> The slaughter of the kings Oswald and Edwine.

For the moment the ruin of Mercia seemed complete. The supremacy it had won over its neighbors to the south must have passed away with the great defeat.

The West Saxons resumed their old independence. But the loss of outer influence was little beside the internal ruin of the Mercian state itself. The power which had grown up in Central Britain crumbled beneath Oswy's blow. The peoples whom Penda had brought together sheered off into their old isolation. East Anglia, the actual prize of the contest, naturally found a new overlord in Oswy. Lindsey passed under the direct rule of the Northumbrian conqueror, and if the Southumbrians about Nottingham escaped the same fate, it was by their revival as a distinct kingdom, though subject, no doubt, to the overlord in the north. The Saga of Saxo Grammaticus, however, offers another explanation for the passing by of Southumbria in the rearranging of the kingdoms at this time. According to his account this country was then under the overlordship of king Frode the Bold of Denmark, and he had married a princess of its royal house to whom was born his son Gorm, surnamed the Englishman, who was his successor in the Danish kingdom. That the two kingdoms were related closely is shown by the marriage of the grandson of Gorm with a princess of the Mercian kingdom. [Saxo Grammaticus, book nine.]

The Mercian people, reduced to its original settlement along the upper Trent, lost its national unity. Its old division into a North-Mercian and a South-Mercian folk reappeared, whether from civil strife which followed on the great defeat, or as a part of the policy of their conqueror. The larger part of the Mercian people, the North Mercians who dwelt on the north side of the Trent, were made directly subject to Northumbria. The South Mercians alone remained under the rule of Peada; but Peada only received his kingship over them as a gift from Oswy, and that not because he was of the kingly stock, but because he was bound to Oswy by the ties of his marriage and his Christian faith. Of all the strange and remarkable things that have been and shall be related concerning our ancestry, none is more interesting than that our branch of this Northumbria royal family should have acquired its name from the temporary encampment of this King Peada which he made on the spot ever afterwards called Peshale, i.e. Peada's shelter.

The Mercian Chronicle says—Peada, called Weda, by Malmsbury, the son of king Penda, began his reign anno Dom. 655, November 15th, over the south part of Mercia, by the permission of Oswy, king of Northumberland, while Mearwoldus, another of Penda's sons, held the western part under the same king Oswy, as Simon of Durham testifies. He married Alfleda, the daughter of Oswy, two years before his father Penda's death, on this condition, that he would turn Christian, and promote that religion in his own country. Accordingly he was baptized by Finanus, in the king of Northumberland's palace, being in a strong town near the Picts-wall, called Admurum, and since Walton, eight miles west of Newcastle. This was done in anno Dom. 653; afterwards, as a testimony of his conversion, he began the foundation of the stately abbey of Peterburgh, but being prevented by death, left it to be finished by his brother Wulferus. He enjoyed his kingly dignity but five months, being slain by his own wife, say some; by his mother, say others; by whichsoever most unnaturally, in the very feast of Easter, anno Dom. 656. The cycle of the sun that year being twenty-one. The dominical letters (it being Bis-sextile) C.B. the cycle of the moon eleven. Easter

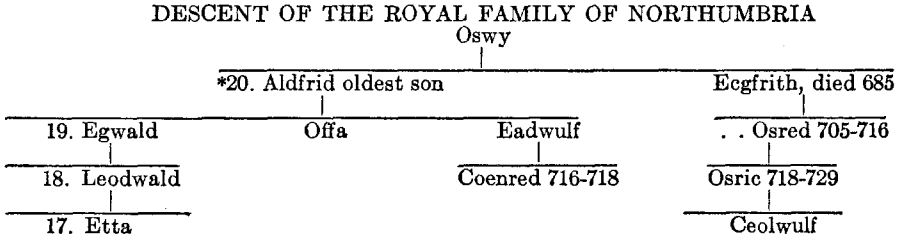
fell upon the seventeenth day of April, on which day he was murdered; after whose death, king Oswy swayed the scepter of Mercia for some time, between two and three years; at which time Immin, Eaba, and Eadberht, three captains of the Mercians rebelling against Oswy, prevailed and lifted up Wulferus, the second son of Penda, onto the Mercian throne. It was not, however until after the death of the great King of Mercia, Penda, that his son, Peada, who had become a convert to Christianity, founded the Abbey of Medeshamstede in 655, which later, under the name of Peterborough, grew into a powerful and wealthy community. The stone of Barnack, near by, which had been worked in Roman times, was used by Abbot Saxulf for Medeshamstede, and was also conveyed by water for Ramsey and other monastic buildings. We know not who first preached Christianity amid the hills and dales of Derbyshire. When Pagan Penda was slain, his son Peada, a Christian, introduced four priests who worked amongst the people, Adda, Belti, Cedda and Diuma, who became the first bishop of the Mercians. [The Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 1, page 142 & 189-190. History of Cheshire, by George Omerod, vol. 1, page 157.]

Oswy was sovereign over Britain as no English king save Eadwine had been before him. The supremacy of Northumbria over the Britons of Cumbria and Strathclyde was restored. The Picts and Scots of the North were forced to pay tribute. In Mid-Britain, Oswy no longer saw a power growing fast into a danger, but a mass of broken peoples, all of them in some way owing him obedience. Over Lindsey, the men of North Mercia, and the South English, he must have ruled for the moment in direct sovereignty; while the petty kingdom of the Southumbrians, the larger realms of the East Anglians and the East Saxons, probably the West Saxons themselves, owned his supremacy. Northumbria itself, too, was finally made. The royal stock of Deira had come to an end, and with its extinction passed away the strife between the men of Bernicia and Deira. From Oswy's day all the Englishmen of the north were simply Northumbrians, and this inner unity gave fresh weight to the political influence which the kingdom exerted outside its own bounds.

But the dream of a single people gathered together around the kings of Northumbria no sooner seemed realized than it vanished forever. Peada had scarcely received the gift of the South Mercian realm when as we have seen his death tempted Oswy to complete his mastery of Central Britain by annexing even the small folk that the young king had ruled. For three years the Mercians bore this foreign rule; but in 658 the whole people broke out in revolt, drove Oswy's thegns from the land and raised to the throne a younger son of Penda, who had till now remained in hiding. Under its new king, Wulfhere, Mercia rose at once into a power greater than that of Penda, and which it would need a greater victory than that of the Winwaed to overthrow. But the revolution marked more than the revival of Mercia. It marked the abandonment by Northumbria of her long efforts to carry her supremacy over the rest of Britain. So irresistible had been the movement of revolt that Oswy seems to have acquiesced without a struggle in the overthrow of his rule, and to have contented himself for the few remaining years of his life with a nominal overlordship across the Humber.

After the death of Finen the second bishop, Colman became his successor. He was sent from Iona the same as his predecessors and he adhered to the customs of the Celtic Bernician Christian Church. But the Roman Catholic party became at this time much stronger and there was a controversy started which centered about the time for celebrating Easter. This reached the ears of King Oswy and his son Aldfrid who was now the underking of Deira. Oswy had been instructed and baptized by the Scots and being very perfectly skilled in their language thought nothing better than they taught. But Aldfred had by this time come under the influence of one Wilfred who taught the Roman system and Aldfrid thought that Wilfred must be right and that his doctrine ought to be preferred before all traditions of the Celtic Bernician Christian Church. Wilfred was at the instigation of Aldrid made a priest of the monastery of Agilbert bishop of the West Saxons. The controversy continuing the king called a council at what is now known as Whitby and at this council Oswy presided. After hearing the arguments pro and con the king decided that Peter is the door keeper whom I will not contradict, but will so far as I know and am able, in all things, obey his decrees, lest when I come to the Gate of the King of Heaven there should be none to open there he being my adversary who is proved to have the keys. The council then resolved to adhere to the Roman style of computing the Easter season. In one year after this Wilfrid was made bishop of Deira and in a short time he was also bishop of York so that the Roman Church become the state church of Northumbria. For a while Oswy tried to continue the system of the national church which had been followed by Aiden and his successors as bishops but the Roman Church party was too strong to be set aside. [Bede Eccl. Hist., books 3 & 4.]

DESCENT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF NORTHUMBRIA



670, February 15th, Oswy fell sick and died in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He at that time bore so great affection for the Roman apostolic institution, says Bede (Book 4 Eccl. Hist.), that had he recovered from his sickness he designed to go to Rome and there to end his days at all holy places, having entreated bishop Wilfrid, by the promise of a considerable donation of money, to conduct him on his journey. Beda also made in his history a list of the great rulers of ancient Britain. Baeda marks in the list of those who exercised an imperium over other Englishmen—Aella of the South Saxons, Ceawlin, Aethelberht of Kent, Raedwald of East Anglia, and the Northumbrian kings Eadwine, Oswald, and Oswy (Baeda Hist. Eccl. ii. 5). It is these, specially the last three, from whom England has its national life, and from the last three the country came to be known as the kingdom of England, that is to say of the Engles. Diesdedit, archbishop of Canterbury, being dead, Ercombers king of Kent and Oswy king of the Northumberlands sent Wighard to Rome desiring he might be ordained

bishop of the English Church, who dying at Rome, Pope Vitalian, in 668, ordained Theodore a monk, a very learned man in those days, Archbishop of Canterbury. [Brady's English History, London, 1685, page 106. Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 196.]

Upon the death of Oswy the claims of Aldfrid as the oldest son were set aside by the forces of his brother Ecgfrith and the older brother was compelled to flee to Ireland to the home of his mother's people. Here he very rapidly became in harmony with the church of his ancestors and this helped his brother to sit more strongly on the throne of Northumbria.

ECFRITH, son of Oswy, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 21, married first Etheldreda, daughter of King Anna, by whom he had no child; he married 2nd, Irminburga, by whom he had children:—

1. Osred, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 19.
2. Ostrica, who married Ethelred, King of Mercia. She was murdered by the Mercians, 696.

Etheldreda, daughter of King Anna, King of East-Anglia, married Egfrid, King of Northumbria, and maintained a celibate life in spite of the marriage bond, subsequently abandoning her far northern home and becoming the foundress of Ely. [The Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 2, page 84.]

The TENERO ADHUC REGNO (Tender childhood of the King) of Eddius is changed by Malmesbury (DE GEST PONT.) into TENERAM INFANTIAM REGULI (The hitherto tender reign), an expression scarcely applicable to Egfrid, who was twenty-five when he ascended the throne. These Bernician rulers were not only king in name but they were the head of the whole social fabric of the state. The Angles were careful to maintain distinct and separate the several ranks of society, beginning of course with the king and his household, and then descending, grade by grade, until it finally ended in the slave who was but little better than the beasts of the field, for example: Imma, the follower of Egfred's brother Aelfwine, junevis de militia ejus, appears in the translation as sum geong thaeses cyninges thegin; but the military follower, who was not of gentle origin, or the Cniht, as soon as he left the Hird, or immediate following of his lord, and was planted on the land, became the equivalent of the miles agrarius of Widukind, and was probably known in Northumbria as Dreng. When Imma, the young king's-thegn, found himself in the hands of his enemies, he escaped immediate death by declaring himself a poor man belonging to the class attached to the land, a foclic and dearfende (heafod gemacum), to carry supplies and provisions for the king's-thegns. His looks, his bearing, and the words he used, however, soon betrayed he was not of dearfende folc, but of aethelre strynde; but the Mercian Gesith, who had kept him for a slave, as he had promised him life, though the death of his own brothers and kinsmen, who had fallen in the fight, remained unavenged through sparing Imma, sent him to London, where he was sold to a Frison. He dealt with him as his ancestor in the days of Tacitus would have dealt with his equal by birth, who had staked his liberty at a game of chance, and lost—he sold him out of the country, a proceeding so strictly forbidden in the Capitularies, and other contemporary codes, that the universal prevalence of the custom may be inferred from its universal prohibition. [Rob-

ertson's Historical Essays, page xlvi-xlix. Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, page 10-14.]

After the death of the amiable King Oswald upon the fatal field of Winwed, the ties of affection and good will which had hitherto united the sons of Ethelfrith with the people who had sheltered them in adversity were severed during the reign of his harsher brother Oswy, and exchanged for the galling bonds of conquest. Province after province bowed to the Anglian yoke, until the majority of the neighboring Pictish princes were ranged with the Dalriads, who shared the same lot, amongst the tributaries of the Northumbrian sovereign, and though they endeavored to regain their liberty when Egfrid ascended the throne, their premature attempt only served to rivet their fetters more securely. About eleven years later a yet more decisive step was taken towards the permanent annexation of the tributary Pictish provinces, and Egfrid, when he divided the overgrown diocese of Wilfrid into the Sees of York, Hexham and Lindisfarne appointed Trumwine to the bishopric of the Picts, choosing Abercorn, upon the southern bank of the Forth, as the seat of the new Episcopate.

Theodore, the representative of the Holy Father in Rome, was engaged in completing the ecclesiastical organization of England, when, in 687, he was invited by King Ecgfrith to undertake a like organization of Northumbria. Isolated as it had now become from the rest of Britain, Northumbria was far from having sunk from its old renown, either in government or war. It still remained first among the English states. Ecgfrith had succeeded his father Oswy, in 670; and though he made no effort to reverse his father's policy as regards Southern Britain, or to attempt to build up again a supremacy over its states, he showed himself resolute to enlarge the bounds of his kingship by conquests over the Welsh. The Welsh states across the western moors had owned, at least from Oswald's time, the Northumbrian supremacy; but little actual advance had been made by the English in this quarter since the victory of Chester, and northward of the Ribble the land between the moors and the sea still formed a part of the British kingdom of Cumbria. It was from this tract, from what is now known as Northern Lancashire and the Lake district, that Ecgfrith's armies chased the Britons in the early years of his reign. The British clergy, i.e. the clergy of the Celtic Bernician Christian Church, still fled before the conqueror's sword, and from the sacred spots which they deserted large grants were made by Ecgfrith to the see of York—in the country between the Ribble and the Mersey, in Amounderness, and in Cartmell, or the vale of the Duddon, the three districts which together make up present Lancashire; but there was no break in the general policy of the later English conquests, and the rest of the British population remained as tributaries on the soil. [Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 347-356.]

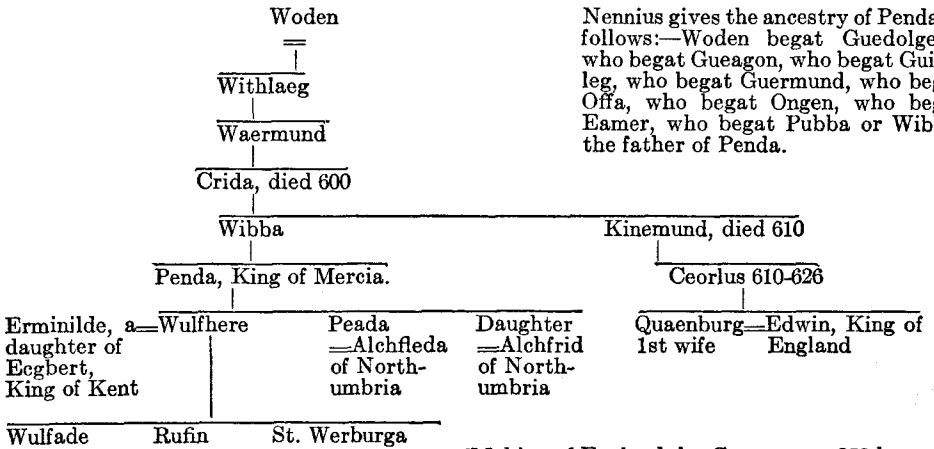
By the conquest of this western district, Northumbria now stretched uninterrupted from sea to sea, from the southern border of Elmet as far north as the city of Carlisle, where, a few years after its conquest by Ecgfrith, we find a monastery founded. Egfrid gave to St. Cuthbert, Carlisle, with a circuit of fifteen miles, Creke with three miles—in short, all the open country in the north of Cumberland which was thus interposed between that district and Straht

Clyde; whilst his donations of South Gedlet and Cartmel with its Britons, in the north of Lancashire, together with his grants on the Ribble and elsewhere to Wilfrid, show that the greater part of Lancashire must have intervened between the Britons of English Cumbria and North Wales. Manchester and Whalley, or Billingaheth, were also in the Northumbrian territories. [Sim. Dun. Hist. Dun. 1. i. c. 9, Hist. St. Cuth. p. 69. Edd Vit. Wilf. c. 17. Chron. Sax. 798, 923. Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, page 18.]

It is as he stands by its Roman fountain that Cuthbert hears the news of Nectansmere. But the conquest of this district was quickly followed by fresh gains in the north where Ecgfrith attacked with the same success both the Scots beyond Clydesdale and the Picts over the Firth of Forth. The war, indeed, in this quarter was forced on him by the Picts, who rose against the yoke of tribute to which they had submitted under Oswy, and marched with an army which seems to have been gathered from their whole territory in the Highlands on the English border. Ecgfrith met the attack with a comparatively small force; but his victory was so complete that, as the Northumbrian chronicler tells us, two rivers were filled with the corpses of the slain, and the Picts were reduced to so complete subjection that their territory on the northern bank of the Forth was reckoned from this time as Northumbrian ground. How far Ecgfrith would have pushed his conquests in this quarter had his hands been left free we cannot tell, but the war with the Picts was hardly over when he was forced to meet a more formidable attack on his southern frontier. Wulfhere had carried the supremacy of Mercia not only over the whole of Mid-Britain, but even as far as the British Channel; and it was as the practical master of all Britain south of the Humber, and with a force drawn from every one of its peoples, that he marched on Northumbria with a demand of subjection and tribute. It was at this time that the Priory of Stone was founded by King Wulfhere of Mercia. It was the earliest monastic house in what is now Staffordshire. It was of the Celtic type, and housed both monks and nuns. It was refounded as an Augustine monastery in 1150. It was to bear, as we have already learned, an important part in the history of our family in Staffordshire. It was here that the Northumbria colonists settled after the Conquest. During his brief reign, King Peada had located a temporary shelter or shield at a place in Mercia near what is now Eccleshall, in the present county of Staffordshire, intending to erect there a permanent castle or fort. He died before this could be accomplished; thus the spot came to be called Peada's shield, later corrupted into Peshale. King Wulfhere, brother of Peada, on coming to the throne, for several years held his kingdom by the hardest kind of fighting. So he garrisoned and held Peada's Shield to guard his kingdom against the Welsh. Later he abandoned Peada's Shield because it was low, and selected a place upon a high rock about two miles farther east where he built his own castle, the remains of which were still there as late as 1542. This Byri Hall of King Wulfhere, says John Leland, stood on a rock by a brookside, where at the time of his visit there in 1542, appeared great dykes and square stones. Later, as above stated, King Wulfhere founded and built the priory of Stone about a mile still further east. [Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 347-356. The Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 1, page 226.]

It is remarkable that exactly four centuries later the descendants of King Oswy, father-in-law of King Peada, should find a home in this same locality. That they should all be connected with Stone Priory and that an actual descendant of Oswy should not only occupy the manor that was created from the lands of Peada's Shelter, then known as Peshale, but that the descendants of this lady Ormunda should as well take their family name from this place.

The following chart will give some idea of the ancestry of Peada.



Nennius gives the ancestry of Penda as follows:—Woden begat Guedolgeat, who begat Gueagon, who begat Guithleg, who begat Guermund, who begat Offa, who begat Ongen, who begat Eamer, who begat Pubba or Wibba, the father of Penda.

[Making of England, by Green, page 258.]

Ecgfrith was as successful against the Mercians as against the Picts; and though as before, his army was inferior in number to that of his opponents, after a bloody encounter he drove Wulfhere from the field, and forced the Mercian king, in turn, not only to surrender the land of the Lindiswaras, which he had taken from Oswy in that king's later days, but to pay tribute to Northumbria.

The death of Wulfhere, which immediately followed this triumph, in 675, and the accession of the more peaceful Aethelred, removed for the time all pressure from the south, and left Northumbria free to carry on a work of industrial development, which was producing results even more striking than those which had taken place in Mid-Britain. Here, as there, the movement was in name a monastic one. It was in the country south of the Lammermoor that lands were bestowed by Oswy on a monastery which his sister Ebba was establishing on the coast at Coldingham, as well as on the House of Melrose. Dunbar, was the monastery which Ebba founded at Coldingham, to the south of the great promontory which still preserves her memory in its name of St. Abb's Head. Ebba was, as we have seen, daughter of Aethelfrith, chapter 11, section 3, div. 22, and a sister of Oswald and Oswy, which made her aunt to the present king Ecgfrith; the character which her double house of monks and nuns took even during her lifetime shows how much stronger a part was played in these settlements by the social than by the religious impulse. Under Ecgfrith's successors, the practice became almost universal, among the higher nobles and thegns of the court, of procuring grants of folk-lang under the pretext of establishing a religious house, of drawing to them monks from other monasteries, as well as inducing some of their own servants to take the tonsure and promise monastic obedience to their rule, while themselves

often remaining laymen, and profiting by their name of abbots to escape from all obligations of military service to the realm. We have seen how this same system lasted until after the Conquest, as in the opening of this chapter we find Osbert the father and Osbert the brother of Ormunda are lay priests at Swinnerton Church in the Parish of Stone Priory, and this same monastery continued to be for both monks and nuns until 1150, when it became an Augustine monastery.

This was, however, only a continuance under the rule of the Roman Church of the same system as had prevailed in the Celtic Bernician Church from its earliest time, beginning with its foundation.

The most notable and wealthy of the religious houses of Northumbria was that of Streonashalh, an abbey which Oswy had reared for Hilde and the child he had vowed to God as a thank-offering for his victory at the Winwaed. The reader will recall that on the invasion of Deira by Aethelric, in 598, two sons of Aella had fled from their fatherland into exile. One of these, whose name is lost, had already reached manhood, and in the early years of his exile he became the father of Hereric, whose name has been preserved to us through the sanctity of his child Hild. As we hear no more of him, this elder son must have died in those years of wandering. His son Hereric, with his wife Bregeswid, and their two children, Hereswid, who afterwards married Aethelhere, king of East Anglia, and the more celebrated Hild, who founded the House of Whitby, was, in Hild's infancy (and she was born in 614), in exile with Cerdic, a king of the Britons, and was then poisoned. Eadwine, Aella's other son, was much younger than his unnamed brother; he can, in fact, have been little older than his nephew Hereric, for he was but twenty-eight when Hereric, already a father of two children, was murdered. [Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 240.]

The love of solitude and retirement which the northern Church drew from its Celtic founders told in the choice of the spot for founding Whitby. For the memory that endears Whitby to us is not alone that of Hild or of the scholars and priests who gathered round her. Her abbey became from the first the greatest foundation of the north, for Hild was the daughter of Hereric, and the great-grandchild of Aella; and though years of change had passed by and her line had ceased to rule in the male line, she still drew a reverence as one of the last of the royal stock of Deira. Her counsel was sought even by nobles and kings; and the double monastery over which she ruled became a seminary of bishops and priests. [Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 347-356.]

No buildings in Northern Britain could vie with Benedict's church at Wearmouth save the churches which his friend Wilfrid was raising at the same time in the western moorlands at Ripon, and at Hexham, in the valley of the Tyne. Work of artistic restoration was as much a passion with the one as the other; and if Wilfrid had visited Gaul in part for the purpose of consecration, it was in part too to gather the builders and teachers of nearly every art whom he brought with him in his train on his return to Britain. Through the nine years that followed his arrival at York, the greatness of Bishop Wilfred seemed to vie with that of Ecgfrith. The new monastic foundations regarded themselves as his monasteries, and at a later time he could boast of the thousands of his monks; while the Northumbrian thegns sent their children to be brought up in his household, whether

with the end of their becoming clerks or of serving the king as secular nobles. His wealth and generosity seemed boundless. At one time he entertained Ecgfrith in a feast that lasted three days and three nights; his gifts were lavished on his monasteries and clergy; and his train, as he rode through the country, was like an army in its numbers, and in the kingly splendor of its vesture and weapons. Friendly as the relations of the king and bishop were at first, we can hardly wonder that a pomp such as this brought dissension between them, or that Ecgfrith seized on the projects of Theodore as enabling him to curtail a diocese which stretched over the whole extent of his realm. In 678, Egfrid, King of Northumbria, captured Lindsey from Wulfhere, King of Mercia, and had Edhed ordained the first bishop of Lindsey. We may recognize how well the church covered the land by the fact that in Domesday Book there are 220 churches named as in existence at the time of the Conquest. These churches represented the Christian faith of the English people. Nevertheless the Norman, and later the English historians, speak of the Conqueror as coming to England to convert a nation of stiff-necked unbelievers. The satire of it all being that the Conqueror was himself a pagan. [Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 362-364. Counties of England, vol. 1, page 160.]

In 678, Archbishop Theodore appeared in Northumbria at the King's summons, and we must presume that Wilfrid's resistance to his plans was notorious, for, without waiting for his presence, the primate deposed him from his see, and proceeded to the division of his diocese. The plan of falling back on the older divisions was followed here as elsewhere. Eata was set at Hexham as bishop of the Bernicians, and Bosa at York as Bishop of the Deirans, while Eadhed was set as bishop over the Lindiswara. After a formal protest against the primate's action, Wilfrid left Northumbria to carry his appeal to Rome, where an agent of Theodore's awaited him on his arrival, and the cause was formally heard and debated at the Papal Court. In his appeal Wilfrid virtually consented to a division of his diocese if Rome saw need of this, but he claimed the annulling of the sentence of deposition as uncanonical, and his claim was allowed. With bulls and letters from the Papal see, he again appeared at Ecgfrith's court, but they were rejected as having been obtained by bribery; and, by the order of the Witan, Wilfrid was thrown into prison, and only released at the end of nine months. Even then Ecgfrith's hostility prevented his finding a refuge in either Mercia or Wessex, and he at last only succeeded in hiding himself behind the screen of the Andredsweald among the South Saxons.

Meanwhile Theodore completed his work in the north by the creation of two fresh bishoprics—one of them at Lindisfarne, and the other far away at Abercorn, across the Firth of Forth, in the province of the Picts. The three years' delay before this final step in 682 was probably due to a war that sprang up between Mercia and Northumbria in the year that followed the opening of the primate's work in the north. The country of the Lindiswara still remained a subject of contention between the two kingdoms. It was assailed in 679 even by the peaceful Aethelred, and the armies of the two kings met in a bloody contest on the banks of the Trent. The strife was brought to an end by the intervention of Theodore; and the position which the archbishop had attained was shown by the

acceptance, on the part of both states, of a treaty of peace which he drew up, and by the consent of Northumbria to an abandonment of its supremacy over the Lindiswara. Such a consent shows that Ecgfrith's power was now fatally shaken. The old troubles revived on his northern frontier, where the Scots of Argyle would seem to have received aid in some rising from the men of their blood across the Irish Channel, for in 684 the Northumbrian fleet swept the Irish shores in a raid which seemed like a sacrilege to those who loved the home of Aidan and Columba; and where, in 685, a rising of the Picts forced Ecgfrith's army again to cross the Firth of Forth. [Making of England, by John Richard Green.]

The conquests of Egfred extended the Northumbrian dominions to the western coast, and with his numerous donations of lands in the modern counties of Lancashire and Cumberland to the Northumbrian clergy, interposed a permanent barrier between the Britons of North Wales, Cumberland and Strath Clyde. The manor of Ripon, for instance, which was known as St. Wilfred's Leuga, became the property of the abbey during the reign of the Northumbrian Ecgfrid, in the seventh century. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, page 10-14. Robertson's Historical Essays, page 109.]

In 684, tempted by his good fortune, he sent his general Berct to ravage Ireland, then, says Bede, a peaceful and friendly country, which implies that his dominions had now touched some parts of the western shores. The slightest consideration as to the relative sizes of the two countries would stamp this as a piece of vain glory that never went beyond the minds of truculent courtiers. But it happens that the Danish saga shows that the king of Denmark made a great raid into Ireland, capturing her coast cities. It was as part of this expedition that Ecgfrith's forces ventured into Ireland and the reason was that he was daily fearing more and more the possibility of the return of his brother Aldfrid to claim the throne and supported by the arms of his Irish relatives who both there and in Scotland were very powerful. The Irish Chronicles of the Four Masters disclose that this raid was made more terrible by the feeling between the two churches, the Irish still adhering to the Celtic Bernician Christian Church discipline. Says the chronicle:—The leader of the hosts of the King of Saxons whose name was Egberthus, the leader's name being Berthus, plundered deplorably an inoffensive nation and one ever most friendly to the people of the race of Saxons and they fought the battle of Raith Mor in Magh line where they slew Cumascach the king of the Cruithnigh together with a large body of Gaels. . . . . A company of them also landed in the east of Leinster and they plundered churches and county districts and they returned after having committed much spoiling and plundering. He has been very harshly criticised for the next year leading his army into Scotland and Pictland but after his attack on Ireland there was nothing else for him to do if he desired to hold his kingdom. It was these two war ventures which brought about the return of the lawful line of kings to the throne of Northumberland. [Making of England, by John Richard Green.]

It was five years after the erection of the See of Abercorn, when for some unknown cause, Egfrid, repeating the ravages of his Irish expedition of the previous year, poured a mighty army across the Forth, burning the raths of Tulach-

Aman, and Dun Ollaig. His progress was unopposed, and penetrating into the neighboring province of Angus, he crossed the Tay without resistance, and skirted the base of the Grampian range until he approached the neighborhood of Lin Garan or Nectan's Mere, a little lake in the modern parish of Dunnichen. Here his antagonist, the Pictish King (Bruidi), who was his cousin, awaited with his followers the hostile onset. The signal overthrow of the invading force justified the choice of the position. The victory was as glorious as its consequences were important; Ecgfrid and the greater part of his army were left upon the field, whilst few escaped from the scene of slaughter to carry back to Northumbria the tidings of her monarch's fall. All that the conquests of thirty years had wrested from the Picts was lost forever to the race of Ida, and the Saxon bishop, abandoning in terror his See of Abercorn, never rested in his hurried flight until within the walls of Whitby; he had placed the whole breadth of Bernicia between himself and his rebellious flock. The Dalriads also recovered their former liberty, and even the Britons enjoyed a momentary independence, and through the losses and embarrassments entailed upon Northumbria by the disastrous overthrow of Egfrid, the pre-eminence of the Northern Angles received a fatal shock which the utmost efforts of succeeding princes failed altogether to repair.

It was the growing reverence for his sanctity that dragged Cuthbert back, after years of this seclusion, to fill the vacant see of Lindisfarne. He entered Carlisle, which the king had bestowed upon his bishopric, at a moment when all were waiting for news of Ecgfrith's campaign; and as he bent over a Roman fountain which still stood unharmed among the ruins of Carlisle, the anxious bystanders thought they caught the words of ill-omen falling from the old man's lips. Perhaps Cuthbert seemed to murmur, at this very hour the peril of the fight is over and done. Watch and pray, he said, when they questioned him on the morrow; watch and pray. In a few days more a solitary fugitive, escaped from the slaughter, told that the Picts, under Bruidi, their king, had turned desperately to bay as the English army entered Fife; and that Ecgfrith and the flower of his nobles lay, a ghastly ring of corpses, on the far-off moorland of Nectansmere. [Making of England, by John Richard Green.]

Nennius says:—Ecgfrith reigned nine years. In his time the holy bishop Cuthbert died in the Island of Medcaut. It was he who made war against the Picts and was by them slain. St. Cuthbert had told the Queen of his vision and it was to the Royal City, as Bamborough was called PAR EXCELLENCE, that St. Cuthbert, in his prophetic anxiety for the fate of King Egfrid, urged Queen Irminburga to hasten from Carlisle in 685. [History of Durham, page 20.]

Terrible as the blow of Ecgfrith's defeat and death was to Northumbria, it removed the last difficulty in Theodore's path. He was drawing near the close of his life, and anxious, ere he died, to secure his work of organization by the reconciliation of the one prelate who still opposed it. Wilfrid, too, was backed by Rome; and to set at nought the judgment of Rome must have seemed to the primate a practical undoing of his earlier efforts to bring about the submission of Britain to the Papal See. The personal hostility of Ecgfrith had hitherto stood in the way of any measures of conciliation, but on his fall at Nectansmere, Theodore at once summoned Wilfrid to a conference at London, and a compro-

mise was arranged between the two prelates. By the intercession of the primate with the new Northumbrian king, Alchfrid, brother of the deceased Ecgfrith, Wilfrid was restored to the see of York; but the work of Theodore in the north was left intact, for the see to which Wilfrid returned was simply that of Deira, while the Bernician sees of Lindisfarne and Hexham remained in the hands of their former occupants. [Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 266-369.]

To this or the next reign belong the earliest fragmentary memorials of the Bernician or Northern English dialect which have come down to our time—the Runic inscriptions of the crosses at Ruthwell, and perhaps those at Thornhill in Dumfriesshire, and at Newcastle in Cumberland. It was during the same period that Caedmon (q.v.) a monk of Whitby, the earliest English poet, died (680), and Bede, the monk of Wearmouth and Yarrow, the earliest English historian, except the anonymous authors of the A. S. Chronicle, Aldhelm and Eddi, the writer of Wilfrid's life, was born (672-674). To their influence, and to the learned—which succeeded the warlike—epoch of Northumberland during the next century down to the death of Alcium of York in 804, may be ascribed the fact that, while Saxon Wessex became the dominant state, the language and the land south of the Forth received from the Angles the name of English and England. [Encyclopaedia Britannica.]

With the beginning of the next century, and the coming of the Norsemen, the kingdom of Northumbria, though waxing in arts and luxury, had ceased to be the all-powerful kingdom of England, and had entered into alliance with the West Saxon kings. Political dissensions and ecclesiastical laxity in Deira, made it a comparatively easy prey to the heathen invaders who, having harried it again and again, finally settled in modern Yorkshire, leaving the old Bernicia from the Tyne to the Forth in the hands of its people under their old kings. It is worthy of note that no Danes are thought then or ever to have settled in this northern half of old Northumbria, and that the men of modern Northumberland, Berwickshire, and East Lothian, and notably the descendants of the Northumbrian kings, are held today as of purer English stock than any other in these islands. [Encyclopaedia Britannica.] Still more noteworthy were the schools of Northumbria. They exerted an influence which marks them as the great beacon lights of knowledge in this period of almost mental darkness which prevailed over so much of what are now called the most advanced countries of Europe, as well as in the British Isles. In these schools the Bernician nobles were teachers as well as scholars.

It was at this time that the Scottish Kingdom seems to have its beginning. During the forty years which elapsed after the victory of Nectan's Mere an occasional conflict with the Angles testifies to the embittered feelings which had arisen through Northumbrian aggression; and upon the abdication of Nectan, the somewhat arbitrary reformer of the Gaelic clergy, who after a reign of eighteen years relinquished his throne for the cloister, a contest seems to have arisen between four Pictish kings, which, after five years, terminated in the undisputed ascendancy of Angus MacFergus. Fortune proved true to her favorite, whose alliance was courted at different periods by the Mercian and Northumbrian

sovereigns, and in the results of his victories over his various competitors, and in his conquests over the Dalriads, and the northern Britons, may be traced apparently the germs of the future kingdom of Scotland. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, page 20-21. Edinburgh, 1862.]

The Mercian Chronicle adds the following interesting details concerning the history of Northumbria. Anno 678, that fearful comet appeared in the month of August in the morning, and continued three months, in the eighth year of Egfrig, king of Northumberland. Anno 679, was the great battle between this Egfrig and our Ethelred, near the river Trent, being the ninth year of Egfrid, whose brother Elfwin was slain. These wars were shortly after composed by Theodore, the archbishop of Canterbury; Anno 680, this archbishop celebrated a council at Hatfield, September the 17th; in the tenth year of Egfrid king of Northumberland; the sixth year of Ethelred king of Mercia. This is the famous year in which the sixth ecumenical council (so called) was begun at Constantinople, November 7. This also is the year of that eclipse of the moon that happened on Monday the eighteenth of June, before one o'clock in the morning, the moon being eclipsed totally. Anno 696, the Mercians cruelly slew Ostrica their queen, the daughter of Egfrid king of Northumberland. [History of Cheshire, by George Omerod, vol. 1.]

Among the royal prerogatives is that of coining money and fixing the intrinsic value of the means of exchange. The Kings of Bernicia and of Northumberland exercised this privilege from the beginning of their kingdom. Unfortunately there are no authentic coins come down to us from the earliest kings. But among the earliest examples is one coined during the reign of Egfrith who reigned from 670-685. This coin symbolized his remarkable patronage of the church and religious establishments for disseminating the light of truth. It bears a cross surrounded by the legend Ecfrid Rex. The cross has rays of light emanating from it and is surrounded by the word—light.

The distinctive feature of the coins of this kingdom, and which applies as well to the description of this coin of Ecfrid, is their metal; it is commonly termed copper, but in fact is a composition, whether accidental or intentional is unknown, containing, in one hundred parts, sixty to seventy of copper, twenty to twenty-five of zinc, five to eleven of silver, with minute portions of gold, lead and tin. These coins are termed stycas, a name supposed to be derived from the Saxon sticce—a minute part—two being equal to one farthing. Small money must have been wanted everywhere in times when an ox sold for thirty pennies and a sheep for one shilling, as was the case at this time. In reading the money value of the possessions of our ancestors we must therefore keep constantly in mind the greater buying power of the coins in those days which in our later times are looked upon as insignificant in value for current exchange.

The Bernicians and Northumbrians also had the skeattae of the usual purity of silver, and eventually pennies of the same weight and purity as the Saxon money of the other parts of the island. The skeatae are not well understood coins. In fact the name itself has become so obsolete that its meaning is not really known. It is supposed to be a Saxon word meaning a portion, which supposes that these silver coins were a well defined portion of some larger fixed

measure of value. They were not always regular coins and many examples are known where there was an entire absence of engraving to show that they were coins of exchange. The smaller coins were remarkably well executed, showing a fine degree of perfection on the part of the engraver, who was probably some inmate of a religious house. The Moneyers were Arabians, which country at this time excelled in the engraving of the dies. [Coinage of England, by Henry Noel Humphreys, London, 1854, page 43.]

Upon the death of Ecgfrith he was succeeded by his brother Aldfrid, the rightful heir to the throne, who had been in exile in Ireland.

*20. ALDFRID, son of Oswy, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 21, married ——, the daughter of King Penda and sister of Peada. Children:—

1. *19 Egwald, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 19.
2. Offa.
3. Eadwulf, father of Coenred.

Aldrid ruled from 685 to 705, as king of Northumberland. We have no positive knowledge as to how many years he ruled as king of Deira during the lifetime of his father, King Oswy, of whom he held this kingdom as a subking. As we have already stated, on the death of Oswy in 670 he was succeeded by his son Egfrid and Aldfrid the elder son was superseded. Although the historians disagree as to the cause for this setting aside of the lawful heir, the true reason is that Aldfrid was so fine a scholar and such a student that he was nearly if not quite a cleric. It was therefore easy for his fighting brother to set him aside. There does not seem to have been any serious disturbance over the matter except that Aldfrid was compelled to flee to Ireland, the native country of his mother. It may be that he was already in Ireland and a student at Inis-fall, for he was a student-king. He continued to have a warm place in his affections for this school. In the poem written during his sojourn there he refers to the place as follows:—

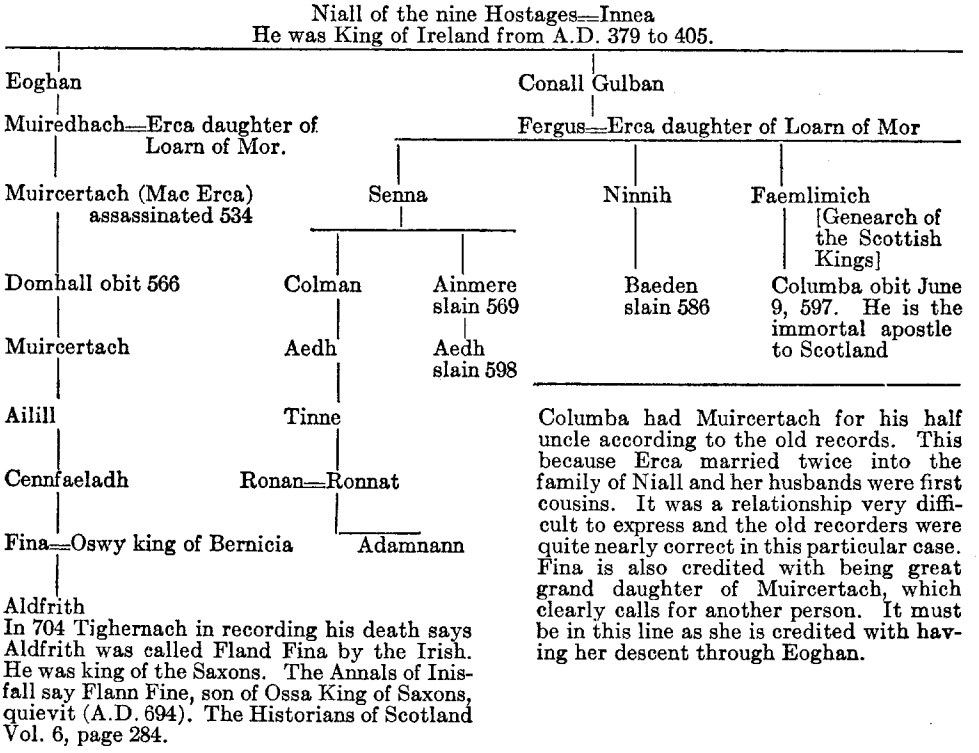
> It is natural in fair Inis-fall,
> In Erin without contention, [Such as there is in Northumbria]
> Many women, no silly boast,
> Many laics, many clerics.

He also refers to himself as follows:—

> Flann Fina, son of Ossa, [i.e. son of Fina and of King Ossa]
> Arch-doctor in Erin's learning,
> On the banks of the river Ren composed [this]
> Received his due as was natural. [i.e. his banishment.]

Through his mother, Fina, Aldfrid was not only descended from the great Niall of the nine hostages but he was closely related to the kings of Scotland and to the immortal Columba, the apostle to the Scots and Picts, the great saint and scholar of Iona. He was Alumnus and closely related to the outstanding Adamnan, the eighth successor to Columba at Iona as is disclosed by the following chart and citations from the Chronicles of the Four Masters, A. D. 400. Niall of the Nine Hostages made incursions into Britain against Stilicho, whose success in repelling him and his Scots is described by Claudius. By him, says the poet speaking in the person of Britannia, was I protected when the Scots moved all

Ierne against me and the sea foamed with his hostile oars. From another poet's eulogium it appears that the fame of the Roman Legion which had guarded the frontier of Britain against the invading Scots procured for them the distinction of being one of those summoned to the banner of Stilicho when the Goths threatened Rome.



Eoghan son of Niall died of tears—Good his nature—in consequence of the death of Conall of hard feats (His brother).

Muiredhach;—married as her second husband Erca the daughter of Loarn of Mor.

Muircertach;—If in a pillared house were the son of Eochaidh son of Muiredhach I would not bring my full sack to a church for the sake of Aedh Allan. The drowning of Muircheartach Mac Erca (i.e. son of Erca) in a puncheon of wine on the night of Samhain on the summit of Clett, over the Boyne, is noticed as follows in the Annals of Clonmeanoise;—A.D. 533, King Moriertagh had prosperous success as before he came to the throne as after against those that rebelled against him. He was drowned in a kyve of wine in one of his own manors, called Calytagh, near the River Boyne, by a fair woman that burned the house over the king's head on Hollandtide. The king thinking to save himself entered the kyve and was so high that the wine could not keep him for depth for he was fifteen foot high, as is laid down in a certain book of his life and death. This is the end of king Moriertagh who was killed, drowned and burned together through his own folly that trusted the woman contrary to the advice of St. Carneagh.

Domhall;—The battle of Sligeach was fought by Fergus and Domhall the two sons of Muircheartach mac Erca.

Muircertach was the son of Domhall and great grandfather of Fina, mother of Aldfrith.

Ailill, son of Muircertach, is mentioned as grandfather of Fina in the Niall genealogy.

Caenfalladh;—son of Ailill a paragon of wisdom he died in 675 and is named as the wise. He was the author of Uraicheath which he wrote in the time of Columba. [Keating, Hist. of Ireland in Irish Text Society, vol. 1, page 81.]

During the time of Aldfred there was a certain Irish monk (named Adamnann), not vowed (according to the Roman Church) but of Apostolic order (according to the discipline of the Celtic Bernician Christian Church), who was the governor of the monastery (i.e., a familia), that Columbamus had founded on the Island of Hu. He was a pattern of virtue and a man studious and singularly well informed in the Holy Scriptures. Nor was he ignorant of profane literature; and wise and fair spoken he was for his life and conversation, renowned for the opinion of sanctity and the father of many monks. He traveled in all parts of the north of Britain, instructing with heavenly admonitions Irish, Scots, Picts and Anglo-Saxons. He became a student of Arnuphus of France and committed his teachings to writing in three folios which he dedicated to Aldfred, king of Northumbria. [Doctor Hanmer's Chronicle of Ireland, page 161.]

The Chronicle of Holyrood recites that Ecgfrith was succeeded by Ealdfrith (Aldfred), a man very learned in Scriptures who was said to be brother to Oswy or Oswin's son and he nobly restored the kingdom although within narrower bounds. [Cited Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 1, page 193.]

Adamnann became the eighth successor to Columba at Iona in 679, which was but four years prior to the time when his friend Finnachta Fledach became monarch of Ireland. He invited Adamnann to his court where he became his spiritual director and by reason of this he became so conspicuous a figure during the reign of this king. At this time Aldfrid having completed his studies at Inesfall became a person of prominence at the Irish court and here he met Adamnann whose alumnus he became and this proved serviceable to both the Irish and the Scots during the reign of Aldfrid. For on the death of his brother Egfrid in 685 Aldfrid was restored to his country and to the enjoyment of his hereditary rights. The differences with Ireland and Bernicia growing out of the warfare made by Egfrid had not entirely been healed and there were numerous captives still retained by the Bernicians. The circumstances of Adamnann's journey are thus related in his Irish life, but manifestly with that looseness and disregard of historical precision which characterises the later hagiology of Ireland, says Professor William Reeves. The north Saxons went to Erin and plundered Magh Bregh as far as Bealach-duin, and they carried off with them a great prey of men and women. The men of Erin besought Adamnann to go in quest of the captives to Saxonland. Adamnann went to demand the prisoners and put into Tracht-Romra. The strand is long and the flood rapid. So rapid that if the best steed in Saxonland, ridden by the best horseman, were to start from the edge of the tide

when the tide begins to flow, he could only bring his rider ashore by swimming, so extensive is the strand and so impetuous is the tide. * * * Adamnann's demand was, that a complete restoration of the captives should be made to him and that no Saxon should ever again go upon a predatory excursion to Erin; and Adamnann brought back all the captives. [The Historians of Scotland, vol. 6, page clii.] Adamnann tells that at the time of his first visit to Eldfrid a great mortality prevailed in Europe from which, however, the Scots and Picts of North Britain were providentially exempted. In Saxonia (Bernicia), however, when I went to visit my friend king Aldfrid the plague was raging and laying waste to many of his villages. And the plague was still raging when I visited him two years later. [*Ibid.*, pp. 77 & clii.]

Aldfred, 685-705, retrieved, in the words of Bede, the ruined state of the kingdom, though with narrower bounds [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, vol. 1, pp. 16-19]. To add to the disasters that came with the overthrow of Ecgfrith, it was in 685 that Iver Vidfadne, who had made himself ruler of all the countries on the Scandinavian peninsula, came into Deira and overran it. In the Yngling Saga (see ante, Chapter 2, Section 2, Division D 32) the story of this king is told in connection with the ancestors of Rognvald. This disaster was partly retrieved by Aldfred.

St. Rumbald was a son of the King of Northumbria by a daughter of Penda. He was born at King's Sutton, Oxfordshire, and lived only three days, yet according to the tradition he preached to the people at Brackley, and was finally buried at Buckingham, where a shrine was erected, to which great resort was made by pilgrims. [Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 1, page 371.]

There are several coins of Aldfred, who reigned from 685-705, in the British collection, one a skeatta of silver and the other a styes. [Coinage of the British Empire, by Henry Noel Humphreys, London, 1854, page 43.]

The ancient confederacy of the Britons at this time was permanently broken up into separate divisions of Wales, and the English and Scottish Cumbria—or Cumberland and Strath Clyde—never again destined to be reunited under the authority of one supreme UNBEN. During the reign of the Northumbrian Aldfred the Angles began to extend their encroachments from the neighborhood of Carlisle along the whole of the south-western coast, known in a later age as Galloway; their possessions in this quarter having increased, shortly before the death of Beda, to such an extent as to justify their usual policy of establishing a bishopric; and accordingly, Whithern, or Candida Casa, the traditional see of Ninian, was revived, and placed under the superintendence of a line of Anglian bishops, which was abruptly brought to a close about a century later. The success of Eadbert reduced the fortunes of the Britons in this quarter to the lowest ebb. Kyle was rendered tributary to Northumbria, which already included Cunningham; and shortly after the middle of the century, Alclyde must have thrown the whole of the ancient British territories in the Lennox, which were subsequently included in the diocese of Glasgow, into the power of Angus, together with a great portion of the debatable land between Forth and Clyde, similarly included in the Cumbrian diocese; and the little principality of Strath Clyde was now completely hemmed in and surrounded by hostile territories, though the gradual decline of

the Northumbrian power towards the close of the eighth century, enabled the petty state to struggle on for another hundred years in a precarious species of nominal independence. [History of Cheshire, by George Omerod, vol. 1.] Aldfred was succeeded by his son Eadulf.

*19. ECGWALD, son of Aldfrid, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 20, is our ancestor in this generation. He married and had a child:—

1. *18 Leodwald, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 18.

All the ancient genealogies agree that Ecgwald or Ecgwulf was the father of Leodwald and that he was the father of Etta, Bishop of Hexham. They are not agreed as to the generations beyond because they have not considered the course of transmission of the kingship according to the right of primogeniture. For two generations we become a junior line and our history is involved in that of the king who ruled at this time who was our brother.

*EADULF. The church and village of Bamborough, which had been rebuilt, were again burnt down in February, 706, when King Eadulf was besieging the powerful ealdorman Bertfrid, who, having revolted against his authority, held the city of the late King Ecgfrith's young son Osred. Finding himself hard pressed, Bertfrid, as he afterwards declared, vowed that in case of his resistance proving victorious he would render obedience to the Church of Rome, especially in the question of the restitution of Wilfrid to his bishopric. Eadulf was soon afterwards defeated and slain by Osred.

Eadulf (after his death) was succeeded by Osred, son of Ecgfrith, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 20.

OSRED. Married —— ——. Child:—

1. OSRIC. Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 18.

About this time we see the kings resisting the excessive creation of great monasteries which absorbed the lands and thereby not only reduced the amount of military tenure, but deprived the kings of the succession tax. Boniface, in a letter written between 744 and 747, remonstrates with Aethelbald of Mercia, quod multa privilegia ecclesiarum et monasteriorum fregisses (that you have had the many rights of the clergy and monasteries taken away), and adds, privilegia ecclesiarum in regno Anglorum intemerata et inviolata permanserunt usque ad tempora Ceolredi Regis Mercionum et Osredi Regis Deorum et Berniciorum (the privileges of the clergy in the kingdom of the Angles remained inviolate and unharmed all the way to the time of Ceolred, King of the Mercians, and Osred, King of the Deirans and Bernicians). [Stubbs and Haddan, Councils, vol. iii. pp. 354, 355.] Ceolred was king of Mercia 709-715; Osred of Northumbria, 705-716. [Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 354.]

*18. LEODWALD, son of Ecgwald, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 19. Married —— ——. Child:—

1. *17 Etta, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 17.

We continued to be a junior line during this generation and again our family history is that of the king, our cousin, named Osric. Northumbria was surrounded by alert and valiant enemies so that it was not safe to trust the leadership to a mere child, so Coenred, son of Eadwulf, the older son of the line of Aldfrid, suc-

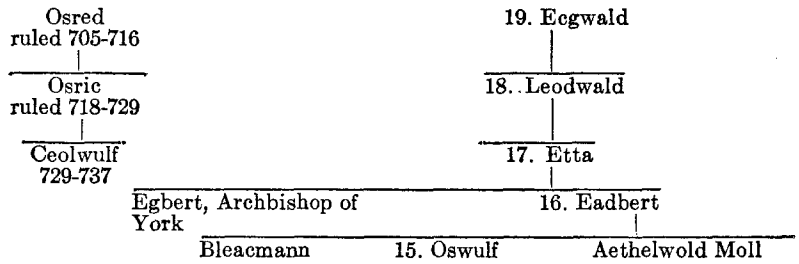
ceeded at first after the death of Osrid. Upon the death of Osred there was contest for the succession—Coenred, son of Eadwulf, succeeded from 716 to 718, being displaced by Osric, son of Osred in 718, who ruled until 729.

OSRIC, son of Osred, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 19. Married ——.

Child:—

1. Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 17.

Under Aldfrith, himself a man of learning and study, who purchased a Cosmography from Abbot Ceolfrid, Northumbria continued as the literary center of Western Europe. The first form the new learning took was naturally a biographical one; at the close of Aldfrith's reign, indeed, a school of biography was already in full vigor, remnants of whose work remain to us in the anonymous Life of Cuthbert, and in the Life of Wilfrid by Eddi. The Life of Cuthbert was the earlier of the two works; that of Wilfrid may be dated about 709. But this biographical outpouring soon lost itself in a larger literary current, and through the reigns of Aldfrith's three successors—Osred, who was a mere boy, but reigned eleven years, from 705 to 716; Coenred, two years from 717 to 718; and Osric, eleven years, from 718 to 729—as well as the more peaceful reign of their successor, the scholarly Ceolwulf, who reigned from 729 to 737, the learning of the age seemed to be summed up in a Northumbrian scholar. Baeda—the Venerable Bede, as later times styled him—was born in 673, nine years after the Synod of Whitby, on ground which passed a year later to Benedict Bishop as the site of the great abbey which he reared by the mouth of the Wear. His youth was trained and his long tranquil life was wholly spent at Jarrow, in an offshoot of Benedict's house which had been founded by his friend Ceolfrid (Ceolwulf), who was succeeded by his cousin german, son of his cousin Etta, from which we have the following pedigree:—



In the year 735 Bishop Egbert received the pallium for the Apostolic See and was the first after Paulinus to be confirmed in the archbishopate of York; he ordained Frithbert and Frithwald as bishops in the sixth year of the reign of Ceolwulf. [Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 2, page 56.]

*17. EATA, son of Leodwald, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 18. Married ——.

Children:—

1. EGBERT, archbishop of York, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 16.
2. *16 EADBERT, king of Northumbria, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 16.

Eata was contemporary with King Ceolwulf, who reigned over Northumbria from 729 to 737. Norham Church, one of the finest in Northumberland, is built on the site long before occupied by a Saxon edifice, deemed worthy to hold the

bones of the saintly King Ceolwulf, to whom Bede dedicated his history. [Romance of Northumberland, by A. G. Bradley, page 161.] Nennius, in his History of the Britons, says: Aeta, the same is Glinmaur begat Eadbryth and Ecbirth who was the first bishop of their nation. Colwulf succeeded Osric in 729, Ceolwulf was tonsured in 758. [Early Sources of Scottish History, vol. 2, page 57.]

The Mercian Chronicles tell us that in the year 735, the venerable Bede died at his monastery, and in 737, our puissant king Ethelbald afflicts Northumbria with cruel wars, being the 11th year of Adelard, king of the West-Saxons, which fell out in the evening of the reign of Ceolwulf and the morning of Agbert, king of Northumbria, which states quite clearly the succession at this time. [History of Cheshire, by George Omerod, page 161, vol. 1.]

First among English scholars, first among English theologians, first among English historians, it is in Bede, the monk of Jarrow, that English learning strikes its roots, and the fame of the school founded upon his scholarly attainments made Northumbria for many centuries the seat of English learning. But the quiet tenor of life was broken by the signs of coming disorganization in Northumbria; and though this anarchy was quelled by the scholarly Ceolwulf, to whom Baeda dedicated his History, after eight years of rule, this king laid down his sword in disgust and withdrew to a monastery. His reign, however, had been marked by an ecclesiastical change which shows how strongly the provincial feeling of severance in the three kingdoms was struggling against the centralizing action of the Church. At the close of Bede's life the state of things which he saw about him drew from him a scheme of religious reformation, one of whose chief features was the revival of the archbishopric which Pope Gregory had originally designed to set up in the north; and this suggestion was soon realized by the occupant of the see of York, Ecgberht, who procured from Rome his recognition as archbishop in 735. From this time, the supremacy of the see of Canterbury found a rival across the Humber; and the political isolation of the northern kingdom was reflected in its religious independence. The close connection of the new see and the northern throne was seen three years later, in 738, when the archbishop's brother, Eadberht, became king of the Northumbrians. The joint character of their rule was shown in the stycas or copper pieces which were coined in the mint at York and which bear the legend of the king on one side and of the primate on the other. Never had the kingdom shown greater vigor within or without than under these two sons of Eata. [The Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 390.]

*16. EADBERT, son of Eatta, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 17. Married —— ——. Children:—

1. *15 Oswulf, king of Northumbria, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 15.
2. Bleacman, father of Alchred.
3. Aethelwold Moll, married daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 15. He was deposed in 765.

A. D. 738, this year Eadbert, the son of Etta, the son of Leodward, succeeded to the Northumbrian throne and held it for one and twenty winters. Archbishop Egbert was his brother. They both rest under the porch in the city of York. [Anglo Saxon Chronicles, translated by Rev. James Ingram, page 49.]

Eadberht showed himself from the outset of his reign an active and successful warrior. Though attacked at the same time on his southern border by Aethelbald of Mercia, he carried on in 740 a successful war against the Picts; in Chronicles, 740, Eadbert king of Northumberland is said to have been occupatus cum suo exercitie contra Pict. This was against Angus son of Sergius who reigned in Pictland from 731-761. Ten years later he recovered from the Britons of Strathclyde the district of Kyle in Ayrshire. So great was his renown that the Frank king Pippin sent envoys to Northumbria with costly gifts and offers of his friendship. Meanwhile Archbishop Ecgberht had shown as restless an activity in the establishment of a school at York. We have already seen the return of life in this city in the reign of Eadwine, and, although it seems to have been again forsaken by the kings of Bernician race who followed him, it became from Wilfrid's days the religious center of the north; while under Eadberht, if not before, it had become its political center. The whole of its northern quarter and much of its eastern had been given up to the bishop and his clergy by Eadwine, doubtless because in its then state of abandonment it was a part of the folk-land, and remained open to give; and in the heart of it the king had reared a little wooden chapel for Paulinus and begun a larger church of stone. But his fall stopped the progress of this building, and Wilfrid in 670 found the church almost in ruins, its windows covered with mere trellis-work, and its roof rotted with the rain. The bishop's energy, however, soon made this church a rival even of his buildings in Ripon and Hexham and its enlargement and decoration were actively carried on by Ecgberht, by whose days York had become the settled capital of the kingdom. Ecgberht not only established a school in connection with his church, but supplied its educational needs by gathering the largest library which had yet been seen in Britain—a library in which Aristotle, the orations of Cicero, and the poems of Virgil, Statius, and Lucan, might be seen side by side with grammarians and scholiasts, and in which the works of two Englishmen at least, Ealdhelm and Baeda, mingled themselves with the long roll of Greek and Latin Fathers. [Making of England, by John Richard Green, pages 390-395.]

In 750 Offa son of Aldfrid, having, it would seem, unsuccessfully claimed the Northumbrian throne, took sanctuary in Lindisfarne. In consequence of this, King Eadbert laid siege to the basilica there, and dragged Bynewulf, the bishop, a prisoner to Bamburgh, though he released him before his own abdication, which happened eight years later. Offa was at this time well advanced in years. His mother was a daughter of Penda of Mercia. His attempts to reign in Northumbria to the exclusion of the rightful ruler represent another of the several attempts made by the Mercian kingdom to erect the Northumbrian kingdom into a mere dependency of that monarchy. This attempt, like all the others, failed. It is true that the Mercian kings did at times get some of their relatives upon the Northumbrian throne by marriage, but, nevertheless, in the end the lawful line of succession prevailed. It seems possible that Eadbert at this time removed the head of St. Oswald from Lindisfarne to Bamburgh—possible, that is to say, if there is any foundation in fact for a curious legend related on the high authority of Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx. According to this, many years after the burial of Oswald, St. Cuthbert appeared to a certain old man who was praying at his

shrine at Lindisfarne, and said, 'Go unto Bamburgh that thou mayest bring me the head of St. Oswald which is now negligently kept in the church there, in order that it may rest in the same shrine as my body. For the successors of King Oswy unjustly removed it to Bamburgh from this my monastery of Lindisfarne. All they, who, by the theft of such a treasure, profaned my sanctuary, are now dead, and that which God entrusted to be buried in a cemetery under my protection ought not to be kept from me by human violence.' For a long time the man who received these orders from St. Cuthbert found no opportunity for carrying them out. At last he proceeded to Bamburgh on St. Oswald's day, and found the king's head, wrapt in cloth, placed above the altar for the veneration of the faithful. The crowd of pilgrims forced him to defer the execution of his plans till the following morning. He then lingered behind after mass till everyone had left the church except the one door-keeper of that monastery. This official kept a very diligent watch on his movements. What he did therefore was to drop his belt and gloves near the altar, and then hastened out of the church to mount the horse his servant had brought to the end of the cemetery. Despatching this servant on an errand, he turned to the door-keeper, whose curiosity had brought him out so far, saying, 'Just take hold of the horse, my good fellow, and let me get my belt and gloves which I left in the church.' Before the door-keeper could say nay, he was off to the altar, had the head of St. Oswald under his arm, and coming out with the gloves and belt ostentatiously displayed to allay suspicion, rode safely off with his sacred booty to Lindisfarne, and afterwards had the satisfaction to learn that the door-keeper carefully locked the church up without ever looking inside again. [History of Northumberland, by Edward Bateson, vol. 1.]

The alliance of Ethelbald the Proud, of Mercia, with Angus of Scotland, seems to have involved the latter in a collision at different epochs with the West Saxons and the Northumbrians. But a connection of a more friendly nature arose with the Bernician Eadbert, one of the greatest restorers of the Northumbrian power, the alliance being probably based upon the mutual spoliation of the Britons. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, page 16.]

The descendants of Ida gradually extended the limits of their kingdom to the west, and, following the coast, established themselves in Galloway and as far as Cunningham [Bede, v. 12], the northern district of modern Ayrshire. Shortly before 731, when Bede concluded his history, an Anglian See had been created at Whithorn (Candida Casa) in Galloway, of which Pechthelm was the first bishop and which lasted till 803.

Eadbert (737-758) pushed his arms as far as the Clyde, defeating the Britons in Kyle, and, in alliance with Angus Macfergus, king of the Picts, took Allclyd (Dumbarton), the chief town or fortress of the Strathclyde Britons, in 756. On its northern boundary a vigorous line of Pictish kings, beginning with Angus Macfergus (731-761), (the ally of Eadbert against the Britons of Strathclyde, whose chief seat was Scone), threatened, and there is no doubt often passed, the boundary of the Forth; but the Angles retained Lothian during the eighth and the first half of the ninth centuries, and it was not till a century after the union of

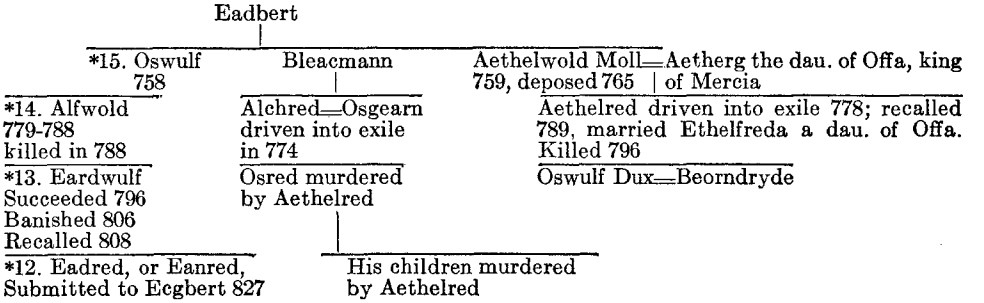
the Scots and Picts under Kenneth Macalpine (844), in the reign of Indulph (954-962), that Edinburgh became Scottish instead of Northumbrian ground.

Ecgbert, the brother of Eadbert, was himself the leading teacher in his school, instructing the clerks or discussing literary questions with them; and the efficiency of his teaching is shown by such a scholar as Alcuin. Scholars, indeed, flocked to him from every country, for it was at a moment when learning seemed to be flickering out, both in Ireland and among the Franks, that the school of York gathered to itself the intellectual impulse which had been given to Northumbria by Baeda, and preserved that tradition of learning and culture which was to spread again, through Alcuin, over the nations of the West. The school, indeed, long survived its founder, for the glory of the sons of Eata proved to be brief. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, and Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 396.]

St. Boniface, in far away Germany, on receiving the news of the death of Bede, begged his friends in England to send him the works of his compatriot; the homilies of Bede would assist him, he said, in composing his own, and his commentaries on the Scriptures would be a consolation in his sorrows. This letter was sent in 736 to Ecgberht, Archbishop of York. In a letter of the year 742, he acknowledged the receipt of the books and expressed his delight at them; and he sent in exchange pieces of cloth to Ecgberht. [Literary History of England, by J. J. Jusserand, page 68.]

In 756 Eadberht continued his attacks on Strathclyde; and, allying himself with the Picts, made himself master even of its capital, Alcluyd, or Dumbarton. But at the moment when his triumph seemed complete, his army was utterly destroyed as it withdrew homewards, only a few days after the city's surrender; and so crushing was this calamity that, two years after it, not only did Eadberht withdraw to a monastery and leave the throne to his son Osulf, but the Archbishop joined his brother in retirement, till both were laid side by side in the minster at York. With the death of the two sons of Eata, the peace of the kingdom disappeared. It is significant that the two last-named kings, Ceolwulf and Eadbert, resigned the crown for the tonsure. Its southern neighbor, Mercia, was ruled by two powerful kings, Ethelbald, who ravaged Northumbria in 737, and, after his death, by the great Offa, 757-796. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, and Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 396.]

Eadbert was succeeded by his son Oswulf.



We have now come to a period of complicated history growing out of the efforts of the Mercian kings to control the kingdom of Northumbria through an alliance by marriage between the two kingly houses, and the substitution of this junior line, to which the Mercian king was thereby related, for the regular succession through the line of the first-born. The chart on the preceding page will therefore be found helpful.

*15. OSWULF, King of Northumbria, son of Eadbert, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 16. Married —— ——. Child:—

1. *14 Elfwold, king of Northumbria, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 14.

Northumbria was no longer the formidable kingdom which carried its arms to the Clyde as in the days of Eadberht. The withdrawal of that king to a cloister had been the close of its greatness, for after a year's reign his son Oswulf was slain by the thegns of his household, ("Occisus . . . a sua familia.") and with his death peace and order seem to have come utterly to an end. As used here the word Thegn does not mean a prince of the royal family, but a soldier of the king's private bodyguard. Oswulf was at this time the last undisputed king of the royal line of Bernicia. From this moment a family strife for the crown absorbed the energy of Northumbria. The throne was seized by Aethelwold Moll, brother of Oswulf, and a victory over his opponents at the Eidon Hills, near Melrose, so strengthened his power that Offa, just settled as king in Mercia, gave him his daughter to wife. [The Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, pages 401-402.]

The accession of Aethelwold Moll, younger son of Eadbert, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 16, and his marriage to Althergthe, the daughter of the Mercian king Offa, introduced a disturbing influence into Bernicia. Althergthe was the mother of Ethelred who later became king of Northumbria, and at the death of his mother he received an epistle of condolence from Alcuin. [Earle and Plummer's Saxon Chronicle, vol. 2, page 49.] At this time Mercia was the dominating kingdom in England and her king had dreams of becoming the king of all England. It was therefore quite within his policy to accept as a son-in-law so good a soldier as Aethelwold Moll and thus without a contest make the hard-fighting kingdom of Bernicia tributary to his own throne. For inasmuch as Aethelwold Moll was nevertheless a usurper of the throne, he would have to depend upon the Mercians to hold him in place. The history of Northumbria discloses that so long as Offa reigned there were troublesome times for the royal family of Northumbria, the Mercians at all times supporting the line of Aethelwold Moll and gaining him and his son a power which they could not have otherwise had, and consequently the rightful king had to fight to maintain his rights. As a result the many occupants of the throne at this time quite clearly indicate the periods of Mercian supremacy, or defeat in this dynastic war. After six years of rule Aethelwold Moll lost his kingdom in a fight at Winchanheale in 765; and his place was taken by another claimant, his nephew Alchred, son of Bleacman, another younger son of Eadbert, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 16. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward A. Freeman, vol. 1, pages 401-402.]

It is hard to understand the accession of Alchred, unless it means that neither the Mercian king nor the rightful claimant Alfwold, son of Oswulf, was able to hold

the throne. It was most likely a compromise which each side accepted believing that they could quite easily displace this new line of kings. Alchred was grandson of Eadbert, thus introducing a third line of claimants to the throne of Northumbria. Alchred claimed descent from Ida through Bleacmann [Flor. Worc. a. 765]; but Simeon adds ut quidam dicunt.—Gest. Reg. a. 765. Aethelwold's descent was even more doubtful. Of uncertain descent, says Green in his work, The Making of England, page 39. But later study makes it quite clear that this period of civil war was brought on, not by uncertain descent from Ida of either of the kings who ruled, but by the dispute of the sons of Eadbert and their descendants, as to the right of succession to the Northumbrian throne, Aethelwold Moll having invoked the old Northumbrian law of the succession of the fittest to rule as against the claim of the infant son of his nephew Alfwold, son of Oswulf, and having secured the help of the Mercian king Offa by the marriage with his daughter, he was able for a time, with this outside force, to disrupt the lawful succession to the rule of the Northumberland kingdom.

Bamborough afforded a temporary refuge to Alcred, king of Northumbria, in 774, before his final exile in Pictland. An early chronicle, in relating this, adds: Bebba is a most strongly fortified city, not very large, being of the size of two or three fields, having one entrance hollowed out of the rock and raised in steps after a marvellous fashion. On the top of the hill it has a church of extremely beautiful workmanship, in which is a shrine rich and costly, that contains, wrapt in a pall, the right hand of St. Oswald the king, still incorrupt, as is related by Beda the historian of this nation. To the west on the highest point of the city itself there is a spring of water, sweet to the taste and most pure to the sight, that has been excavated with astonishing labor.

An interesting incident that has survived concerning this reign is that Osgearn the queen of the Northumbrian Alcred, wrote a joint letter with her husband to Archbishop Lullo of Mayence between 768-774, thus indicating the increased respect for the wife which was the result of the introduction of Christianity. [Historical Essays, by E. William Robertson, page 167.]

The sons of Eadbert, say the old historians, afflicted Northumbria most sorely with their dynastic wars, but while the country was by this means divided into warring factions, it appears that they were united, watchful and fully defensive against any outside enemy. Hence we see the anomaly of a country all broken up with internal dissension yet maintaining itself against powerful extra-territorial aggression.

Alchred was the king to whom St. Willehad applied for leave to go and evangelize the Saxons and Friesans, which leave was granted in a Northumbrian council. There is a letter from him and his wife Osgeofu to Hillus of Mainze which shows that he sent an embassy to Charlamagne on the latter's accession in 768. Alchred married in 768, his wife being then named on the record as Osgearn. [Earle and Plummer's Anglo Saxon Chronicle, vol. 2, page 51.]

Alchred, victorious over two risings under ealdormen, was driven in 774 to take refuge among the Picts by Aethelred, the son of Aethelwold Moll. From Simeon of Durham, we learn that the Northumbrian Alchred was deposed and exiled, with the counsel and consent of all the people. This is worth notice, as

showing that a perfectly legal proceeding may lurk under words which at first sight seem to imply mere violence. The two Chronicles, Worcester and Peterborough, which record the deposition of Ealhred (Alchred) in the year 774, use the words "Her Northymbra fordrifon heora cyning Alchred of Eoforwic on Eastertid, and genamon Aepelred Molles sunu him to hlaforde." So Florence, "Festi Paschalis tempore Northumbrenses regem suum Alhredum, Molli regis successorem, Eboraco expulere, filiumque ejusdem regis Molli, Aethelberhtem, in regem levavere." At the Feast of Easter the Northumbrians' king is Aldred, (Aethelwold) Moll's successor as king, to expel Eboracus they raised in Aethelberht (Aethelred) the same son of king (Aethelwold) Moll. This might suggest the notion of a mere revolutionary act; but the words of Simeon bring out the legal character of the deposition much more strongly; "Alcredus Rex, consilio et consensu suorum omnium, regiae familiae as principum destitutes societate, exilio imperii mutavit majestatem." King Alcred, and the royal household by the deliberation and agreement of them all, are deprived of their first place by an alliance (council), which has changed the dignity of his supreme authority by banishment. With this new light before us, we better understand the force of the words of the Chronicles "of Eoferwic on Eastertid." It is plain that Ealhred was deposed by the Easter Gemót of his kingdom assembled in his capital. Simeon then goes on to speak of Aethelred as "tanto honore coronatus"; and it should be noticed that in 779, when he records the expulsion of Aethelred himself, richly deserved as it was by the treacherous murder of three of his ealdormen, he does not use the same legal language; "Ethelredo expulso de regali solio et in exilio fugato, cogitur moestos inire modos miserasque habere querelas, Eldwald (Alfwold) vero filius Oswulfi, Theleredo expulso, regnum Nothanhymbrorum suscepit." Ethelred was deposed from sole power and fled into exile, his sorrowful and lately wretched supporters remained and had just cause of complaint, Eldwald (Alfwold) the true son of Oswulf expelled Thelred (Ethelred) and took upon himself the kingly power of the Northumbrians. So in the Chronicles (778), and "And pa eng Alfwold to rice and Aepelred bedraf on lande." [The Norman Conquest, Edward A. Freeman, vol. 1, pages 401-402.]

Thus after four years of strife Aethelred followed his rival into exile, and he was succeeded by Alfwold of the rightful line of succession and son of Oswulf.

*14. ALFWOLD, son of Oswulf, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 15. Married ——— ———. Child:—

1. *13 Eardwulf, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 13.

In the British collection there are several coins attributed to Alfwulf. [Coinage of the British Empire, by Henry Noel Humphreys, London, 1854, page 44.]

Alfwold "the son of Oswulf" ruled for nine years, from 779 to 788. It appears that although Northumbria had become a Christian kingdom, nevertheless its kings up to this time had been without the formal investure of the clergy, accompanied with all the magnificent ceremony of the Catholic Church. [The Conquest of England, by John Richard Green.]

The unction of consecrating an English sovereign is first alluded to in the Saxon Chronicle towards the close of the eighth century. In the reign of Offa, and in the same "contentious synod" in which the archbishopric of Lichfield was

called into existence, Ecgfrith was "hallowed to king," and associated with his father in the sovereign power, the consecration of a Northumbrian king being noticed some ten years later. Gregory, Bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, Bishop of Todi, claiming to be the first papal legates despatched to England since the mission of Augustine, arrived from Rome in the course of 786, in company with Abbot Wighod, the MISSUS of "Charles, by the grace of God, King of the Franks, and Lombards, and Patrician of the Romans." After assisting at a council in Northumbria, in which King Aelfwald and his leading clergy and nobility were present, Gregory and Wighod returned to the south, and took part with Offa, Archbishop Ianbert, and the twelve Southumbrian bishops, in the council of Cealchythe. In the regulations laid down in these Councils the sanctity of the royal person was particularly insisted upon. "Let no one dare to conspire against the king's life, for he is the Lord's anointed." He was to be elected by the "sacerdotes et seniores populi,"—the bishops and leading nobles, or the Two Estates. The choice of the wicked was not to prevail, and no one could be recognized as "the anointed of the Lord, king of the whole kingdom, and his country's heir—haeres patriae,"—who was not born in legitimate wedlock. [Robertson's Historical Essays, page 207.] Professor Robertson is, however, mistaken as the kings who were Christians belonging to the Celtic Bernician Christian Church in Ireland, Bernicia and Scotland were many centuries before this consecrated by the unction of the Chrism. Ida, it is said, anointed his place of abode at what was later called Bamborough and Kentigern anointed King Urbgen and before him there had been anointed kings in Ireland. All of which the inquiring student can determine for himself by an examination of the lives of the Celtic Bernician saints and scholars.

The reign of Alfwold was troubled with civil warfare. In one uprising an Ealdorman was burnt by two of his fellow-ealdormen, and in 788 another ealdorman rose and slew the king. In the transept of Hexham are several ancient monuments collected from various parts of the church, among them the only altar tomb remaining in the whole building, a tomb contemporary with the transept, and held by tradition to be the grave-cover of King Elfwald, who was murdered here in 788. [Romance of Northumberland, by A. G. Bradley, page 172.] With his slaying the two houses again came to the front; for two years Alchred's son Osred occupied the throne; and on his flight, in face of a revolt of his ealdormen, the son of Aethelwold Moll, Aethelred, was again recalled to the kingdom, after eleven years of exile. Which discloses why the history of the time is so confused. [The Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, page 43.]

Aethelred shrank from no bloodshedding to secure his throne. The two children of his predecessor were drawn by false oaths from their sanctuary at York to be slain at his bidding, and Osred, son of Alchred, who was drawn by like pledges from the Isle of Man, found a like doom. For a while this ruthlessness seems to have succeeded in producing some sort of peace; but the long anarchy of thirty years had left the land a mere chaos of bloodshed and misrule, and all that saved it from utter ruin was the wide extension of its ecclesiastical domains. The waste and bloodshed of its civil wars stopped short at the bounds of the vast possessions which had been granted to its churches. The privileges of sanctuary

which they enjoyed gave shelter to the victims of the strife, and the learning and culture of Baeda and of Archbishop Ecgberht still found untroubled homes at Jarrow and York. Its intellectual life was thus able to go on amidst the wreck of its political life; and in the midst of the anarchy a scholar passed from the schools of Northumbria to become the head of the literary center of the west. Born about 735, within the walls of York, Alcuin had reached early manhood at the retirement of Eadberht from the throne. He had been intrusted, like other noble youths, to Archbishop Ecgberht in his boyhood, and was placed under the schoolmaster Aethelberht, who followed Ecgberht in his see at his death. In 766, when Alchred had just mounted the throne, he seems to have accompanied Aethelberht on a journey to Rome, and some time after his return himself took charge of the school of York. The years of his teaching there, from 767 to 780, were the age of the school's greatest fame and influence. So completely was the Church isolated from the secular fortunes of the realm about it, that amidst the dynastic warfare of Northumbria not only scholars from every part of Britain, but even from Germany and Gaul, are said to have crowded to Alcuin's lecture-room, while his friend Archbishop Aethelberht was busy in building a new and more sumptuous Church at York, as well as in journeys to Rome, in which he could gather books for its library. [Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, page 43.]

774, the Northumbrians banished their king, Alred, from York at Easter time and chose Ethelred, the son of Moll, who reigned four winters. [Anglo Saxon Chronicles, translated by Rev. James Ingram, page 52.]

It was on his return from a journey to get the pallium for Aethelberht's successor, in 781, that Alcuin, now the most famous of European scholars, met Charles the Great at Parma, and was drawn by him from his work in Britain to the wider work of spreading intellectual life among the Franks. But though his home was now in a strange land, Alcuin's heart still clave to his own Northumbria.

Anno 787, the council of Calcuth was celebrated; which place Archbishop Parker fixeth in the kingdom of Northumbria, Hollingshed in Mercia. There is a place called Kilcheth or Culcheth, five miles north of Warrington in Lancashire, which was just on the borders of Mercia, though indeed within the bounds of the kingdom of Northumbria, which being much minorated by King Offa, to use the terms of Hovedon, might now be within this king's territories. In this council the great Offa crowned his son Egfrid king of Mercia in his life-time. [History of Cheshire, by George Omerod, page 162.] The news of fresh disorder in Northumbria and the slaying of Alfwold in 788, drew from Alcuin prayer after prayer to King Charles of France for leave to revisit his country. [Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, page 43.]

Upon the death of Alfwold in 788, Offa, King of Mercia, succeeded in again placing Aethelred upon the throne of Northumbria. In 790, soon after the recall of Aethelred to the throne, Alcuin seems to have returned to the North of Britain. If so, he must have witnessed the bloody deeds by which Aethelred strove to secure his crown; and we cannot wonder at his finding omens of ill—that rain of blood which, as he wrote after his departure to the king, We saw in Lent, at a time when the sky was calm and cloudless, fall from the lofty roof of the northern

aisle of the church at York. But he could hardly have dreamed how fatally the omen was to be fulfilled by the first descent of Northmen, only a few months after his return to Gaul. [The Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, page 43.]

The Mercian Chronicle says: In the year 789 was the synod of Finchale, now Finkley, three miles north of the city of Durham, on the river Were. A. D. 793, Ethelbert, the young king of the East-Angles, was murdered by the command of King Offa, at a place called Villa Regalis, now Sutton, i.e. South-Town, in Herefordshire, the 13th kal. of June, i.e. May 20, as you have the story at large in Brompton, who tells us also of the prophecy of the murdered king's spouse, that King Offa should not reign after that time above three years; by which he assures us, that it was three years before his death, according to his computation, though the prophecy might commence long after its filling, by the dictate of some monkish quill. In this same year 793, that is, three years before his death, being at Bath, troubled in conscience for his abominable murders, he fell to the work of building a place for St. Alban's bones near Verulam; went to Rome, and obtained a goodly pardon of his ghostly father, the pope; called a council at Verulam; gave Peterpence to the pope's kitchen; did much for the church of Hereford, where Ethelbert was after interred, and illustrated the place with many blind miracles. [History of Cheshire, by George Omerod, page 162.] The history of the Peshale family for several generations was strangely and intimately interwoven into the history of St. Albans. As we have already seen, Ligulph and his wife bought bells for the minster of St. Albans in about 1070.

In the latter part of the seventh century Offa raised the Mercian kingdom to a greater degree of real power than it had ever held, even during the momentary dominion of Penda. The power of the Mercian king was at this time so great that none could gainsay him, and as Aethelred was his son-in-law, it looked as if he would permanently fix this branch of the line of Ida upon the throne of Bernicia. The English historians have been unfair to the true line of Bernician kings. It was not only a family quarrel, as the English writers would have us believe, but a fight between the royal house of Bernicia and the King of England, who was again trying to displace the legal line of succession by one of his own appointment. It is true that the line selected by Offa was of the line of Ida, but they were not legally entitled to rule as long as the older line of Oswulf had male heirs. It seems remarkable that the Bernicians were even now, with divided forces, able to maintain their royal line of descent unbroken. Fortunately for our ancestor there was a greater power in England at this time, the Emperor Charles of France. [The Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 412.]

The scant details which we possess of intercourse between Charles and the English kingdoms point to a policy which would naturally be dictated by their common interests. His friendship with the Northumbrian scholar Alcuin, who joined him in 782, naturally drew Charles into close relations with Northern Britain; but his missions and remonstrances in this quarter seem at first to have aimed simply at checking the anarchy of Northumbria. With Offa—if we judge from the fragments of their correspondence which remain, rather than from later traditions—the relations of Charles were equally friendly. But there came a time when their interests clashed. The learning which Alcuin was helping the

French acquire, brought with it a respect for and admiration of the great schools of Northumbria, and this naturally resulted in a sentimental feeling concerning the line of kings under whom these schools had been founded, under whom they had been fostered, and of whose teachers they had ever been part. It would have been difficult indeed for Charles to have overridden the marked sentiment of his own clergy and nobility in this direction, even had the king himself no love, veneration and admiration for this remarkable kingdom, that was so universally respected, in spite of the evident limitations of its territory, and the comparative weakness of its physical powers. [The Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 412.]

The Mercian Chronicle says: A. D. 794, Pope Adrian and King Offa died; and Aethelred, king of the Northumbrians was slain by his own people in the 13th before the Kalends of May; and Bishops Ceilwulf and Eadbald went away from the land. And Eadbert succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians and died the same year. [Readings in English History, by Edward P. Cheney, page 59.] King Offa having died, Mercian pressure upon Bernicia was withdrawn, and King Aethelred having also become deceased, the line of succession among the rulers of the house of Ida again became tranquil, and Eadwulf, of the oldest male line, succeeded as King of Northumbria. Oswulf, the son of Aethelred was satisfied to be known as duke. This Oswulf removed to Mercia where he long enjoyed the favor of the king, his uncle, as here we find him making grants for his soul's sake to Liming Priory, as witness the following:

In the Cotton Charter Augustus II, No. 97, is a grant from King Coenwulf of a certain marsh, Heemping otherwise Hafing's cota, to Osulf Dux, who granted the same for his soul's health, and for the health of the soul of Beorndryde his wife, to Liming Priory in Kent. This charter may be dated approximately by another of the same King Cynwolf to the same Priory, which also is found in the same depository, the Cotton Library. In 804, Cynwulf, described as King of Mercia, joined his brother, Cuthred, King of Kent, in his grant to the priory. This charter would seem to account for the presence of a Mercian Dux in Kent, and the identity of Osulf, the Mercian noble, with Northumbria is shown by the foundation charter of this same priory. It was founded by St. Ethelburga, granddaughter of King Ethelbert of Kent, by Bertha, daughter of King Charibert of Paris, who married Edwin, King of Northumberland in the beginning of the seventh century, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 21. [History of the House of Arundel, by J. Pym Yeatman.]

*13. EARDWULF, son of Alfwold, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 14, is known in the history of Northumbria as having been the first who was crowned as king in accordance with all the magnificence of the ritual of the Roman Church. Child:—

1. *12 Eanred or Eadred, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 12.

Eardwulf reigned from A. D. 794-806, but no coins of his were found until 1833 when a hoard of eight thousand Northumbrian coins were discovered in digging an unusually deep grave in Hexham churchyard, Durham. They were contained in a bronze vessel and were all stycas, consisting of two thousand of Eadred, two thousand of Ethelred, one hundred of Redul, one hundred of Arch-

bishop Eanbald, eight hundred of Archbishop Vigmund, and about three thousand more which were dispersed without examination. It seems probable that they were buried not later than 844 as there were no coins of a later date. There were some unintelligible coins which were supposed to go back as far as Aella. [Coinage of the British Empire, by Henry Noel Humphreys, London, 1854, page 44.]

Unction was fully recognized in the Councils that legislated about the Lord's anointed; and, as a crown is thus alluded to on more than one occasion in connection with the Mercian sovereigns, it may be assumed that, when Offa's son Ecgfrith, was hallowed to king in the presence—or with the concurrence—of the papal legates at the Council of Cealcyhthe, all the necessary ceremonies were complied with, and the Mercian sovereigns, as well as the kings of the Franks, might have claimed, in a larger age to be numbered amongst the anointed kings, with a full right to unction and a diadem, with the apostolic sanction. [Robertson's Historical Essays.]

As much may be said for the claim of the Northumbrian sovereigns to the same mysterious privileges. The peculiar sanctity of the anointed of the Lord and the rules to be observed in his election, were impressed by the legates quite as much upon the Northumbrian synod as upon the Council of Cealchyth; and accordingly, after the assassination of Aethelred in 796, when Eardulf, whose father had narrowly escaped the same fate in 790, was sent for from exile, he was blessed to king, and raised to his cynestole by Archbishop Eanbald and Bishops Aethelbald, Higbald, and Badwulf, or the whole hierarchy of Northumbria; and, according to the older authority in Simeon, consecrated in the church of St. Peter at York, before the altar of the blessed apostle Paul. Thus the ceremony was in accordance with the regulations laid down in the Bull of John xxii, for a decent number of bishops as well as with the consecration of Otho before the altar in the church at Aix.

In 799 the Danes came to England and destroyed a great part of Lindsey and Northumberland, overcame the most part of Ireland and destroyed Rechreyn. This deprived Eardwolf of his throne for a short time and after this his people became dissatisfied with his want of success in defending their homes so he was deposed for a few years. [Doctor Hanmer's Chronicle of Ireland, page 165.] In 807, Eardwulf, the Northumbrian king, who had two years before been driven from his throne by a revolt of his subjects, appealed both to the Pope and Emperor. [Letters of Leo III in Stubbs and Hadden Councils., vol. iii, pp. 562-565.] Returning in the following year with a papal and two imperial legates, with whose concurrence his son Eanred seems to have been either raised to the throne or associated with his father in the kingdom; the house of Eardulf continued to reign, from this time forward, over the Northumbrians until after the Danish inroad, when it became the house of the hereditary earls of Northumberland. The service for consecrating a Northumbrian sovereign, the "MISSA pro regibus in die Benedictionis," (prayer for the king from day to day in the Benedictional) in the Pontifical of Archbishop Egbert, is the oldest Order on record, differing in one important particular from all the later services—a helmet was used instead of a crown. One of the bishops recited a prayer, whilst the others anointed the king, on the head

alone; all the bishops and principes, the sacerdotes et seniores populi (priests and the elders of the people [the chief men]) of the Council, presented the sceptre and the staff; then let all the bishops take the helmet, and place it on the king's head. It was evidently a service adapted to a limited Hierarchy, like that of Northumbria. [Robertson's Historical Essays, pages 208-210.]

The dependence of the Northumbrians upon the kingdom of the Franks, or rather perhaps upon the Empire, has been sometimes assumed on account of these transactions of their king with the emperor. The assumption, however, is scarcely borne out by the character of the negotiations, which are well deserving of a passing notice. Had Eardulf been dependent upon the king of the Franks, or emperor, Charles would have at once restored him to the Northumbrian kingdom by his own sole power and authority when the exiled prince sought his aid at Nymegen. But Charles did nothing of the sort. He forwarded letters to Rome, informing Leo of Eardulf's expulsion, of which the Pope had already heard from Saxons; for he had received letters from Eanbald (the younger), archbishop of York, Caenulf the Mercian king, and Wada, all of whom he pronounced to be very false. The emperor then bade the Pope summon to his presence Eanbald sum suis consentaneis . . . rationem deducendum (with their consent . . . conduct a reckoning) and Leo declared his readiness to do all that was required of him. Charles seems to have complained soon afterwards that Aldulph, the papal MISSUS, who had been treated with honor and courtesy upon his return from Britain, had not waited the MISSUS sent to conduct him to the imperial presence, but had run away, as it were, avoiding the interview and carrying off with him the MISSUS of Eanbald. He suspected them of a secret mission, and a wish to prevent the arrival of Eardulf at Rome. Leo tried to excuse the MISSI on the ground of ignorance, and, in order to clear himself personally of the suspicion, sent all the letters he had received to the emperor, at the same time entreating Charles to deal gently with the MISSUS of the archbishop of York, lest all of the advantages the Roman Church had gained in that quarter should be lost to the Holy See. Charles seems to have been acting throughout, not as king of the Franks, nor as the emperor supporting a vassal, but as patron of the Roman Church, to which an appeal had been made. Every church in those days had its advocate or patron, and the letters of Gregory the Great, preserved in Beda's History, are duly dated in the reign of OUR LORD Mauricius Tiberius; but upon the dissolution of the last tie binding Rome to Constantinople, by the fall of Ravenna and the expulsion of the Exarch, the kings of the Franks, from the date of Pepin's acceptance of the Patriciate, become patrons and defenders of the Roman Church. As soon as the predominance of the West-Saxon Egbert was thoroughly established, he at once asserted his claim to the patronage and protection—patrocinium et protectionem—of the Metropolitan See of Canterbury; and the Saxon Otho, after his exulting soldiery proclaimed him emperor, became, through the Benedictio imperialis, the Patron of the See of Rome. Thus the patronage of the leading church was always claimed by the foremost sovereign of the state. The principle of appealing to the Pope about a matter of temporal import was acknowledged, if not established, by the embassy of Pepin to Zacharias; but after the establishment of the Patriciate and Empire, Charles

would no more have allowed such an appeal to be made to the Bishop of the See of Rome, without the consent of the Patron, than would Egbert have permitted a smiliar appeal to be made to the archbishop of Canterbury without the sanction of the patron and protector of the see. Hence, throughout the reign of Charles, the papal legates were always accompanied by a MISSUS from the Patrician or emperor, and, assuming the right of permitting or preventing missions and pilgrimages to the see of which he was the patron and protector, Charles shut the ports against Offa's subjects during his quarrel with that king, forbidding their passage to Rome—at another time waiving his claim to toll upon BONA FIDE pilgrims. It was evidently in his capacity of Patron that he seconded the appeal of Eardulf to Rome; and it was in the same capacity that his mediation would have been offered between Caenulf and Wulferd, when the Mercian king assured the latter that he would never again receive him as archbishop if he refused to comply with his conditions. [Robertson's Historical Essays, page 208.]

Although some of the English historians look upon this as the assertion by the French king of imperial supremacy in Northern Britain, of the relations between Charles and the exile who had quitted his protection to become king of the West Saxons, history has nothing to say. It is only certain that after Offa's death, Charles, now emperor, by adding the weight of his influence to Eardwulf's petition, procured the restoration of the banished Northumbrian King Eardwulf (808) and there may be reason to believe that both the Northumbrian and his Scottish neighbors acknowledged themselves vassals of the new Augustus. [Making of England, by John Richard Green, page 419. Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 1, page 26.]

Eardwulf died circa 820, and was succeeded by his son Eanred or Eadred.

*12. EANRED or EADRED, son of Eardwulf, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 13. Married —— ——. Child:—

1. *11 Aethelred, King of Northumbria, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 11.

Eanred, during the period of his reign, issued many coins, of which a number are preserved in the British collection. [Coinage of the British Empire, by Henry Noel Humphreys, London, 1854, page 44.]

In 828, the West Saxon army crossed the Thames, Wiglaf fled helplessly before it; and the realm of Penda and of Offa bowed without a struggle to its conqueror. [Making of England, by John Richard Green, pages 422-424.]

But King Ecgbert had wider dreams of conquest than those of supremacy over Mercia alone; and, setting an underking on its throne, he marched in the following year to the attack of Northumbria. The Northumbrian ruler and thegns met King Ecgbert on their border, at Dore, in Derbyshire, and owned him as their overlord.

Among those who were submitted to Ecgbert was *12 Eadred, or Eanred, King of Northumbria; he and his thegns, that is to say, the princes of his family, agreed to pay a nominal tribute in order to stay the progress of that kingdom at the Humber, and thus secure the alliance of the West Saxon king. It must have been to the Bernicians of the main royal line a day of rejoicing when the power of their bitter enemy, the king of Mercia, was destroyed. But as events later

proved, the Saxon king had no less desire than the Mercian ruler to incorporate Northumbria into his kingdom and to bring to an end the line of the royal house of Ida. [Readings in English History, by E. P. Cheney, page 60.]

It had been evident to the kings and scholars of Northumbria that England must become one kingdom, and that the same methods of consolidation must bring this about as had already woven Sweden and Denmark into strong kingdoms, and which under Harold Fairhair were shortly to make of Norway a like strong nation. In fact Northumbria was the first to see the advisability of unity among the English people, but time had proven that although Northumbria had produced the earliest Bretwaldas, yet her peculiar geographical position made it impossible for this little kingdom to maintain this supremacy and to overawe the rest of England. It therefore is to the everlasting glory of this kingly race not only that they were the first to yield to the manifest destiny of the English people, but that they did it willingly, and this they did, notwithstanding, as subsequent events proved, that they were powerful enough to have stood off and possibly defeated the Saxon kings. It is likely that the sad experience with the Mercian king, Offa, by the lawful line of Northumbrian kings, led them to see the advantage of making such an alliance as would insure their freedom against outside aggression from the manifestly growing power of the kingdom of England.

There is something startling in so quiet and uneventful a close to the struggles of two hundred years; for with the submission of Northumbria the work Oswy and Aethelbald had failed to do was done. In a revolution which seemed sudden, but which was in reality the inevitable close of the growth of English consciousness through these centuries of English history, the old severance of people from people had at last been overcome; and the whole English race in Britain was for the first time knit together under a single ruler. Though the legend which made Ecgbert take the title of King of England is an invention of later times, it expressed an historic truth. Long and bitter as the struggle for separate existence was still to be in Mid-Britain, and the North, it was a struggle that never wholly undid the work which his sword had done; and from the moment when the Northumbrian thegns bowed to their West-Saxon over-lord, England was made in fact, if not as yet in name. [Making of England, by John Richard Green, pages 422-424.]

No doubt this broadening of view by the nobility of Northumbria was greatly helped by the experience of the last forty years, during which time Southern Northumbria had suffered most severely from the depredations of the viking expeditions that came to her shores from the Scandinavian peninsula. For unfortunately the shores of Northumbria, i.e. York and Durham, offered the most inviting field for Danish aggression. Northumbria had seen the Danes by naturalization growing stronger and stronger in ancient Deira, while Northumbria, standing alone to defend England against the aggression of the sea-kings, was wasting her strength in repelling both foreign and insular invasions of her territory. She must therefore speedily ally herself with one or the other, or be quickly conquered. It meant much, very much, for England, that Northumbria pronounced for English nationality, although she brought upon herself the redoubled activity and increased hostility of the sea-kings. The history of the Dane law is

indelibly written into the history of these plucky Englishmen, for while Northumbria had ultimately to yield part of her territory to the sea-kings, nevertheless she, fighting practically alone, maintained her old territory of Bernicia intact until after the conquest of England by the Conqueror in 1066. From this time the events in the history of the royal house of Northumbria are dated from the landing of the first viking piratical expedition in 786.

The Chronicles speak of the raiders as Danes. Probably some of them were Danes, but the word became a generic term to describe the raiders, who might adapt the poet's lines and say:—

> Saxon and Norman and Dane are we,
> But all of us Danes in plundering thee.

And neither clear weather nor foul kept them away from the coasts of England when the time seemed propitious for ripe pickings from the natives.

> Wild blows the wind to night;
> The white-haired billows rage;
> The bold warriors from Norway
> Fear not the path of the clear [i.e. open] sea. [Maclean, page 105.]

This was in 786, and six years later, in 793, their pirate-boats were ravaging the coast of York and Durham, plundering the monastery of Lindisfrane and murdering its monks; and in 794 they entered the Wear to pillage and burn the houses of Wearmouth and Jarrow. He who can hear of this calamity, wrote Alcuin, as the news reached him in Gaul of the ruin of the houses which enshrined within them the religious history of Northumbria, the houses of Aidan and Cuthbert, of Benedict Biscop and of Baeda—he who can hear of this calamity and not cry to God on behalf of his country, has a heart not of flesh, but of stone.

The descent of the three strange ships did, in fact, herald a new conquest of Britain. It was but the beginning of a strife which was to last unbroken till the final triumph of the Norman conqueror. For nearly a hundred years to come the shores of England were harried and its folk slain by successors of these northern pirates, till their scattered plunder-raids were merged in the more organized attack of the Danish sea-kings. The conquests of Ivar and Guthrum and Halfdene (see ante, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 20) in the days of Aelred, in 685, were in their turn but the prelude to the bowing of all England to a foreign rule under Swein and Cnut. But in the end the fruit of the long attack slipped from Danish hands, although for many years one of the three grand divisions of England was known as Danelaw. The harvest was reaped, but it was reaped by Northmen who had ceased to be Northmen at all. Not the Danes of Denmark, but the Danes of Rouen, of Caen, of Bayeux, became lords of the realm of Aelfred and Eadgar. It was the sword of the Normans which drove for the last time from England shores the fleet of the Danes, and by the strangest coincidence it was by the hard but ineffectual blows of the Danes that the Normans came to conquer England. In fact the conquest was only brought about as the result of the joint expedition of all the Scandinavian people against England. The faithlessness of the Normans gave them the spoils of a victory which had only been made possible by the defeat of their allies, the so-called Danes and the Scots. [Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, page 48-51.]

The power of Northumbria was on the wane, her people, harassed by the Dane, and distracted by civil contests, egged on by Mercian plottings, were fast relinquishing the hold they had once acquired upon the districts to the westward of the Lothians; and as the Angles, weakened by internal discord, no longer opposed a formidable barrier to the Northern tribes, the latter gradually increasing in power, seem to have been fast settling into a stronger and more compact kingdom, in which may be traced the nucleus of modern Scotland. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, pages 21-22.]

The old fight for the Bernician throne, egged on and abetted by the Mercians, was in full force. The representative of the line of Aethelwold Moll was asserting a claim to the throne, which was stoutly contested by King Eadred. The fighting was confined to Deira, where the Mercians were looking for help from the Danes settled there. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, pages 21-22.]

*11. ETHELRED, son of Eadred, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 12, was at this time king of Bernicia and of the whole of Northumbria. Child:—

1. *10 Egbert.

The story of his reign is lost because of the destruction of the records, owing to the devastation of the country and the destruction of the great libraries, schools and monasteries by the Danes. Aethelred at this time was contending with Eadwulf, descendant of Aethelwold Moll. Ethelred, however, had a mint at York where he issued coins for the merchants of his kingdom, and his dynasty is only remembered by the few coins that have been preserved.

Of the three types of the early English coinage which are recognized by numismatists under the names of Sceatta, Styca, and Penny, the sceatta may be supposed to represent the earliest coinage in pure, the Styca in base metal. The average weight of about seventy sceattas is given as about 17 grains (Troy), some weighing as much as 20 grains, others not more than 12 or 13, or in the proportions of 2 to 3, of the pfennig to the denier, of the light to the ordinary penny. From a coin of the Northumbrian Aethelred, who died in 848, a Sceatta in fine silver, but in all other respects like his usual stycas, it may be inferred that the pure and alloyed coins, differing only in value, were identical in type and weight, resembling in this respect the log-pening and pening-vegin of Norway. In an age in which all money was more or less measured by weight, when an ore of pure silver passed for four or eight ores adulterated metal, such a course was necessary to avoid confusion. The sceatta and the styca then may be supposed to represent respectively the pure and adulterated coinage struck upon the type of the denarii of the Merovingian period, but upon the accession of the Austrasian House, or soon afterwards, the mint at Quentavic ceased to issue coins of this description, and accordingly no trace of either sceatta or styca will be found in Southumbrian England after the middle of the eighth century. They continued to be coined beyond the Humber for another century until the invasion of the Danes, and the Northumbrian kings may have retained the distinctive type of their coinage as a sort of protest against the ascendancy of the South. [Robertson's Historical Essays, page 63.]

The most of the coins issued by Ethelred were in conjunction with the name of the moneyer Leofdegn who seems to have aimed at a little more embellishment than his predecessors and contemporaries. In the collection of a private collector in England there is a coin of fine silver of this king of unusual embellishment, but in all other respects resembling the usual stycas, but such pieces, of which there are examples of different styles and periods, can only be regarded as essays or caprices of some one engaged in the mint and not as forming part of the general currency. The coins in the British collection disclose that for a few months of his reign Aethelred lost his throne to a usurper, named Redulf or Eadwulf, of the line of Aethelwold Moll, who issued money that he coined and on which his name appears. Athelred regained his throne and were it not for these coins this interesting detail concerning this reign would have been lost. [Coinage of The British Empire, by Henry Noel Humphreys, London, 1854, page 45.]

*10. ECGBERT, son of Aethelred, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 11. Married ——. Child:—

1. *9 Eadwulf or Eadulf, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 9.

On the death of Athelred in 850, Osbert the son of Eadwulf laid hold on Deira or Northumberland. Osbert had a mint and coined money at York where he reigned from 849 to 862. It has been said concerning the coins of his mintage: The kingdom of Northumberland has this remarkable peculiarity belonging to its coinage that from its mints issued, as far as yet discovered, the stycas, the only brass coin which was struck by the Anglo-Saxons. The earliest specimens began in the reign of Ecgfrid who ascended the throne in 670 and they seem to have fallen into disuse after the reign of Osbert, who began to reign in 849 and ended in 862. They were so small in value that in the Domesday Book they are called the Minutia from whence comes our word mite. [Proceedings of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, vol. 3, page 300.]

This Osbert joined with the Saxon kingdom of Britain to oust the Danes and they conquered the country from the Humber to the Clyde which they divided so that the Chronicles of Scotland say:—

Fra Cumbrie unto the waters of the Clyde.
And the west se to Sterling so inward
The British get the landis to their part
Syne all the laif without stop or ganesland
From Forth to south unto Northumberland
And from Stirling straight on to the east se
This king Osbert unto his part gart he
And of Stirling the strait castle of stane
Was cassin down bot schort quhil byane
In to the weires as my author me schow
And he again gart big it of the new
And in that castle that tyme causit he
The stirling money for to stricken be
Quihilk efter Steriuling beris yet that name.

[Book of the Chronicles of Scotland, vol. 2, page 441.]

This statement of the Scottish Chronicles as to the origin of the name Sterling for English money has been sustained by the historians of later generations who have written on the monetary system of England. That it was, at contem-

porary time, accepted through that country is shown by the Alfred-Guthran treaty of 878 which speaks of Sterling money, but probably meaning a coin of a certain denomination. Most of the moneyers of Northumbria and the other kingdoms of England at that time were Arabians and they introduced the fineness and exactness of alloy of the Arabian money which was known as the Easterling standard. Then the mark sometimes called Easterling, was the money of the Ripurian Franks and it circulated in England. There is now no coin in England known as Sterling but the term refers entirely to the gold and silver coinage of England and has special reference to its fineness and exactness in weight; therefore we deduce that Osbert introduced the Arabian standard of conformity to a determined quantity of the noble metal content, and a fixed percentage of alloy, and a maintained weight for each coin of a certain denomination, and that his mint was at Stirling; then you have the whole history of the beginning of British sterling money as having its origin in him and his mint. The reader can determine for himself whether part or all of these excellencies had their beginning with him. The historians concede that the name Sterling for English money first began with his coinage, and there would seem to be no reason why this appellation was given for any other reason than because of the uniformity in value of his coinage made at Stirling.

Osberht ruled from 850 to 863, when late in the year the heathen army proceeded from East Anglia over the Humber mouth to the city of York in Northumberland. And there was much dissension among the Northumbrian people and they deposed their king Osbeorht and received a king, Aella, not of Royal blood. [Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 1, page 296.] The new king, Aella, ruled Deira, and Osberht continued to govern Bernicia. Ecgbert, the rightful king, was banished to Denmark or Norway. The next four years were ones of continued strife between the two kings and they continued in this warfare until they had completely worn out their supply of fighting men. The Norsemen, who supported Ecgbert, saw in this their opportunity to restore the rightful king and peace in both Bernicia and Deira. The story is well told in all of the chronicles and as this incident is a key to much of the early history of Bernicia it is retold in the following citations from several different sources all appearing in the work entitled Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 1, page 296 et seq.

In the year 867 Osbeorht and Aella decided that they should join forces to fight against the Danish army, and indeed they gathered a great army and went to the Danish army at York and broke into the city, and some of them got into it, and there was endless slaughter of the Northumbrians some inside and some out. And both the kings were slain. And those that were left made peace with the Danish Army. [Saxon Chronicle cited in *Ibid.*, vol. 1, page 296.]

A battle was fought by the black foreigners against the Saxons of the north in York and in it fell Aella, king of the north Saxons. [Annals of Ulster, cited in *Ibid.*]

This year the Danes went to York and gave hard battle to the Saxons there and the king of the Saxons, Aella, was killed there through treachery and deceit of a young lad of his own people. A great slaughter was made in the battle.

Afterwards they entered the city of York and took much of every kind of riches because it was rich at that time, and they slew all the good men they found in it. [Chronicle of Duald Mac Firbis, cited in *Ibid.*]

Aella was placed over the Northumbrians when Osbeorht was deposed in 863. York was taken November 1, 867, in the fifth year of the reign of King Aella. And King Aella and Osbeorht, uniting their forces, attacked the Danes March 21, 868, and fell. The Danes appointed Ecgbert king under themselves over the district north of Tyne. They passed a year in Mercia, returned to York for a year, when they went against the East Angles and put Edmund to death 870. Meanwhile the Northumbrians had expelled Ecgbert from Deira and made Riesig their king. He died 876. [Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 1, page 297.]

The battle of York in which fell Ella, king of the northern Saxons, was in 866, in which date all the English chronicles agree, and Ethelwald expressly names Inguar or Iwar as the leader of the northmen. [Appendix D, The War of the Galdhill with the Gaill, page 269.]

The English historian says:—A new Danish expedition landed in 866 on the shores of East Anglia, and the Danes were suffered to winter within its bounds. In the spring of 867 they horsed themselves and rode for the north. Their aim was Northumbria; and as they struck over Mid-Britain for York they found the country torn by anarchy and two rivals contending for the throne. The claimants united in the presence of this common danger, but their union came too late. The Danes had seized York at their first arrival, and now fell back before the Northumbrian host to shelter within its defences, which seem still to have consisted of a wooden stockade crowning the mound raised by the last Roman burghers round their widened city. The flight and seeming panic of their foes roused the temper of the Northumbrians; they succeeded in breaking through the stockade, and, pouring in with its flying defenders, were already masters of the bulk of the town when the Danes turned in a rally of despair. From that moment the day was lost. Not only were King Aethelred and his rival slain, but their men were hunted and cut down over all the country-side, till it seemed as if the whole host of Northumbria lay on the fatal field, "Illic maxim ex parte omnes Northanhymbrensium coeti, occisis duobus regibus, cum multis nobilibus deleti occubuerunt," (There lies the greatest part of all the Northumbrians, having gathered here, the two kings having been killed, and many of the nobles annihilated along with them. The two kings were Osbert and his son Ella.) Flor. Worc. gives the date of this battle as Palm Sunday, or March 21, 867. So overwhelming was the blow that a general terror hindered all further resistance; those who survived the fight made peace with the Pagans, and that part of Northumbria known as Deira sank, without further struggle, into a tributary kingdom of the Dane. [Conquest of England, by J. R. Green, page 87-90.]

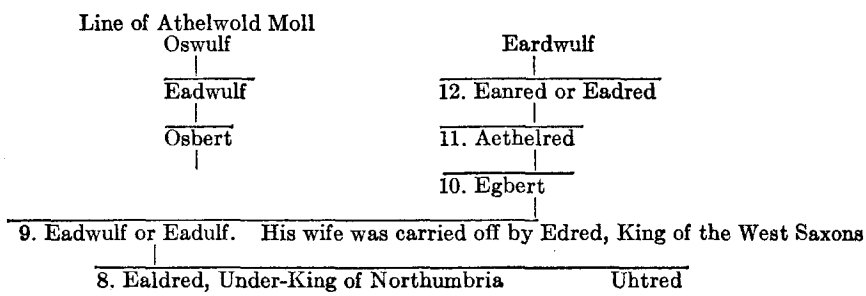
The Scottish Chronicles give the story of this Danish invasion most clearly as follows:—

> And to the Danes turn I will agane
> Quhe that had tane all Fyfe than at their wie
> But ony slop or yet ganestance thair tree

To Louthains tha passit syne right sone
And as in Fy for siclik their half th done
The left na leid their levand upon lyfe
Than young or old other man or wife
Clerk or priest among tham the find
Syne passit southward to Northumberland
Osbreit and Ella bath in battle slew
Of Quihone before bot schort qyihile heir I slew
And then king Edward of Suffolk that was king
And Norfolk als he had at his gyding
And fayth ma and richt famous was he
[Book of the Chronicles of Scotland, page 456, vol 2.]

Another authority says that leaving their army at York for a year Olaf and Iwar again wintered and Dumbarton was besieged by them for three months and conquered. Olaf and Iwar returned to Dublin from Scotland with 200 ships and a great number of prisoners, Angles, Britons and Picts carried off in captivity as slaves to Ireland. Hinguir and Ubba seem to have been left in command of the Danish forces in East Anglia, and Egbert in Northumbria by these chieftains. Edward, king of East Anglia, was slain in battle on Sunday, November 30, 869. Iwar, called by his chroniclers king of Northumbria of all Ireland and of Britain, died 870-871 of an ugly sudden disease. He was succeeded by Halfdan, who established himself on the Tyne in 875 and perished 881-2. He had an associate in one Baegsec, who for a time held royal power in Bernicia and who was slain in the battle of Reading in 871. In 875 Halfdan invaded Northumbria and harried the Picts and the Strath Clyde Britons. Then having divided Northumbria, i.e. York and Durham, amongst his followers he sailed to Ireland. [The War of the Galdhill with the Gaill, page 266.] While Ethelward [Monumenta History Britannica, page 512, cited in The War of the Galdhill and Gaill] says that in 866-867 the fleets of King Iwar arrived (in Southumberland). The two chieftains uniting their forces crossed the Humber to York and slew the kings Osbright and Ella. 869-870 occurred the siege of Dumbarton by the Norsemen Olaf and Ivar, two kings, and at the end of four months they destroyed the fortress and plundered it. [Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 1, page 301.] They remained a year at York and the next year (870-871) returned to Dublin from Scotland with booty and captives. Iwar died in 873. In 888 the foreigners left Dublin and went to Scotland with Sitric son of Iwar.

The following is the pedigree for this period:—



The Danes set up Ecgbert, grandson of Eanred, as king of Bernicia and as an underking of Deira; they then turned to seek new spoil in the south. Ecgbert was thus king of both Bernicia, held in his own right, and of Deira, which he held under the Danes. [Green's Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, page 90-1.] Thereby after three centuries of more or less continued but intermittent effort the Danes had recovered that foothold in Deira which they had lost at the time of its conquest by Aella, the son of Aella, when he displaced Agner, the Danish ruler, as has already been related in connection with this genealogy of the kings of Bernicia. Hence we can understand why the stress and destruction even at this time did not reach the country of Bernicia and King Aethelred was succeeded by his son Ecgbert as king of the northern division of the kingdom of Northumberland, for subsequent history disclosed that the Danes still looked on Bernicia as standing to them in more or less the same position as it did from the beginning of its autonomy many centuries before this invasion of the north of England by the Danes. And there is no reason to believe that at any time during its existence did Bernicia cease to be in some sort of a Danish-Norse alliance.

Hence we can readily understand that during the troublesome times of the Conqueror's early days as duke of Normandy, Bernicia was one of the few places where his banished subjects could go and yet be with their kindred. Here the Toesnis, ancestors of the Staffords; and the Albinis, ancestors of the Arundels, found a safe asylum. Here they found wives in the daughters of the royal household. Here Regnault, son of Werlac, also found his wife, and here she and her son, Gilbert de Corbeil, found a safe asylum far removed from and beyond the power of William when he banished Werlac, Count of Corbeil, and confiscated all his valuable possessions. These Norman refugees mostly gathered around St. Albans, which is more probably explained by the ancient connection of the earls of Northumberland with that abbey. St. Albans was no doubt the most important midland town in England—the common center of the kings and of Christianity, and even the Norman Earl of Northumbria, Robert de Mowbray, maintained the Northumbrian connection with St. Albans.

When the conqueror harried the West of England he caused the emigration into the Staffordshire country of his faithful vassals from Northumbria, hence we find a Robert Toesni becoming Robert de Stafford. We also find that he and his sub-feudatories became seized of lands near Stone Priory in Staffordshire, among the rest Orm le Gulden, whose ancestor held land here before the conquest. [History of the House of Arundel, by J. Pym Yeatman.] This change of locality was not only quickly made, but that it occurred as the result of a common movement of many families, is proven by the fact that suddenly certain names cease to exist in Northumbria, and just as suddenly they all seem to have come into existence in Staffordshire. Yet a considerable part of their kindred remained in Northumbria and if they or their descendants subsequently migrated to Staffordshire, it was a single individual or single families. All this gives rise to a number of Staffordshire families having Northumberland ancestry. The original settlements in Staffordshire seem to have been at Stone Priory and at Edgmond, in Shropshire, at least so far as the de Peshale connections and associations are concerned. But they were all Bernician-Norman folks.

To resume Northumbrian history. The loss of freedom by York and Durham, was only the first result of this terrible overthrow by the Danes. With freedom went the whole learning and civilization of the North in this part of Northumbria. These were concentrated in the great abbeys whose broad lands had served as refuge for what yet remained of order and industry in the growing anarchy of the country. But it was mainly the abbeys that roused the pirates' greed; and so unsparing was their attack after the victory at York, that what had till now been the main home of English monasticism, wholly passed away. The doom that had long ago fallen on Jarrow and Wearmouth, fell now on all the houses of the coast. The devastation stopped at the boundaries of Bernicia, and though Archbishop Aethelberht's church still towered over York in the glory of its new stonework, we hear no more of library or school. This transferred the schools to Bernicia who jealously maintained them. The blows of the Dane were aimed with so fatal a precision at the centers of its religious and intellectual life, that of the houses which served as the schools, libraries, and universities of Deira not one remained standing in the regions over which the conquerors swept. So thoroughly was the work of destruction done that the country where letters and culture had till now found their favorite home remained for centuries the rudest and most ignorant part of Britain. [Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, page 87.]

At this time the Danish settlement in Deira cut Bernicia entirely off from the rest of England, and thus there ensued a period which was entirely taken up in settling the boundary between Danelaw and Bernicia. The kingdom, however, maintained itself although its territory was greatly reduced. One is lost in admiration of this plucky royal family, whose whole history is a narration of triumphs over great opposition. For no sooner is one enemy removed than a newer and greater appears. Nevertheless with a whole-heartedness that is admirable, and with a bravery that is contagious, they boldly attacked the new enemy, and Bernicia always in the end prevailed to maintain herself and her line of rulers. It is doubtful if in all history a parallel instance can be cited.

Their mastery of central Britain only served to give the Danes a firmer base from which to complete their conquest of the island, both in north and south. With the spring of 875 their force broke asunder; one part of it, with Halfdene at its head, marching northward to the Tyne to complete the reduction of Durham. The aim of the Danes still remained mainly that of plunder, and the religious houses which had escaped till now fell in this fiercer storm. Coldingham, the house of Ebba, was burned to the ground. When little remained to glean from the wasted land, Halfdene led his men through Cumbria, thus going around Bernicia. Here Carlisle was entirely destroyed, and then he marched on through Strath-Clyde to the north, where the Scot king, Constantine, was battling for life against Thorstein, a son of Olaf the Fair, and the Norwegian Jarl, Sigurd, who had now established himself in the Orkneys. This Sigurd was the first Earl of the Orkneys. He was the brother of Rognvald, and the latter upon being given the Orkneys by King Harold Fairhair had immediately bestowed them upon his brother Sigurd. Thus it appears the important historical fact is thereby established that Ecgbert, King of Bernicia, and Rognvald, Earl of Mura, were contemporary.

Though their victory at York had left this district in their hands as early as the spring of 868, the Danes contented themselves for the next seven years with the exaction of tribute from the underking, Ecgbert, King of Bernicia, whom they set over it, while they mastered East Anglia and crushed Mid-Britain, and made their first onset on Wessex. But in 875, while Guthrum prepared to renew the attack on Aelfred, Halfdene, with a portion of the Danish army at Repton, marched northward into Northumbria. It is possible that he was drawn there by a rising of the country, in which Ecgbert had been driven from the throne of Deira and Ricsig set as underking in his place; but if so, the death of Ricsig marks the close of this rising, and Halfdene marched unopposed to the Tyne. From his winter-camp there he subdued the land and ofttimes spoiled the Picts and the Strathclyde Wealhs. With the spring of 876, however, while Guthrum and Aelfred were busy with the siege of Wareham, he fell back from Bernicia to the south, and parted among his men the lands of Northumbria, i.e. York and Durham. Thenceforth, adds the chronicler, they went on ploughing and tilling them. That this deal or division of the land did not, in spite of Halfdene's conquests on the Tyne, extend to Bernicia, we know from the fact that hardly a trace of Danish settlement can be found north of the Tees. But the names of the towns and villages of Deira show us in how systematic a way southern Northumbria, i.e. York and Durham, was parted among its conquerors. The change seems to have been much the same as that which followed the conquest of the Normans. The English population was not displaced, but the lordship of the soil was transferred to the conqueror. The settlers formed a new aristocracy, while the older nobles fell to a lower position; for throughout Deira the life of an English thegn was priced at but half the value of the life of a northern hold. [Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, pp. 110-111.] Nevertheless there were attempts made to set up Bernician rulers in Danish Deira as the Chronicles disclose that Aethelwald, king of Northumbria (Deira), died in 905 in a battle with the Danes. [Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 1, page 398.]

The second period of Danish invasion, 855-897, is the time when the object of the Northmen is clearly no longer mere plunder but settlement. It corresponds to the period which in Norway marked the beginning of the kingdom of Norway. Just as the Engles had done before them, the Danes now came in much stronger bodies, and instead of sailing away every winter with their plunder, they effected permanent settlements in a large part of the country. During the greater part of the tenth century we read of few or no fresh invasions from Scandinavia; the energies of the northern tribes were now mainly devoted to the successive settlements in Gaul which formed the Duchy of Normandy, but the West Saxon lords of Britain were engaged for more than fifty years (902-954) in a constant struggle to reduce and retain in obedience the Danes who had already settled in the island. The Danes were often helped by their brethren not only in Scandinavia, but by those in Ireland, Scotland, the Orkneys and Normandy. The establishment of the Danelaw section of England marks another of the migrations of the Scythians from the far east toward the west. And following the same rule as before they came along not only geographical, but ethnological and ethnographic streams.

They settled in that part of England where their kinsmen were already established. Their plundering was mostly directed against the foreign religion, and not so much against the inhabitants, of York and Durham, as the reader of this genealogy will have long since learned from the old records relating to the kingdom of Deira. The Scottis Chronicles say:—

Now at the time and lat sie talking be
Sen weill I wait it will nocht mend for me
That samin tyme in my storie I find
How that ane man can from Northumberland
And schew the king of ane that helt Gormond
And fellar freid was nane that mycht be found
And Dane he was new coming ouir the sand
Awry int had inti Northumberland
With gret power into that land he la
To quhat purpose he could nocht to him sa
Bot in that land he left him liand still
Without offence to any man or ill.

Gormond the Dane was headed south to take his army into the country of the East Angles and therefore Donald of Scotland sent an army to help Alured of Suffolk, as the conditions had been made before with Alured and the noble king Gregory. A battle ensued which was not a victory for either side, hence a treaty of peace was made by which

Alured the kwink should divide
Take him the Tane live him the other sid
In heritage for euirnoit to brick.
[Book of Chronicles of Scotland, vol. 2, page 487.]

Egbert seems to have been the last of the Bernician kings who had a mint to coin money for his kingdom. It is generally accepted among historians that the kingdom ended with his reign, so that the fact that collectors have not found a later mintage would seem to confirm the generally accepted view as to the time when the kingdom really began to merge into the earldom. [Coinage of the British Empire, by Henry Noel Humphreys, London, 1854, page 45.]

The earliest period of the Danish settlement in England marked the end of the Kingdom of Northumbria.

It was extremely necessary to the welding of England into one nation under a single formally crowned ruler, that the kingdom of Bernicia should be brought to an end, as no one could receive the unction of kingliness for the territory of England so long as the right of unction previously accorded to the royal line of Bernicia was in force. The earldom was not, however, actually established until several generations later. At the time of Eadwulf, son of Egbert, it seems that the Bernicians were a tributary kingdom whose rulers gave up their right to the unction of coronation. The most of the historians however begin the line of earls with Eadwulf, and we shall use the same time as indicating the change from kingship to ealdermen. [Norman Conquest, by Edward A. Freeman, vol. 1, page 30. Historical Essays, by E. William Robertson, page 214-215.]

*9. EADWULF, Earl of Northumberland, son of King Ecgbert, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 10, married. Children:—

1. *8 EALDRED, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 8.
2. Uhtred, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 8.

Eadwulf, 'dilectus regi Elfredo' (the chosen of King Alfred [the Great]) died about 912. Obitt Athulf qui tum praeerat actori oppidi Bebbanburgh condicti (sic.) (Athulf [Eadwulf] who heretofore had ruled Bamborough Castle died,

he having named his successor.) [Hist. of St. Cuthberht. Ethelw. Chronicle. Robertson's Scotland Under Her Early Kings.]

(Ealdwulf) Eadwulf (Eardulf) princeps k. by Edred filius Rixinc (Ricsig) 'tempore Edwardi regis' (about 901 x 924) (Eadwulf ruler killed by Edred son of Rixinic, in the time of King Edward.)

While it is generally accepted that the kings of Northumbria ended with Egbert in 883, and the earls began with his son Eadwulf about 900, who was king before his conquest by the Saxon king, yet as has already been stated, this is not entirely true as they were called kings until several generations later, but with Eadwulf they ceased to be crowned kings, and from this time on there is a want of harmony among the historians as to their title.

Eadwulf married N. N., daughter of . . . . carried off by Edred. [Anglo Saxon Bishops & Nobles, by Wm. George Searles, M.A., Cambridge, 1899.]

Eadward the Elder was the first prince who could claim to be King of the English and Lord of the Isle of Britain. Ealdwulf was among the chiefs who did homage to Eadward in 924. This time it was different from the nominal vassalage of a century before, as it was a real act of homage, as thereby the royal line of Northumberland ceased to be independent kings, but like the earls in Norway in the time of Harald Fairhair, they became earls under the kings of England. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, page 40.]

No crowned kings are traceable beyond the Tyne after Egbert, who is last mentioned in 883. Thirty years afterwards occurred the death of his son Easulf (Eadulf), described by the Ulster Annalist as king of the Northern Saxons, by Simeon as dilectus Alfredi, and by Aethelward as qui praeerat actori oppidi Bebbanburgh condicti. He was the representative of the old Bernician race, and his sons Aldred (Eldred) of Bamborough, who fought against Reginald at Corbridge, and Uchtred, were frequent attendants at the court of Athelstan. Hence we see that the alliance of the Northumbrian Saxons beyond the Tyne was transferred at the earliest opportunity to the sole remaining king of Saxon origin—perhaps even as early as 886 when all Engel-cyn turned to Alfred—and from this period this portion of the old Bernician kingdom long continued to be the solitary example in England of a hereditary ealdordom. [*Ibid.*, vol. 2, page 440.]

At the great conquest of Northumberland in King Aelfred's time, Deira only was actually divided and occupied by the Danes, while Bernicia, into whatever degree of subjection it may have been brought to the Danish power, still remained occupied by Englishmen, and under the immediate government of English rulers. The local nomenclature bears out this view, and it also explains the otherwise puzzling fact that the part of old Northumberland which is quite away from the Humber has kept the name of Northumberland to this day, an usage which certainly began as early as the eleventh century [see Chron Wig. 1065 & Sim. Dun. 80]. Indeed Simeon (147) distinguishes Eboracum and Northimbri as early as 883, but he is there doubtless using the language of his own time, as he is not here following the earlier Northumbrian Chronicle. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, vol. 2, page 436.]

Southern Cumbria, or Cumberland, does not appear to have been included amongst the conquered districts recovered by the Britons after the defeat and

death of Egfrid, at the battle of Nectan's Mere. When Eardulf the bishop carried off the relics of St. Cuthbert and St. Oswald from the profane violence of a pagan as fierce as Penda, the most trusted companion of his hurried flight was Edred, the Saxon Abbot of Carlisle; and there is little reason to doubt that at this time the descendants of the men who won the land in the days of Egfred, still peopled the broad acres granted to the monastery of St. Cuthbert. Forty years later it is told how Edred, the son of Rixinc, the foremost chieftain amongst the nobility of Deira, rode westward over the hills, slew the Lord Eardulf, a prince of the Bernician race of Ida, carried off his wife in spite of the Frith and the people's wishes, and held forcible possession of territories reaching from Chester le Street to the Derwent, till he lost both lands and life in the battle of Corbeidge Moor. All these names are genuine Saxon, and though the original British population may still have lingered amidst the lakes and mountains of their picturesque region, it may be safely doubted whether they paid either tribute or submission to the Scot-British prince who yet retained some vestiges of authority over the fertile valley of the Clyde; and whilst Scottish Cumbria, or Strath Clyde, continued under the rule of a branch of the MacAlpin family from the opening of the tenth century till the reign of Malcolm the Second, English Cumbria, or Cumberland, when it was not under the authority of the Northumbrian earls, in whose province it was included, may be said to have remained in a state of anarchy till the conquest. [*Ibid.*, vol. 1, page 71 and 72.]

The settlement of the Danes, 897, did not reach beyond the Tyne, for Bernicia ravaged and plundered as it had been, still remained English, and governed by the stock of its earlier kings. The weakness of this State drew it to Aelfred's side and we know that the Bernician ruler, Eadwulf of Bamborough, was Aelfred's friend. [Norman Conquest, by John Richard Green, page 117. Sim. Durh. Hist. S. Cuthberti.]

In 875, the Danish host, now too large for and weary of mere raids, divided itself between Guthorm, who led his division against southern England, where its final repulse by King Alfred made him the hero of his race; and Healfdene, who with no Alfred amongst the Angles to oppose him, conquered Northumberland and settled his followers on the east coast, throughout the whole of ancient Deira, in Durham, the southern part of the ancient Bernicia, and as far west as the central districts of Anglian Cumberland. Wherever the by replaced the older name or gave a new name to the settlement, wherever the t still lingers instead of the the as the article, linguistic scholars see certain marks of Danish occupation. This occupation retarded the northern advance of the Wessex kings, the descendants of King Alfred, and a century elapsed before Edward the Elder, in 924, received again at Bakewell in Derbyshire the homage of the Northumbrians, as Egbert in 827 is said to have done at almost the same point, whose position on the extreme southern border of Northumberland is significant. This homage is recorded in the contested passage of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: "And then chose him for father and lord the king of the Scots, and the whole nation of the Scots, and Regnwald, and the sons of Eadulf, and all those who dwell in Northumbria, as well Angles as Danes, Northmen and others." But the dispute as to the precise nature and extent of the submission does not concern the present subject so

much as the evidence it affords of the mixed population of Northumberland, and of the absence of any prominent sovereign of the whole country whose name could be mentioned by the Chronicle.

The long and complicated struggle for mastery between Saxon and Dane in all parts of England resulted in 924 in the suzerainty of the West Saxon, King Edward, over the turbulent people of all Northumbria, which then appeared to have been definitely divided into English, Danish, and Norwegian territory. The rapid succession and the violent ends of their many Reguli form a sanguinary and protracted record. It is enough here that the kingship of Northumbria was abolished in 954, and converted into an earldom, the holders being practically the viceroys of the English kings. But this in no way made for peace or order, and Northumberland was the scene of frequent conflicts between the English and the Danes, or the Scots, Lothian being about the year 1000 detached and handed over by agreement to the Scottish king. These transfers of provinces to this or that overlord must not, of course, be taken in quite the serious modern sense. The people of Bernicia proper, i.e. of the coast-belt between Tyne and Forth, were at any rate themselves homogeneous. [Encyclopaedia Britannica.] Eadwulf died 912 and was succeeded by his son Ealdred.

*8. EALDRED, Earl of Northumberland, son of Eadwulf, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 9, married—— ——. Child:—

1. *7 OSWULF, Earl of Northumberland, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 7. Ealdred, Eadwulf's son erat dilectus regi Edwardo, sicut et pater suus Eadulfus dilectus fuit regi Elfredo. (He was chosen by King Edward just as his father Edulf had also been chosen by King Alfred the Great.) [Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, page 117.]

Ealdred Eadulfing about 926, N.N. Eadulfes sunu a 924, 'Aldredum filium Eadulfi de regia urbe . . . . . Bebbanbyrig expulit (rex Athelstanus)' (He (King Athelstan) thus expelled Ealdred son of Eadulf from the royal city . . . . . (Bamborough) about 926. Uhtred was a brother of Ealdred. [Anglo Saxon Chronicles, and Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles, by William George Searles.]

Ealdred's son was Oswulf. In 926 Ealdred Eadulfing appears among the princes who submitted to Aethelstan. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, page 436.]

The Norsemen had founded colonies in Ireland, Scotland, and the neighboring islands to Great Britain, and from these points expeditions now began to appear to harass the coast settlements, and to bring new emigrants to the already established Danish section in England.

In 917 Reginald, known as king of the Dugall, landed at Waterford, to assume the command of a viking raid, whilst his brother Sitric, appearing upon the coasts of Leinster, soon succeeded in re-establishing the power of his family over their former dependency of Dublin; and in the following year Reginald and his brother Godfrey, with the Jarls Ottir and Gragraba, who seem to have recently returned from an unsuccessful inroad upon the coast of Wales, leaving the harbor of Waterford, sailed for the northern shores of England to assert the claim of the king of the Dugall as heir of his kinsman, the Danish Halfdan, to the fertile lands of Northumbria. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. Wm. Robertson, vol. 1, page 57-59.]

Landing amongst the kindred Danes of the north, as a welcome auxiliary against the increasing power of Ethelfleda, Reginald marched at once upon York, seizing upon, and portioning out amongst his followers and allies, the whole of the sacred patrimony of St. Cuthbert, and many a broad acre besides. Edred, whose wide possessions reached to the Derwent, the son of that Rixinc who for three years had ruled the Northumbrian Angles, under the dominion of the Danes, together with Aldred of Bamborough and his brother Uchtred, sons of Eardulf, of the old Bernician race, and lords of Bernicia, a territory extending from the Tyne to the Forth, abandoning their dominions at the approach of the Norsemen, implored the aid of the Scottish Constantine to stem the torrent of invasion, and strengthened by the support of a Scottish army, the Northumbrian leaders prepared, with renewed courage, to march against the foe.

The hostile armies met upon the moor near Cor-Bridge-on-Tyne, where Reginald, who had decided upon awaiting the attack of the confederates, holding his immediate followers in reserve, in a position where they were concealed from the assailants, had ranged the main body of his army in three divisions, under the command respectively of his brother Godfrey, the two Jarls, and the chieftains to whom the Irish annalist gives the title of the Young Leaders. So impetuous was the onset of the Scots, Northumbrians (and Bernicians), that at the first shock the Norsemen were overthrown, the heaviest loss falling upon the followers of the Jarls, a contingency upon which Reginald had probably calculated, as they bore the brunt of the battle. Animated at their success, and anxious to improve their advantage, the allies pressed eagerly onwards, regardless of the enemy's reserve, which Reginald now poured upon the flank and rear of the victors, disordered in the confusion of pursuit, inflicting, in his turn, severe loss, and retrieving the fortune of the day. Edred was slain in this final struggle, with many of his Northumbrian followers, who appear to have suffered most severely, until the approach of night separated the combatants, and put a stop to a contest which led to no decisive result. As the Norsemen remained in possession of their conquests, the historian of Durham mourns over a defeat which left the patrimony of the bishopric a prey to the heathen invaders. The Scottish chronicler claims the battle for a victory, neither king nor Mormaor falling in the engagement, and no hostile Norsemen penetrating to the banks of the Scotswater; and as no portion of the territories of Aldred to the northward of the Tyne, i.e. Bernicia, was occupied by the followers of Reginald, the advance of the enemy beyond that river must have been effectually prevented; and Constantine and his surviving confederate had good reason to be satisfied with the successful issue of the engagement. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, page 57-59.] It is remarkable that Bamburgh appears to have successfully held out against the attacks of the Danes who destroyed Lindisfarne and Tynemouth in 912. It fell, however, before the arms of Athelstan in 924, when Aldred the son of Edulf was forced to flee from his royal city. [History of Northumbria, by Edward Bateson, vol. 1, p. 22.]

In January, 925, the ruler of the Danes of York, Sihtric, appeared at Aethelstan's court, which was then at Tamworth, and took the king's sister to wife. The bond, however, soon snapped; for in 926 Sihtric died, as it would seem, by a

violent death, which may have been provoked by this submission to the English king; and a renewal of the old confederacy which had met his father, warned Aethelstan that the time had come to complete his work. His armies marched over the border; the northern Danelaw passed into his hands without a blow, and its allies bowed to him with as little resistance. In July Aethelstan was met at a place called Eamot by Howel, King of the North Welsh, and Owen of Gwent, as well as by the Bernician Ealdred from Bamborough, and the Scot-king Constantine, and with pledge and with oaths they bound fast the peace. [Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, page 210-11.]

Edward the Elder was the first prince who could really claim to be King of the English and Lord of the Isle of Britain. His son Aethelstan, 925-940, added the finishing stroke to the work of his father, by first making Northumberland an integral portion of the realm. He thus became immediate king of all the Teutonic races in Britain and superior lord of all the Celtic principalities. In his second year, all the vassal princes, Welsh and Scottish, and Ealdred, a solitary Northumbrian (Bernician) chief who still retained some sort of independent royalty, renewed their homage. It is expressly mentioned that they renounced all idolatry. [Conquest of England, by Edward Freeman, vol. 1, page 40.]

The signature of Aldred (Ealdred) to deeds is missed after 931, but Uchtred his brother survived at least until 946, and perhaps three years longer. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, page 439.]

A descent of the Ostmen from Ireland on the shores of Northumbria, warned the English king of the Norseman's power to vex the land; and while it woke fresh dreams of revolt in the Danelaw, encouraged the Scot king, Constantine, to weave anew the threads of the older confederacy against the English king. In 934, though the presence of the northern primate and some of the Danish jarls at his court show that Deira still remained true to him, the growing disturbance forced Aethelstan to march with an army into the north, and to send a fleet to harry the Scottish coast. But its ravages, if they brought Constantine to a fresh submission, failed to check his intrigues, or to hinder him from leaguing with Eadred of Bernicia and the Irish Ostmen to stir up a fresh rising of the Danlaw. With the Ostmen Constantine was closely connected through their leader, Anlaf or Olaf, a son of the Irish king, Sihtric, who had found refuge at the Scottish court on his father's death, and on Aethelstan's annexation of his realm. Constantine had first shown the change which had taken place in his political sympathies by giving Olaf his daughter to wife; after the earlier failure of their plans Olaf had sailed to Ireland, and, placing himself at the head of the Ostmen, again lent himself to the plots of the Scottish king. The influence of Olaf was seen in the withdrawal of the northern jarls from the English court within a year or two after the campaign of 934; and when, in 937, he appeared with a fleet off the Northumbrian coast, the whole league at once rose in arms. The men of the northern Danelaw found themselves backed not only by their brethren from Ireland, but by the mass of states around them—by the English of Bernicia, by the Scots under Constantine, by the Welshmen of Cumbria or Strathclyde. It is the steady recurrence of these confederacies which makes the struggle so significant. The old distinctions and antipathies of race must have already, in great part,

passed away before peoples so diverse could have been gathered into one host by a common dread of subjection, and the motley character of the army pointed forward to that fusion of both Northman and Briton, in the general body of the English race, which was to be the work of the coming years. [Conquest of England by John Richard Green, page 242.] But notwithstanding Mr. Green's statement, this was a perfectly natural alliance and one that had been maintained for many centuries, certainly dating from the earliest time of the Roman period in Britain. [Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, page 242-244.] At the news of this rising, Aethelstan again marched into the north. He met his enemies on the unknown field of Brunanburh, and one of the noblest of English war-songs has preserved the memory of the fight that went on from sunrise to sunset. The stubbornness of the combat proves that brave men fought on either side.

The story of the Battle of Brunanburgh is well told by the Norse historian. This battle is interesting and important in its details. It illustrates in many instances the customs of the people at the time of Aethelstan, and shows that many customs were identical in England and the North, and that these Northmen were continually coming to England to help their friends or kinsmen. [The Viking Age, by Paul B. Du Challeau, vol. 2.]

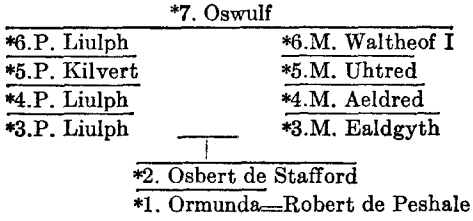
When Aethelstan had overrun Bernicia, Ealdred, Earl of Bernicia, our ancestor, was compelled to side with Athelstan. It does not seem to have made any difference which side he espoused as he was a prisoner at the time of the battle of Brunanburgh, and he and his kingdom, or earldom, were among the principal prizes which were fought for in that battle. We can well understand therefore with what interest he and his followers must have followed the varying fortunes of this campaign.

In 938 the people of Norway rebelled against their king, Erik, surnamed the Bloody-axe, the son of King Harald Haarfinger, and drove him and his wife, Queen Gunhild, to seek safety in England where they arrived just after the battle of Brunanburgh. King Aethelstan immediately made him the ruler of Northumbria. [History of Nations, by Edward Samuel Corwin, vol. 16, page 52.] Which discloses how desperately the English king was fighting to hold this part of his kingdom, and how persistently he was trying to displace the old Bernician line of rulers. King Erik evidently did not last long as the records almost immediately disclose the names of two other Danish rulers appointed by the English king to govern Northumbria. The names of whom are disclosed by the chronicles as follows:—Aethelstan after the battle of Brunebaugh had the division of Northumbria and he set over it two earls, one was called Alfgair, and the other Godrek. They set there on land-defense, both against the Danes or Norwegians, who plundered much in the land and thought they had a great claim thereto the land. The only men of Northumbria had Danish descent on the father's side, or on the mother's side, and there were many of both. [Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 1, page 412.]

The saga says Olaf Raudi (the red) was a powerful king of Scotland. His father was Scotch, while his mother was Danish, descending from Ragner Lodbrok. Scotland was said to be a third of the size of England; Nordimbraland (Northumberland) is called a fifth part of England, and is northernmost, next

to Scotland, on the east. The Danish kings had held it in former times; Yorvik (York) was the head burg. This Aethelstan owned, and had placed two jarls to rule it; one was named Alfgeir, the other Gudrek. Here we have another instance of the efforts of the English kings to make Northumberland an appointive instead of an hereditary earldom. It may possibly be that Athelstan did not consider Bernicia a part of his kingdom, as these two appointee earls, Aelfgar and Gudred only actually ruled in the Danelaw. The Bernicians were between this territory and Scotland. Independent and isolated, yet owning allegiance to the English king, Bernicia was the first place to feel the brunt of the Scottish king's campaign. [Egil's Saga, c. 31.] The earls Aelfgar and Gudred were there to defend Deira, both against the attacks of the Scots, and those of the Danes or Northmen, who ravaged there much. They thought they had great claim to it, for in Northumberland, that is to say Deira, were only men whose fathers or mothers were of Danish kin, and, in many cases, both. The brothers Hring and Adils ruled Bretland (Wales), and paid a tribute to Aethelstan. When they were in the king's host, they and their men were to stand foremost in the ranks, in front of the banners. They were among the greatest of warriors, though not very young. Alfred the Great had deprived all tributary kings of their title and power; they who had been called kings, or kings' sons, were called jarls, that is earls; this continued while he and his son Edward lived. Aethelstan came young to the kingship, and did not inspire much dread. Many who were faithful before, then became faithless.

The reader will notice that the Saga pays no attention whatsoever to the earldom of Bernicia located between their land of Northumberland and the country of the Scots. In fact at this time the Bernicians were by the Danes called Scots, and the same designation is found in the Domesday Survey in referring to the Northumbrians who settled in Staffordshire. The only reference to Bernicia is to a revolt that occurred there after the battle of Brunanburgh. In the year 946 Ealdred acquired Northumberland (Bernicia), which was in rebellion against him, and the Scots submitted to him without fighting. [Chronicles of Melrose cited in Early Sources of Scottish History, vol. 1, page 450.] Ealdred was succeeded by his son Oswulf, who was the nearest common ancestor to Liulph and his wife Ealdgyth. The following chart will show this more clearly and assist the reader in bringing together both lines of descent from Oswulf.



Note:—The letter M. denotes the maternal line of Ormunda's ancestry, while P. denotes the paternal line. The numbers refer to the generations from Ormunda and to the divisions of the text which follow, bringing the genealogy down to Liulph and his wife Ealdgyth.

*7. OSWULF I, Earl of Northumberland, son of Ealdred, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 8, married —— ——. Children:—

1. WALTHEOF I, Earl of Northumberland, Chap. 11, Sec. 3, Div. 6.M.

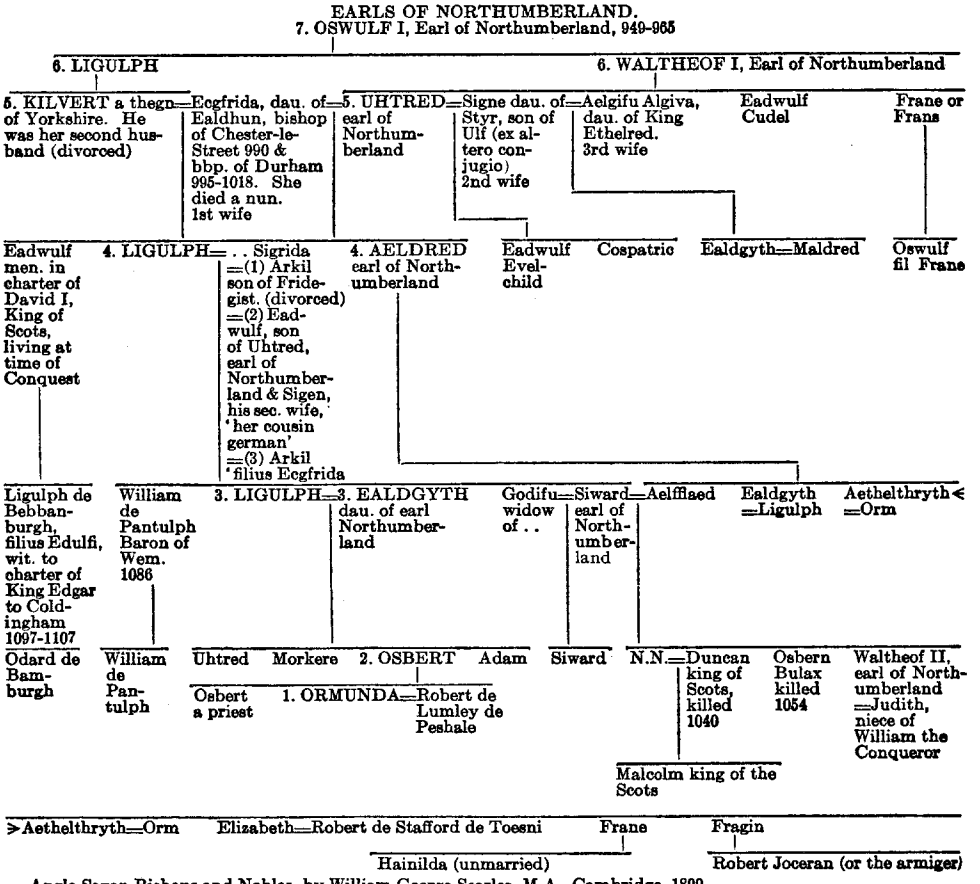
2. LIGULPH, a Thegn of Northumberland, Chap. 11, Sec. 3, Div. 6.P.

Oswulf succeeded to the earldom in 931 upon the death of his father Earl Eldred.

Oswulf I, Lord of Bamborough, about 949; Earl of Northumbria 953, circa 965. [Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles, by William George Searles, M.A., Cambridge, 1899.]

The story of Waltheof I will appear in sequence in the course of this narrative, after the genealogy of the paternal line of Ligulph has been disposed of.

Ligulph, son of Oswulf I, was ancestor of Ligulph, his great-grandson, who in turn was grandfather of Ormunda, who married Robert de Peshale. The following chart will more clearly show the generations of descent from Oswulf I of Northumberland and demonstrate the intermarriages of the leading Staffordshire families with the family of the Earls of Northumberland, and it will consequently enable the reader to appreciate the cousinship which held together, in practically one family bond, the leading members of the special Staffordshire community of which Stone Priory was the religious center.



Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles, by William George Searles, M.A., Cambridge, 1899.
History of Durham, London, 1820, by Robert Surtees.
Historical Collections of Staffordshire.
The details of the line from Lifulph & Ealdgyth to Ormunda have been stated at the beginning of this chapter.

When the last Northumbrian king, Ealdred, was overthrown by King Eadred of England, the government of the country was entrusted to an earl of the king's choice, but who was nevertheless son of the former king. Oswulf I., thus appointed by Eadred, ruled over all Northumberland, till King Eadgar again divided the old kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira in 966, giving the northern province to Oswulf I., and the southern to Oslac. On Oslac's banishment, the whole seems to have been again united under Waltheof I, who was the son of Oswulf I. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 1, page 179. Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles, by Wm. George Searles, M.A., Cambridge, 1899, & De Obsessione Dunelmi, vol. 11, page 215-220.]

Thus we see that notwithstanding that the Northumbrian rulers had with Ecgbert ceased to be kings, the records continue to give them kingly dignity until the death of Ealdred. It is not improbable that they were permitted to retain all the dignity and privileges of underkings except that of coronation.

Ealdred's son was Oswulf, who signs two charters of King Eadred in 949, as Lord of Bamborough, "Osulf ad bebb. hehgr̃" [Cod. Dipl. ii, 292], and "Osulf bebb." [ii. 296]. The abbreviation "hehgr̃" stands, according to Mr. Robertson, for heahgerefa, to which Mr. Freeman adds that it is strange to find so purely ministerial a title applied to one who seems to have been rather a vassal prince than a mere magistrate; which is to say that he was merely a high reeve, who was the ministerial agent or steward, whose duty it was to exact his lord's dues and to enforce justice within the territorial bounds of his appointment. This meaning is not only wrong but it in no way explains the subsequent acts and relationships of these kings. The true meaning that this word is intended to convey is that he held the same relationship to the English king as an unremovable rector, having many subordinate priests, would have to his bishop; namely, that he was supreme within his own jurisdiction, but subject to the commands of his superior. The relationship of these kings was new in England. In fact it stands practically alone in English history, and we must give Oswulf I. credit for cleverly stating his new position in the English kingdom, even though he had to use an abbreviation capable of standing either as the common word reeve or as the more unusual word Heagearch. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 1, page 439.]

In 954, on the final conquest of Northumberland by King Eadred, Oswulf I. seems to have exchanged this sort of kingship for the earldom over both provinces. In fact no act of Oswulf's reign has given rise to so much discussion as the appending to his signature at this time, the abbreviation hehgr̃. Robertson says: among the Northumbrians the place of the ealderman seems to have been filled by the High-Reeve. Where Simeon uses Dux, the expression in the Chronicles is Heahgerefa; and where the latter authority says that the High-reeve slew Beorn the Ealderman, the northern annalist uses the word Patricius, which occurs repeatedly in his account of the events of the eighth century. Beda, in his Epitome, distinguishes between the Dux Regius—Heretoga—who was killed by the Picts in 698, and the Praefectus—Gerefa—who fought with the same people in 710, though both appear in the Saxon Chronicles as Ealdermen. It may be gathered therefore, that the Northumbrian kingdom was administered, under the English king, by High-reeves, over whom there seems to have been placed a superior

officer, known as the Patricius, whose Anglian name may have been Heretoga, or Ealderman. But seeing that the difficulty is scholarly rather than historical, or etymological, he says: The title of Ealderman is as vague as that of Gerefa. Aethelred, the son-in-law of Alfred, for instance, grants and attests charters with the three ealdermen who presided over the provinces of his great ealderdom, each alike without distinction affixing his cross to the same title Dux or Ealderman. The same remark applies to the district over which the Ealderman presided, which often answered to a duchy rather than to a county in the later sense of the word. It was occasionally, and especially in early times, a principality, or small kingdom. [Robertson's Historical Essays, pages 177 and 119.]

Bernicia was in fact the only instance of hereditary earldom, that is to say, like the sub-kingdoms of Norway, which, while not losing kingly dignity, yet became merged into or subordinate to the kingdom at large. The poets translated the word as vice-comes. The truth of the matter is that the title earl, as used at this time, has its meaning in the same word jarl as found in the Scandinavian peninsula, and had no reference to the later title in any way, although at the time of the Conquest the title Earl was still the highest dignity in the kingdom next to that of the king. [American Encyclopedia, Philadelphia, 1798.]

In fact these Bernician rulers were practically kings down to just before the Conquest and the Bernicians proved time and time again that they were able to maintain their own line of hereditary rulers notwithstanding the several efforts made by the kings of England to change this province into an appointive English royal earldom. There was a good reason why they should cease to be crowned kings, namely, that thereby England might be a united nation, and the historians in all fairness should accord these great Northumbrian earls the praise due them for their intensely patriotic conduct, and for their self sacrificing devotion and loyalty to the kingdom of Great Britain.

At the date of Archbishop Wulstan's death in December, 957, the Northumbrians owed no allegiance to Edwy, who was only king over the West-Saxons at the time. Oscytel, therefore, was indebted for his appointment to the archdiocese of York—or for the confirmation of his appointment—to the Elect of the Mercians and Northumbrians; but Edgar had been king over the West-Saxons, Mercians, and Northumbrians for several years when Oscytel died. The election of Aethelwald, who was apparently the choice of the clergy of York, seems to have been at once set aside, just as the election of Abbot Feologild to the see of Canterbury appears to have been ignored by Egbert; and Edgar, following in the steps of the founder of his house, appointed Oswald, bishop of Worcester, the nephew of the deceased archbishop, to the vacant see. Thus he assumed the rights, and acted in the character, of the Patron and Protector of the See of York, and he was the first of the south-country monarchs who successfully established this claim. Oswald immediately set out for Rome, not only to seek his pall, but as the bearer of an important commission from the king—plurima negotia regni, writes Eadmer, adding that the negotiation was satisfactorily arranged. Otho, the great emperor, was at Rome at the date of Oswald's mission, and his influence would have been exerted in behalf of his nephew had it indeed been required. But the solitary difficulty in the way of Edgar's envoy, had his mission related

to the unction and coronation of the English king, would have been the right of unction previously accorded by the papal see to the sovereigns of Mercia and Northumbria; and the ancient royalties of Mercia and Northumbria were no longer exercised. The kings were now hereditary earls and hence had forfeited the rights of coronation as kings. Immediately upon the return of Oswald from Rome, Edgar was crowned at Bath—denique coronatur in regnum are the words of his kinsman and contemporary Aethelwerd, the Patrician; and within five or six years from this date, both archbishops and ten bishops, representing the hierarchy of the provinces of Canterbury and York, were present at the coronation of his son Ethelred at Kingston. This is the first historical notice of an archbishop of York assisting with the south-country metropolitan at the coronation of a king, but the ceremony at Kingston may be assumed with probability to have been a mere repetition of the ceremony at Bath. Edred scarcely survived the suppression of the royal power in Northumbria, and Edwy was soon reduced to rule over only a portion of a disunited kingdom. Edgar, therefore, would appear to have postponed his coronation until every solemnity could be fulfilled that was considered necessary for the unction and coronation of the Elect of all three provinces of England, the first sovereign who in the presence of both archbishops—of the sacerdotes and principes of the whole of England—was crowned and anointed as the sole representative of the three-fold sovereignty of the West-Saxons, Mercians and Northumbrians. All of which quite clearly discloses the reason why it was so necessary to bring this kingdom of Bernicia to an end and why the English kings agreed to make it a hereditary earldom of the English kingdom. [Robertson's Historical Essays.]

In the reign of Aethelstan, the son of Edward the Elder, the great victory of Brunanburgh, 937, by which he defeated the united forces of Olaf Cuaran, the son of Sitric, the Danish king or earl, his father-in-law Constantine, king of the Scots, another Olaf, the son of Godfred, king of the Irish Danes, and the British prince of Cumbria, made the conquest of Bernicia south of the Solway and the Tweed more of a reality. Norse mercenaries under Egil, the hero of the Icelandic saga, fought in the army of Aethelstan, and a few years later the aid of Eric Blood-Axe, son of Harold the Fairhaired, had to be purchased by giving him the rule over Deira, which he intended to hold as a barrier against the Scots and Danes, but was unable to do so. The conquest of the Northumbrian Dane was only completed in 954, when Eadred, the third son of Edward the Elder, who was king of Wessex, was able to substitute Oswulf, an earl of his own choice, for their last king, Eric, who is called by the English chroniclers simply the son of Harold, and is supposed by Adam of Bremen to have been the son of Harold Blue-tooth, king of Denmark, but by the best modern writers to be Eric Blood-Axe, who had returned to Northumberland and who was slain at Stanemoor, in 954. Thus Oswulf, as earl of Northumberland, ruled over both Bernicia and Deira. [Encyclopaedia Britannica.]

Eadgar (959-975), the successor of Eadred, divided Northumberland into two earldoms, which answered roughly to the ancient Deira and Bernicia, but probably more nearly to the modern county of York, of which Oslac was earl, and modern Northumberland and Durham, which Oswulf retained. The dis-

memberment of the ancient kingdom had commenced in the earlier reign of Edmund, who in 945 ceded Cumbria to Malcolm I. of Scotland on condition that he should be his fellow-worker both by land and sea, a remarkable expression in the Anglo Saxon Chronicle, indicating alliance rather than homage.

The Saga of Hakon the Good describes this Eric of York most fully. It reads:—When Eirik (blood-axe), a Norwegian, saw that he could not resist the host of (his brother) Hakon, he sailed westwards across the sea with those who wished to follow him; he went first to the Orkneys, and took many men with him thence. Then he sailed to England and made warfare in Scotland wherever he landed; he also made warfare in the North of England. Adalstein, king of the English, sent word to Eirik offering him a realm in England, as his father King Harald had been a great friend of his, and he wished to show friendship to his son. They made an agreement, so that King Eirik got (Deira in) Nordimbraland (Northumberland), in order to keep it for King Adalstein, and defend it against the Danir and other vikings. Eirik was to be baptized, and his wife and his children, and all the men that had followed him there. Eirik agreed, was baptized, and adopted the true belief. Nordimbraland is one-fifth of England. He sat in Jorvik (York), where the sons of Ragnar Lodbrok are said to have sat before. Nordimbraland (Deira) is for the most part inhabited by Northmen, since the sons of Ragnar won it (in the time of Ida four centuries preceding this time); the Danir and the Northmen often attacked the land after they had lost it. Many of the names of the land are in the Norraena (Northern tongue): Grimsbaer (Grimsby), and Hauksfljot (Hauks-fleet), and many others [Heimskringla, Hakon the Good, c. 3]. It will be noticed that the saga in a very few words gives the full, complete and perfect history of Bernicia and Deira for the preceding four centuries. It is remarkable how accurate these saga histories are once we have the key to what they are saying. [The Viking Age, by Paul B. Du Challeau, vol. 2, page 468.]

King Eirik bloodaxe kept many Northmen, who had come westward with him, and his friends continued to come from Norway. As he had little land, he went on warfare during the summer, ravaged in Scotland and the Hebrides, Ireland, and Bretland, and thus won property. Aethelstan died on a sick bed (A.D. 940); he had been king fourteen winters, eight weeks and three days. Thereupon his brother Edmund became King of England; he did not like the Northmen, and was not fond of Eirik, and it was said that he wished to place another king over Northumberland. When Eirik heard this he went on a western viking expedition, taking with him Arnkel and Erlend, the sons of Torf-Einar, from the Orkneys. Thorf-Einer was the descendant of Eignar one of the sons of Rognvale, Earl of Mere. Then he sailed to the Hebrides, and there many vikings and hostkings joined him. He went first to Ireland, then he crossed to Bretland, and plundered there. After this he sailed south to England, and ravaged there, as in other places; but all the people fled wherever he went. As he was a very valiant man and had a large host, he trusted so much to this that he went far up into the land, and plundered and searched for men. The king whom Edmund had set to defend the land there was named Olaf; he gathered an overwhelming host, and went against Eirik. There ensued a great battle . . . Eirik and

five kings with him fell, . . . and there was a great slaughter of Northmen; those who escaped went to Northumberland, and told Gunnhild and her sons the tidings. [Hakon the Good, c. 4.]

When (Eirik's wife) Gunnhild and her sons became aware that Eirik had fallen, and at first plundered in the realm of the Engla-king, they knew they could not expect peace there, and at once made ready to leave Northumberland with all those who wished to follow them. They also carried away what property had been gathered from taxes in England, as well as what had been won in warfare. They sailed with their men north to the Orkneys, and stayed there awhile. Thorfinn Hausekljuf (head cleaver) was then jarl. The sons of Eirik subdued the Orkneys and Shetlands, and took taxes from them; they remained there during the winter, but went on westward viking expeditions in the summer in Scotland and Ireland. [Hakon the Good, c. 5.] The statement of the saga as to the extent of the territorial jurisdiction of Eric Bloody-Axe while he was earl of Northumberland must not be taken literally, as he was confined to the Danelaw part of Northumberland, that is to say Deira. The old Northumbrian line of earls ruled over Bernicia proper. Olave Stricson at length retired to Dublin, and upon the death of Eric Bloody Axe, who is said to have been slain on Stanemoor by Magnus Haraldson, through the treachery of Osulf of Bamborough, Northumbria was committed to the charge of the same Osulf by Eldred. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson.]

The English account parallels the saga. We read that in the rise and fall of Eric we may perhaps see a strife, not only between the parties of resistance and of submission, but also between the Danish and Norwegian settlers who shared the Danelaw; for hardly had he been forsaken when, in 949, Olaf, son of Sihtric, King of Ireland, reappeared in Northumbria (Deira), where he ruled for the next three years. Olaf, no doubt, ruled as a sub-king under King Eadred of England, for there is no record of further strife; and the king must, throughout these years, have been quietly getting a firmer grip on the Danelaw. Olaf in the year 952 was driven out by his subjects, and Eric Hiring again received as their king. Of the strife that followed through the next two years we know only the close, the renewed expulsion of Eric and the fresh submission of the Danelaw to Eadred. But short and uneventful as the struggle was, it was the last; for with the submission of 954 the long work of Aelfred's house was done. Dogged as his fight had been, the Dane at last owned himself beaten; from the moment of Eadred's final triumph all resistance came to an end; and the close of the under-kingdom proclaimed that the north was brought into the general organization of the English realm. The policy of the great ealdormanies triumphed again over that of national union. Though Eadred, in 954, took, like Aethelstan, to the kingdom of the Northumbrians, he made no attempt to restore the direct rule of Aethelstan's early years. He contented himself with reducing the under-kingdom to an earldom, and governing it through an Englishman instead of a Dane. Oswulf, who had till now held a semi-independent position as high reeve of Bernicia, was set over both Bernicia and Deira as earl of the Northumbrians. [Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, pages 279-283.]

Bishop Dunstan seems to have accompanied king Eadred into Northumbria after its subjugation, at least as far as Chester-le-street, where he saw the remains of St. Cuthbert still resting in the temporary refuge which they had found after their removal from Lindisfarne; and it was probably under his counsel that Eadred resolved to put an end to the subject royalty of the north and to set up the new earldom of the Northumbrians. [*Ibid.*, page 279.]

Edinburgh was vacated by the Northumbrians in the reign of the Scottish king, Indulf, 954-962. [Early Sources of Scottish History, by A. O. Anderson, vol. 1, page 544.]

In 963 we find the first signature of Oslac as dux, though the Chronicle places his elevation to the Northumbrian earldom in 966. From 966 we find Ordgar appearing among the duces; perhaps raised as father-in-law of Eadgar, who married in 965 his daughter Aelfthryth. In 969 Eadwulf and Bryhtferth (who has till now stood at the head of the ministri) are added to the number of duces, and in 975 we have a Dux Aelfsige; all these deeds, however, relate to that part of Northumberland called Deira. [*Ibid.*, page 303.] Oslac, the so-called great Eorl, ruled over the Anglo-Danes after 966; his name appears as dux in the charters in 965; but neither bishop nor ealdorman from beyond the province of York ever attested a grant of Edgar, King of England. A state of anarchy seems to have ensued upon the death of the king in 975, amidst which Oslac was outlawed and a civil war all but broke out between the rival houses of Mercia and East-Anglia. This Oslac was a special favorite of King Edgar and he was banished by his son Edward in 975. [Robertson's Historical Essays, page 181.] Oswulf appears to have died just before Oslac was deposed, and he was succeeded by his son Waltheof I., as Earl of Bernicia.

Note:—In following the complicated history of Bernicia and Northumbria during this period the reader must keep constantly in mind not only the old divisions of Bernicia and Deira, but the new Northumberland which was part of the Danish settlement in England. He must also remember the allegiance of the Danes not only to the English king, but to the Scandinavian kingdoms as well. He must not forget in all this the semi-independence of the Bernician earls, which independence is from time to time lost in the most complete subordination to the English king.

*6. P. LIGULPH, a Thegn of Northumberland. Child:—

1. Kilvert, a thegn of Yorkshire, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 5. P., married Ecgfrida, who was the first wife of Uhtred, Earl of Northumberland. She divorced him and died a nun.

The authorities say, Ecgfrida, daughter of Ealdhun, Bishop of Chester-le-Street, and later Bishop of Durham, was first the wife of Uhtred, from whom she was divorced. Thereupon her father gave her with her dowry to Kilvert, son of Ligulph. Thus, strange as it may seem, she came to figure both in the maternal and paternal lines of ancestry of Ormunda. [Robertson's Historical Essays, page 172. John Hodgson, History of Northumberland, part II, vol. iii, page 12, concerning the siege of Dunelum and those associated therein. The genealogy of the Earls of Northumberland in Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles, by William George Searles, page 370.]

*5. P. KILVERT, a Thegn of Yorkshire, married Ecgfrida. Children:—

1. Ligulph, a Thegn of Yorkshire, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 4. P., married ——. He was the grandfather of Ormunda de Stafford, who married Robert de Lumley de Peshale.

2. Eadwulf, mentioned in a charter of David I, King of the Scots, living at the time of the Conquest. The story of Eadwulf, son of Kilvert, will be told in Chapter 12, Section 4.
3. Sigrida, who married three times; first, Arkil, son of Fridegist, (divorced); second, Eadulf Evelchild, son of Uhtred by his second wife; he was her cousin german (divorced); and third, Arkil, 'filius Ecgfridae.' By Arkil, the son of Ecgfrida, she had a son Cospatric, who married the daughter of Dolphin, the son of Torfin, and they had a son Cospatric who 'recently was bound to fight against Waltheof, the son of Eilsi.' This Eilsi was the husband of Ecgfritha, daughter of Orm and Aethelthryth, daughter of Earl Ealdred of Northumberland. [Bishops and Nobles, by William George Searles.]

*4. P. LIGULPH, a Thegn of Yorkshire, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 4. P., son of Kilvert, married ——. Children:—

1. Ligulph, a Thegn of Yorkshire, Chapter 11, Section 2, married Ealdgyth, daughter of Ealdred, Earl of Northumberland, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 4. M.
2. Siward Digera, Earl of Northumberland, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 4. M., married Aelfflaed III, daughter of Ealdred, Earl of Northumberland; she is sometimes called Aethelflaed. They were 'cousin german.' Siward, after her death, married Godifu, a widow. The story of Siward will be told in the following chapters.
3. William de Pantulf or Panton. He removed to Shropshire and Staffordshire where he became Baron of Wem. See Chapter 13, Section 1 in connection with the story of the generation of our ancestor William de Peshale who was tenant of the Pantulfs.

*6. M. WALTHEOF I, Earl of Northumberland, son of Oswulf I, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 7; married ——. 'The next earl was Waltheof, who was a son of Oswulf' Earl of Northumberland. [Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles, by Wm. George Searles, M.A., Cambridge, 1899.] Children:—

1. Uhtred, Earl of Northumberland, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 5. M. Married three times: first, Ecgfrida, daughter of Ealdhun, bishop of Chester-le-Street and of Durham; second, Sigen, daughter of Styr, the son of Ulf; and third, Aelfgifu, daughter of King Aethelred II of England.
2. Eadwulf Cudel, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 5. M., Earl of Northumbria-beyond-the-Tyne, i.e. Bernicia. He succeeded his brother.
3. Frane or Franc, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 6. M., grandfather of Elizabeth the wife of Robert de Stafford.

Uhtred and Eadwulf Cudel will be spoken of so fully in the course of this narrative that no further comment concerning them is necessary at this place. As to Frane, he had a son Oswulf, who had a daughter Elizabeth, who married Robert de Toesni. See Chapter 8, Section 3. This Robert de Toesni was a leader in the Northumbrian colony in Staffordshire, where he called himself Robert de Stafford. He was the overlord of the manor of Peshale, by which the Staffords also trace their ancestry to the royal line of Bernicia. A more detailed account appeared in Chapter 10.

On Oslac's banishment, the whole of Northumbria seems to have been again united under Waltheof I., who was of the family of Oswulf. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 1, page 437.]

There seems however to be some difference of opinion as to the extent of the dominion of Waltheof I. and another authority tells us that Oswulf of Bamborough was a son of Ealdred, to whose charge the whole province was committed by King Eldred in 954. In 966 Oslac, the great Earl, was appointed by Edgar to rule the Anglo-Danes, and as the authority of Waltheof, who succeeded Oswulf, is expressly limited to Northumbria beyond the Tyne, it is evident that the authority of the Bamborough family was confined to their hereditary province of Bernicia, until Ethelred, in 1006, conferred upon Uchtred, the son of Waltheof, the Earldom of the Yorkshire Danes, in addition to his patrimonial Ealdorem beyond the Tyne, for his great services against the Scots. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, volume 1, page 441.] This again gave rise to two Earldoms in old Northumbria, namely the earldom of Bernicia and the earldom of the Anglo-Danes in Deira. Earl Oslac was banished in 975, and his immediate successors in the government of the Anglo-Danes of Deira can only be ascertained by conjecture.

Thored, whose name first appears as Dux in 979, when he seems to have been placed over Deiran Northumbria between Oslac and Aelfhelm. Great changes were introduced in the course of the tenth century; the older distinctions of condition and race were merged in Twelfhynd and Twyhynd, Angle and Dane; and as the authority of the West-Saxon sovereigns extended far beyond the original limits of their ancestral kingdom, the power of the ealdorman seems to have risen with that of the king. 'Let Oslac Eorl further this . . . and let writings be sent to both Aelfere Ealdorman and Aethelwine Ealdorman,—such were the directions by which Edgar secured the establishment of the Frithborh throughout the whole district between Watling Street and the northern marches of Danish Northumbria, embracing the three great provinces or duchies of Mercia, East Anglia, and Danish Northumbria. [Robertson's Historical Essays, pages 170 and 178.] These Danish Dukes were killed in the celebrated invasion of King Olaf Trygvason in 986 when he plundered Northumberland and Scotland, which he marauded far and wide. Thus tells Halfred Vandredaskald of these events:—

The brave young king who never retreats,
The Englishman in England beats.
Death through Northumberland is spread
From battle axe and spearhead.
Through Scotland with his spears he rides;

Feeding the wolves where'er he came,
The young king drove a bloody game.
The gallant bowman in the isles
Slew foemen, who lay in piles.

People against him could not stand;
Thick on the fields their corpses lay,
To ravens and howling wolves a prey.

From the year 994 a certain Oelfhelm, who previously figures in the charters as Minister, or King's Thegn, signs himself Duc, and is a constant attendant on

the court until his death in 1006. He attests one charter (No. 698) as Nordanhumbrensium provinciarum Dux, though Waltheof was at this period unquestionably an Ealdorman of Bernicia beyond the Tyne. His signature in that capacity being appended to the first charter in which Oelfhelm appears as Dux; and as the death of the latter in 1006 coincides exactly with the period of Uchtred's elevation to the Eorldom, it discloses that for the last twelve years of his life, Oelfhelm ruled over the Yorkshire Danes. In 993, the year preceding his first appearance as Eorl associated with Aelfric and as his name never again appears in charter or chronicle, he may have shared in the treachery of Aelfric or suffered from it. As his title of Eorl implies that he was an Anglo-Dane, he may have held the Eorldom after the exile of Oslac; but this is entirely a matter of conjecture. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson.]

The second appearance of Aelfham in the earldom carried with it at least a desire on the part of the English king to displace the hereditary earls of Bernicia. Aelfham was said to be a Saxon and closely related, at least by marriage, to the royal family of England. This appears to have been, as has been said, an attempt to displace the hereditary earls of Bernicia with members of the ruling family of England, or at least with Saxon born rulers; a design to which the English kings seem to have committed themselves and which was to be followed by such disastrous consequences when it was attempted at the time of the succession to Earl Siward, just before the Conquest, when Tostig, brother of Harold, was made Earl of Northumberland. It has nevertheless been considered an enigma as to the exact genealogy of the Earl Aelfham.

Wulfric, who died about 1002, bequeathed the greater portion of his vast property to Aelfhelm, and his sons, and to Morcar and his wife and daughter. In the grant of some lands at Dumbleton (dcxcii), which he bequeathed by his will to Archbishop Aelfric, Wulfric is called Wulfrune suna, so that there can be no doubt about the descent of Wulfrid, and Aelfhelm from Wulfrum. But who was Wulfrum? This year Analf stormed Tamworth, says Chron. Sax. d. 943, there during the pillage was Wulfrun taken. The kinswoman of Aethelmaer is called in the Latin Wulfin, in the Anglo-Saxon Wulfrun. Wulfrun captured at Tamworth was the father of Wulfric and Aelfhelm—Wulfrun or Wulfruna, the kinswoman of Aethelmaer, the wife of Aelfhelm, who owned his advancement to the earldom of the Northumbrians to this connection with the king's kin. [Historical Essays, by E. William Robertson, pages 185 and 187.]

The principal advisers of Ethelred at this period seem to have been his kinsman Aethelmaer, his uncle Urdulf—their names invariably occupy the foremost place amongst the Ministri—and Wulfgeat, his favorite thegn. Closely following the signatures of Aethelmaer and Ordulf will generally be found the names of Wulfric and his nephew Wulfeah. Wulfric, Wulfrun's son, whose high descent is noticed in more than one charter, was the founder of Burton Abbey; and the title of Consul et Comes Merciorum, under which he appears in the Annals of Burton, discloses that he ruled over the northern portion of Aelfhere's ealderdom in the capacity of High-reeve. Wulfheah and his brother Ufegeat were the sons of Aelfhelm, ealderman of the Northumbrian Danes, who is named by Wulfric in his will as his brother. The daughter of Morcar (Morkere) and Eadgyth was

Wulfric's godchild, and whilst both her parents were benefited considerably by the will, the manner in which her godfather leaves her the bulla which was her grandmother's points to a closer relationship between them. She was his daughter's child. The name of Aelfhelm's wife, according to Florence, was Wulfrun; and as Wulfrun bequeathed the land at Ramsley, and the hythe that belongs thereto, to Aethelmaer her kinsman, it can scarcely be doubted that, either through his wife, or his mother, the ealderman and his family were connected with the kindred of the king.

Aelfhelm, who thus become the male representative of both branches of his family, was lured to his death at Shrewsbury in 1006, and treacherously murdered; his sons Wulfeah and Ufegeat were blinded by the king's order; and Wulgeat, the former favorite, with his wife Aelfgyfa, the widow of Aelfgar, the reeve, was involved in the same ruin. The ealdordom of Mercia fell to the share of Eadric. That is the portion of the old province apparently that seems to have been administered by Wulfric, for the Hwiccas still remained under the jurisdiction of Leofwine,—whilst the ealdordom of Aelfhelm purchased the support of the Northumbrian Uhtred, who, by his subsequent marriage with one of Ethelred's daughters, became the brother-in-law of Eadric.

Upon the return of Ethelred, after the death of Sweyn, Morcar and Siferth, Senior thegns of the Five-Burghs—High-reeves or Holds probably—became the next of Eadric's victims, the king betraying his complicity in the crime by confiscating their property to his own use. But he was anticipated by his own son Edmund, who, marrying the widow of Siferth, asserted her claims in his own person. While Aelfhelm may have been of the Saxon royal family, nevertheless, his family went over to the Danes at the earliest opportunity and Aelfgyfu, of Northampton, the daughter of Aelfhelm and Wulfrun, became the first wife of Canute, and the whole of the north of England held in after times to her son, Harold Harefoor. It appears that Canute, in order to secure the support of northern England, married the daughter of Aelfhelm and Walfrunna, and following the example of Henry, unhesitatingly repudiated her when he commanded the relict of King Ethelred to be fetched for his wife. Eadgyth, the widow of Siferth, was married, after the murder of her husband, to Edmund Ironside, who went north to the Five-Burghs, and soon took possession of all Siferth's property, and Morcare's and all the people submitted to him. Which means that they recognized the rival claims of Wulfric's grandchild. [Robertson's Historical Essays, pages 172, 184-185 and 187.]

Emma, the second wife of Canute, was sister of our ancestor Werlac, Count of Corbeil, and daughter of Richard I, Duke of Normandy. It would seem therefore that this effort to displace the Bernician earls was for the purpose of placing a Norseman on the throne of Bernicia, the English king thinking perhaps that the Danes now far outnumbered the old Bernicians. The effort failed. All of which discloses the great power of the Bernician nobility, that they were able to defy the kings of England, and to maintain the succession of their royal house in spite of the appointment by the King of England of so well-related a person as Aelfhelm, whether he was Saxon or Dane.

The kingdom of Northumberland having become merged into the earldom, Bamburgh became the residence of a line of earls, and in 993, the Danes, under Justin and Guthmund, broke into the fortress. They seem to have sacked but not destroyed it. In the summer of 1006, a new Danish invasion took place and there seems reason to believe that it took place simultaneously, and therefore perhaps in concert, with a Scottish inroad. It is now a long time since we have heard of any disturbances on the part of Scotland proper. King Kenneth, the faithful vassal of Eadgar, had died in the year of the great invasion of Olaf and Swegen. But his son Malcolm did not obtain quiet possession of the Scottish crown till ten years later. He was now determined to revenge the wrong which he had suffered at the hands of Aethelred in the devastation of Cumberland. He is said to have invaded Northumberland (Deira) and to have laid siege to Durham.

Malcolm's raid points significantly to the gradual extension by the Scottish kingdom of her southern frontier. Borne down by the weight of years, Ealdorman Waltheof, shutting himself up within the walls of Bamborough, placidly let the storm sweep by; but his son Uchtred, who had married the daughter of the bishop of Bernicia, was neither of an age nor of a temperament to look quietly on while the broad lands he had received in dowry with his bride were wasted by the northern invaders. Summoning the men of Bernicia, Durham and Yorkshire to join his standard, he soon collected a numerous force, and suddenly attacking Malcolm before the gates of Durham drove him from the territory of St. Cuthbert.

The next step of the victorious Uchtred affords a singular example of the manners of the age. Severing from the bodies of the fallen Scots a sufficient number of the best-looking heads, he committed them to the charge of four women each of whom was to receive a cow in payment for platting the hair and arraying to the best advantage these grim relics of the foe, which were then placed on stakes at equal intervals around the walls of Durham, to answer the double purpose of striking terror into any future band of marauding Scots, and of recalling to the grateful townsmen the services of their brave deliverer. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, pages 92 and 93.]

Waltheof appears to have abdicated in favor of his son Uchtred, who thereby became Earl of Northumberland. Just how long Waltheof, who was a feeble old man at this time, survived this event is not disclosed by the Chronicles. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 1, page 221.]

As dux, Bamborough was plundered and destroyed, apparently by Olaf Tryggeson, and to oppose him an army was collected, not by Eorl or Ealdorman, but by three Heretogas, Godwin, Frena and Frithegist [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 1, page 191], who were of Danish descent, which again discloses that the Danes were even as late as this time ready to aid Bernicia against her enemies even though they might be Norsemen; and although they might therefore be expected to sympathize with the invaders rather than with those whom it was their duty to defeat, they led the flight instead of the onset; and it may have been to curb the disaffection of the Yorkshire Danes that Oelfhelm, a Saxon, was placed in authority over them. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson.]

If therefore we try to harmonize the two statements it would appear that Waltheof succeeded his father Oswulf before Oslac was deposed, and on the latter retiring, Waltheof was made earl of all Northumbria until some time before 993, when Aelfham was appointed to rule Deira; and that in 993 Aelfham deserted, and left Deira to be defended by Waltheof with the aid of the three captains who led the retreat before the invading Danes.

Aelfham Ealdorman may have escaped and accompanied the Northmen when, in 993, their fleet sailed along the coast, ravaged at the mouth of the Humber, and sacked Bamborough. As Aethelred chose this moment for ordering his son Aelfgar to be blinded, it may be in punishment for his father's treason. Aelfham seems to have been reinstated in royal favor. [Conquest of England, by John Richard Green, page 353.]

Between the banishment of Oslac in 975 and the elevation of Oelfhalm in 994, a certain Thored Dux, whose father, Gunnar Dux, attested one of Athelstan's charters, is a frequent attendant upon Ethelred between 979 and 988.

*5. M. UHTRED, Earl of Northumberland, son of Waltheof I, Chapter 11, Section 3, Div. 6. M., was killed about 1016 by Thurebrand Hold. Uhtred was three times married, first to Ecgfrida, daughter of Ealdhun, bishop of Chester-le-Street about 990 and bishop of Durham 995; second to Sigen, daughter of Styr, the son of Ulf; and third Aelfgifu Algiva, daughter of King Aethelred of England, Chapter 5, Section 1. Children of first marriage:—

1. Ealdred, Earl of Northumberland, Chapter 11, Sec. 3, Div. 4. M.

Children of second marriage:

2. Eadwulf Evelchild, Earl of Northumberland, Chapter 11, Section 3, Div. 4. M.; succeeded his brother Ealdred, and married Sigreda, daughter of Kilvert, son of Ligulph, son of Oswulf I.
3. Cospatric, married ——, and had a son Uhtred, Lord of Raby.

Children of third marriage:

4. Ealdgyth, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 4. M., who married Maldred, son of Crinan, a Thegn.

Uhtred came to be Earl of Northumberland at the beginning of the most critical period of English history, namely, when the Danes became strong enough to seize and hold the throne of England. This was the time when there began those changes from English to Norse and from Norse to English king which only ended with the Norman Conquest and the seating of the Norman dukes as King of England. Hence the history of Uhtred as Earl of Northumberland reads like a history of the kingdom of England, as he either saw or was part of all the great events of his day.

Uchtred, the Northumbrian, as has been said, was three times married. With his first wife, the daughter of Bishop Aldhun, he received certain lands of St. Cuthbert's on condition that as long as he lived he should always retain Ecgfreda in honorable wedlock; a condition pointing strongly to a certain want of permanency in the marriages of the period, against which the Bishop seems to have exhibited a laudable anxiety to protect his daughter. After his appointment to the earldom of the Anglo-Danes, Uhtred divorced Egfreda to marry Sigen, the daughter of Styr Ulfson of York, a connection that seems eventually to have cost

him his life; but he repudiated the Yorkshire lady when he accepted the hand of Aelfgyfu, the daughter of King Aethelred. Egfreda, divorced by Uchtred, was given by her father the bishop, with her dowry, to Kilvert Ligulfson, by whom she had a daughter Sigrida, subsequently married to three husbands in succession, one of whom was Uchtred's son Eadulf Evelchild, a son of his second marriage. [Robertson's Historical Essays, page 172.]

In the earlier grants to St. Cuthbert's, alluded to by Simeon, the shire is distinctly visible. To these three, Ethred, Eorle, Northamn Eorle and Eorl Uhtred, says the charter, the Bishop and Chapter made over twenty-four townships, and may he who deprived St. Cuthbert of any of these lands perish in the day of Judgement—a devout aspiration that marks the grant of the two shires to the Earls as a loan in return for their protection. Towards the end of the tenth century, against the plundering invasions of the Danes [Robertson's Historical Essays, page 123] which began again but they soon assumed an altogether new characteristic. The north of Europe divided among a crowd of petty princes had, like England, like the empire, settled down into a more regular order of things. Three great kingdoms, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, had arisen. With Sweden she had nothing directly to do. The conquests of that power were made to the east. With Norway also, England proper had comparatively little to do, though the northmen who ravaged and settled in Scotland, Northumberland and Ireland seem to have come mainly from that part of Scandinavia, but the history of England for a long term of years is one record of constant struggles with the power of Denmark. [The Norman Conquest, by Freeman, vol. 1, page 30.]

Uhtred, when his father failed in his duty, supplied his place, gathered an army, rescued Durham, and gained a signal victory over the Scots. The heads of the handsomest of the slain Scots, with their long twisted hair, were exposed on the walls of Durham. Towards the city which he thus saved Uhtred stood in a relation which we should have looked for in the eighteenth century rather than in the tenth. He was married to a daughter of Ealdhun, the bishop, who had just removed his see to Durham, and in the character of episcopal son-in-law he held large grants of episcopal lands. Uhtred's behaviour gained him the special favor of Aethelred, who also added to Bernicia the earldom of Deira, now vacant by the murder of Aelfhelm. Uhtred seems to have had no further need of episcopal leases; for he sent the Bishop's daughter back to her father, honestly returning the estates which he had received with her. He then married the daughter of a rich citizen. This lady he held by quite another tenure, that of killing her father's bitter enemy Thurbrand. This, unfortunately for himself, he failed to do, and this failure would seem to set aside the second marriage also, as we presently find him receiving the hand of King Aethelred's daughter Aelgifu. The genealogical and local detail with which this account is given stamps it as authentic. Uhtred held both earldoms on the deposition of his father and the murder of Aelfhelm. On the death of Uhtred the Northumbrian, i.e. Deiran, earldom was bestowed on Eric the Dane. [*Ibid.*, pages 221-222 and 437.]

In the Chronicle of Ireland, by Doctor Meredith Hanmer (page 160) it is stated that Ardulphus, Bishop of Lindisfrane, fearing the incursions of the Danes, took the corpse of St. Cuthbert and attempted to transport it to Ireland,

but the wind was against him and compelled them to land in England. They then brought it to Cuncaster some six miles from Durham where it rested some years. That Aldunus, first bishop of Durham, preventing the invasions of the Danes, removed the corpse to a place full of bushes and thornes, now called Durham, and with the aid of Earl Uhtred builded a church over it where it resteth.

This brings us to the invasion of the Danes under Swegen. There is doubtless a measure of truth in the account of Swegen's splendid fleet, of the birds and dragons on the tops of the masts which showed the way of the wind, of the figures of men and animals in gold, silver and amber, which formed the signs of the ships, the lions, the bulls, the dolphins and, what we should hardly have looked for, the centaurs. With this fleet, armed with the whole force of Denmark, Swegen sailed to the mouth of the Humber, a country among whose population, says Freeman, the Danish element was large. The North of England was again severed from the West-Saxon monarchy. The Danes of Northumbria first submitted under their Earl Uhtred, the King's son-in-law, who did nothing to check the panic, even if he was not the first to be carried away by it. As a fact the Danes of Deira were in sympathy with the invader, so there was nothing that Uhtred could do but retire to loyal Bernicia. An attempt to maintain himself by a battle in York would have resulted in his complete destruction. Moreover the allegiance of his royal line was stronger towards the Dane than it could possibly be to the English king. Before long, all the population northeast of Watling-Street, except Bernicia, had acknowledged Swegen. From all these districts he took hostages, whom he entrusted to his son Cnut, who was left in command of the fleet. He also required horses and food for his army, and, more than this, the contingents of the shires which had submitted had to follow him, willingly, or unwillingly, in his onward march. With this force he then crossed Watling-Street, and struck southwest into the strictly English districts of Mercia, into the one part of England which had as yet escaped ravage, some districts of which would hardly have seen war since the days of Aelfred. The distinction between the Danish and English districts was clearly marked in his treatment of the two. Among the former he made no ravages, but, when he was once within the purely English border, his cruelties became horrible, and they were carried on in the most systematic way. He wrought the most evil that any host might do, he is even charged with directly ordering, as his rule of warfare, the ravage of fields, the burning of towns, the robbery of churches, the slaughter of men, and the rape of women. That Bernicia escaped this ravaging shows that the tide of conquest did not extend northward to this land and emphasizes the old Danish alliance. The invaders headed south and west. For in this same destructive and wanton manner he passed through the country to Bath where the terrible drama was brought to an end. Eathelmaer, Ealdorman of Devonshire, with all the Thegns of the West, came to Swegen, submitted and gave hostages. Putting the language of the different accounts together, there can be little doubt that this was, or professed to be, a formal act of Witan of Wessex, deposing Aethelred and raising Swegen to the throne. Danish Northumberland had already acknowledged him; and, considering that Swegen brought the contingents of the North of England with him, it is possible that there may have been enough of the chief

men of different parts of the kingdom present to give the assembly something like the air of a general witenagemot. By a strange turning about of events, all England was now in the hands of Swegen, while the cause of Aethelred was still maintained by Thurkill, and the Danish fleet in the Thames. The monarchy of Cerdic was now confined to the decks of forty-five Scandinavian war-ships. The fleet still lay at Greenwich, the scene of the martyrdom of Aelfheah. Thither, immediately after the submission of London, Aethelred and Thurkill betook themselves. Queen Emma went over to her brother Richard II, Duke of Normandy, in company with Aelfsige, Abbot of Peterborough, and she was presently followed by her two young sons, the Aethelings, Edward and Aelfred, with their tutor Aelfhun, Bishop of London. Queen Emma was also sister to our ancestor Mauger, Count of Mortaigne and Corbeil. Aethelred himself stayed some time longer with the fleet, but at midwinter he went to the Isle of Wight, the old Danish quarters, which the adhesion of the Danish fleet now made the only portion of his lost realm accessible to the English king. He there kept the feast of Christmas, and in January he joined his wife and his young children in Normandy, where his brother-in-law, Duke Richard, could hardly refuse him an honorable reception. Eadric, according to some accounts, had already gone over with the Queen. Of Aethelred's sons by his first marriage, the gallant Aethelings Aethelstan and Eadwig and their glorious brother Eadmund, we hear nothing. As far as we can see, Swegen was the one acknowledged king over the whole realm. If the West Saxon banner was anywhere displayed it could have been only on the masts of Thurkill and his sea-rovers. During the whole winter, Swegen on his side, and Thurkill on his, levied contributions and ravaged the land at pleasure.

This conquest of England by Swegen forms an important stage in English history. It was, for the moment at least, the completion of the Danish invasions in their third and final shape of actual Danish conquest. And it was more than this. The Danish conquest by Swegen was, so to speak, the precedent for the Norman conquest by William. It is interesting to note that at this time the Earl of Bernicia was unwillingly on the side of the Dane, as subsequently he was most willingly on the side of the Conqueror. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward Freeman, vol. 1, pages 241-244.] In fact it is very doubtful whether at this time Bernicia was disturbed in any way. It was the buffer state between the Danes and the Scots, and the disposition of both was to leave it alone. It was however English and hence must have finally been included in the Danish Conquest.

Swegen met with a sudden and violent death, whereupon in the course of Lent, 1014, Aethelred came back to England and met with a joyful reception in London. It was probably in a Gemót held on his return that the king and his Witan proceeded to pass the laws which bear the date of this year. For the first and last time during his long reign, we see Aethelred engaged in righteous and successful warfare. Cnut was still at Gainsborough, where he had agreed with the men of Lindesey, a district in which the Danish element was very large, to furnish him with horses and to join him in a plundering expedition. But before they were ready, Aethelred came up with his full force, and drove Cnut away to his

ships. The defeat must have been decisive, as Cnut sailed away altogether from that part of England and steered his course southwards to Sandwich. There he put on shore the hostages who had been given to his father from all parts of England, having first subjected them to various mutilations, as the loss of hands, ears, and noses. He then sailed away to Denmark. Aethelred had thus for once shown real spirit and vigour, and had done a real service to his country. For the moment England was free from the invaders.

We have now reached the beginning of the short and glorious career of the hero Eadmund. This prince appears to have been the third son of Aethelred; one at least of his older brothers seems to have died before him; but if he was not the eldest of the royal house by birth, he soon won for himself the first place by merit. Among the assembled Witan to reinstate Aethelred as king were Sigeferth and Morkere, the sons of Earngrim, two of the chief Thegns in the Danish Confederacy of the Seven Boroughs. These chiefs were invited by Eadric to his own quarters, where he slew them at a banquet. Some of their followers, trying to revenge the death of their lords—the personal tie of the comitatus comes out everywhere—took refuge in the tower of the minster. As they could not be dislodged, fire was resorted to, and the tower was burned along with its defenders. The Aetheling Eadmund had shortly after this seen the fair widow of Sigeferth, and was smitten with a sudden passion for her. There was no time to be lost; he followed her to her retreat and married her against the will of his father. The marriage was not without political consequences. Eadmund seems to have looked upon himself, and to have been looked upon by his wife, as the lawful heir of her former husband, Alfhelm, who will be recalled as the person by whose appointment the King of England unsuccessfully endeavored to bring the line of hereditary Bernician earls to an abrupt end. Possibly the wealth and dignities of Sigeferth, or some part of them, may have come through his marriage. At any rate Eadmund, at Ealdgyth's suggestion, demanded the lordships of Sigeferth from his father and was refused. He then went to the Five Boroughs, took possession of the estates of Sigeferth and Morkere and received the submission of the men of the Confederacy (1015). He thus secured for himself a sort of principality in the North of England, a fact which, in the war which was about to again break out, led to some singular inversions of the usual military geography. For Cnut had sailed away to Denmark only to sail back to England on the first opportunity.

The Aetheling Eadmund now began to levy an army in his new principality, and Eadric seemingly did the same in his old Mercian government. When the two divisions came together, Eadric made several attempts to destroy his brother-in-law, the result of which was that the two armies separated, leaving the field open to the enemy.

This defection of Eadric—perhaps of Thurkill—decided the fate of Southern England. All Wessex now submitted to the invader; hostages were given and horses were furnished. The kingdom was now practically divided; but—owing mainly to the romantic marriage and settlement of Eadmund—it was divided in a manner exactly opposite from that which might have been naturally looked for. The Thames, is, as usual, the boundary; but the English Aetheling reigns to the

north, the Danish king to the south, of that river; the Mercians and Northumbrians are arrayed under the Dragon of Wessex, while the West-Saxons themselves serve, however unwillingly, under the Danish Raven. On these strange terms the war began again early in the next year, the last year of this long struggle. Just before Epiphany, Cnut and Eadric, with their mixed force of Danes and West-Saxons, crossed the Thames at Cricklade, and entered Mercia. They harried Warwickshire in the usual fashion, ravaging, burning, slaying, as they went. The Aetheling now gathered an army in Mercia, but his troops refused to fight, unless King Aethelred and the Londoners joined them. The army then dispersed in the wonderful way in which armies did disperse in those days. Presently the Aetheling put forth proclamations, summoning every man to join his standard, and announcing the full penalties of the law against all who held back. By these means he gathered a larger army; he then sent to his father, who was in London, praying him to join him with whatever forces he could gather. Aethelred did so, and joined his son's muster with a considerable body of troops. But the old ill luck was at work; the only thing that can be said is that Aethelred was probably dragged to the field from his death-bed. The two divisions had hardly joined when the king discovered, or professed to discover, treacherous plots against his person. These he made an excuse for disbanding the whole army and going back to London. With such a king what could be done? Eadmond returned to Northumberland, the dominion of his brother-in-law Uhtred. All men deemed that the Aetheling would raise a third army in Northumberland, and would march against Cnut. Eadric, as soon as his crime proved fruitless, deserted the Aetheling. He united with Canute in ravaging Mercia—Warwickshire, or a portion of Leofwine's ealderdom—and as the Mercians refused to join the army of the Aetheling without the presence of the king, Edmund and Uchtred, when they were thought to have marched to oppose Canute, contented themselves with turning aside to harry Shropshire, Staffordshire and Cheshire—or Eadric's province. In other words, the northern Mercians, though they refused to follow Eadric into the Danish camp, declined to fight against their ealderman without the sanction of the royal presence. It was easier to lay waste an unresisting province than to oppose Canute, and as soon as the Danish army entered Yorkshire, Uchtred tendered his submission; Canute permitted the blood-feud of Thorbrand Hold to follow its natural course. [Robertson's Historical Essays, page 187.] The Dane was now again lord of all England; save only London and whatever extent of country could be held in obedience from London. But now the vengeance of the old feud came upon Uhtred. Thurbrand, whom he had before engaged and omitted to kill, was now allowed to kill him. As Uhtred came to pay his homage to his new prince at a place called Wiheal, a curtain was drawn aside, and armed men stepped forward who slew the Earl and forty of his companions. This evil deed also was attributed to Eadric, the common author of all the evil of that time. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward Freeman, vol. 1, pages 241-245 and 255.]

The retreat of Canute towards the eastern coast may explain the reconciliation of Eadric with his royal brother-in-law, and as he fought upon the losing side at Assandum, quitting the field in time with the Magessaettas—the northern

Mercians seem to have followed the husband of Ealfgyfu of Northampton—to claim the reward of treachery from the victor. An Aethelric is mentioned in the will of Wulfria, which goes on to say, After his day, let the land, for my soul, and for his mother's and for his, to Burton. Aethelric was connected, through his mother, with the house of Wulfrun. This Aethelric was the father of Eadric; a clue is thus found for the actions of the son. Aelfhelm, the head of Wulfrun's house, and his sons stood in the way of Eadric. Upon their removal he became ealderman of Mercia, and the Northern Mercians refused to fight against him unless the king accompanied the army—as if they acknowledged that he had a certain claim upon them. Morcar and Siferth stood in the way of his pretensions upon the Five-Burghs; they were removed, but the Aetheling married the widow of Siferth, contrary to the king's will, . . . the people all submitted to him, and Eadric at once went over to Canute, as Ethelred had probably foreseen. This connection of Eadric with Wulfrun's family, through his grandmother, is therefore an important link in the chain of circumstances that gathered around Eadric. [Robertson's Historical Essays, pages 187-188.]

Uhtred was succeeded by his brother Eadwulf Cudel.

EADWULF CUDEL, Earl of Northumberland beyond the Tyen 1016, circa 1019. [Robertson's Scotland i, 95-96, ii, 192, & Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles, by Wm. George Searles.]

The earldom of Northumberland was given by Cnut to a Dane named Eric, who had married his sister Gytha, and had held the government of Norway under Swegen. But it seems that Eadwulf Cutel, the brother of the murdered Uhtred, either was allowed to hold the northern division of the Earldom of Bernicia under the supremacy of Eric, or else succeeded to the whole when Eric was banished some years later.

One thing however Eadward did, which, had men's eyes been open to the future, would have seemed to them a sure sign of the evil to come. Queen Emma had brought with her Hugh, the French churl who betrayed Exeter to the Dane. So her son, even when returning as a private man, brought with him the advance guard of that second swarm of strangers who were finally to bring the land into bondage. Among other Frenchmen, Eadward brought with him to England his nephew Ralph, the son of his sister Godgifu by her first husband, Drogo of Mantes. He must at this time have been a mere youth, but he lived to be gorged with English wealth and honors, to bring his feeble force to oppose the champions of England, and to be branded in English history as the timid earl who sought to work improvements in English warfare, and himself turned and fled at the first sight of the armed enemy.

The latest internal events of the reign of Cnut call our thoughts once more to the great Northumbrian Earldom. They set vividly before us the unrestrained barbarism of that portion of the kingdom. We have already described the strange career of Uhtred, and how he died, at last, by the connivance of Cnut in his early days, but by the personal vengeance of an enemy whom he had himself unwisely omitted to slay. A fate almost literally the same now overtook one of his descendants and successors, whose story introduces us more directly to one of the great actors of the next reign. Uhtred, as we have seen, was succeeded by his brother

Eadulf Cudel, at first it would seem under the Danish Eric. The reign of Eadwulf was both short and inglorious; he did not long survive the defeat of the forces of his earldom at Carham.

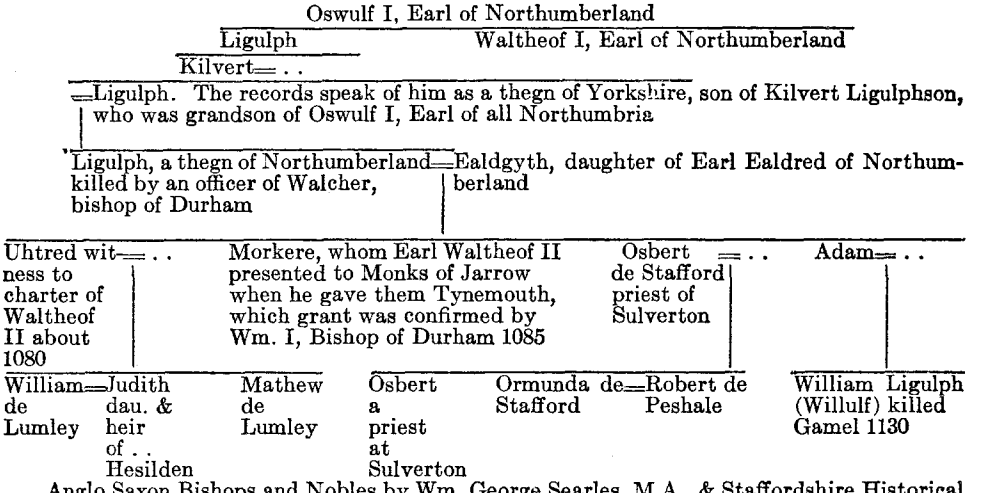
It was Eadulf Cudel who is stated to have made over the whole of his ancestral dominions of Bernicia beyond the Tweed to Malcolm II. of Scotland, including a considerable portion of the ancient territory of St. Cuthbert; and this cession —or conquest—together with the absence of the territorial division of the Hundred beyond the Tees, points to the semi-independent position of these northern ealdormen, or else to the great weakness of the Saxon monarchy on the northern frontier. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, page 442.]

Eadwulf Cudel was succeeded by Ealdred, son of Uhtred.

*4. M. EALDRED, Earl of Northumberland, son of Uhtred, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 5. M. Married N. N. It is an important fact that in the Northumbrian colony in Staffordshire will be found descendants of each of the three daughters of Ealdred, Earl of Northumberland. Children:—

1. Aefflead III, married Siward Digera.
2. Ealdgyth, Chapter 11, Section 2, married 3. P. Ligulph, brother of Earl Siward. They were grandparents of Ormunda, who married Robert de Lumley de Peshale.
3. Aethelthryth, married Orm son of Gamelo, a thegn of Yorkshire.

The story of our descent from Ligulph and his wife Ealdgyth to their granddaughter Ormunda has been told in Section 2 of this chapter. It will only be necessary to give at this place the following chart showing the immediate descendants of Ligulph and his wife Ealdgyth.



Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles by Wm. George Searles, M.A., & Staffordshire Historical Collections, & Robertson's Historical Essays.

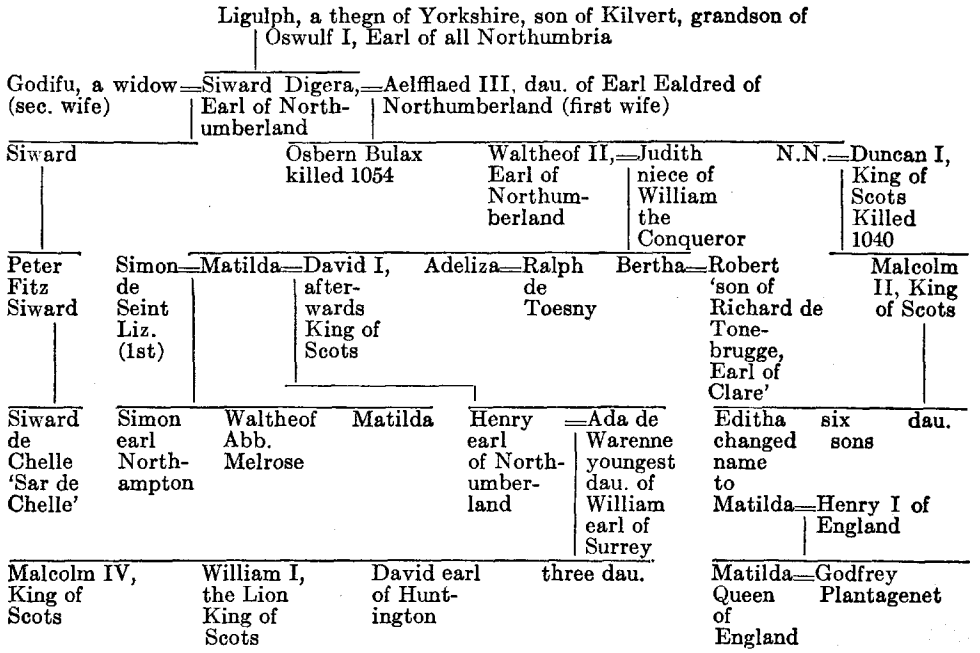
The genealogy of all the above has been told at the beginning of this chapter, except that of Adam, son of Ligulph and Ealdgyth, which will appear in connection with the record of the marriage of Petronilla de Dorlevaston to Robert de Swinnerton, which will be found in Chapter 16, Section 2.

SECTION 4.

The reader's attention is directed to the following items of collateral history. There will be no effort made to string all the recitals together into a complete story, but the plan will be followed of setting out a series of more or less connected tales, each dealing with a separate character who at this time was either related to our family or who was connected in a historical way with Bernicia. The purpose of this unusual recital, in a genealogy, of facts not directly related to the pedigree is to acquaint the reader with certain incidents which tell of the close of the kingdom of Bernicia-Northumberland and which will throw more light on the reasons for our ancestor's emigration from there to Cheshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire as well as to disclose our close family relationship to the leading incidents of this period in English history. The first recital relates to Aethelryth, one of the daughters of Earl Ealdred and one of the sisters of Ealdgyth, the wife of Liulph. Aethelthryth married Orm, son of Gamelo, a thegn of Yorkshire. The details of the genealogy of Orm will be found in Chapter 16, Section 2, under the heading of Robert de Swinnerton, a grandson of Robert de Peshale and his wife Ormunda. He married Petronilla de Dorlevaston, daughter of Engulf de Gresley and his wife Alina, who was a descendant of Orm. The Orms and Gamelos were of the Northumbrian colony in Staffordshire. They were of the very noblest families in Yorkshire. One citation at this place will serve to show their rank and position in Deira.

As we shall presently see, at the death of Earl Siward, Tostig was unlawfully given the earldom of Northumberland. He naturally was hard upon the relatives and following of his predecessor, Siward. It is said that he forced peace upon the land of Northumberland by taking of life and by maiming of limb. There was nothing wonderful in Northumbria in his having Gamel, son of Orm, and Ulf, son of Dolfin, cut down in 1064. What marked it was the rank of the sufferers. Orm, Gamel's father, had married a daughter of Earl Ealdred and a sister of Siward's wife; and though Gamel was not her son, he was thus of kin to the house of Siward. Englishmen and Danes alike joined in the rising of 1065. We see, among other great nobles, Gamel bearn, who added to vast estates in Yorkshire a holding in Staffordshire. This leaves of the family of Ealdred only the oldest daughter, Aelfflaed III, who married Siward Digera, or Siward the Strong, Earl of Northumberland. He was the great grandson of Ligulph I, and brother of Ligulph, the grandfather of Ormunda. The story of Siward contributes a very important link in the chain of events in our family history as told in the present narrative. See Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 4. M.

Siward was the grandfather of Peter Fitz Siward, and great grandfather of Siward de Chelle, both of whom figure in Staffordshire records. The story of Siward is told as the account of the Northumbrian kings and earls proceeds in this chapter. The following chart will assist the reader in studying this line, keeping in mind however that Ligulph, son of Kilvert, was also father to Ligulph, who married Ealdgyth, another daughter of Earl Eldred, and also father to William Pantulf.



Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles, by William George Searles, M.A. History of the County of Durham, by Robert Surtees, vol. 2. Outlines of History by Labberton. Hodgson's Northumbria & Robertson's Scotland Under Her Early Kings.

Ealdred, the earl, put to death Thurbrand, the murderer of his father Uhtred. Whether this was done by way of public justice or of private assassination does not appear, and the savage manners of the Bernicians probably drew no very wide distinction between the two. But at all events, enmity raged between Ealdred and Thurbrand's son Carl, evidently a powerful thegn. The two, we are told, were constantly seeking each other's lives. Common friends contrived to reconcile them, and, like Cnut and Edmund, they were more than reconciled; they became sworn brethren. In this character they undertook to go together on a pilgrimage to Rome, but this pious undertaking, like so many other undertakings of that age, was hindered by stress of weather. They returned to Northumberland together. The reconciliation on Ealdred's part had been made in good faith; not so on the part of Carl. He invited the earl to his house; he received him and feasted him splendidly, and then, we are told, slew him in a wood, according to the most approved formula of assassination. [Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles, by Wm. George Searles, and Norman Conquest, by Freeman, vol. 1, page 351.]

The statement of the ancestry of Aeldgyth, wife of Ligulph, ends as a matter of course with the death of Earl Ealdred her father, and if this were an ordinary pedigree it would be closed at this point of time. But the story of the family must be continued so as to show our relationship to contemporary events in Normandy and England, especially to that series of happenings which finally brought about the emigration from Northumberland to Staffordshire. [Supplemental Genealogy and Family History.]

Ealdred was succeeded in Bernicia by his brother Eadwulf, sometimes called Evelchild. This was an unlawful succession and made considerable trouble. [Norman Conquest, by Freeman, vol. 1, page 351.]

Eadwulf, Earl of Northumberland, circa 1038, son of Uhtred, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 5. M., killed by Siward about 1041. He is called Yvelcild. He married Sigrida, daughter of Kilvert. Kilvert was grandfather of Siward and Ligulph. Eadwulf was therefore uncle to the wives of Siward and Ligulph, while the latter were his near cousins by blood. Siward had married the eldest daughter of Earl Ealdred, and under the laws of Northumberland and Scotland he was entitled to succeed his father-in-law as earl, to the exclusion of a brother of the deceased. Eadwulf was strong enough to seize the earldom by force and to maintain his hold in spite of his lack of legal right to the succession. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward Freeman, vol. 1, pages 388-389.]

Eadwulf Evelchild occupies a prominent place in history as he was concerned in one of the three cessions by which Lothian ceased to be part of Northumberland, and by which he no doubt hoped to secure the assistance of the Scottish king against Siward and his allies. The question, say the English historians, with regard to the acquisition of Lothian by the Scottish kingdom is briefly this: Was the cession of that part of Northumberland to the Scottish crown a grant from Eadgar to his faithful vassal Kenneth, or was the district wrung by Malcolm from the fears of Ealdwald Cutel, or won by force of arms after the battle of Carham in 1018. Eadwulf Evelchild was moved entirely by a desire to strengthen his hold as Earl of Bernicia and was looking for the protection of the Scottish king. There are of course several versions of this great historical conveyance. According to John of Wallingford, Eadgar in a meeting of the Northumbrian Witan at York divided the ancient kingdom into two earldoms, giving Deira to Oslac and Bernicia to Eadwulf Evelchild. The name of Eadwulf is seemingly due to some confusion with Oswulf, whom John fancies to be dead. But Lothian, the northern part of Bernicia, lying exposed to the incursions of the Scots, was little valued by the English kings. The king of Scots moreover asserted a claim to it by hereditary right. Kenneth accordingly went to London, accompanied by the two Northumbrian earls and by Aelfsige, Bishop of Lindisfarne, to seek a conference with Eadgar. Eadgar received him friendlily and Kenneth opened his case, praying for Lothian as an ancient possession of the Scottish kings. Eadgar referred the matter to his Witan, by whose consent the province was granted, to use the words of a later jurisprudence, in fief to Kenneth, who did homage for it. Kenneth also promised that the ancient laws and customs of the country should be preserved and the English language retained, an engagement which was strictly carried out. Thus the old dispute about Lothian was settled, though new ones often arose, and evidently Eadwulf Evelchild was made a vassal of the Scottish king and entitled to his protection. [Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles, by Wm. George Searles.]

Roger of Wendover is briefer. He tells how Earl Ealdwulf—he does mention Oslac—and Bishop Aelfsige took the Scottish king to the court of Eadgar; how

the English gave Kenneth many magnificent presents; and granted to him the whole land of Lothian. The tenure was that each year on the great feasts when the king wore his crown the King of Scots should come to his court with the other princes of his realm. Eadgar also assigned to his royal vassal and his successors several mansions at different points of the road, at which they could be entertained on their way to the English Court, which mansions the Kings of Scots retained down to the time of Henry the Second. Any way you look at it, the transaction was not to the advantage of the English king, so it can well be believed that he was not concerned if Eadwulf Evelchild should be summarily removed and the old line of earls restored.

Eadwulf Evelchild seems to have been a ruler of more vigor than his uncle of the same name; at least we hear, through rather darkly, of a devastating campaign carried on by him against the Britons, a name which here can mean only the inhabitants of Strathclyde. He was however in ill odour at the court of Harthacnut; probably he and the men of his earldom had been among the foremost in pressing the claim of Harold. He now came to make his peace with the king, and was received by him to full friendship. But Harthacnut was as little bound by his plighted faith as Cnut. As Cnut had allowed or commanded the slaughter of Uhtred at the hands of Thurbrand, Harthacnut now allowed or commanded the slaughter of Eadwulf at the hands of Siward, the husband of Eadwulf's niece. Siward forthwith obtained the whole earldom of Northumberland from the Humber to the Tweed. Oswulf, the young son of Eadwulf, did not obtain any share of the ancient heritage of his house till he was invested with a subordinate government on the very eve of the Norman Conquest. [Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles, by Wm. George Searles.]

Siward, Earl of Northumberland, son of Ligulph Fitz Kilvert, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 7, and brother of Ligulph, grandfather of Ormunda, who married Robert de Peshale. He married first Aelfflaed, daughter of Ealdred, Earl of Northumberland, and second Godifu, a widow and the sister of Gilbert de Corbeil and Robert de Banaster and daughter of Regnault de Corbeil de Banaster. Children (first marriage):—

1. A daughter who married Duncan, King of the Scots; he was killed about 1040. Their son Malcolm was King of the Scots.
2. Osbern Bulax, killed 1054.
3. Waltheof II, Earl of Northumberland 1072-1075, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 4. P. Married Judith, niece of William the Conqueror.

Child of the second marriage:—

4. Siward, who had a son Peter Fitz Siward, and he had a son Siward ('Saer') de Chelle, all of whom lived in Staffordshire, near Stone Priory. Siward, the son of Siward, was raised by Robert Fitz Gilbert de Corbeil and adopted the arms of Werlac, which were those of his mother and of his guardian, but he reversed the same for difference. [Some Feudal Coats-of-Arms Borne Prior to A. D. 1406, by Foster.]

Siward more properly belongs to the genealogy of Ligulph the son of Oswulf I.

The story of Siward will, however, for the sake of maintaining the continuity of action and unbroken dramatic presentation, be given at this place.

Siward, the son-in-law of Ealdred and the brother of Ligulph, upon the death of Eadwulf Evelchild forthwith obtained the whole earldom of Northumberland from the Humber to the Tweed, but it would seem from the words of a local writer that he only obtained it by force. According to the Chronicles, Siwardus, qui post illum totius provinciae Northanhymbrorum, id est ab Humbra usque Twedam, comitatum habuit. Anno Dom. 1043. Comes Siward vastavit Northanhumbrorum provinciam. (Translation: Siward, who had after this all the provinces of Northumberland, that is from the Humber all the way to the Tweed. In the year of our Lord 1043, Count Siward devastated the province of Northumberland.) [Simeon of Durham.]

Siward was the husband of Aelfflaed the oldest daughter of Earl Ealdred, and under the Scottish and Northumbrian law of succession he was entitled to succeed as earl of Northumberland. He was a brother of Ligulph. He claimed and exercised authority in the right of his wife, the daughter of Aldred, over the whole province now limited to the Tweed.

The southern part of this earldom of Northumberland, or Deira, also came into the possession of the famous Siward, who was already acting as its Earl at the burning of Worcester. Siward, surnamed Digera, or the Strong, was a Northumbrian prince by birth. His gigantic stature, his vast strength and personal prowess made him a famous hero of romance. He boasted of the same marvelous pedigree as Pantulf; indeed Siward, Ligulph his brother, and Pantulf were brothers. His name is attached to several charters of the reign of Cnut, but he does not appear to have risen to Earl's rank till towards the end of this king's time. He married Aethelflaed, a daughter of Earl Ealdred, a marriage which was not his only connection with the house of Northumbrian earls, as his own ancestor was Oswulf I., Earl of Northumberland. He laid claim however to the Bernician earldom in right of his wife. He was ready to abet the designs of Harthacnut against its present unlawful possessor. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 1, page 352.]

Siward, like Gamel, owned land in Staffordshire prior to the Conquest. Walter Chetwynd in his History of Pirehill Hundred in Staffordshire says: Standon and Rigge (the Ridge in Standon) coupled in the Survey, and formerly Siward's estate, were in 1086 A. D. owned by a Breton from St. Donan named Brian (v. deed in the Bodleian Library). Besides Dickford, Warwickshire, and a double manor at Roxebi, Lincolnshire, he held Rigge, Weston, Standon, and Levedale in Staffordshire; all which continued with his descendants in 1166 A. D., making them then the most important family in the county under Baronial Rank, and it seems strange that John Peshale should have married the granddaughter of Brian's brother Alan, and thus acquired Swinnerton which subsequently made this as the family name of the descendants of his oldest son Robert. [Staff. Hist. Col., vol. 1, page 163.]

In the year 1040 all England was astir at the imposition of the Danegeld. Men had deemed that such imposts had passed away forever in that Witenagemot of Oxford where Cnut the Danish conqueror changed into Cnut the English king.

No enemy was in the land; Denmark, the old foe, was a sister kingdom; Normandy, the new foe, was hindered, by her domestic troubles, from threatening any of her neighbors; the overthrow of Duncan before Durham had taught Scotland to respect the frontiers of the Imperial state. The discontent which was doubtless common to the whole kingdom at last broke out in one particular quarter. The citizens of Worcester and the men of Worcestershire generally, rose in revolt and on May 4, 1041, attacked the Housecarls, who were the tax gatherers. Two of their number, Feader and Thurstan, fled to a tower of the minster. The people followed them to their hiding place, and slew them. The murder deserved legal punishment, but Harthacnut preferred a form of chastisement for which unfortunately he could find precedents in the reigns of better princes than himself. He is said to have been further stirred up to vengeance by one who ought to have been the first to counsel mercy. Archbishop Aelfric had received the Bishopric of Worcester, on the deposition of Lyfing; it would seem that the citizens refused to receive him. In revenge for this injury, Alefric counseled the terrible punishment which Harthacnut now decreed for his flock. The offending city and shire were to feel the full extremity of military vengeance; the town was to be burned, the country harried, and the inhabitants, as far as might be, killed. For this purpose Harthacnut sent nearly all his Housecarls under the command of all the chief men of England. The three great earls, Godwine of Wessex, Leofric of Mercia, Siward of Northumberland, and their subordinate earls were all sent against the one city of Worcester. It was not at the head of the forces of their several governments that the earls were bidden to attack the offending city. Those forces would have taken some time to collect, and when they were collected, they would doubtless have sympathized with their intended victims. The king had now at his command a body of Janissaries, who could march at a moment's notice, a force bound to him by a personal tie, and ready to carry out his personal will in all things. It was no doubt deemed a great stroke of policy to implicate in the deed all the chief men of the land, English and Danish, by putting them at the head of the king's personal force. But it seems plain that the earls showed little zeal in the bloody errand on which they were sent. Placed as they were, they could hardly avoid doing much mischief to property, but they were evidently determined to shed as little blood as possible. Their approach was well known—most likely they took care that it should be well known—to those against whom they were coming. The inhabitants of the shire took shelter in various places, while the men of the city itself entrenched themselves in an island of the Severn. They held out for four days; on the fifth peace was made, and they were allowed to go where they would. But the city was burned, and the army marched away with great plunder.

Siward remained for the rest of his days in undisturbed possession of both the Northumbrian governments. He ruled with great firmness and severity, laboring hard to bring his troublesome province into something like order. Neither was he lacking in that bounty to the church which might seem specially needful as an atonement for the crime by which he rose to power.

The reign of Harthacnut was now drawing to an end. As far as it is possible to make out anything from the tangled maze of Scandinavian history and legend,

it would seem that he was engaged in another war with Magnus after he had fixed himself in England. He had left as his lieutenant in Denmark his cousin Swegen, the son of Ulf and Estrith. Swegen came to England for help against Magnus, and was despatched to Denmark for a second time with a fleet. He was defeated by the Norwegian king and came back to England. But he found his royal cousin no more. Harthacnut died during his absence, (June 8, 1042.) If Swegen cherished any hopes of the English succession, they vanished when, on his return to England he found Edward a son of Aethelred already called to the throne of his fathers. Before the King buried were, all folk chose Edward to King at London. This recalls an interesting incident in our family history. Emma de Normandie, daughter of Richard I., Duke of Normandy, and sister of Mauger, Count of Corbeil, was famous in English history as being the wife of two English kings and the mother of two English kings. She was the wife of Aethelred, whom she married in 1002, and of Canute, and mother of Hardicanut and Edward III. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 2, pages 31-32; vol. 1, pages 346-354.]

The first act of King Edward, 1043, was one which was perhaps neither unjust nor impolitic, but which, at first sight, seems strangely incongruous with his character for sanctity and gentleness. With all his fondness for Normans, there was one person of Norman birth for whom he felt little love, and to whom indeed he seems to have owed but little gratitude. This was no other than his own mother. It is not very easy to understand the exact relations between Emma and her son. We are told that she had been very hard upon him and that she had done less for him than he would—that she had contributed too little it would seem, from her accumulated hoards—both before he became king and since. The conduct of Emma became the subject of debate at a meeting of the Witan; her punishment was the result of a decree of that body, and all that was done to her was done with the active approval of the three great earls, Godwine, Leofrid, and Siward. In the month of November after Edward's coronation, a Gemot—perhaps a forestalling of the usual Midwinter Gemot—was held at Gloucester. The result of the deliberations of the Wise Men was that the king in person, accompanied by the three great earls, rode from Gloucester to Winchester, came unawares upon the Lady, occupied her lands, and seized all that she had in gold, silver, jewels, and precious stones. They left her, however, we are told, enough for her maintenance, and bade her live quietly at Winchester. She now sinks into utter insignificance for the remainder of her days. It was about this time that King Edward the Confessor of England conferred the earldom of Huntington on Siward, which thereby became an important place in our family history. [The Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 2, page 44. The story of Siward is taken largely from The Norman Conquest, by Edward Freeman, vol. 2, pages 38-40.]

The year 1055 was marked by a military and a diplomatic event, both of which were of high importance. The former is no other than the famous Scottish expedition of Earl Siward, an event which has almost passed from the domain of history into that of poetry. Macbeth, it will be remembered, was now reigning in Scotland. Like Siward himself he had risen to power by a great crime, the murder of his predecessor, the young King Duncan. And, like Siward, he had

made what atonement he could by ruling his usurped dominion vigorously and well. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward Freeman, vol. 2, page 241-244.]

This only shows how little we know of the history of our own race. Siward met his adversary fairly and killed him in personal combat. Eadwulf Evelchild had stolen that which belonged to Siward, hence he met the reward due to those who unlawfully take the property of others, specially in a time when right had to depend upon the strength and skill with the sword of one's good right arm.

There is no reason to believe that Macbeth had, since he assumed the Scottish crown, renewed the fealty which he had paid to Cnut when he was Underking or, in more accurate Scottish phrase, Maermor of Moray. He also had been striving in a remarkable way to make himself friends of the mammon of righteousness, in the quarter where that mammon was believed to have the greatest influences, namely, at the threshold of the Apostles. We may be sure that Earl Siward, the kinsman, probably the guardian, of the young prince whom Macbeth shut out from the Scottish crown, had all along looked on his formidable northern neighbor with no friendly eye. It is not easy to see why the attack on Macbeth, if it was to be made at all, was so long delayed. It may be that the internal troubles of England had hitherto forbidden any movement of the kind, and that Siward took advantage of the first season of domestic quiet to execute a plan which he had long cherished. It may be that the scheme fell in better with the policy of Harold than with the policy of Godwine. Between Godwine and Siward, between the West-Saxon and the Northumbrian Angle, there was doubtless a standing rivalry, partly national, partly personal. But it would fall in with the conciliatory policy of Harold to help, rather than to thwart, any designs of the great Northern Earl which were not manifestly opposed to the public welfare. At all events in this year the consent of Edward was given, a consent which certainly implies the decree of a Witenagemot, and which no less certainly implies the good will of Earl Harold. An expedition on a great scale was undertaken against the Scottish usurper. That it was undertaken on behalf of Malcolm, the son of the slain Duncan, can admit of no reasonable doubt. Duncan had married Siward's daughter, hence Malcolm was his grandson. To restore the lawful heir of the Scottish crown was an honorable pretext for interference in Scottish affairs on which any English statesman would gladly seize, specially if that lawful heir was his grandson. To Siward it was more than an honorable pretext; it was asserting the rights and avenging the wrongs of his own household. The Earl of the Northumbrians accordingly attacked Scotland at the head of a great force both by land and by sea. The army was largely composed of the Housecarls of the king and of the earl, picked and tried soldiers, Danish and English. Macbeth was supported by a prince who had now become a neighbor of England, and a neighbor probably quite as dangerous as himself. This was Throfinn, the famous earl of the Orkneys, who was descended from Rognvald through his son Einar and who had established his power over the whole of the western islands, and even over the coast of Scotland and Strathclyde as far south as Galloway. With his help the Scottish King ventured to meet the host of Siward in a pitched battle, July 27, 1054. He was encouraged by the presence of a body of Normans who had been driven out of England at the return of Godwine. They are spoken of as if

their number was large enough to form a considerable contingent of the Scottish army. The fight was an obstinate one. The Earl's son Osbeorn, who in Shakespeare's Macbeth is called young Siward, was slain and with him a large number of the Housecarls, both those of the Earl himself and of the king. This Osbern must not be confused with the statement concerning a certain Siward Bearn who survives. This record relates to a son of Siward and hence a brother of Osbern. The slaughter on the Scottish side was more fearful still. Dolfinn, a kinsman of the Earl of Orkney, was killed, and the Norman division, fighting no doubt with all the gallantry of their race, enhanced by all the desperation of exiles, were slaughtered to a man. We thus see that the battle was a most stoutly contested one, and that as usual, the slaughter fell mainly on the best troops on both sides, the Normans on the Scottish side and the Housecarls on the English. But the fortune of England prevailed; the Scots, deprived of their valiant allies, were utterly routed, and King Macbeth escaped with difficulty from the field. The plunder was of an amount which struck the minds of the contemporary writers with wonder. Shakespeare, however, with dramatic license makes Macbeth die on the field of battle.

Siward was a hero whose history has had a mythical element about it from the beginning; it would have been wonderful indeed if this, the last and greatest exploit of so renowned a warrior, had not supplied the materials for song and legend. The tale is told how Siward hearing of the death of his son, asked whether his wounds were in front or behind. Being told that they all were in front, the old warrior rejoiced; he wished for no other end either for his son or for himself. The story is eminently characteristic; but, as it is told us by Shakespeare, it is difficult to find a place for it in the authentic narrative of the campaign. But fiction has taken liberties with the facts of Siward's Scottish campaign in far more important points. As we have seen, the English victory was complete, but Macbeth himself escaped. Malcolm was, as King Edward commanded, proclaimed king of the Scots, 1054, and a king of the Scots who was put into possession of his crown by an invading English force most undoubtedly held that crown as the sworn man of the English Basileus. It took however four years before Malcolm obtained full possession of his kingdom. Macbeth and his followers maintained their cause in the north, being, it would seem, still supported by help from Thorfinn. Malcolm, on the other hand, was still supported by help from England, and he deemed it expedient to enter into a very close relation with Siward's successor in the Northumbrian earldom. At last Macbeth was finally defeated and slain at Lumfanan in Aberdeenshire. An attempt was made to perpetuate the Moray dynasty in the person of Lulach, a kinsman, or perhaps stepson of Macbeth, a son of his wife Gruach by a former marriage, but this prince, who bears the surname of the Fool, could not long resist the power of Malcolm, who was solemnly crowned at Scone, 1058. The power of Thorfinn was broken no less than the power of Macbeth, and Malcolm apparently recovered the full possession of Cumberland, possibly on the death of Thorfinn, when Malcolm married his widow Ingebiorge.

Early in the year 1055, death carried off this far famous man, Siward, the great Earl of the Northumbrians. The victory of the last year, glorious as it

was, had been bought by the bitterest domestic losses, which may not have been without their effect even on the iron spirit and frame of the old earl. His elder son had fallen in the war with Macbeth, and his eldest surviving son, afterwards the famous Waltheof, was still a child. Siward's first wife, Aethelflaed was dead, and he had in his old age, married and survived a widow named Godifu. We might have fancied that Waltheof was her son, but we know for certain that he was the son of the daughter of the old Northumbrian earls, and that he unhappily inherited all the deadly feuds of his mother's house. We do not know the name of the son of the second marriage. The records call him Siward Bearn, that is to say, Siward's son. Siward died at York, the capital of his earldom. A tale, characteristic at least, whether historically true or not, told how the stern Northumbrian warrior, when he felt death approaching, deemed it a disgrace that he should die, not on the field of battle, but of disease, like a cow. If he could not actually die amid the clash of arms, he would at least die in warrior's garb. He called for his armour, and, harnessed as if again to march against Macbeth, the stout Earl Siward breathed his last. But his fierce spirit was not inconsistent with the piety of the time. Saint Olaf, the martyred king of the Northmen, had by this time become a favorite object of reverence, especially among men of Scandinavian descent. In his honor Earl Siward had reared a church in a suburb of his capital called Galmanho, a church which, after the Norman Conquest, grew into that great Abbey of Saint Mary whose ruins form the most truly beautiful ornament of the northern metropolis. In his own church of Galmanho, Siward the Strong was buried with all honor.

The death of Siward led to most important political consequences. The direct authority of the house of Godwine was now, for the first time, to be extended to the land beyond the Humber. This fact marks very forcibly how fully the royal authority was now asserted throughout the whole realm. The king and his Witan now ventured to set aside the line of hereditary earls and to appoint as the successor of Siward an earl who had no connection whatsoever with the great family of Northumberland. Cnut, in the moment of victory, had given the Northumbrians in Deira the Dane Eric as their earl. But this was an act of a conqueror, and such was the strength of the Danish element in that section of Northumberland that the appointment of a Dane from Denmark probably seemed less irksome that the appointment of an Englishman from any other part of the kingdom. To set aside the hereditary earls of Bernicia was an exercise of kingly power not warranted by law unless the king claimed to be a conqueror and hence not bound by the agreement of his predecessors. The earldom of Northumberland, including also the detached shires of Northampton and Huntington, was however conferred on Tostig the son of Godwine, 1055.

This appointment of a West-Saxon to the great northern earldom was a distinct novelty. Ever since Northumberland had ceased to be ruled by kings of her own, she had been ruled by hereditary earls from her own royal line. The ancient kingdom had sometimes been placed under one, sometimes divided under two chiefs; but in Bernicia they had always been herditary kings or earls. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward Freeman, vol. 2, pages 252-53.]

Tostig, after being appointed earl of the Northumbrians, went as a pilgrim to Rome, accompanied by Judith his wife, by his younger brother Gyrth, earl of the East-Angles, by several noble thegns from Northumberland, and by Burhhard, son of Earl Aelfgar, a companion, it would seem, of Ealdred rather than of Tostig. Their mission was to seek the restoration of Ealdred as Archbishop of York. [*Ibid.*, vol. 2, page 303.]

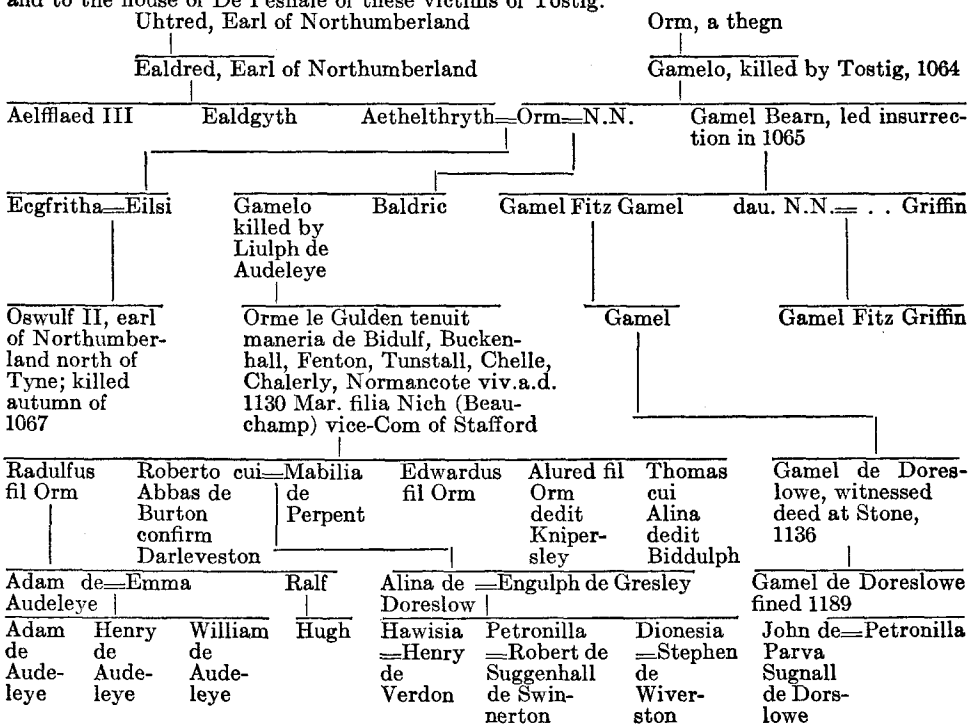
The whole party returned to England, but not in one body. Judith and the greater part of the company were sent first, and they reached England without any special adventure. But the earl, and seemingly all the three bishops, stayed behind to prosecute the cause of Ealdred. At last, thinking the matter hopeless, they also set out to return home. On their way they were attacked by the robber nobles of the country. The brigands seem to have been specially anxious to seize the person of the Earl of the Northumbrians. A noble youth, named Gospatric, a descendant of the old earls of Northumberland, said that he was the earl, and was carried off accordingly. But, after a while, the robbers, admiring his courage and appearance, not only set him free without ransom, but restored to him all that they had taken from him. This was Gospatric, the earl of William's reign. Gospatric was the son of Earl Ealdred's half-sister. The rest returned to the presence of the Pope, with nothing but the clothes on their backs. Tostig seems now to have mingled threats and entreaties. One account describes the Pope as touched with the desolate condition of the whole party, and as therefore yielding the more readily to Tostig's petition in favor of Ealdred. Another version makes the earl take a higher tone. If the Pope and his authority were so little cared for in his own neighborhood, who could be expected to care for his excommunications in distant countries? He was fierce enough toward suppliants, but he seemed unable to do anything against his own rebels. Let him at once cause the property to be restored, which had most likely been seized with his own connivance. If Englishmen underwent such treatment almost under the walls of Rome, the king of the English would certainly withdraw all tribute and payment of every kind from the Roman See. He, Earl Tostig, would take care that the king and his people should know the truth in all its fullness. This account carried more of the stamp of truth with it than the other more courtly version. At any rate, whether the voice of Tostig was the voice of entreaty or the voice of threatening, to his voice the Pope at last yielded. Ealdred was restored to his Archbishopric and invested with the pallium, on the single condition of his resigning the see of Worcester. The losses which the earl and the bishops had undergone at the hands of the robbers were made good to them out of the papal treasury, and they set forth again on their journey homeward. All of which reads very well when written in the pages of English history, but it was very unfortunate, as no one acquainted with the Roman Vatican would expect its members to forget so gross an insult to the holy father, or to ever trust the brave Englishman who made this haughty demand to the Pope personally, or to trust any of his people. Therefore, when later Tostig's brother Harold became King of England, the Roman view of the new king could only be that he was one very possibly given to insubordination, and who could only be very restless under their authority. It was easy therefore for William, Duke of Normandy, to play upon their

fears, and, by making great promises and giving satisfactory hostages, to secure the cooperation of the Catholic Church in the invasion of England, particularly when the family of William had produced such a distinguished prelate as his great uncle the Archbishop of Rouen. [*Ibid.*, vol. 2, page 305.]

The whole of Northumberland arose against Tostig on October 3, 1065. His apologist tries to represent the leaders of the movement as wrong-doers whom the earl's strict justice had chastised or offended. Such may well have been the case, but the long list of grievances put forth by the Northumbrians, though it may easily have been exaggerated, cannot have been wholly invented. A list of particular crimes is added. Two thegns, Gamel, the son of Orm, and Ulf, the son of Dolfin, had, in the course of the last year, been received in the earl's chamber under pretense of peace, and had been there treacherously slain by his order. That is to say, Tostig had repeated one of the worst deeds of Harthacnut, and of Cnut himself before his reformation. These men were opposed to him; Tostig was determined to destroy those men who were too powerful to be permitted to live. A thegn named Gospatric, not Tostig's companion on his Roman pilgrimage, but Gospatric his uncle, son of Uhtred, Earl of Northumberland, had been at the last Christmas Gemót (December 28, 1064), treacherously murdered in the king's court. The deed was said to have been done by order of the Lady at the instigation of her brother. As to Gospatric, he was the son of Uhtred, Earl of Northumberland, and Sigen, his second wife. He was the father of Uhtred, lord of Raby, grandfather of Dolfin lord of Raby and Eadwulf Rus, who killed the Bishop Walcher, 14 May 1080, to avenge the killing of Ligulph by hired assassins. These names disclose quite clearly that Tostig was opposed by the members of the royal house of Bernicia. It only needed a favorable opportunity for them to make Tostig feel the heavy hand of their vengeance. He did well to get rid of them as speedily as he possibly could. Of course to avenge the crimes of which Tostig was accused the chief men of both divisions of Northumberland, at the head of the whole force of Bernicia and Deira, rose in arms. Soon after Michaelmas two hundred thegns came to York, and there held (October 3, 1065) what they evidently intended to be a Gemót of the ancient kingdom of Northumberland. They were headed by several of the greatest men of northern England, by Gamel-bearn, a kinsman of the slain son of Orm, by Dunstan, the son of Aethelnoth, and Glonieorn, the son of Heardulf. These names show that both English and Danish blood was represented in the Assembly. It is strange, but nevertheless appears true, that quite a large portion of the immediate royal family of Bernicia took no part in this uprising for the reason that it was fomented by the earls of Mercia, assisted by an unlawful claimant to the earldom of Bernicia. Tostig was now absent from his earldom; he was engaged with the king in his constant diversion of hunting, in some of the forests of Wiltshire or Hampshire. But the rebels needed not his presence, and they began at once to pass decrees in utter defiance of the royal authority. Earls of Bernicia had hitherto been hereditary, and their removal was only legally done by the king and his Witan; therefore any complaints of the Northumbrians against Tostig ought legally to have been brought before a Gemót of the whole realm. But nowhere was the feeling of provincial independence so strong as in the lands

north of the Humber. The Northumbrians remembered that there had been a time when they had chosen and deposed kings for themselves, without any reference to a West-Saxon overlord. The West-Saxon king was now no longer an overlord, but an immediate sovereign; Northumberland was no longer a dependency, but an integral part of the kingdom; the men of Deira and Bernicia shared every right which was enjoyed by the men of Wessex and East-Anglia. Still the old feelings lingered on. While Tostig was busied in the frivolities of Edward's court, the care of Northumberland was entrusted to a thegn of the country, Copsige by name. He is described as a prudent man and a benefactor to the Church of Durham. It does not appear how far he now shared the unpopularity of his master, but it is certain that, at a later time, he incurred equal unpopularity by his own acts, when, for a moment under the reign of William the Conqueror, he held the Earldom of Northumberland in the narrower sense. This systematic government by proxy was no doubt highly offensive to local Northumbrian patriotism. It was, in a marked way, dealing with the land as a mere dependency. The Danes of Northumbria therefore, without presence or license of king or earl, took upon them to hold a Gemót, doubtless an armed Gemót, of the revolted lands. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward Freeman, vol. 2, pages 219-231. Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles, by Wm. George Searles, M.A.]

The following chart will show quite clearly the relationship to the Royal House of Bernicia and to the house of De Peshale of these victims of Tostig.



All that we know comes from the English historians. It is possible, in view of subsequent events, that they at no time accepted Tostig as their earl. His

absence made his government easy to ignore, hence there was no immediate uprising, but when he commenced to exercise the duties of his appointment, it became an entirely different matter. The Assembly which had thus irregularly come together, did not indeed venture on the extreme step of renouncing all allegiance to the king of the English. But everything short of this extreme step was quickly done. The Merciless Parliament of later days could not surpass this Northumbrian Gemót in violent and bloodthirsty decrees. It passed a vote of deposition against the earl, Tostig; they declared him an outlaw, and elected in his place Morkere, the younger son of Aelfgar of Mercia. Here we see the reason for that Northumberland colony, composed of men and women of Bernician royal ancestry, who later settled in Staffordshire upon lands at this time belonging to the Mercian earl. It was a Danish uprising and Waltheof, the son of Siward, the lawful earl was passed by. The English historians try to excuse this act by saying that this Gemót may have felt the danger of the rivalries which were sure to arise if they chose one of the ordinary thegns of the country. The election of Morkere and the whole circumstances of the story show that along with the real grievances of Northumberland, the intrigues of the Mercian earls had a good deal to do with the stirring up of this revolt. The old rivalry between the houses of Godwine and Leofric had now taken the form of a special enmity between Tostig and the sons of Aelfgar. Their object evidently was to revive the old division of the kingdom, as it had been divided between Cnut and Edmund, or between Harold and Harthacnut. This discloses why a handful of Normans could defeat the English at the time of the Conquest. The Bernicians were openly for the Normans, to whom many of their nobility were bound by ties of marriage, while the adherents of the great Earl Siward could look for no justice at the hands of the English king. Moreover the Mercians, dreaming of their old isolation and greatness, were even now unwilling that England should become a united nation.

Whenever the throne should be vacant by the death of Edward, they were ready to leave Wessex, and probably East-Anglia, to any one who could hold them, but Mercia and Northumberland were to form a separate realm under the house of Leofric. This view of their policy explains all their later actions. They dreamed of dividing the kingdom with Harold; they dreamed of dividing it with Edgar; they even dreamed, one can hardly doubt, of dividing it with William himself. They were ready enough to welcome West-Saxon help in their own hour of trial, but they would not strike a blow on behalf of Wessex in her greatest need. The present movement in Northumberland, above all the election of Morkere to the earldom, exactly suited their purposes. It was more than the mere exaltation of one of the brothers; it was more than the transfer of one of the great divisions of the kingdom from the house of Godwine to the house of Leofric. The whole land from the Welland to the Tweed was now united under the rule of the two brothers. There was now a much fairer hope of changing the northern and central earldoms into a separate kingdom, as soon as a vacancy of the throne should occur. When therefore the Northumbrians sent for Morkere, offering him their earldom, he gladly accepted the offer. He took into his own hands the government of Deira, or, as it is now beginning to be called, Yorkshire.

But he entrusted the government of the northern province, the old Bernicia, now beginning to be distinctively called Northumberland, to the young Oswulf, the son of Siward's victim, Eadwulf. There is no evidence that the sons of Siward took any part in this assembly. In fact they appear to have been in Scotland.

Oswulf is spoken of as a youth at this time, but as it was now twenty-four years since the murder of his father, he must have been a grown man. Waltheof the son of Siward, so eminent only two years later, could not have been much younger. The selection of Oswulf was clearly right according to the legal succession to the Bernician earldom. Siward was not in the line of inheritance. His position as earl was in right of his wife, another example of that curious Scottish-Northumbrian law of succession which selected the strong husband of a daughter in preference to a youth of the royal line, and under the same law, the succession should thereafter, nevertheless, be to the male heirs of the right line. Morkere did not sit down quietly to reign in Northumberland; he does not seem to have even demanded the consent of the king and of the national Witan to his usurpation. He at once marched southwards. On his march he was joined by the men of the shires of Lincoln, Nottingham and Derby. It is not clear whether Nottinghamshire was part of Tostig's earldom; but all three shires were districts in which the Danish element was strong, especially in their three chief towns, which were reckoned among the famous Five Boroughs. At the head of this force Morkere reached Northampton. This town was probably chosen for the headquarters of the rebels, as being, like Northumberland itself, under the government of Tostig. Which discloses the real plan of Mercia to usurp the powers of the King of England so far as their own territory was concerned, and to restore therein the old kingdom of Middle England, strengthened by the addition of all of Northumberland. In other words the dream of Offa was, if possible, to be made a reality. Northampton belonged to Siward's heir irrespective of any right he might have to the throne of Bernicia or to Northumberland. Whatever were their designs, as to the earldoms of Northampton and Huntington, it was in any case important to win over their inhabitants to the cause of the revolt. At Northampton Morkere was met by his brother Edwine, at the head of the men of his earldom together with a large body of Welsh. The movement in Gwent and the movement in Northumberland were both of them parts of one scheme devised in the restless brain of the Mercian earl. The way in which one event followed on the other, the significant remark made by the Chronicler on the deed of Caradoc, the suspicious appearance of Welshmen in the train of Edwine, all look the same way. Caradoc and Gamel-bearn were not likely to have any direct communication with one another; but it is quite possible that both of them may have been little more than puppets moved by a single hand. At all events, a great force, Northumbrian, Mercian, and Welsh, was now gathered together at Northampton. The Northumbrians were in what they doubtless expected to find a friendly country, but they found the men of Northhamptonshire and Huntingdonshire less zealous in the cause than they had hoped, for the simple reason that these were part of the earldom of Siward, which he held before he acquired Northumberland. Hence his son, Waltheof II., was the rightful heir and there could be no great gain in changing from one unlawful ruler to another. Conse-

quently Morkere's northern followers dealt with the country about Northampton as if it had been the country of an enemy. They slew men, burned corn and houses, carried off cattle, and at last led captive several hundred prisoners, seemingly as slaves. The blow was so severe that it was remembered even when one would have thought that that and all other lesser wrongs would have been forgotten in the general overthrow of England. Northamptonshire and the shires near to it were for many winters the worse for this harrowing.

At last the matter became so serious that Edward left his hunting to apply himself personally to the affairs of his kingdom. At a royal abode called Bretford, near Salisbury, Edward called an Assembly together. It probably professed to be a Witan-gemót of the whole realm, but it could hardly have been more than a meeting of the king's immediate counsellors, or at least of the local Witan of Wessex. This Assembly at once began to discuss the state of the nation; and the record of their debates at least shows what full freedom of speech was allowed in ancient national councils. It was evident to the King's friends that the rebels were united only in their opposition to Tostig. If he were removed then this formidable force would immediately break up into its antagonistic elements. By no means and under no circumstances would the Bernicians be satisfied with any settlement which subordinated their royal house to that of Mercia, their ancient enemy. The question was not a question of punishment, but one of peace or war. Was it either right or expedient, in the general interest of the kingdom of England, for Wessex and East-Anglia to make war upon Northumberland and Mercia. The object of such a war would have been simply to force on Northumberland an earl whom the Northumbrian people had rejected, and who had shown himself utterly unfit for his post and in case of defeat it made it certain that with the death of the present king, England would again be broken up into at least two kingdoms. The royal authority would undoubtedly suffer some humiliation by yielding to demands which had been backed by an armed force; still such humiliation would be a less evil than a civil war, the issue of which would be very doubtful, and whose results in any case, would prove most baneful, if not ruinous, to the country.

Meanwhile the insurgents had been ravaging Northamptonshire, and they entered the earldom of Gyrth and had advanced as far as Oxford. There, in the frontier town of Mercia and Wessex, the town where the common affairs of the two great divisions of the kingdom had been so often discussed, the earl of the West-Saxons summoned a general Witanagemót of the whole realm. The Assembly met on the Feast of Saint Simon and Saint Jude (October 28, 1065). After one more attempt to bring about a reconciliation between Tostig and the Northumbrians, Harold, acting for the King, yielded every point. The acts of the Northumbrian Gemót were confirmed. The deposition and outlawry of Tostig and the election of Morkere to the northern earldom were legalized. But the outlying parts of the government of Siward and Tostig, the shires of Northampton and Huntington, were now detached from Northumberland and were bestowed on Siward's young son, Waltheof II. He thus received an ample provision, while he was cut off from the exercise of any influence which he might possess in Morkere's earldom, whether as the son of Siward, or as a descendant

of the elder line of earls. This was evidently a very unwise compromise and when it comes to the last historical analysis it will be seen that it was this act of Harold which brought on the conquest. The decision as to Waltheof was right in law, as he was clearly only entitled to the earldom of Northampton and Huntingdon, but he was discontented as he desired to be his father's successor and rule Bernicia as well. The male line of succession to this province was, however, rightfully vested in Oswulf II. and the proud Bernicians would not rest satisfied with any other solution of the problem of succession in their rulers than one which retained their old line of royalty. Nor would Deira, with its Danish chieftain of royal ancestry, be content with a Saxon ruler even though they had selected him themselves. As a result Harold had created two sets of enemies where before he had only one. And as a further consequence both factions of the Bernician royal family sided with William in his Conquest as is shown by the great grants of land they received in Staffordshire from the Conqueror. While Danish York was most certainly in sympathy with the Scandinavian and Scottish invaders, and thus they greatly crippled Harold's army before he met the Normans in battle. In fact it is doubtful if the Normans with their small force could have landed had Harold not been called to repel the Northern invasion, and it is equally certain that had Northumberland at this time been ruled by an earl of Siward's force of command, the invaders would have never reached English soil or lived to tell of the day. Very likely Waltheof II. would have then, as he did later, proven to have been such a man. But Tostig and Harold both passed him by.

At this time Gilbert de Corbeil was a lad about fourteen at school in Northumberland, probably at St. Albans. Little, perhaps, did he imagine how all these happenings would subsequently affect his own life and that of his posterity. Probably, boylike, he took sides, and judging by the position of those who subsequently came from St. Albans to Stone Priory in Staffordshire, he sided with Waltheof II. and his friends of the royal line of Bernicia.

The most interesting observation that can be made upon this very remarkable incident in English history, is that it discloses that down to the Conquest united Northumberland continued to be strong enough to assert and maintain her rights against the whole of England; and this story makes it evident that had a strong man like Earl Siward then ruled Northumberland, the story of England's dynasties would not have been written in Norman names, and much sorrow would have been spared the English people.

The life of King Edward was now drawing near to its end. From the sickness into which Edward was thrown by the excitement of the Northumbrian revolt, he never thoroughly recovered. In a very short time Edward was on his deathbed. His work was over; his newly built minster was hallowed, though he had been himself shut out from taking any part in that great ceremony. When the moment was come when the all-important question might be pressed on the mind of the dying king, Harold and Stigand and Robert found means of calling Edward's mind to the great subject which then filled the whole heart of England. When all was over, when his body was laid in his new minster, when his soul had gone to its reward, who should fill the place which he had so long filled on earth?

Who, when he was gone, should wear the royal crown of England, the Imperial diadem of Britain? Edward, at that last moment, was not wanting to his last duty. He stretched forth his hand towards the Earl of the West-Saxons, and spake the words, To thee, Harold my brother, I commit my kingdom. He then went on to declare his last wishes to his chosen successor. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward A. Freeman, vol. 3, page 3-7.] [*Ibid.*, vol. 3, pages 8-9.]

The King is dead. Long live the King. King Harold of England became master of his whole kingdom. He had apparently won over, but only for the present, the malcontents of Northumberland; he had held his Easter Feast and Gemót at Westminster. The first blow came from the traitor Tostig. He came from beyond sea (May, 1066)—that is, from Normandy with the license of William—and, at the head of his ships, manned with Flemish or Norman adventurers, he sailed first to the Isle of Wight. The inhabitants, willingly or unwillingly, far more probably the latter, supplied him with money and provisions. He then sailed along the South Saxon and Kentish coast, and from thence he followed the coast devastating as he went, until finally he entered the Humber. The two northern earls were not wanting in their duty on this occasion. Indeed their interest and their duty too exactly coincided to allow of any remissness. They had no chance of finding their own profit in treason, like the traitors of an earlier time. Edwine and Morkere hastened to the suffering districts with the levies of the country, and drove Tostig and his plunderers away, who with twelve small vessels, now sailed for Scotland and sought shelter with his sworn brother King Malcolm. The tie of brotherhood had not preserved Northumberland from ravages while Tostig was still discharging his duty as an English earl; but his position of hostility to his country now earned him a hearty welcome at the Scottish coast. Malcolm received him and supplied his force with provisions; and Tostig remained under his protection during the whole summer.

Tostig, accompanying Malcolm, king of the Scots, and Harold Hardrada, brought a great fleet against Northumberland in September, 1066. They cast anchor at a spot on the left bank of the Ouse, not far from the village of Riccall. They were now at a distance by land of about nine miles from York, but the windings of the river make the distance by water considerably greater. At the head of a large force the two English earls Eadwine and Morkere set forth from York, while the Norwegian army advanced to meet them from the point where they had left their ships at Riccall. The course of both armies led them along the slight ridge which forms the line of communication between York and Selby, a narrow path between the river and its marshy banks on one side, and the flat, and still to some extent marshy, ground on the other. On the spot known as Gate Fulfort, about two miles from the city, the armies met (September 20). [*Ibid.*, vol. 3, pages 233-236.]

A battle called Fulford was fought on Wednesday and its immediate result was the surrender of York. On Sunday, September 24, the city capitulated. A local Gemót or Thing was held, in which it was agreed to make peace with Harold of Norway, and to receive him as King of the English, or at least as King of the Northumbrians. His new subjects even agreed to join him, as their fathers had

agreed to join Swegen, in his further warfare against the south of England. Provisions were supplied to the army; hostages were given to the Norwegian king, and, what would hardly have been expected, we read on trustworthy authority, that King Harold of Sweden in return gave an equal number of hostages to the men of York. This treasonable engagement by no means represented the real wishes of the Northumbrian people; there is still less reason to think that it represented the real wishes of Eadwine and Morkere, and there seems to be no reason to believe that the Bernicians were in any binding way a party to this compact. In fact the whole story shows that the opposition to the invaders came almost entirely from the faction allied with the Saxon earls. The men of York were not so far removed from their Danish forbears that they would not welcome an invasion which would rid them of a Saxon ruler. Bernicia does not seem to have taken any important part on either side in this battle.

The whole of the army which had received the submission of York, and which was expecting the submission of all Northumberland, retired from the banks of the Ouse to the banks of the Derwent. The ships still remained in the larger river, at their original landing-place at Riccall, still guarded by Olaf and the earls of Orkney. One day more of endurance, and York might have been saved from the humiliation of her ignominious treaty with the invader. The news of the approach of the Northern fleet had been carried with all speed to King Harold of England.

The Northumbrian people, both of Bernicia and Deira, were not greatly concerned about the invasion. In fact an analysis of the invading forces discloses entirely too much political and family connection with Northumbrian folks to have deceived anyone as to why Northumberland was selected as the point of invasion. Even giving the Saxon earls credit for unabated loyalty, their dependence at this time upon local levies discloses the same lack of far seeing knowledge which distinguished all their subsequent actions, and which finally resulted in their being treated as enemies by both sides, charged with being intensely disloyal and unfaithful; it would rather seem that they were unstable and unready rather than faithless and traitorous. The occasion called for the presence of real leaders, and now through the neglect of the Saxon earls, it demanded the presence of the king and the whole force of the kingdom. The more immediate danger dictated the more immediate duty. Duke William of Normandy had not yet landed; he had not even sailed; a thousand accidents might hinder him from ever landing or ever sailing. But King Harold of Norway was already in the land; he was ravaging and burning at pleasure; whole districts of Northumberland, deserted by their immediate rulers, were submitting to him. The call northwards was at the moment stronger; a swift march, speedy victory, and Harold of England might again be in London or in Sussex before the southern invader could have crossed the sea. The king chose his plan, and the plan that he chose he carried out with all the tremendous energy of his character. He gave orders for an immediate march to the north.

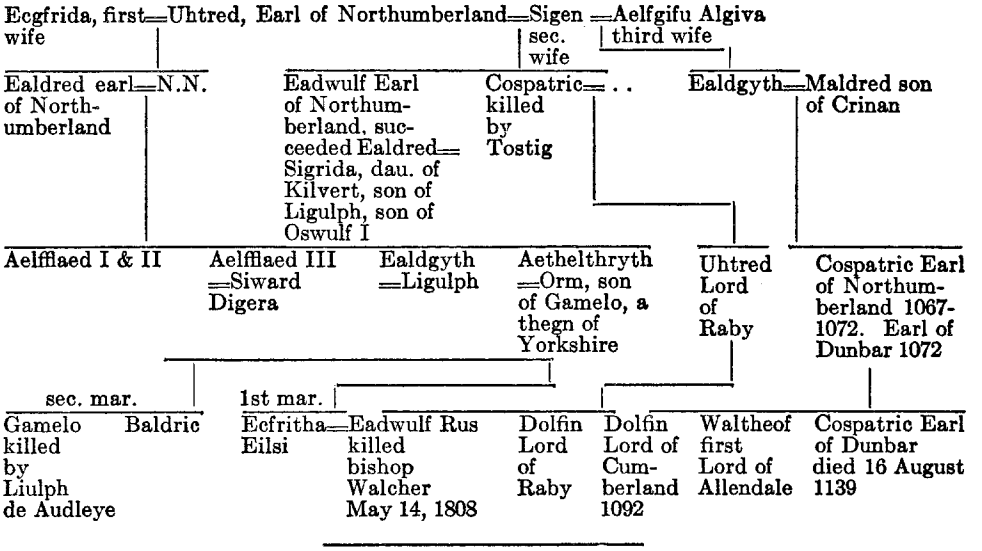
Harold entered Northumberland at the head of a force equal or superior to that of the Northern invader, and on Monday morning, September 25, King Harold of England entered his northern capital, the city which, only the day

before, had bowed in ignominious homage to Harold of Norway. He was received with joy; provincial jealousies were lulled for a moment in the actual presence of the enemy, and the Danes and Angles of York pressed eagerly to welcome the West-Saxon deliverer. He reaped the reward of his energy and his labors in the glorious victory in the fight of Stamfordbridge which was a victory as decisive as any to be found in the whole history of human warfare. Unfortunately for him, King Harold tarried in the north. He was at the banquet (October 1), when a messenger appeared, who had sped, with a pace fleeter even than that of his own march, from the distant coast of Sussex. One blow had been warded off, but another blow still more terrible had fallen. Three days after the fight of Stamfordbridge, William Duke of the Normans, once the peaceful guest of Eadward, had once again, but in quite another guise, made good his landing on the shores of England.

As we see it all now in the clear light of our family history, the events subsequent to the death of Edward were all the result of the workings of that mastermind, the Conqueror. It is a familiar trick, as old as time, to provoke or encourage another to fight your enemy and wear him out, although you are hopeful that your enemy may be victor, and then, when battle-worn, you slip in and easily finish him.

It is not easy otherwise to discern why the first invading force selected Northumberland as the point of initial attack, when it was so well known that the nobility of that country had maintained their royal line against the whole of England for four hundred years, and that for two hundred years they had maintained themselves against the added pressure of the Danes who had conquered Deira; and when it had so recently been shown that both the native Northumbrians and the resident Danes were united against the very forces that now threatened them, at least in so far as this force was represented by Tostig, the new king's brother. In the light of subsequent events we see that it mattered not who the enemy was so long as he threatened to acquire any part of Northumberland he was bound to meet with sturdy opposition. In so far as Bernicia was concerned there seems to have been no association with this new enterprise. The Norsemen seem to have depended upon the possible help of the Anglo-Danes of York and upon the well-known want of preparedness of Earls Morkere and Eadwine. But beyond all this, one must have the key to the mystery to comprehend the conquest. The favorable east wind for which William tarried was the all powerful help of the Roman Pontiff. It is greatly to the credit of the Holy Father that he played absolutely fair not only to his promises, but to the canons of his church as well. To admit that one not born within the pale of royalty could be a king was to subvert the very basis of all state religion, and therefore as between a pagan born of such parentage and a Christian born without such royal unction, the Holy Father chose that regularity which insured that the kingdom of religious England would for many a year be practically a vassal of the Roman hierarchy.

The following chart will show the relationship to the royal line of Bernicia of the Northumbrian earls of whom we have just been reading; Tostig and Morkere of course were strangers.



At this time we shall write concerning Siward Bearn, the son of the second marriage of Earl Siward. He is called sometimes Siward, son of Athelgar (or Godifu), who repenting of the homage to the newly crowned conqueror in his court at Barking, joined the ill fated forces under Swegn, which formed the Danish expedition against William, which resulted in the devastation of Northumberland, particularly that part known as Deira. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, page 13.]

Our best authority for Northern affairs describes King Malcolm as choosing the year of the completion of the Conquest, when William had withdrawn from the wasted lands of York and Durham, for another attack on a land which seemed already to have been given up to utter ruin. He passed through Cumberland, still part of his own dominions, into Teesdale, and thence into Cleveland, and thence again northwards into the patrimony of Saint Cuthberht. The little that the Normans had left was now devoured by the Scots; men lost all that they had, and some of them lost their lives as well; churches were burned along with the men who had taken shelter in them. Malcolm had reached the mouth of the Wear, and was there riding backwards and forwards, enjoying the sight of the sufferings which his followers were inflicting on the wretched English, and above all the destruction of the church of Saint Peter by fire. While he was thus engaged two pieces of news were brought to him. The ships which bore the English exiles from conquered York had put in at the haven of Wearmouth. They seem to have tarried a while with the Danish fleet; but if they had accompanied them in all their doings along the eastern coast, we should most likely have heard of it. At all events, ships drew near to the haven of Wearmouth, bearing the Aetheling Eadgar, his mother Agatha, his sisters Margaret and Christina, along with Siward Barn, Maerleswegen and others who were once more seeking a shelter at the court of Malcolm after the final ruin of their hopes in England. They could hardly have expected to find their intended host in the very act of ravaging their native

country; but his savage occupation in no way lessened his friendly feelings towards them. In his eyes perhaps England was already so completely the kingdom of William that the friend of Eadgar was bound to deal with it as with the land of an enemy. The man who was feasting his eyes with the ruin of Wearmouth hastened to show all courtesy to the guests who were entering its haven. He met them in person; he gave them his fullest peace, and bade them dwell in his realm as long as it might please them. They sailed on towards Scotland; he went on with the harrying of Northumberland. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, page 343-344.]

While Malcolm was thus making his fearful march homewards rich with the human spoil of England, the English exiles had reached his land in safety by sea, to some at least of the party it was only a momentary shelter. Siward Barn and Bishop Aethelwine soon left Scotland (1071) to share the fortunes of their countrymen among the fens of Ely. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, pages 343-346.]

Siward, the son of Siward, appears to have supported Earl Morkar in his stand against the Conqueror, for Earl Morkar fled to Durham where he secured the assistance of Hereward, Siward Beorn and Alwyn, bishop of Durham, who fought the Conqueror amid the fens and marshes surrounding Ely. According to Ordericus, Siward Beorn had submitted to William after Hastings, but as to this the authorities do not agree. [Scotland Under Her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. 1, page 135 & Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, page 13.]

The surviving son of Aelfgar, Morkere, still perhaps holding in name the earldom to which he had been called in Edward's days by the Northumbrian rebels, seems hitherto to have acted mainly under the influence of his brother. Now that Eadwine was dead, he showed for a while at least a higher spirit. He joined the outlaws in the Isle of Ely, which had now become the resort of the more daring spirits from every part of England. The greater part of the defenders of Ely came into William's hands. They were dealt with as he thought good. According to William's constant rule, no life was taken, but at Ely, as at Alecon, the Conqueror felt no scruple against inflicting punishments which to our notions might seem more frightful than death itself. Some were shut up in the horrible prison-houses of those days; others were allowed to go free after their eyes had been put out or their hands cut off. Morkere himself, to judge from the English accounts, surrendered himself to the King's mercy. According to the Norman version, he surrendered on the promise of being received to the King's peace, which was broken by William through fear of the dangers which might happen to the realm if Morkere were allowed to remain at large. In either case, he was put into ward, but as he was entrusted to the keeping of Roger of Beaumont, it may be that the dungeons and fetters of which we hear are only a figure of speech. He remained a prisoner in Normandy all the rest of the days of the Conqueror, and obtained but a single moment of freedom at his death. The like bondage, but with subsequent freedom, was the fate of Siward Barn. [*Ibid.*, vol. 4, page 322-323. The Norman Conquest, by Edward Freeman, vol. 4, page 317.]

Siward held lands in Staffordshire, Shropshire and Worchestershire before the Conquest, and there are numerous references in the Domesday Survey to his holdings. The Conqueror appears to have allowed him to hold enough for the support of his family as an entry "Siwardus dives homo de Seropscire" which appears

in Domesday in Worcestershire shows him as holding part of his former estate and as servant of Earl Roger who was his jailer and of his fellow witness Osbern, and therefore the entry in Domesday concerning Standon and Rigge in Staffordshire is all the more interesting as an item of our family history. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward Freeman, vol. 5, page 510.]

This brings us to the interesting history of events after the Conquest which caused the Conqueror to lay waste Northumberland. William went slowly with his most distant province, and left it for a time under native rulers tributary to himself. Encouraged by a Danish fleet, however, the Northumbrians of Deira turned on William and even seized York. The representatives of the male line of Bernicia were however so closely related by marriage to the Norman nobility that they readily accepted William as king of England. This was not so with reference to those inhabitants of Deira who were descendants of Danes and whose interests lay more directly toward the old home land. Moreover the Bernicians were not content with the choice of earls made for them by the English kings.

It will be recalled that to placate the Bernicians Morkere upon being elected Earl of Northumberland sought to gain the alliance and support of the old nobility, by entrusting the government of old Bernicia to young Oswulf, son of Eadwulf Evelchild, who was the legal male lineal successor to the ancient kings and earls of Northumberland. This appointment brought him in just at the time of the events which have been related as following upon the selection of Harold as king of England. Then there followed in rapid succession the landing of the Normans, and the defeat of the English, together with the death of King Harold. Thus the whole political condition of England was suddenly changed when William, Duke of Normandy, became King of England as its conqueror.

Of Oswulf, son of Eadwulf Evelchild, we hear only incidentally, in the story of the Conquest, but it is plain that he must have given offence. If he had failed to appear at Berkhampstead or at Barking, to become William's man, and to receive his earldom again at William's hands, that was quite ground enough according to the code of the new reign, to deal with him as a traitor whose lands and honors were forfeited without further sentence. But as yet William exercised little authority beyond the Tyne or the Humber. But it was politic to treat as his own the land which was one day to be his. The day had not yet come when he could try the experiment of sending a foreign earl and foreign soldiers into that distant and dangerous land. But it was prudent to make at least a show of authority even in the furthest corner of the land over which he claimed to be king. Such a show of authority might be made by granting the forfeited earldom to an Englishman, and leaving him to take possession of it in William's name, if he could. Such an instrument was found in Copsige, the old lieutenant of Tostig. A partisan of Tostig would naturally be at feud with Oswulf, as one whom the favor of Tostig's enemy Morkere had restored to some share of the possessions of his forefathers. William acted with speed. Early in the month of February, 1067, Copsige was invested with the earldom and he at once set forth to take possession. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward Freeman, vol. 4, page 49-50.]

Copsige, the newly appointed earl of Bernicia, must have set forth to take possession of his earldom about the time that William was setting forth for Normandy. What kind of force he headed we are not told, but it must have been a force of his own partisans, personal or local. But, however, Copsige in some way found the means, as it was only by force that he was able to dispossess the reigning Earl Oswulf. This son of the old earls had to lurk in woods and mountains till his day of vengeance came. He soon gathered together a band of followers, and it presently became plain that popular feeling was on his side. Five weeks after William's grant (March 11, 1067), a short time after Copsige could have actually appeared north of the Tyne, the new earl was feasting in a place called Newburn on the Tyne. Then followed a scene to which we find several parallels in Northumbrian history. The partizans of Oswulf beset the house where Copsige was; he contrived to slip out secretly and to seek refuge in a neighboring church. But his lurking place was soon betrayed; the church was set on fire; the earl, to escape the flames, tried to make his way out by the door, and was cut down on the threshold by the hands of Oswulf himself. The victor in this struggle, a scuffle rather than a battle, again took possession of the earldom, and held it for a few months. Copsige had reigned only five months. [*Ibid.*, vol. 4, page 70-71.]

The second reign of Oswulf beyond the Tyne did not last long. In the course of the autumn, 1067, he was slain, not however, as it would seem, in any political broil or at the hand of any avenger of Copsige. He died by the spear of a common robber, one of the brood who had escaped the heavy hands of Siward and Tostig, and the story reads as if he were killed in the act of trying personally to arrest the wrong-doer. His death left the dangerous post open to the ambition of another Englishman of the highest rank.

This was GOSPATRIC, the son of Maldred, who, by female descent, sprang of the noblest blood of Northumberland, and even of the kingly blood of Wessex. His mother Ealdgyth, the daughter of the third wife of Uhtred, namely Ealdgyth, the daughter of King Ethelred, married Maldred, a Yorkshire thegn, who was a son of Crinan, whose other son was Duncan I., King of Scots. These were the parents of Cospatric. Cospatric's sons were 1 Dolphin, earl of Cumberland, about 1092; 2 Waltheof, benefactor of the Church at York, first baron of Allendale; and 3 Cospatric I., Earl of Dunbar, who died 16 August, 1139. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward Freeman, vol. 4, page 89. Anglo Saxon Bishops and Nobles, by William George Searles, M.A., Cambridge, 1899. The Norman Conquest, by Edward Freeman, vol. 4, page 504.]

Cospatric will be remembered as the companion of Tostig on the memorable visit to Rome, when the latter gained the ill will of the Pope by taunting him with his want of power to protect travelers through his Italian domain. Cospatric, claiming under a daughter of Earl Uhtred, under the law (of succession) of Northumberland, was not entitled to be Earl of Bernicia. This was now vested in the line of Ligulph, son of Oswulf I., and assuming that Siward was the oldest brother, then both by reason thereof and of his having married the oldest daughter of Earl Ealdred, his oldest son Waltheof II. would be the rightful successor to the earldom of Bernicia. Cospatric's claim, no doubt, was based upon a sort of cousinship.

His ancestor Athelred had married Emma, daughter of Richard the Fearless, Duke of Normandy, and when Athelred was banished from England, he and his family sojourned in Normandy. It is likely that the acquaintanceship was kept up so that a step-grandson of Queen Emma would likely be personally known to the Conqueror. It is true that the words of the Northumbrian historians seem to imply that his descent gave him some kind of right of preference to the earldom. Cospatric, however, appears to have gone to William, probably at the Christmas feast at Westminster, as a friend or relative, and asked for the earldom vacant by the successive deaths of Copsige and Oswulf II. His request, backed by a large sum of money, was successful, but whether he took any practical steps to take possession of the lands beyond the Tyne we are not told. When we next hear of Cospatric, he appears in the same character as Eadwine and Morkere, as a dweller in William the Conqueror's court, but as one who had already begun to fear William's enmity. [Norman Conquest, by Edward A. Freeman, vol. 2, page 304 & vol. 4, page 89.]

No doubt William had just cause for suspicion, as Gospatric was one of those who sought to displace the Conqueror with an English king. It is true that the movement was intended to be a general uprising of the English people against their Norman oppressor. Gospatric was a reeve or bailiff in Cumberland, a very interesting part of England. It was part of Scotland for a considerable time. The Scottish kings regarded the agreement as permanent. The English said it was only a personal matter between Edmund and Malcolm. At any rate, the English were so busy fighting the Danes they did not trouble themselves about this northern shire, save that Ethelred plundered it because it was a stronghold of the Norse folk. The Northumbrian earls extended their power over the shire. Gospatric, the earl, bestowed privileges on his freemen and dependents in the shire, and his son Dolfin held Carlisle and its neighborhood. Earl Gospatric tried to play a double game with William the Conqueror, conspiring now with Scot and then with Norman, until William saw through his designs and exiled him. When it was too late the Mercian earls saw that they had made a mistake in playing into the hands of the Norman Duke, so they and others began to conspire for the restoration of the old royal line. [The Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 1, page 68.]

The language of one who narrates the events of the time in detail seems to describe the holding of an assembly which must have been designed as a general Gemót of the empire, at which the chief men of Wales as well as of England appeared. The grievances of the whole country were strongly set forth, and it was determined to seek help in every quarter. Messengers were sent to every part of England to stir up the people. They of course went openly to the parts which were still independent, and they sent secretly to the shires which were already under the yoke. The resolution to defend or to recover their ancient freedom was widely spread and firmly fixed in the hearts of Englishmen. Nor was the chance of foreign aid neglected. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward A. Freeman, vol. 4, page 122-125.]

At the head of the Northern movement stood Gospatric, who had, not many months before, been invested by King William with the Bernician earldom.

William's jealousy seems up to this time to have kept him idle in his court along with his fellow-earls of the house of Leofric, while the province which he nominally held under the Norman king still retained its perfect independence. King Malcolm, whose mother was a daughter of Earl Siward, seems to have at first accepted the alliance of the insurgents, and a powerful Scottish army was summoned for an English expedition. But Malcolm, lingering in his preparations, soon learned of the true interests of his uncle Waltheof and took no further action. The malcontents withdrew into the inaccessible North, and there for a while withstood the royal power.

William moved with his customary great energy and Yorkshire was speedily conquered. William had made a wilderness and he called it peace. Nor can we doubt that order reigned in York while the king wore his crown at the Midwinter Feast in his Northern capital. As soon as the holy season was over, more warfare, more havoc, was to begin. With William the time when kings go forth to battle was not bounded by any limits of the seasons, and in the extreme North of England there were still foes to be overcome and lands to be wasted. In some remote corner, seemingly near the mouth of the Tees, in an inaccessible spot surrounded by marshes, a daring band still defied his power. They held out in a fastness stored with rich plunder, and deemed that there at least they were safe from all attacks. The camp of refuge by the mouth of the Tees was well stocked with provisions, and was fondly deemed to be impregnable. Against this stronghold, at once the nearest and the most dangerous of the spots held by those whom he called rebels and outlaws, William now set forth on his January march. This march led him through a rugged and difficult country, which, we are told, had never been crossed by an army, and where a road twenty feet wide among the hills was the only means of approach. The geography shows that the country intended must be the hilly district of Cleveland, which lies on the direct road for one marching from York to any point at the mouth of the Tees. William pressed on, and drew near to the head-quarters of the enemy, who took flight by night at his approach. He followed them to the banks of the river, by a road whose ruggedness was such that the king himself had often to march on foot. On the banks of the river he made a halt of fifteen days, during which space he received the submission of Waltheof, son of Siward by Aelfflaed, oldest daughter of Earl Ealdred, who came in person; and Gospatric, who appeared by proxy. They swore oaths to him and became his men, William even consenting to receive the oath of Gospatric as he had received the oath of King Malcolm, at the hands of his messengers. Waltheof was confirmed in his earldom and Gospatric reinstated in his possessions. Waltheof, who was the son of Siward, indeed was more than confirmed to his place; he was admitted to the king's highest favor, and was allowed to mingle his blood with the princely blood of Normandy. A daughter of William had been only promised to Eadwine; a niece of William was actually given to Waltheof. The elder Adelaide, the whole sister of William, the daughter of Robert, Duke of Normandy, and Herleva, now the wife of the Count Odo of Champagne, was by her two former husbands the mother of two daughters, Adelaide and Judith. With Adelaide, the daughter of Ingelram of Ponthieu, this story has no concern. But her younger sister Judith, the daughter of Count

Lambert of Lens, became the bride of Waltheof II. the Earl of Northampton and Huntington, and later, as we see, Earl of Northumberland. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward Freeman, vol. 1, page 199-202.]

In Domesday Book, the village called Northamtune, grown to one of 330 houses, and the earldom of Northampton was given first to Waltheof, the last great Englishman under William, who married Judith, niece of the Conqueror. Their daughter brought the earldom to her husband, Simon de Senlis or St. Liz. With this marriage begins the rule of the principal mediaeval masters of Northampton, who held the earldom for just a century. The first Simon de Senlis surrounded the town with walls, and built in Norman fashion the castle on the hill by the west gate; and almost certainly, too, the church of St. Sepulchre, for he had joined in the first Crusade which ended in the capture of Jerusalem, and returned to England before the close of 1099. By the architecture the date of its building seems pointed out as having taken place immediately following this date, and the first mention of it occurs soon after in a charter of the period between 1115 and 1121. Of the four existing round churches in England, built to resemble the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre, it is the most noteworthy and also the nearest in size to the original. [Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 1, page 191.]

But the submission of the earl of the Northumbrians was not allowed to insure safety or pardon for the land over which he ruled. We must suppose that the submission of Gospatric was not accompanied by any general submission of the chiefs and people of his earldom. Whatever may have been the case with the land beyond the Tyne, the land between the Tyne and the Tees, the special inheritance of Saint Cuthberht, was doomed to a harrying as remorseless as that which had fallen on Yorkshire itself. To take seizin, as it were, of the conquered land, the host of William was spread over the whole country on its errand of destruction. The materials for slaughter were few, as the inhabitants had everywhere fled, but their houses and churches stood ready for the favorite Norman means of destruction. It was not long after this time when the emigration took place which brought the Northumbrian colony to Staffordshire.

Siward, the founder of Galmanho, and his son Waltheof II., who, as a monastic hero ranks by the side of Aethelwine, both were charged with detaining lands belonging to the Abbey of Peterborough, which, it will be remembered, was founded by Peada, King of Mercia, Peada being the name of the king whose name is perpetuated in the first element of our family name. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward A. Freeman, vol. 2, page 369.]

As to Gospatric, his monument is found at Norham Church, standing by itself, amid a spacious, level and densely packed graveyard, and one of the finest in Northumberland. Gospatrick, that earl who so failed to justify William the Conqueror's experiment in Saxon government, and helped to bring his avenging hand down on the North, lies buried under the porch. Bishop Flambard, the founder of the castle, is thought to be also the founder of the church, on a site, however, long occupied by a Saxon edifice deemed worthy to hold the bones of the saintly King Ceolwulf to whom Bede dedicated his history. [Romance of Northumberland, by A. G. Bradley, page 161.]

William the Conqueror, after his thorough method, so devastated Northumberland that for nine years it had scarcely any animate existence, and provided one of those epochs so disconcerting to theories of racial continuity. [The Norman Conquest, by Edward A. Freeman, vol. 4, page 199-202.]

The Conqueror wrought such a deed of vengeance that the whole of the smiling district from York to Durham was turned into a wilderness. When he came to die he is represented to have said of this ruthless episode: I fell on the English of the Northern counties like a ravening lion. I commanded their houses and corn, with all their tools and furniture, to be burnt without distinction, and large herds of cattle and beasts of burden to be butchered wherever they were found. It was thus I took revenge on multitudes of both sexes; by subjecting them to the calamity of a cruel famine; and by so doing, alas! became the barbarous murderer of many thousands, both young and old, of that fine race of people. [The Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 1, page 22.]

Malcolm of Scotland, who then owned Cumberland, a very thorn in the side of the northern English, also defied the Conqueror, after having acknowledged his overlordship by proxy. So the latter swept Scotland to the Tay, and made its warlike king swear allegiance in person and on his knees.

As a result of this devastation there was an emigration from Northumberland to the interior of England. In this movement our ancestors took part and as we have already seen, settled in the parish of Stone Priory and Peshale in Staffordshire, and Edgmond in Shropshire. It is, however, doubtful if the particular holdings of lands by this special group of Northumbrians had been seriously injured by the Conqueror. In fact, this emigration rather appears as a movement by the younger lines towards larger holdings elsewhere than they could have held in Bernicia.

Bishop Walcher had now begun his episcopal reign in his new fortress side by side with Waldhun's minster, and it was William's pleasure to give him a new temporal yoke-fellow. Gospatric was deprived of his earldom November, 1072, on charges heavy enough in William's eyes, but which William had fully forgiven three years before. He had had a share in the slaughter of the Normans at York, and, though not present in person, he had been an accomplice in the earlier slaughter of which Robert of Comines had been the victim. William was not yet prepared again to try the experiment of sending a stranger to rule that distant and turbulent province. He bestowed the earldom of Northumberland on an Englishman, and one who, like Gospatric, came by female descent from the ancient earls and kings of the land and who on his male line was the lawful successor to the Bernician earldom. The government of Northumberland was given to Waltheof, the son of Siward and Aethelflaed, and it is clear that his descent was looked upon as giving him a preference for the succession to the earldom. He was already Earl of Northampton and Huntington, and the husband of the king's niece Judith. Gospatric became an exile, and flitted to and fro between the two common houses of exiles, Scotland and Flanders. The old quarrel between him and Malcolm was forgotten; both were enemies of William. The Scottish king made the banished

earl a grant of Dunbar and other lands in Lothian till better times should come. The better times seem to have come in the case of Gospatric, as they came in the case of Abbot Aethelsige, during the reign of William himself. Gospatric, though fallen from his ancient wealth and honors, appears in the Survey as a considerable landowner, and his three sons, Dolfin, Waltheof and Gospatric, have their place in the local history of Northern England. His successor, Waltheof, at once contracted a close friendship with the new Bishop of Durham, as did Waltheof's uncle Ligulph, the grandfather of Ormunda; we have seen how Ligulph was murdered by the Bishop's chief men, and how in turn the family of Ligulph avenged his death in the death of Bishop Walcher and the death of all those associated with him and who were concerned in the treacherous murder of Ligulph. It is more than likely that Waltheof gave at least a passive acquiescence in this summary punishment of the Bishop and his men. Whatever measures Walcher took for the soul's health of his flock, Waltheof was ready to carry out with the strength of the secular arm. It is probable that Walcher in return lent his spiritual sanction to the one recorded act of Waltheof's Northumbrian government. With all his piety and patriotism, the spirit of Northumbrian deadly feud was deeply rooted in the heart of the new earl. Long before his own birth, in the days of Harthacnut, his mother's father, Earl Ealdred, had been treacherously murdered by his sworn brother Carl. What was the fate of the murderer himself we are not told; whether the justice of Siward or Tostig had reached him, or whether Law was found too weak to strike so powerful an offender. But his crime was now to be visited on those who were guiltless of it. The old tragedy was acted over again. Thurbrand had slain Uhtred; Uhtred's son, Ealdred, had slain Thurbrand; Thurbrand's son, Carl, had slain Ealdred, and had slain him in contempt of the tie of sworn brotherhood. Waltheof could not forgive the death of the grandfather whom he had never seen. The sons of Carl, whose estates would seem to have been left to them by William, were feasting (1073) in the house of their elder brother at Seterington in Yorkshire. A party of young men, sent across the border by the Earl of Northumbrians, came upon them, as the Normans came on Hereward, when they were thus unarmed and unsuspecting. The whole family, all the sons and grandsons of Carl, were cut off, save one son, Sumorled, who chanced not to be present, and another, Cnut, whose character had won him such general love that the murderers themselves could not bring themselves to slay him. The slayers returned to their master with the spoils of their victims, and the ancient crime of Carl was thus avenged by a still deeper crime on the part of Waltheof. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, page 355-358.]

It was during the reign of Waltheof II. that Bishop Walcher was killed to avenge the murder of Ligulph, uncle of Waltheof, as related at the beginning of this chapter. Freeman says the murder of Walcher is one of those acts which it is alike impossible to wonder at and to justify. The Bishop himself most likely was guilty of nothing worse than culpable weakness, had stirred up the passions of the whole country against him, and his life was the forfeit. But the blood of a bishop, in whatever cause it might be shed, was always sacred, and Walcher, without being canonized, was looked upon as a kind of martyr. His body was carried to Durham by the pious care of the monks of Jarrow, and was hurriedly buried in

the chapter-house. But it was not enough that the memory of Walcher should be reverenced; his blood had to be avenged. His death was an act which no government could pass over, but it was eminently a case for smiting the leaders and sparing the commons. But William entrusted the punishment of the rebellious district to his brother Odo, and the bishop took, if not a heavier, at least a meaner vengeance than the king himself would have taken. The land, already so often harried, was harried yet again as a punishment for the slaughter of its pastor. Men who had had no share in the disturbance were mutilated, and even, contrary to William's own invariable rule, beheaded. Others redeemed their lives from false charges by the payment of money. These were doubtless the deeds of the earl of Kent, who went away after leaving a guard in the castle. But meanwhile the bishop of Bayeux had cast a longing eye on the treasures of Saint Cuthberht, and carried off a pastoral staff of rare workmanship and material, for it was wrought of sapphire.

Comment on this remarkable statement would seem to be unnecessary. No office that worldly man can be endowed with will so change his spiritual nature that he is not to be held responsible for crimes actually committed by him against the laws of God, or man, or both.

It seemed as if William had now certainly done his very worst and therefore all now looked fair, and as if the sunshine of peace and prosperity would once more shine upon England. But the whole reign of William the Conqueror was marked by one bloody crime after another. It is true that as a rule they were crimes of civil warfare. No one doubted that at least the Northumbrian earl would be left alone.

We have now reached what we may fairly call the turning-point of William's reign, the tragedy of the fate of Waltheof II., son of Siward, Chapter 11, Section 3, Division 4.M. For once in his reign, William was to stain his hands with blood not shed on the field of battle, but by a mockery of a judicial sentence; blood which as far as the cause for which it was shed was concerned was innocent. Nothing but the keenest conviction of danger could have led William to this marked deviation from his usual policy which, in his own eyes and in the eyes of his age, was a policy of mercy. Waltheof, at this moment, held as high a position as any man in the realm after the king himself. He held a position which was shared by no other Englishman save one. And now, by a strange chain of events, by a strange tale of rashness and folly, Waltheof was to fall from his high place, to leave England without an English earl, and to have as the partner in his ruin the son and successor of the most cruel oppressor of Englishmen. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, page 388-389.]

There were in England many who desired the overthrow of the Normans and the setting up of a native-born king. They assumed that every Englishman was in sympathy with them, forgetting that so far as Waltheof II. the Bernician earl was concerned, he had from the beginning been in alliance with the Normans and was now the nephew of the Norman-English king. The conspirators invited Waltheof to the marriage feast of Emma, the daughter of William Fitz Osbern, to the Earl of Norfolk. In reality the wedding was only a cloak for a meeting of

the conspirators. To this wedding went Waltheof utterly innocent of the terrible surroundings in which he was to find himself. The wedding-feast—the bride-ale, as our forefathers called it—was kept (1075) with great splendor at Exning in Cambridgeshire, and the Chroniclers tell us, in one of the last metrical riming efforts to be found in their pages,

There was that bride-ale
To many men's bale.

A great company of Bishops and Abbots and other great men was gathered together, and Ralph had specially got together the Bretons, the countrymen of his mother, who had received settlements in England. At the feast men began to talk treason. They took rede how they might drive their Lord the King out of his kingdom. Among the guests was Waltheof, Earl of the neighboring shires of Huntingdom and Northampton, and the point both of importance and of obscurity in the story is that it is not clear to what extent he lent an ear to the rash counsels of his companions. One historian, using the license familiar to classical and mediaeval writers, puts speeches into the mouths of Waltheof and his tempters, which modern ingenuity has wrought into a highly dramatic shape. One of the arguments used at this time against the Conqueror was that he had despoiled our ancestor Werlac, Count of Corbeil, and had unjustly driven him out of Normandy. But Waltheof had no interest whatsoever in Werlac. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, page 390.]

The conspirators made Waltheof take an oath to take part in their enterprise, and to keep their secret inviolate. Here he made a mistake. It would have been better to have died clean of having sworn falsely as a means of saving his life. It smatters of cowardice foreign to the history of the royal line of Bernicia. It is not however possible for any one to even offer a suggestion as to what was the better course of conduct at the time. It is sufficient that he did take such an oath.

It is only fair to Waltheof to state that some of the historians say that Waltheof was gotten under the influence of wine by the conspirators before the subject of the revolt was proposed to him. [The Counties of England, by P. H. Ditchfield, vol. 2, page 45.]

It is certain that Waltheof had no share in the open rebellion which followed. He hastened to Archbishop Lanfranc, doubtless as to a spiritual father, but perhaps also as being for the time a temporal superior. He told him of the unlawful oath which he had taken against his will. When the breaking of a constrained oath would be to William's advantage, the guilt of perjury was a far slighter matter than when its breaking was to William's damage. The oath of Harold was to be kept at all hazards; its violation could be atoned for only by his own overthrow and that of his kingdom. But in the case of Waltheof an unwilling oath might lawfully be broken; all that Lanfranc required of his penitent was to go through certain ecclesiastical penances, and to go and confess the whole matter to the king against whom he had sinned. Waltheof crossed the sea and sought the presence of William. He did not come empty-handed; when he craved the king's forgiveness he offered rich gifts as the price of his mercy. It is not quite clear whether the pardon was formally given, but it is certain that William made light of Waltheof's share in the matter, that the earl abode in Normandy till the king's

return, and that till the king's return he suffered no punishment or restraint. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, page 390. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, page 392.]

All of a sudden William turned upon Waltheof. At such a moment it might well seem that Cnut's old fellow soldier, the man who had cloven so many Norman skulls before the gate of York Castle, was not a man who could be safely left at large in England. Waltheof was therefore put in ward as well as Roger, and the two earls awaited their public trial in the Midwinter Gemot. Waltheof was imprisoned and later brought to trial. The case of Waltheof was one of more difficulty than that of the other conspirators; on no showing had he taken any active share in the rebellion; whatever his offense was, he had done what he could to repair it by a speedy confession and the king's own treatment of him while in Normandy might have been taken as an earnest that no very heavy punishment was in store for him. But Waltheof had his worst enemy on his own hearth; the tie which bound him most closely to William proved to be the very snare in which he was entangled. His foreign wife, for what reason we are not told, sought his destruction. It is plain that William himself was not disposed to deal harshly with him, but Judith stood forth as the accuser of her husband in the ears of her uncle. The earl was charged before the Assembly with having been a favorer and accomplice of the late rebellion. His defence was that he had indeed heard the scheme of rebellion proposed, but that he had in no way consented to so wicked a design. Such at least is the version of the historian who gives us the fullest narrative, but it is a version which overlooks the oath to the conspirators, which, willingly or unwillingly, there can be little doubt that Waltheof had taken. However this may be, there can be little doubt that the Gemot came to no definite conclusion as to his sentence. He was remanded to prison at Winchester—a straitor prison, we are told, than he had been in before his trial, there to await his final sentence. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, page 397. Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, page 400-401.]

Lanfranc himself bore the strongest witness to his innocence of the crime which was laid to his charge, and to the genuineness of his penitence for his real misdeeds. But all availed him not. Norman enemies feared his release, and hungered after his lands and honors. His cause was again argued, seemingly in the Pentecostal Gemot of the next year (May 15-22, 1076), which would be held, according to custom, at Westminster. This time sentence of death was pronounced. He had listened to the proposals of men who were plotting the king's life. He had not at once opposed them, nor had he revealed to his sovereign the danger in which he stood. Whatever may have been the letter of the law in either country, such an execution was without a precedent for years past either in England or in Normandy. It was specially unprecedented in the reign of a prince whose boast had hitherto been that he had never taken human life except in the operation of warfare. And strangest of all was the unequal balance of justice which spared the life of the man who had compassed the death of the king and openly levied war against him, and which doomed him to die whose crime at the utmost was not to have been zealous enough in revealing and hindering his schemes. But Roger was a Norman, Waltheof was an Englishman; and the time had now come when the final seal was to be put to the work of the Conquest.

Englishmen had been slain on the field of battle; they had lost their lands; they had been banished from their country; they had suffered bonds and cruel mutilations; but as yet the sword of the headsman had not been called into play against them. But now the Englishman highest in birth and rank, the one remaining earl of the Royal blood of the conquered, was to die as the conquered deemed, the martyr of his country. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, page 402-405.]

When the sentence was once passed, its execution did not linger. The order was brought to Winchester, and early on the last morning of May, while the citizens were still in their beds, Earl Waltheof was awakened by the summons of death. It was feared that, if men knew the deed that was doing, they would rise up to rescue the champion of England from the hands of his enemies. For the same reason doubtless he did not suffer within the city. A public execution within the walls of Winchester would have been too great a risk, and we may be sure that William, even in this his darkest day, would have shrunk from stooping to anything like private murder. The earl was led forth to die on one of the downs which overlook the city, on the hill which, when our historian wrote, was marked by a church of the confessor Saint Giles. He came forth arrayed with all the badges of his earl's rank. When he reached the place of martyrdom, he distributed them as gifts or relics among a few clerks and poor men who had heard of what was doing and had come together to that sight. And then he knelt him down and prayed, with sobs and tears of penitence, for a longer time than seemed good to those who thirsted for his blood. The headsman feared lest, if they lingered longer, the news should get abroad, lest the earl's countrymen should rise, and lest they should perish in his stead. The earl had fallen on his face in the fervor of his devotions. "Rise," they said, "we must do the bidding of our master." "Wait yet," said Waltheof, "a little moment; let me at least say the Lord's Prayer for me and for you." He rose, he knelt down, he lifted his eyes to heaven, he stretched forth his hands, and spoke the prayer aloud till he came to the words, "Lead us not into temptation." Tears then stopped his voice. The headsman would tarry no longer; the sword fell, and the head of the last English earl rolled on the ground. Men said that the severed head was heard to finish the prayer, and distinctly to utter the words, "Deliver us from evil." The work was done. The man whom William and his Normans feared was taken out of their path, and his body was at once meanly buried upon the place of martyrdom. By this time the men of Winchester had risen from their beds, and had heard what a deed had been done without the walls of their city. But it was now too late; men and women now could do no more than raise a wail of fruitless sorrow for the hero and martyr of England.

The widow of Waltheof, Judith, appears in the Survey as holding large estates, especially in Northamptonshire, estates which had partly belonged to her husband, partly to other English owners. She appears in monastic history as the foundress of a house of nuns at Helenstow or Elstow near Bedford, a place more famous in later times as the birth-place of John Bunyan. Legend has much more to tell of her. Like Cnut at the tomb of Eadmund, she offered a splendid pall at the tomb of her husband, but the gift was thrown back again by unseen hands. Her uncle the king wished to give her in second marriage to a valiant man called

Simon of Senlis, who does not appear in the Survey, but who in the story is already Earl of Northampton. But Simon was lame and Judith preferred widowhood to a lame husband. The earldom of Huntingdon and the other possessions of Judith were granted to Simon; she herself fled from the wrath of William to Hereward's refuge in the marshes of Ely; and Simon, instead of Judith the widow of Waltheof, received as his wife Waltheof's daughter Matilda. [Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. 4, page 409.]

With Waltheof ended the royal line of Bernicia. Henceforth they were submerged in the history of the families through whom their blood yet courses, and to whom they transmit their virtues and characteristics. It is one of our proudest heritages as a family that we can trace our ancestry to these Bernician rulers. The sons of Ligulph, the son of Oswulf I., Earl of Northumberland, remained in Bernicia where they were for many generations hereditary sheriffs. The line of Ligulph having become the male line, they were, by direct inheritance from the old earls, vested with hereditary appointment of the King's Vice-Comes in Northumberland. Their story will be told in Chapter 12, Section 4. As to the Northumberland colony in Staffordshire, although they were all whether Norman or Bernician of this same royal ancestry, nevertheless being so far removed from the English court, and hidden in the vast forests of Staffordshire and Shropshire, they were out of sight of the Norman king, and hence out of his mind and free from his terrible attention. To this fact we no doubt owe it that our ancestors were allowed to live out their lives and to maintain the family from generation to generation.

This brings us to the end of 1076, at which time the Northumbrian colony in Staffordshire was well settled. Here in the dense forest of England they seem to have been safe against the Conqueror, and to have been allowed by him to live their lives in such peace and quietness as could be had with the almost daily conflicts with the Welsh. Very possibly they were thought by the Conqueror that being English or Norman-English they were placed where the Cymri would get them sooner or later, perhaps sooner than later, but the sooner the better. As the sequel will show these children of the old Bernician kings continued to flourish as their ancestors always had done in the face of danger, and in the midst of the constant turmoil of war.

It is a rather interesting fact of family history that time quickly brought its revenge upon the conqueror. His son Henry, upon becoming King of England, claimed Editha, the daughter of King Malcolm of Scotland, as his bride. She changed her name to Matilda in compliment to her husband's mother, and her memory was long venerated amongst the English people as Good Queen Maud. All the kings of England since that time claim through this marriage to reach to the Conqueror, and to the great Rollo, and to Orm, the Briton, who in A. D. 213 was the king of Bernicia, as their ancestor.

King Malcolm of Scotland was the son of the sister of Waltheof II. and they were the children of Siward. Hence during all the subsequent centuries, through Siward and his wife Aelfflaed, daughter of Earl Ealred, the blood of these old Bernician kings, and of England's most ancient royal line, has sat upon the throne of England mingled with the blood of the Conqueror and his Norman ancestors.