FORE-WORD

THE SEVERAL STVDIES HEREIN CONTAINED RESPECTING "ALFRED THE GREAT of BLESSED MEMORY" (while much of the matter is long anterior to that epoch), are, in part, the sum and substance of certain readings in English history undertaken to serve a set purpose. Most of the "cameos" are given verbatim, in their original, quaint old-world language; while others have been so twisted round by the light of modern research as to become entirely new—in the words of King Alfred "sometime interpreting word for word, and sometime meaning for meaning.

∴ With those who are chivalrous for the land of their birth, almost every scrap of information about the life and customs of the early inhabitants of these realms of ours can not fail to be of interest; and, while we may be Englishmen (at once rising superior in every point of valour to our Anglo-Saxon invaders), one thing is certain, mere conquest never altered the shape of our skulls. Sartor resartus! With the tailor mended, it has been said, "here is a book for BRITONS."

The working drawing for the production of the title-page was executed by the black-and-white artist, Ernest Cousins, from the design by the framer of these memorials.

ALFRED THE GREAT

OF

BLESSED MEMORY

MEMORIALS CONCERNING ENGLAND LONG ANTERIOR TO THE REIGN OF KING ALFRED TO HIS EPOCH DVG OVT OF LONG FORGOTTEN LORE BY

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19 01

DEDICATION.

To the English Speaking Nation Everywhere.
To my Parents, and my Kinsfolk.
To Henry Syer-Cuming, F.S.A. (lineal descendent of Red Cuming),
To my Personal Friends, especially C. E. C., and
To the Memory of my Tutors, The Rev. Dr. John Mason Neale, & The Rev. Edward Salisbury, M.A., & following friends:
To the Memory of my earliest Friend, Thomas Carlyle.
To the Memory of George Eliot (Authoress of Romola),
To the Memory of Dr. Martin Farqvhar Tupper, F.R.S.,
To the Memory of my dear friend, Dr. E. B. Pvsey,
To the Memory (ever precious) of Canon Liddon, D.D.,
To the Memory of my friend, Dean Chvrch (Dean of St. Paul's).
To the Memory of Bishop Lightfoot of Durham,
To the Memory of Canon Chamberlain (St. Thomas', Oxford),
To the Memory of Professor, Sir John Seeley,
To the Memory of my dearest friend, Lord Leighton,
To the Memory of Bishop Stvbbs of Oxford,
To the Memory of Sir Walter Besant, M.A., F.S.A.,
To the Memory of Lovis Galavd, and Harriett Roberts,
To the Memory of Veargitt W. Mavghan (St. John's Coll., Oxford),
To the Memory of Leonardo, Conte Di Lipari e Dell'Ampedusa,
To the Memory of my First Literary Pupil, Walter Blackbvrn Harte (Author of Meditations in Motley, &c.), and in this last place
To the Memory of dear old Planché (Somerset Herald), whose memory must ever remain as sweet as the roses; and to you, my dear countrymen, whose names are lost to posterity.

THE JACKSONIAN COMMEMORATION MEDAL, 1901.

That " marvellous boy," CHATTERTON, said, " It is certain we are indebted to Alfred and other Saxon Kings for the wisest of our laws, and in part for the British Constitution."

From a Letter of the Poet's in the British Museum, dated 14th April, 1769.

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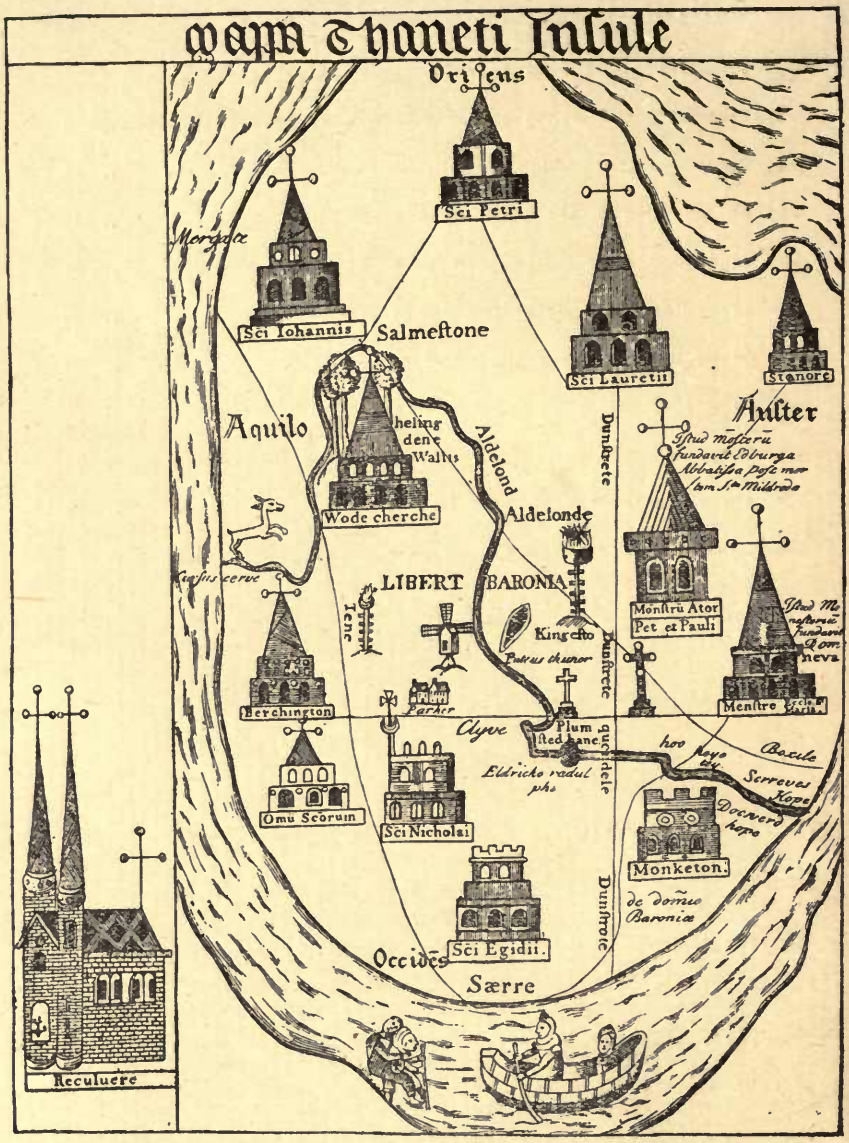

THE EARLIEST KNOWN MAP (OF ANGLO-SAXON ORIGIN) OF THE LANDING PLACE OF OVR SEVERAL INVADERS. See p. 2.

Tenet, Tened, Tanet, Tanet-lond, THANET (as the name of this Island is variously spelt) is an Island situated on the North-East part of the county of Kent. It seems to have been called *Tenet*, or *Tanet-lond* by our Saxon ancestors from a fire or becon being placed in various portions to give notice of any incursions made by the Danes or other pirates to which this Island lay so much exposed by reason of its being so near the port of Richborough, at that time one of the most famous and frequented ports of the whole kingdom. By the Britons it was called by a name taken from this situation, viz., Ruim, or Inis Ruochim, *i.e.*, Richborough Isle, and by the Latins written *Tanatos* or *Tanatis*, In the West of England they still say "*tene*" a candle or fire.

PROŒMIUM.

THE SAXONS had formerly four different ranks: 1, the nobility; 2, the freeman (franklin[1]: the name and importance of this worthy will be better understood by the intelligent readers of Chaucer); 3, the freedman; 4, the serf, or slave; and as it was arranged by law that each person should marry into his own rank, their different orders were preserved uncontaminated. Whoever disobeyed this law expiated the crime by instant death. The most severe laws were used for the punishment of malefactors. They had also many other useful customs and good laws, for the promotion of probity and good order, which would have been the means of producing the most perfect happiness had they had any true knowledge of their Creator. They worshipped, besides their other dieties, the trunks and leaves of trees, and filled with them a temple which they named *Irmensal*. They worshipped Mercury, to whom, on certain days, they offered human sacrifices. They considered their gods as too great and dignified to be shut up in temples, or formed in the likeness of men; they therefore consecrated groves and woods to them, in which their worship was performed. They placed great faith in signs and omens, particularly in the notes and flight of birds and the snorting and neighing of horses. One of these animals, which was kept by the priest, was deemed sacred, and when they were about to declare war against their enemies he was led out. If he put his right foot forward it was considered a good omen, but if he stepped with his left foot first the omen was considered unlucky, and they desisted from their intended enterprise. They sowed barley and wheat, from which they not only made the finest white bread, but also a peculiar sort of drink—a sort of beer, of which they drank immoderately. It is almost incredible how much of this liquor they consumed at a meal; he who was able to drink the most acquired not only fame and praises, but was crowned with a garland of roses and sweetsmelling herbs. He who, after many invitations, refused

1. This "Epicurus' owen son" was one who held lands immediately from the king, paying homage, but free from all feudal services or payments; a person of considerable dignity in the days of Chaucer, whom Robert de Brume places in very high companionship in his "Metrical Chronicle."

to drink with his companions, was considered an enemy. When they drank they were accustomed to pledge each other, that is, the person who was about to drink asked one of the company whether he would pledge him; the other, replying that he would, held up his knife or sword to guard him whilst he drank, to protect him from the treacherous stroke of some secret enemy.

At the banquets their diet was rude, consisting of venison, dry sausages, onions, wild apples, curds, cream, and salt butter. At the royal banquets, besides their common drink, they had rich wine, or liquors made of honey and mulberry-juice mixed with spices. These meetings generally terminated in riotous, excessive drinking, not excepting even their religious festivals, at which they swallowed large draughts in honour of their gods.

Hospitality may be justly reckoned among the national virtues of the Anglo-Saxons, for in social entertainment and hospitality no nation was ever more liberal; they received all comers, without exception, into their houses, and feasted them in the best manner that their circumstances could afford. When all their provisions were consumed, they conducted their guests to the next house, where they were received with the same frankness and entertained with the same generosity.

These people were described by all the ancient writers as being remarkably tall, strong, and hardy in their persons, delighting much in war and military exercises, and accounting it more honourable to take the necessaries of life by force from others than to provide them by their own industry. They were free and bountiful in their manners, of a cheerful temper, and, though fierce and savage to their enemies, kind and liberal towards each other. Long after their settlement in this island of ours they were remarkable among the European nations for the symmetry of their persons, the fairness of their complexions, and the fineness of their hair. Their dress was very simple, that of the serf, or peasant, being a loose tunic made of linen or woollen cloth, ornamented with patches of the skins of different animals; they also had large stockings of clumsy manufacture, which reached to the knee, but not unfrequently they went barefoot. On the head they wore a rude cap made of skins with the fur inwards; they wore round their throats a metal collar bearing their own name, and the name of the noble, or freeman, who owned them.

The dress of the king and his nobles was a loose tunic, added to the mantle or cloak, which hung down before and behind, and was fastened on one shoulder with a brooch or buckle. They covered their legs with a kind of bandage, which was wound round, or with a stocking reaching above the knee. They had also a sort of boot, curiously ornamented at the top. The females wore a long loose robe, reaching to the ground. The head was covered with a hood, or veil, which, falling down in front, was wrapped about the neck. The Anglo-Saxons considered fine hair as one of the greatest ornaments to their persons, and took great pains to dress it to advantage. Young unmarried women wore their hair uncovered and flowing in ringlets over their shoulders, but as soon as they were married they cut it shorter, tied it up, and put on a head-dress. To have the hair entirely cut off was a great disgrace—so much so, that it was used as a capital punishment. The clergy were obliged to shave the crowns of their heads, and to keep their hair short, which distinguished them from the laity. The men allowed their beards to grow.

The Saxons never went to war without consulting their wives, to whose advice they paid the greatest regard. Their arms consisted of a spear or lance, which was carried in the hand, a long sword appended to their side, a short dagger, which was stuck into a girdle placed round the tunic for that purpose, and a shield. The latter was held of such importance that if a soldier lost his shield he was prohibited all participation in sacred rites, and so severely was this privation felt, that many who had incurred it destroyed themselves rather than exist under the imputation of dishonour.

In peace they wore on their heads a bonnet, but when going to war a metal helmet. They went singing to war, carrying before them the images of their gods, and they had certain characters engraved upon their spears, which were considered as magic spells. Every tenth prisoner taken in battle was sacrificed to *their* deity Woden, who was supposed to be highly pleased with such barbarous slaughter. They believed that everyone slain in battle would sit at ease in Woden's hall, and quaff ale from the skulls of former enemies, an honour to which none could be admitted who had died of disease or on a bed. From these people Britain for some time obtained the name of Saxony; but when the Angles, who came over with them, became the most power-

ful, the country was called Anglia and Angleland, and the people were designated Anglo-Saxons. To this hasty sketch of the manners and habits of our early ancestors, the singularity which at present marks the English character may be traced. To them we are indebted for that manliness and force of mind, that independence of principle and conduct, which belongs, perhaps, *to no other nation upon the earth;* while our subsequent affinities with other parts of Europe, and especially with France, have refined the rude and baser parts of the picture, and given to it a colouring and expression exclusively its own. The same observation may be extended to the English language. It draws deeply from a Saxon source its originality and its strength, while it has obtained such an accession of grace and beauty from the romance languages of the South, that it is capable of expressing any subject of human thought, with more force and variety than can be found in any of the modern tongues of the present world.

OLINESS shall be ascribed unto the Lord, with eternal benison upon all which King Alfred of blessed memory undertook and performed for the lasting good of this dear old England of ours, Blessings as fair to view as those which fling bridal-wreaths upon the hawthorn bush! And know you this, all ye doing homage for your estates (while you are nothing but serving men) that, no work whatsoever shall prosper your hands without first sinking your own insignificance in that all glorious personality which the poet Milton called the "Mirror of Princes." You shall make a study of his all glorious life's purpose, and you shall do as much as *that* for the sole benefit of the Commonweal, and *not* for aggrandisement, or on the other hand the horrible wicked squandering of substance, which so many *so-called* "noblemen" have done during the last fifty years—remembering for your soul's comfort, that ye have nothing of your own, while this fleeting breath which your draw or give out, that *that* is simply vouchsafed to thee by, and at the sole pleasure of the Great Creator of all things. Therefore, in striving to keep the tremendous Festal of Alfred the Great with becoming dignity, (and this in subscribing the *utmost* we can afford for the purpose of the Memorial), each of us shall do all in *his* or *her* power to make a Godward turn—ever trying to rightly understand that which demonstrates a great mind, and in doing as much as that, may our humble endeavours prove the exegesis of our being, and pour a blessing upon the world at large. Nothing rises superior to intellect: But men *must* be instructed in first principles, and we shall do well in transcribing a few particulars "Concerning the Arrival of the First Ancestors of Englishmen"; that is, *if* the Anglo-Saxons are to be considered our progenitors, (a matter which the present writer repudiates in every particular.

It is upon record that certain valiant people from Saxony arrived at *Ippersfleete*, now called *Ebsfleete*, in the *Ile* of *Tanet*, in the yeere of our Lord 447, and in the second yeere of the raigne of King *Vortiger*. And albeit venerable *Bede* writeth that in the yeere of our Lord 429, *Marcianus* raigned with *Valentinian*, in whose time he sayeth the Saxons were sent for by King *Vortiger* into *Brittaine*, yet sayeth he not that they arrived there in the sayd 429 yeere, but in the time of the raigne of Valentinian, which continued thirty yeeres, untill such time as by the practise (as is thought) of *Maximinus* he was killed.

Here, by the way, it may please the reader to note that it was but somewhat more than twenty yeeres before the comming of the *Saxons* into *Brittaine*, that the Frankes, being people also of *Germany*, bordering neighbours unto the *Saxons*, and speaking in effect the same language with them, did, under *Faramond* their leader and elected King, enter into the country of the *Gaules*, where they seated themselves and became in fine the occasion that the whole country after their name of *Frankes* was called *Frankenric*, that is to say, kingdom or possession of the *Frankes*, and since, by abreviation, *France*. For in the raigne of *Clodion*, the sonne and next successor unto the afore-named King *Faramond*, who (as is above said) conducted the *Frankes* out of *Germany* into *Gallia*, Prince *Hingistus* conducted the *Saxons* in like manner out of *Germany* into Brittaine.

Hingistus, when first hee there arrived, was under the age of thirty yeeres; of a marveilous great courage, and of an excellent wit, and both he and his brother *Horsus* were the more renowned for that they had beene brought up in the service of the aforenamed *Valentinian*. They were of very noble descent, their father, WETGISSE, being the son of WECTA, and WECTA sonne unto the great renowned Prince WODEN, from whom many Kings did afterwards derive their offspring, and in regard of his great honour did duely from him observe their degrees and descents.

And here I cannot but wonder at *Occa Scarlensis*, who telleth us first of the two brethren called *Hingistus* and *Horsus*, the sonnes as saith he, of *Vdulphe Haron*, Duke of *Friesland*, and that *Hingistus*, who was two yeeres elder than his brother *Horsus*, was born in the yeere of our Lord 361 by which accompt *Hingistus*, when in the

yeere of our Lord 447, he came unto the ayde of King *Vortiger*, must have bin 86 yeeres old, and so a very unlikely man to beate armes. He further telleth thus of two other brethren, also called *Hingistus* and *Horsus*, sonnes, as he sayeth, unto *Odilbald*, King of *Friesland*, and borne in the yeare 441, who he saith went also into *Brittaine* to revenge the deaths of the aforesaid *Hingistus* and *Horsus* and were both slaine; but their souldiers notwithstanding, being animated by *Gorimond*, an Irish Captain (who with many Irish-men was joyned with them) to revenge the death of their Princes. They fought so valiantly that they obtained the victory and made *Gorimond* their King, after whose death they chose one of their own nation unto that dignity. So heere we see that *Occa* hath not onely found out other parents for our *Hingistus* and *Horsus* than *Venerable Bede* (though he lived 200 yeeres before *Occa*) doth name, or them before by any other author we have heard of, but he findeth out a second *Hingistus* and a second *Horsus* to revenge the deaths of the former, and deserveth in both his relations to be beleeved alike.

Hingistus was doubtless a Prince of the chiefest blood and nobillity of *Saxony*, and by birth of *Angria* in *Westphalia*, vulgarly of old time called WESTFIELDING (wherein unto this present a place retaineth the name of HENGSTER-HOLT), his wepen or armes being a leaping white horse or HENGST in a read field, or according to our mixed manner of blasing armes in broken French and Englsh put together. A horse argent rampant in a field gules: which was the ancient armes of *Saxony*; that the chief Princes and Dukes have there long since for many ages together borne. And albeit the Dukes of *Saxony* have of later yeeres changed that coat, yet doth Henery Julius, now Duke of Brunswyke (a most ancient Saxon Prince) who sometimes bore the white horse in a red field, now beares the white horse for his creast, having for the cheife coat of his armes the two leopards, which, by *Richard Cordelion*, King of England, was given unto his ancestor, Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxon, who had married with *Mathilda*, the said King's sister, by the Emperor *Fredericke Barbarossa* had bin bereft of his armes and titles of honour. Moreover, *Charles Emanuel*, the now Duke of Saxony—who is lineally descended from the ancient Princes of the cheife house of *Saxony* by Prince *Beral*, who came out of *Saxony* into *Savoy* in the yeere of

our Lord 998, and was the third sonne of *Hugh*, Duke of *Saxony*, which *Hugh* was brother unto the Emperour *Otho* the third—doth beare yet for one of his coats the sayd leaping white horse in a read field.

And very likely it is that this armes was in ancient time of paganisme, especially chosen in regard of some Divine excellency beleeved to be in this beast, for the old *Germans*, as saith *Tacitus*, had a certaine opinion, that a white horse, never having been bridled, or any way used, but taken out of the woods and put to draw a sacred chariot, the Priest or Prince following it, did, by the neighings thereof, fore-tell things to come.

The ancient *Pagan Germans*, especially the noblemen, as both *Crantzius* and other writers testifie, did sometimes take the name of beasts, as one would be called a Lyon, another a Beare, another a Wolfe; and so in like manner had these two afore-named Princes their denominations. Very probable it is that these two *Saxon* leaders with their Forces, which were of *Westphalia*, *Friesland*, and *Holland*, did (as the Chronicles of *Holland* affirme) set foorth from thence, and so sayled over into *Brittaine*, for as I have sayd, the inhabitants of these Provinces were all sometime generally knowne by the name of Saxons.

Hingistus and his brother with their Forces being arrived in the Ile of *Tanet* in *Kent* in the Yeare of our Lord afore specified, and in the second of the Raigne of King *Vortiger*, as before hath also bin sayd; were unto the sayd King greatly welcome, and marching against his Northern enemies, the Scottish and the *Pictes*, valiantly encountered them in battle, and overthrew them, whereby they gained unto themselves most great honour and reputation. Hereupon *Hingistus* desired of King *Vortiger* so much ground as with the skin of a Bull he could compasse about, which having obtayned, he did cut out a large Bulls Hide into very small Thongs, leaving them still fast the one unto the other, and having by this means brought the whole skin as it were into one Thong of a great length, he layd it in compasse on the ground, and so accordingly layd the Foundation of a Castle which he finished and called *Thong-castle*, situated neere unto *Sydingborne* in Kent, in which Castle he afterward Feasted King *Vortiger*, as anon I will declare. This Castle thus builded, *Hingistus* sent home

word into his Country of *Saxony* as well of the good successe he had had against King *Vortigers* enemies, as of the goodnesse and fertillity of the soyle, and the lacke of Warrely courage in the *Brittains*. Whereupon a great Navy and number of men was sent over out of Saxony unto him, and these consisted of the three principall sorts of Saxon people, to wit, of those that without distinction bare the name of *Saxons*. Of those that were particularly called *English*, and of those that were called the *Vites*.

* * * *

It should seeme by the words of *Venerable Bede*, that they were called English, after their Country called *England* (wherein they inhabited long before they came into *Brittaine*), the which is thought to have stood in the middest betweene the *Vites* and the Saxons; and Mr. *Camden*, out of one *Ethelwerdus*, an ancient Author, findeth reason to be of opinion that this country indeed was the very old *England*. And that there is such a Country as was called *England*, and that before ever such a name was imposed upon any part of *Brittaine*, *Venerable Bede*, as before is shewed, doth also testifie. And sundry other writers, as namely *Crantzius*, who plainely calleth it *Anglia*, that is to say *England*. It was in time long past the ancient habitation of the *Saxons*, from whence by the Danes they were expulsed, and ever since hath it remained in the Danish possession. It lyeth betweene *Jutland* and *Holsasia*, or to distinguish the bounds thereof more particularly, betweene *Flensbourg* and the floud *Sly*, whereon the towne *Sleswike* is situated. And from this place, saith *Henricus Rantzovius*, the Saxons went, and passed over the Sea unto the ayd of the *Brittains*, so naming them by the generall name of *Saxons*, though otherwise they were called *English*, and of some *English-Saxons*.

But now whence this name of *England*, and consequently of *English* should come, is to be considered. *Saxo Gramaticus* will needs have it to have had that name of one *Angul*, who he saith was Brother unto *Dan*, the first King of *Denmarke*; but *Albertus Crantz*, being offended at his folly, tels him that England had the name of *Brittaine* many hundred yeeres after this *Angul* was dead. Marry if *Saxo* meant it of the first or old England, heere before spoken of, and not of this present Country of *England*, hee is the more excus-

able, but it therefore followeth not that it is true, for other reasons that doe withstand it. Very apparent it is that many Countries have aptly taken their names from the very nature of their soyle, or from the manner of their Situation, whereof I could shew sundry examples: and most manifest it is that in the ancient *Teutonicke*, as well as in the moderne, eyther high or low, the word ENG, signifieth narrow, or straight, and sometimes a nooke, and if a man at this present should aske any Dutch-man in some language besides his owne, that he understandeth, how he would in his owne Language call a narrow Country, or Region, he would straight-waies answer and say, ENGELAND or ENGLAND: not unfitly then may old *England* by the little or narrow situation thereof, in a very nooke of land bordering upon *Mare Balticum*, have had at the first in the ancient *Teutonicke* language that denomination. And not only this old *England* whereof we speake, but our present Country of *England*, also growing to a narrownesse or straightnes, both towards the North and towards the West, doth not disagree from this reason: though perhaps another reason might also move King *Egbert* to cause it to be called *England*, whereof I shall take occasion to speak more afterward. It was anciently written *Engaland*, and corruptly *Englaland*, and now both in high and low Dutch it is commonly written *Engeland*, and thus much about the name shall here suffice.

NOTE 1.

There are many stories respecting the *White* Horse, while those who are familiar with the district where Alfred the Great was born know this: That Wantage is situated on the borders of the vale of the White Horse, which is so named from a great sculpture cut on the side of the chalk hill, 26 miles south west of Reading, a representation of the Sacred Horse, which the priest led out in time of warfare, and won for the ancient Saxons from earliest time every battle. When the late Duke of Brunswick died, the present writer purchased his personal decoration of the Order of the White Horse, composed of emeralds, diamonds, and rubies, with other beautiful and rare works of art.

NOTE 2.

Tong is the next parish lying northward from *Bapchild*, called in old Saxon THWANG, having derived its name from *Thwang Caestre*, that is, THONG CASTLE.

Writers differ much in the situation of this land. Camden and some others place it at Thong Castle near Grimsby, and others at Doncastor, while Leland, Kilburne, and Philipott fix it in Kent, where, in truth, it is truly situated. "There is nothing new under the sun," and here let us see how the story of Thong Castle is, perhaps, first given by *Virgil*. It occurs in the story of *Dido's* building of Byrsa, Æneid, i.l. 369, where, speaking of the queen and her companions, the poet says :—

"They came where now you see new Carthage rise,
And yon proud citadel invade the skies ;
The wand'ring exiles bought a space of ground,
Which one bull-hide enclosed and compassed round,
Hence Byrsa named."

TO COME now unto the cause of the generall calling of our ancestors by the name of English-men, and our country consequently by the name of *England*, it is to be noted that the seven petty kingdoms of *Kent*, *South-Saxons*, *East-English*, *West-Saxons*, *East-Saxons*, *Northumbers*, *and Mercians* came, in fine, one after another, by means of the West *Saxons*, who subdued and got the sovereignity of all the rest, to be all brought into one monarchy under King *Egbert*, king of the sayd West-Saxons. This King then considering that so many different names as the distinct kingdoms before had caused was now no more necessary, and that as the people were all generally of one nation, so was it fit they should againe be brought under one name, and although they had had the generall name of *Saxons*, as unto this day they are of the Welsh and Irish called, yet did he rather choose and ordayne that they should be called *English-men*, but as a part of them before were called; and that the country should be called *England*. To the affectation of which name of *English-men* it should seeme he was chiefly moved in respect of Pope *Gregory*, his alluding the name of ENGELISCE unto *Angel-like*. The name of ENGEL is yet at this present in all the *teutonick* tongue to wit, the high and low *Dutch*, etc., as much as to say, as *Angel*, and if a *Dutch-man* be asked how he would in his language call an *Angel-like-man*, he would answere EIN-ENGLSH-MAN, and being asked how in his owne language, or doth call an ENGLISH-MAN, he can give no other name for him, but even the very same that he gave before for an *angel-like-man*, that, as before is sayd, EIN-ENGLSH-MAN, ENGEL being in their tongue an *Angel*, and ENGLISH, which they write ENGELECHE *Angel-like*. And such reason, and consideration may have moved our former Kings, upon their best coyne and pure, and fine gold, to set the image of an *Angel*, which, may be supposed, hath as well bin used before the Norman conquest as since.

Thus the name generally of *Saxons* was by the ordinance of Noble King *Egbert*, about the yeere of our Lord 800, brought unto the generall name of English-men, which being a name of such glory, as the derivation showeth it, ever may they with all increase of honour therein continue.

The country was according called *Engaland*, and by abrevation *England*, a name which well accorded unto two significations, for first it seemeth to have it by reason of the English people, whose land it now was; and secondly, in regard of the forme or fashion thereof, for that it groweth unto a narrownesse both towards the North and towards the West. The name of the first, or old *England*, whereof before I have spoken, having risen (as most apparently it seemeth) for like cause and reason of the straightnesse or narrownesse thereof.

And whereas *Cornelius Killianus* noteth to have found in some ancient writings, that our country of *England* was sometime called *Saxonia Transmarina*, this name in all likelyhood may have been given it by some forraigne writers, at such time as it was divided into seven kingdomes, before it had the generall name of *England*. In which time considering that the whole was possessed by *Saxons*, farraigne writers could give it no name in generall more apt than by calling it by the name of*Saxonia Transmarina*. It also seemeth that some of our ancestors, when in those days they would call it by a generall name, did call it *New Saxony*, and this I gather because I find in some of our old writers that they called the country from whence their *Saxon* ancestors came into *Brittaine*, by the name of *Old Saxony*, which name they could not give it, but to make a distinction between that and the new.

The Noble King *Egbert* having, as hath bin said, given unto our Country the name of *England*, the good and rightly-renowned King *Alfred* did afterward divide it into Shiers, that is as we now would say, into severall shares or parts, giving them such severall names, as in effect they yet among us do retaine. Some by reason of their situation, as *Kent*, for that it is as it were a nooke of the Country: a nooke or corner being in our ancient language called a kant, or cantell: *Canterbury* thereof, yet by the *Netherlanders* called CANTELBERGH; and this name sounding neere unto that of LAINC, which that Shiere is said to have had in the time of the *Brittains*, the change thereof was the lesse markable. Some he called according to the Inhabitants, as *East-seax*, now *Essex*, because it was the easterne Habitation of the *Saxons*. Middle-sex for that the *Saxons* were there seated in the midst of the other that inhabited about them. *Buckingham-sheire*, as it seemeth, of the aboundance of buken-Tree,

or as we now pronounce them beachen-Trees; and *Barkesheire* of plenty of Beorcken-Trees, or as we now call the Birchen-Trees; and so had the other Shieres for one or other like cause such denominations as we do yet at this present give them. And whereas Mr. *Camden* calleth the people of *Middlesex* and *Essex* by the name of Trinobants: those of *Buckingham-shiere*, *Bedford-shiere*, and *Hertford-shiere*, *Cattieuchlani*, and the Inhabitants of his other parts by like extravagant and out worne names, he is not to be understood that any of those names do belong to the present inhabitants, or those from whom they are descended, but only to such people as lived in the time of the *Brittains* and *Romans*, before ever our English Saxon Ancestors came there to inhabite.

And whereas, notwithstanding the aforesaid generall change of demonstration made by King *Egbert*, the *Brittains* have still continued (as is said before) to call us English-men *Sassons*, that is to say *Saxons*, it will not be much from our purpose heere to show the true cause and reason why the *Saxons* or Englishmen did never call the said former inhabitants of our Country *Brittains*, as these people called themselves, but by the name of WELSHMEN, as we yet call them, and this I am the rather enduced to shew because I finde it to be very much mistaken, and yet generally to pass currant as a thing without doubt or contradiction.

The *Brittains* knowing the *Saxons* to call them WELSH, and not knowing the true cause why, could fall into no other accompt but that WELSH must needs in the *Saxon* language signifie a stranger, and some authors so setting it down, others have followed them in the same opinion: but if the first supposers of this had well understood the Saxon tongue, they would have known that WELSH doth never therein signifie a stranger, nor yet in any Teutonicke whatsoever, eyther high or low: the word FREMIT is in the old *Saxon* tongue strange, and FREMELTING a stranger, whereof the moderne Teutonicke yet retayneth the words FREMBD and FRIMBDLING.

That the *Saxons* gave them the name of WELSH after they came into *Brittaine* is altogether unlikely, for that inhabiting so neere them as they did, to wit, but over-against them on the otherside of the sea, they could not want a more particular and proper name for them than to call them strangers: which is one argument that the

name of WELSH could not so signifie. True it is that WELSH they called them, and their country WELSHLAND: and by this name of WELSH they meant, and intended, no other thing than to call them *Gaules*, which having in their language time out of mind so continued, is an evident signe that the *Brittains* were originally a people of the *Gaules*, which the *Saxons*, according to their manner of speech, instead of calling GALLISH called WALLISH, and by abreviation WALSH or WELSH. In the ancient *teutonicke* it is very often found that divers names which the French are wont to begin with *g* the Germans began with *w*, as WARD for *Gard*, WARDIAN (whereof we yet keepe the name of WARDEN) for *Gardian*, WARRE for *Guerre*, and very many the like, and French authors doe alwaies call our WALES, GAULLES; our CORNWALES, Cornu-gaules, and *Edward*, our famous Prince of Wales, they called Edward Prince de Gaulles.

It is further to be observed, that as the *Gaules* did anciently border all along on the West side of the Germans from the South to the North, so were they of them even all along as farre as their country stretched, called WELSH, insomuch as *Lombardy*, being that part of *Italy*, which bordereth neerest unto the Germans, and heretofore inhabited by a people of the *Gaules* was called *Gallia Cisalpina*, the Germans doe yet unto this day vulgarly call WELSHLAND, and it being (as is sayd) the part of *Italy* next unto them, the name of this part hath still served among the Vulgar people of *Germany* for the whole, who therefore call all *Italy* WELSHLAND, and Italians WELSHERS, and if any of the common people of Germany do give this name to some other strangers comming amongst them, they doe it not thereby to call them strangers, but by supposing them to be *Italians*.

So in like manner do the lower *Germans* or *Netherlands*, Vulgarly call the present *French* tongue WALS, and the inhabitants of *Henalt*, and *Artois* WALLEN or WALLONS, which is as much to say as WELSH, and their Provinces WALS-LAND. Yet the lesser part of *Brabant*, wherein the French tongue is spoken, is of those of the greater part called WALS-BRABANT, that is, *Welsh-Brabant*. And a part of *West-Flanders*, where the French tongue, and not the Flemish is spoken, is commonly called *Flandres-Gallicant*: The rest or greater part being called *Flandres-Flamengant*. *Flandres-Gallicaut* being the *Flemish* or low-*Dutch*, WALS-VLAENDEREN, and according to our

Pronounciation *Welsh-Flanders*, whereby it doth plainly appeare, that *Wallish* and *Gallish*, otherwise *Gaules*, and *Wales* or *Welsh*, is all one.

As now the higher *Germans* called the *Gaules* in *Lombardy*, WELSH, and the lower *Germans* did so call the French, as well as they did the people of *Henalt* and *Artois*, and the inhabitants of some part of *Brabant* and *Flanders* (as is aforesaid) so the *Saxons* inhabiting on, and towards the Sea coasts of *Germany*, did also call their overthwart neighbours the *Brittains* by the same name of *Welsh*, induced as it were by ancient tradition to call them as Originally they had beene, that is to say *Gaules*, and sometimes (by like to make a distinction betweene them, and the other *Galish* or *Walish* people, being each from other sequestred by the Sea) to call them BRIT-WELSH, which is in effect as much to say as *Brittaine-Welsh*, and their Country accordingly BRIT-WELSH-LAND, for so in some old Saxon writings I have found it.

Concerning the Naming of Brittaine.—An Extension of the Predicate.

THERE has ever been with those in whom there is a genuine love of country (and he belongs to the brute creation who is not chivalrous for the land which gave his being the light of day), an earnest longing and a desire to extend the dominions of the Fatherland. Yes, "Hearth and Home" have ever had that indescribable something within and about it which has swelled the breasts of Patriots with pride—stimulating for higher things than the mere folding of hands together, wistfully looking up into heaven expecting to gather figs of thistles. The real secret of success has ever been in what a Poet of these latter days has written (while nothing half so invigorating is to be found in the muse of Homer),—

"Act,—act in the living Present! Heart within, and God o'erhead!"

With those who are Patriotic enough to interest themselves in *their* country (to the shame of those who *appear* to have no delight outside the reading of the "fashionable" novel, golfing, "bike" riding; with the frequenting of *theatres* and the *so-called* music-halls), for the benefit of the great brotherhood of mankind—the present writer is at one with every of their heart-felt endeavours for the general good. In so many words, he rejoiced on turning up that which appeared to himself "an extension of the *predicate* in the naming of Brittaine"—and, in-as-much-as-this, that it clearly demonstrated *that* love of country which has ever permeated the breasts of *honourable* men.

The greater glory of this England of ours *should* ever engage our thoughts, not only in a personal sense—but in that which swelled with pride the breast of that learned and judicious Antiquary John Selden—who (as far as his own personal interest in the matter was concerned, must have been infinitesimal) went out of his way to deliver himself of that able treatise, "Touching the Dominion or Ownership of the Sea."

And here let it be said the so-called "Society" man and wo-man have never performed any single act which has demonstrated the greatness of this England of ours; they have been

a positive hindrance to every laudable enterprise. The *so-called* nobleman (while many Cardinals[1] and Bishops came under this head) which one is compelled to "My Lord" from the deplorable fact of never having done any good or bad act—for the non performance of which the all glorious Florentine—commonly called the "Divine Poet"—has placed them apart from all consolation, separated from the rest of humanity, in Hell![2] This should be a warning to those wretches possessed of over four millions of money (the present writer was personally known to one of these) who depart out of this life and sphere of usefulness without leaving a single penny to a charity, or to those who help themselves to "grub" as much as *that* together. Pardon this digression, and now for Selden.

"Having made it evident, in the former Book, that the Sea is capable of private Dominion as well as the Land, and that by all kindes of Law, whether wee seriously consider the *Divine*, or *Natural*,

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1. While nothing is to be understood in a personal sense by this remark, some of these have *not* always been what they *might* and *should* have been to all men; and in this place one's reading of Dante presents many ugly things to the eyes of the mind. The Divine Poet, satirizing the fat and lazy cardinals of his day, says:

"Now are the modern Pastors so refined,
Attendants they require, a numerous host, to ease their sides
and prop them from behind.
Their palfreys they o'erlay with mantles wide*
So that one skin doth o'er two beasts extend."

Paradiso xxi. 130.

* The ungodly length of their silken trains covered the horse and the cardinal. The Lord Chancellor of England has a "becoming length to his garment" that he requires the good offices of a "train-bearer"—but *ordinary* cardinals are not as great as he, while *inferior* bishops can serve no *ostensible* purpose under the sun in having their trains some six or eight yards long.

2. See the present writer's poem, "The Purple Yeast," wherein he has tabulated the several circles, rings, and pits of torments in the "Hell" of Dante's Comedy—wherein these notorious wretches are shown to be desdained by Divine Justice and Mercy for ever and ever.

or any *Law* of *Nations* whatsoever; it remains next that wee discourse touching the Dominion of *great Britain* in the Sea encompassing it about, and of those large Testimonies whereby it is asserted and maintained. Wherein this Method is observed, that in the first place wee premise both the distribution and various appellation of the Sea flowing about it, in order to the Discourse. Then it shall bee shown, from all Antiquitie, down to our times without interruption, that those, who, by reason of so frequent alterations of the state of Affairs, have reigned here, whether *Britains*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, and so the following Kings (each one according to the various latitude of his Empire) have enjoied the Dominion of that Sea by perpetual occupation, that is to say, by using and enjoying it as their own after a peculiar manner, as an undoubted portion either of the whole bodie of the estate of the *British* Empire, or of som part thereof according to the state and condition of such as have ruled it; or as an inseparable appendant of this Land. Lastly, that the Kings of Great *Britain* have had a peculiar Dominion or proprietie over the Sea flowing about it, as a Bound not bounding their Empire, but (to borrow the Terms used by Surveiors of Land) as bounded by it; in the same manner as over the Island it self, and the other neighboring Isles which they possess about it.

The Sea encompassing great *Britain*, which in general wee term British Sea, is divided into four parts, according to the four Quarters of the World. On the West lie's the *Vergivian Sea*, which also take's the name of the *Deucaledonian*, where it washeth the Coast of *Scotland*. And of this *Vergivian*, wherein *Ireland* is situate, the *Irish* Sea is reckoned to be a part, called in antient time the *Scythian Vale*, but now the *Channel of St. George*. So that as well that which washeth the Western Coast of *Ireland*, as that which flowe's between great *Britain* and *Ireland*, is to be called British Sea. For, not onely this (which of old was called great *Britain*, and sometimes simply *Great Island*), vide Aristides in Oratione Ægyptiacâ.) So that many times *Albion* and *Ireland* are equally called *British* Isles and *Britannides;* as you may see in *Strabo*, *Ptolomie*, *Marcianus*, *Heracleötes*, *Plinie*, *Eustathius* upon *Dionysius Afer*, and others. Moreover, *Ireland* is called by *Ptolomie* Little Britain. And, saith *Ethelward*, an antient writer (lib. 4-c.4.),

they go to Ireland, called heretofore Britannides by the great *Julius Cæsar*. Perhaps hee had a more perfect copie of Julius Cæsar's Book: For in none of his Commentaries which wee use is *Ireland* called by that name. And it hath been observed by learned men that that book hath been maimed and altered by one *Julius Celsus*, whose name we finde now and then in the Manuscript Copies.

Towards the North this Sea is named the Northern *Caledonian*, and *Deucaledonian* Sea, wherein lie scatter'd the *Orcades* Islands, *Thule*, and others, which beeing called the *British* or *Albionan* Isles; yea, and *Britannides* gave name to the neighboring Sea. And indeed *Thule* (which som would have to bee *Island*; others, and that with most reason, do conceive it to be the biggest of the *Shetland* or *Zetland* Isles, called THILENSEL by the Seamen, and som there are again that think otherwise) was of old not onely termed a *British* Isle, but also by some expresly placed in *Britain* it self. *Mahumedes Acharranides*, an Arabian, called likewise *Aracensis* and *Albategnius*, a famous Mathematician, who lived above nine hundred years ago, saith, *Som observing the breadth of the Earth from the Equinoctial line towards the North, have found it to bee determined by the Isle* Thule *which is in* Britain, *where the longest day is* xx *hours;* that is to say *Ptolomie* and his followers, who by drawing a Line on the Northside of *Thule* or the *Shetland Isles*, through 63 degrees, and a quarter Northern latitude, have set it down for the utmost Bound of the habitable world. Yea, and some have used the name *Thule* for Britain it self or *England*. In times past the Emperor of Constantinople was wont to have trustic Guards called Barrangi constantly attending his person, who were taken out of *England*, as appears out of *Nicetas Choniates;* and *Codinus* also who was keeper of the Palace, write's that they were wont to salute the Emperor with a loud voice in the *English Tongue*. But in the storie of *Anna Comnena*, the Daughter of *Alexius*, it is said expresly that they came from the *Island of Thule*. In like manner all the Islands either known or heard of in this Northern Sea, were at length called by the name *British;* the utmost Bounds whereof, as also of *Thule* it self, som of the Antients would have to reach unto 67 degrees of Latitude, or thereabout. And *Albategnius*,

speaking of the Sea as it look's towards *Spain*, saith, *There are* xii *British Isles in it towards the North; and beyond these it is not habitable; and how far it stretcheth is unknown.*

Upon the Eastern Coast of *Britain* flow's the *German* Sea (so called by *Ptolomie*, because it lie's before the German Shore). On the South flow's that which is particularly noted by *Ptolomie* to bee the *British* Sea. But all that was called also the *British* Sea, which extend's it self like a half Moon along the French Shore, through the Bay or Creek of *Aquitain*, into the Northern Coast of *Spain*. For this wee have the Testimonie of *Mela*, who saith the Pyrenean Promontories do butt out into the *British* Sea. *The Pyrenie*, saith hee, *runs first from hence into the British Sea; then turning towards the continent, it stretcheth as far as Spain.* Yet every man knowe's it is called likewise either the *French*, or *Contabrian*, or the *Aquitanick* Sea, from the several Shores which it washeth. But so far even the name both of the *British* and *English* Sea was inlarged either by that extraordinarie Command of the people of *Britain* at Sea, or of such as had atteined the rights of Dominion in Great *Britain* (which is all one to our purpose). And it is stretch't likewise by some of the Antients as far as the Promontorie *Nerium*, now called *Capo di St. Maria*. The *Arabian* Geographer saith: Towards the North, *Andaluzia* (so the *Arabians* used to call *Spain*) is *environed by the Sea of the people of* England (Climat. 4., part 1.) *who are of the* Romans, that is, who are of the people of Europe; for, it is usual with those Eastern Nations to call the people of *Europe* generally either *Romans* or *French*. And then saith, *there are nine Stages from* Toledo *to* St. James, *which is seated upon the English Sea;* and hath divers other passages of the same kinde. Thus at length great *Britain*, with the Isles lying about it, and the Sea imbracing it on every side, because as it were one Civil Bodie, so that the whole together is comprehended in the name of *British* or *Britannick*, Also, this Sea and Great *Britain* have indeed given mutual names as it were of Dignitie to each other. That is to say, this Island was called by the Antients simply *Insula Cæruli*, the Isle of the Sea, as that was called *Oceanus Insulæ*, the Ocean of the Isle, or the *British Sea*

Having made this preparation, then wee treat first concerning the Sea-Dominion of the *Britains*, before they were reduced under the *Roman* power; next touching a Dominion of that kind belonging to the *Romans* while they ruled here, continually and necessarily accompanying the Soveraigntie of the Island. Afterwards, it is made evident by such Testimonies as are found among the Antients, that the English-Saxons and others who enjoied the supreme Power in *Britain*, before the Normans' Invasion, had such a kinde of Dominion. Lastly, according to the fourfold division of the *British* Sea, we set forth the antient Occupation, together with the long and continued possession of every Sea in particular since the Norman's time, whereby the true and lawful Dominion and Customs of the Sea, which are subject of our Discourse, may bee drawn down as it were by a twin'd thred, until our own times. Moreover, seeing both the Northern and Western Ocean do stretch to a very great Latitude (this to *America;* that not only to Island and the shores of Greenland, but to parts utterly unknown) and so it cannot all bee called the *British* Sea; yet because the Nation of great *Britain* have very large Rights and Privileges of their own in both these Seas, even beyond the bounds of the British name, therefore it was thought fit to touch a little upon these Particulars.

∴ *That the antient Britains did enjoy and possess the Sea of the same name, especially the Southern and Eastern part of it, as Lands thereof, together with the Island, before they were brought under the Roman power.*

It is true indeed which an eminent man saith (Hugo Grotius): *That the Sea hath been enjoyed by Occupation, not for this reason onely, because men had so enjoyed the Land, nor is the Act or intent of the minde sufficient thereto; but that there is a necessitie of some external Act, from whence this Occupation may be understood.* Therefore, Arguments are not to be derived altogether from a bare Occupation of Dominion of Countries, whose Shores are washed by the Sea, but from such a private or peculiar use or enjoyment of the Sea, as consist's in a setting forth of Ships to Sea, either to defend or make good the Dominion; in prescribing Rules of Navigation to such as pass through it; in receiving such Profits and Commodities as are peculiar to every kind of Sea-

Dominion whatsoever; and, which is the principal, either in admitting or excluding others at pleasure. Touching which particular, wee shall make diligent inquirie into those things which concern the Isle of *Britain*, through the Ages past, down to the present time.

It is upon good ground concluded that the most antient Historie whereto any credit ought to bee given about the affair's of *Britain*, is not older than the time of *Caius Julius Cæsar*; the Ages before him beeing too obscured with Fables. But at his coming wee finde clear passages of the *Britain's* Ownership and Dominion of the Sea flowing about them, especially of the South and East part of it, as a perpetual Appendant of the Soveraigntie of the Island. For, they not onely used the Sea as their own at that time for Navigation and Fishing; but also permitted none besides Merchants to sail unto the Island without their leav; nor any man at all to view or sound the Ports and Sea-Coasts. And that the Case stood certainly thus it is no slight Argument which wee shall insert here out of *Cæsar* himself. But allowance must be given ever to Arguments and Conjectures touching times so long since past and gon; especially when there is a concurrence in the Customs and Testimonies of following times. And as things beeing placed at too remote a distance, so that they cannot bee certainly discerned by the eie, are wont to be more surely discover'd by the help of a triangle at hand; so what uncertainty soever may bee in those proofs that are to be brought out of so remote Antiquitie, I question not but it will bee made sufficiently manifest by the continued and more certain usage and Custom of later times.

As to what concern's the Britains particular use of Navigation in that antient time without which an Occupation of this kinde cannot be had; notwithstanding that at *Cæsar's* first arival, they were terrified with the sight of that unusal kinde of long ships *(Cæsar de Bello Gallico. lib. 4 and 5)*; and though at his second coming with a multitude of Vessels of all kindes (beeing re-inforced to the number of eight hundred; or, as som would have it, to a thousand) they fled in a fright from the Shore, not beeing sufficiently provided for such a Sea-fight as was then at hand, and which they had never been acquainted with; nevertheless, it is most certain that they had Vessels

of their own, wherein they used to coast about the neighboring Sea, and so entered upon it corporally by Occupation. Mention is made indeed by Writers of som of their Vessels more notable than the rest, which they frequently used, beeing framed with twigs (as the fashion hath been in the more antient Nations) and cover'd with Ox-hides after their usual manner. Moreover, *Festus Avienus*, speaking of the antient Inhabitants of the Islands called the *Sillyes*, with the rest lying about, thus expresseth himself—

"Tis strange! There Ships they frame with Oxes-hide,
And scout in Leather through the Ocean wide."

And what hee saith of their continual care of Traffick and custom of Navigation concerns others as well that were under the *British* Government. Yet it is not to be conceived that these twig and leathern Vessels of the *Britains* were all of them unfit for making war by Sea (according to the manner of the Age and of the neighboring Nations) nor that they were less fit for long journies at that time, seeing *Plinie* write's expressly that sometimes they sailed through the Sea in the space of six daies. In like manner wee read in the *British* Historie (Henric. Huntingdon. Hist. lib 1.) that about *Cæsar's* time, *Lud* King of *Britain* seized upon many Islands of the Sea in a way of war, which denote's that hee had a very considerable strength at Sea, and a well accomplished Navie. It is true indeed that there were small vessels among these (as they are no where without them) which doubtless were unfit to bear the brunt of a Fight or Tempest; that is to say, such as *Cæsar* made to transport his Souldiers over the River, when he was streightened by *Afranius* his Armie, as hee had been taught (they are his own words) som years before by the *Custom of* Britain. The *Keels and Ribs were first made of slight matter. The rest of the hulk of their Vessels, being wrought together with twigs, was cover'd with Hides;* which we finde mentioned also by *Lucan* (Pharsal. 4).

* * * *

Solinus says, *Britain is encompassed with many considerable Islands, whereof Ireland is next in bigness.*

The Gauls were utterly ignorant of the shores of *Britain* writes Cæsar, because they were prohibited entrance, and so excluded from the free use of the Sea. For he writes expressly (De Bello. Gallico.

lib. 4) *not a man of them went thither without leav, besides Mechants; nor was any thing known* even to those Merchants, besides the Sea-Coast, and those parts which lay over against Gaul. Therefore, according to the usual custom, no man besides Merchants could touch upon the Shore without leave of the *Britains;* nor was it lawful for those Merchants to make a narrow search or prie into such places ashore as were convenient or inconvenient for landing, or what Havens were fit to entertain Shipping. For, although hee saith they knew the Sea-coast, yet, as *Cæsar* affirm's, they were utterly ignorant what parts were fit to receive a number of the greater sort of Ships. The old Greek Interpreter of *Cæsar* saith, *None els, besides Merchants, were easily admitted among the Britains:* That is to say, neither by Land nor by Sea, as hath been shown, they excluded all Foreigners, except Merchants, from their Territorie, whereof they were Lords in possession. From whence it follows also, that they also who were wont to cross the Sea often out of Gaul into Britain, to be train'd up in the learning and discipline of the *Druïdes*, could not do it without rendring themselves liable to punishment for their boldness if lev were not first had from the pettie Kings or Lords of the Island. From those pettie Kings, I mean, that ruled upon the Sea-Coast: For the Britains at that time were not subject to the Government of a single person. There were Lords of the Sea, who governed those Cities or Provinces that lay next the Sea: *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax* in *Kent;* others also ruled over the *Regni*, the *Belgæ*, *Durotriges*, *Damnonii*, *Trinobantes*, *Iceni*, *Coritani* (being the people that inhabited *Sussex*, *Surrie*, *Hampshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Devon*, *Cornwal*, *Essex*, *Norfolk*, *Lincolnshire*) and the like.

For, even *Cæsar* himself saith, the inner part of the Island was inhabited by such as were said by Tradition to have been born there, but the Sea-Coasts *by such as had cross't the Sea thither out of Belgium, to make war and gain bootie, who were called all for the most part by the names of cities from whence they came, and having seated themselves there by force of Arms, they betook themselves to Husbandrie.* But hee, according to that little knowledge hee had of a small part of the Island, called those onely maritime Cities, or Provinces, which lie South of the River *Thames*, especially *Kent*,

the *Regni*[3], and the *Belgæ*[4]. But although the Sea-Coasts were thus divided at that time into several Jurisdictions, nevertheless it cannot bee doubted but that they used to consult together in common against an Enemie or to guard the Sea (the defence where of belonged to all the Princes bordering upon it); just after the same manner as they used to do upon other occasions of war against foreign Enemies, as you may see in *Cæsar (De Bello Gallico, lib 5)*, where the principal administration of the Government, with the business of war, was put into the hands of *Cassivellaunus*, by a common Council of the whole *British* Nation. Nor is that any prejudice against such a Dominion of the *Britains* by Sea, which wee finde in *Cæsar* concerning the *Veneti*, a people of *Gallia*, that were seated at the entrance of the River of *Loire;* to wit, that they had a very large command upon the Sea-Coast of Western *Gallia* (de Bello Gallico, lib 3, cap. 8 and 12), and that they were better skill'd than any other of their own Countrimen in the Use and Art of Navigation, and that in the Sea-fight with *Decius Brutus* they had Ships made of Oak, very well built, and whether you consider their leathern Sails or their Iron Chains in stead of Cordage, or their Masts fitted to bear the brunt of any assault whatsoëver; and that ccxx. sail, or thereabout in number, went out of the Haven very well manned and provided with all necessaries for War, to oppose the *Roman* Navie. It is very probable that the most of these were Auxiliaries fetched by the *Veneti* out of *Britain*, or how great soëver the *Venetan* strength was at Sea, yet that it was not greater than the *Britains*, may bee collected from the same Author. For, hee writes expresly, that Auxiliaries were not onely sent for at that time by the *Veniti* out of *Britain*, but also that they had very many Ships wherewith they used to sail into *Britain*: But yet, as it hath been shewn out of him alreadie, no man might sail hand over head into *Britain*, or without leav of the *Britains*. It is not to be doubted therefore, but that besides their Twig or leathern Vessels, they had a stout gallant Navie, which was able even at pleasure to exclude those Ships of the *Veneti* that were best armed. Els, how could it bee that none but

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3. These were the inhabitants of Surrie, Sussex, and the Sea-Coasts of Hampshire.

4. The people of Somerset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire.

Merchants were admitted out of *Gaul* upon the Sea-Coast of *Britain?* Moreover, the whole Senate of the *Veneti* having been put to death by *Cæsar*, not a man was found among those who remained alive after *Brutus* his Victorie; as appears out of the same Author. Which how it might be admitted, I do not at all understand, if the strength of those *Veneti* that were wont to sail thither had been greater than the *British*, or if the *British* had not been much greater than theirs. But the reason why at *Cæsar's* arrival afterwards no Ship of that kinde was found upon the *British* Sea or Shore (which *Peter Ramus* wonders at very much [De C. Julü Cæsaris militiâ, cap. de prælio Navali], and why the *Roman* Writers mention not any other Ships then such as were made of Twigs, seems evident. For, the *Veneti* had got all the Shipping together into one place from all parts to maintein the afore-said fight, as *Cæsar* saith expresly. Therefore, if the *British* Navie were called forth to their assistance, as its probable it was, then questionless it was all lost before Cæsar's arrival: For, the whole strength and Forces of the *Veneti* perished in the Sea-fight. Moreover also, *Peter Ramus*, speaking of that great tempest whereby Cæsar's Ships were scatter'd up and down in this Sea with great hazard, saith: *The Sea raised this Tempest, as it were revenging the* British *bounds, and disdaining to bear a new and strange Lord.* As if he had said that the Bounds of the *British* Empire were in the very Sea, and the Sea it self angrie that it should be transferr'd into the hands of any other Lord. But as to that which we finde in a certain *Panegyrist*, touching the time of *Julius Cæsar*, that Britain *was not arm'd at that time with any Shipping fit for War by Sea*, it was spoken either in a Rhetorical way only, and either to magnifie that Victorie of the Emperor *Constantius Chlorus* (whereby having slain *C. Allectus*, who had invaded Britain, hee reduced the Island together with the Sea, as is shewn hereafter), or else it is to be taken onely of the very time of *Cæsar's* arrival. Otherwise, it is expressly contrarie to those reasons here alleged, not grounded upon good Authors; and therefore not to bee admitted for Truth. But after that the Island was reduced under the *Roman* power, doubtless the *Britains* were prohibited from having any Ships of war, that they might bee the better held in obedience. Which is the reason why Writers afterwards make mention of such only as were made of Twigs.

That the Britains were Lords of the Northern Sea before they were subdued by the Romans; and that the Sea and the Land made one entire Bodie of the British Empire.

That the Britains were Lords also at that time of the Northern, or *Deucalidonian* Sea, is a thing proved by sufficient Testimonie. They called this part of the Sea *Maris sui Secretum*— the secret or closet of their sea. *Tacitus*, relating the navigation of *Julius Agricola* into this part, saith, *the Britains*, as it was *understood by the Prisoners, were amazed at the sight of his Navie, as if upon this opening the Closet or secret part of the Sea, there remained no further refuge in case they were overcom.* And in that stout Oration of *Galgacus* the *Caledonian*, wherein hee encouraged his Souldiers to fight, *Now*, saith hee, *the Bound of Britain is laid open.* (Tacit in vitâ Agricolæ.) The secret part of their Sea or their Sea-Territorie in the North, they called their Bound. Moreover, saith the same *Galgacus*, *beyond us there is no land, and not the least securitie at Sea, the* Roman *Navie being at hand*, giving them to understand that the Dominion hereof was to be defended, as was the Island, as a thing acquired before. Add also, that among the Writers of the Age, *vincula dare Oceano*, and to *subdue the Britains*, signified one and the same thing. So that place of *Lucan* is to be understood, where he reckon's what pompus Shews and Triumphs might have usher'd *Cæsar* into *Rome*, had he returned onely with Conquest over the *Gauls* and the *North.*

"What stories had hee brought! How the vast Main,
And *Rhine*, hee by his Conquests did restrain!
The noble *Gauls* and yellow *Britain's* tread
Behind his loftie Chariot, being led!"

But for all that our Sea was not as yet subdued by the Romans; *Julius Cæsar* onely shewed the Island, rather than deliver'd it into the hands of Posteritie; neither was any part of it reduced under the Roman power, before the Emperor *Claudius* his time; nor the soveraigntie of the Sea transferr'd into the hands of any other. And although in *Augustus* his time, *Drusus Germanicus* sailed through that part of the Sea which lies betwixt the entrance of the River *Rhine* and *Denmark*, and subdued the *Frieslanders*, nevertheless not any part of the Sea was added by that Victorie to the

Roman Empire; for, the *Britains* held it all in possession, they beeing not yet fully subdued. Nor is it unworthie observation here that *C. Caligula*, being near Britain, and coming out of *Germanie* to the coasts on the other side of our Sea, as if *hee intended to make war in* Britain, and having drawn up his Armie, made readie all his slings and other warlik Engines, and given the signal or word for Battel, no man knowing or imagining what his intent was, hee on a sudden commanded them to fall a gathering of Cockles, and fill their Laps and Helmets. Then saying these Spoils of the Sea belong'd to the Capitol and Mount Palatin, he vaunted as if hee had subdued the ocean it self. At last, for a token or Trophie of this mock victorie, hee rear'd a very lofty Tower hard by, out of which (as if it had been another *Pharos*[5]) Lights were hung forth by night for the direction of Sea men in their Courses; the ruins whereof beeing not yet wholly demolished, but for the most part overwhelmed with water near *Cattwïck*, and very seldom discovered, it is called by the *Hollanders* that dwell near it, *Britenhuis* and *L'Huis te Briten*, that is the *British Hous*, or the *British Tower*. Certain it is out of *Suetonius*, that a Tower was raised by *Caligula* in that place; yea, and it is maintained by divers learned men, as *Hadrianus Junius* the *Hollander*, *William Camden* our Countriman, and *Richardus Vitus*, that these were the ruins of the same Tower, though others deny it, as *Ortelius Gotzius*, and *Cluverius*: And they make a doubt both about the Original of the name, and also its signification, concerning which wee dispute not. But am extremely mistaken if *Caligula*, by this Action of his, did not so much neglect the conquest of Britain it self, as seem to sport himself with the conceit of having found out so compendius a way of Victorie. He carried the matter as if hee had had an intent to subdue *Britain*; and supposed those Cockles which he called Spoils of the Sea to be Tokens of Sea Dominion, and as a most sure pledg of the *British* Empire.

Moreover, it is upon good ground to be conceived that there was one entire Territorie of the *British* Empire, made up of the

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5. This was a tower built in the Island of *Pharos* by Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, where lights were hung out to guide mariners by night.

Land or continent of great *Britain*, with the Isles lying about it, and the Seas flowing between in their respective Channels, which may be collected, both from that one single name of *British*, comprehending an entire Bodie of such a kind of Territorie (as was shewn you before) and also from hence, that the very Sea it self is, by *Albategnius* and some others, described by the name of *Britain*, in the same manner as the Island, when as he placeth *Thule*, an Isle of the Sea, in *Britain*. That is to say, just as *Sicily*, *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, and other Isles in the Tyrrhen Sea, have in Law been reckoned parts of Italie, yea, and continent thereto: For, *Sicily* (after that the Romans became Lords of the adjoining Sea flowing between) was called *Regio Suburbana*, as if it had been part of the Suburbs of *Rome*; and all these together with *Italie* and the Sea it self, made one Bodie or Province; so all the *British* Isles before mentioned, with great *Britain* and the Seas flowing about it, might well be termed one Bodie of *Britain* or the British Empire, forasmuch as the Seas as well as the Isles, passed alwaies into the Dominion of them that have born Rule within this Nation: from whence perhaps it hapned that the *Romans* conceived the *British* Empire consider'd apart by it self, to bee of so great a bigness, that Britain *did not seem to bee comprehended by the Sea*, but to comprehend the Sea it self." Thus the love of country fills the breast with pride!

Blessèd be the Name of Britain,
Blessèd be the Fatherland!
Blessèd be our glorious Nation,
In every clime, in every land.

Blessèd be our countless triumphs,
Blessèd be the Fatherland!
Blessèd be the Name of Britain,
In every clime, in every land.

No defeat shall fall upon thee,
And sustained by God's right hand;
May no coward hand betray thee,
In any clime! In any land.

Concerning some Customs and Rites, Reputation and Greatnesse of the Saxons.

THUS, having treated in the fore-going of the origin and name of the Old Saxons, the Naming of Brittaine and the Dominion of the Sea, I now speake of the customes and rites which they observed, as also of the reputation and greatnesse they have growne unto, gathered partly out of old bookes and records in the *Teutonicke*, and supplyed by observation of Sundry things, which long tradition hath reserved in their posterity.

First then as touching their ancient condition and manner of life. They were a people very active and industrious, utterly detesting idlenes and sloth; still seeking by warres to enlarge the boundes of their owne territories: fierce against their enemies, but conversing together among themselves in great love and friendlinesse, an especiall cause of the augmentation of their prosperity. They had before the time of Christ, long and great warres with the Danes, and especially about the country of *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, which the Danes usurped from them, and albeit they were not then equall unto them either in force or fortune, they did neverthelesse so dispose of their uttermost ability, that even by meere valour and maine force of armes they attained unto their desired habitation and repose. And when it so fell out that they had no warres, then was their greatest exercise and delight in hunting.

They were ordinarily tall of body, very faire of complexion, free, liberall, and cheereful of mind, and in deportment of a comely and seemely carriage. They wore long haire even unto their shoulders, and it was ordained among them that a man might not cut the haire of his beard untill such time as he had eyther slaine an enemy of his Country in the field, or at the least taken his armes from him. The men wore coats with side skirts, all garded or bordered about, and the better sort had their borders beautified with Pearle, the others with sundry colours; and so in like manner had the women; some say their apparell was of linnen, but I doe not finde it generally so to have bin: both men and women did use to weare cloakes, and their shooes piked and bowed with sharp poyntes up before.

They used long speares, and also holbards. Their shields were short, and he that hapned to lose his shield in battell was barred

and kept from being present at the sacrifices unto their idols, and many for the very shame and anguish thereof destroyed themselves. The crosbow they had in great use, and that in warre. Their swords were broad and bowing, somewhat according to the fashion of the sithe; they also used to carry hatchets, which they called bills, and whereof we retaine the name of bill; but they had short steeles, and these they could throw very forcibly and right, both at their enemies in warre and at wilde beastes in hunting: and they alwaies kept their weapons very faire and cleane.

They suffered not their lands to desend to the eldest sonne only, but unto all their male children, and this custome the Saxons that afterward came into *Brittaine* did there also observe; whereof there yet remaineth memory in the Province of Kent, in the custome now corruptly termed GAVELKIND, but should be according as antiently it was, GIVE ALL KIND, which is as much to say, as give each child its part.

The children were commonly nursed by their owne mothers, and it was accounted a great shame for a mother to put her child forth to nurse, unlesse it were upon some necessity: they holding it among them for a generall rule that the child, by sucking a strange nurse, would rather encline unto the nature of her than unto the nature of the owne father and mother. If eyther wife or maid were found in dishonesty, her clothes were cut off round about her, beneath the girdle stead, and she was whipped and turned out, to be derided of the people. *St. Boniface*, an Englishman, and Archbishop of *Mayunce*, in an epistle which he wrote unto *Ethelbald*, king of *Mercia* (wherein he reproveth him for his unclean life), declareth the punishment for such offences to have beene among the old Pagan Saxons farre more severe than is here set down.

They began their important business according to the course the Moone, to wit, with the encrease, and not with the wane. They did count time by the nights, whereof we yet retaine our saying of sennight and fortnight for seven nights and fourteen nights, more usually yet so speaking than saying seven dayes or fourteen days. The ages of their owne lives they always counted by Winters; and the reason why they used this seemeth to have bin because they had overpassed so many season's of cold and sharp weather. And

by winters they also counted their tearmes of yeeres.

They used to engrave upon certain square sticks about a foot in length, or shorter or longer as they pleased, the courses of the Moones of the whole yeere whereby they could alwaies certainly tell what the new Moones, full Moones, and changes should happen, as also their festivall daies, and such a carved sticke they called an AL MON-AGHT, that is to say, Al-mon-heed, towit, the regard or observation of all the Moones, and here hence is derived the name of ALMANAC.

For the twelve months of the yeere they had such names as the names of their seasons did aptest require, for the names which we now call them by we have in aftertime borrowed from the French and Latin, they having bin unto our ancestors wholly unknowne.

The moneth which we now call *January*, they called WOLF-MONAT, to wit, WOLF-MONETH, because people ate moor alwaies in that moneth to be in moore danger to be devoured by Wolves, than in any season else of the yeere; for that through the extremity of cold and snow, these ravenous creatures could not find of other beasts sufficient to feed upon.

They called *Februray* SPROUT-KELE, by KELE meaning the KELE-WURT which we now call the colewurt, the greatest POT-WURT in time long past that our ancestors used, and the broth made therewith, was thereof also called KELE, for before we borrowed from the French the name was *potage*, and the name of *herbe*, the one in our owne language was called KELE and the other WURT, and as this KELE-WURT, or *potage hearbe*, was the chief winter-wurt for the sustenance of the husbandman, so was it the first hearbe that in this moneth began to yield out wholesome young sprouts, and consequently gave thereto the name of SPROUT-KELE. This herbe was not only of our old ancestors held to be very good, both for sustenance and health, but the ancient Romans had also such an opinion thereof that during the 600 yeres that *Rome* was without Phisitians, the people used to plant great store of these wurts, which they acoounted both meat and medicine; for as they did eat the wurt for sustenance, so did they drink the water wherein it was boyled, as a thing soveraigne in all kinds of sicknesses.

The month of March they called LENCT-MONAT, that is, according to our now orthography, LENGTH-MONETH, because the dayes did then first begin in length to exceed the nights. And this moneth being by our ancestors so called when they received Christianity, and consequently therewith the antient Christian custom of fasting, they called this chiefe season of fasting the fast of Lent, because of the LENCT-MONAT, wherein the most part of the time of this fasting alwaies fell, and hereof it cometh that we now call it *Lent*, it being rather the fast of *Lent*, though the former name of LENCT-MONAT be long since lost, and the name of *March* borrowed in stead thereof.

They called *April* by the name of OSTER-MONAT; some think of a Goddesse named *Goster*, whereof I see no great reason, for if it took appellation of such a Goddesse (a supposed causer of the Esterly windes) it seemeth to have bin somewhat by some miswritten, and should rightly be *Oster* and not *Goster*. The winds indeed, by antient observation, were found in this moneth most commonly to blow from the East, and East in the *Teutonick* is *Ost*, and *Ost-end*, which rightly in English is *East-end*, hath that name for the Easterne situation thereof, as to the ships it appeareth which through the narrow seas doe come from the West. So as our name of the feast of EASTER may be as much to say as the feast of OSTER, being yet at this present in *Saxony* called OSTERN, which cometh of *Oster-monet*, their, and our old name of *April*.

The pleasant moneth of May they termed by the term of TRI-MILKIE, because in that moneth they began to milk their kine three times in the day.

Unto *June* they gave the name of WEYD-MONAT, because their beasts did then WEYD in the moddowes, that is to say go to feed there, and hereof a meddow is also in the *Teutonicke* called a WEYD, and of WEYD we yet retaine our worde WADE, which we understand of going throw watery places, such as meddowes are wonte to be.

July was of them called HEN-MONAT or HEY-MONAT, that is to say, Hey-moneth, because therein they usually moved, and made their Hey-harvest.

August they called ARN-MONAT (more rightly BARN-MONAT) intending thereby the then filling of their barnes with Corne.

September they called GERST-MONAT, for that BARLEY which that moneth commonly yeelded was antiently called GERST, the name of barley being given unto it by reason of the drinke therewith made, called beere, and from beerlegh it come to be berlegh, and from berlegh to barley. So in like manner beereheym to wit, the over-decking or covering of beere came to be called berham, and afterward barme, having since gotten I wot not how many names besides. This excellent and healthsome liquor, BEERE, antiently also called AEL, as by the Danes it yet is (beere and ale being in effect all one) was first of the Germans invented, and brought in use.

October had the name of WYN-MONAT, and albeit they had not antiently wines made in *Germany*, yet in this season had they them from divers countries adjoyning.

November they termed WINT-MONAT, to wit, wind-monat, whereby we may see that our Ancestors were in this season of the yeere made acquainted with blustering *Boreas*, and it was the ancient custome for Ship-men to then shrowd themselves at home, and to give over sea faring (notwithstanding the littlenesse of their then used voyages) untill blustering March had bidden them well to fare.

December had his due appellation given him in the name of WINTER-MONAT, to wit, WINTER-MONETH, but after the Saxon received Christianity, they then of devotion to the birthtime of Christ tearmed it by the name of HELIGH-MONAT, that is to say, holy moneth.

For the generall Government of the Country, they ordained twelve Noble men, chosen from among others for their worthinesse and sufficency. These, in time of peace to do their severall circuits, to see justice and good customes observed, and they often, of course, at appoynted times met all together to consult and give order in public affaires, but ever in time of warre one of these twelve was chosen to be King, and so to remaine so long only as the war lasted; and that being ended; his name and dignity of King also ceased, and he became as before; and this custome continued among them untill the time of their warres with the Emperour *Charles the Great*, at which time *Wittekind*, one of the twelve as aforesaid, a Nobleman of Angria in *Westphalia*, bore over the rest the name and authority of King, and hee being afterward

by meanes of the sayd Emperor converted to the fayeth of Christ, had by him his mutable title of King, turned into the induring titile and honour of Duke, and the eleven others were in like manner by the said Emperor advanced to the honourable titles of Earls and Lords, with establishment for the continuall remaining of these titles, and dignities unto them, and their heires: of whose descents are since issued, the greatest Princes at this present in *Germany*. And although it be here some little digression yet can I not omit to note unto the Reader by the way, that about 120 yeeres after the Emperiall rule had remained in the posterity of the aforesaid Emperour *Charles* the Great. The Emperiall crowne and dignity came by election unto a Saxon Prince, who was the brother's sonne's sonne of this *Wittekindus*, here before named, and for the great pleasure he tooke in his youth in birding was surnamed *Henricus Auceps*, that is *Henry* the Fowler. He was a very noble Prince, he first instituted the honourable exercise of justs and turnaments in Saxony, and gave shields of armes to sundry families.

They had among them foure sorts of ORDEAL, which some in LATINE have termed *Ordalium*. OR is here understood for due or right, DEAL for part, as yet we use it, so as ORDEAL is as much to say as due part, and at this present it is a word generally used in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, instead of dome or judgment. These sorts of ORDEAL they used in doubtfull cases when cleere and manifest proofes wanted to try and finde out whether the accused were guilty or guiltlesse.

The first was by KAMP-FIGHT, which in Latine is termed *Duellum*, and in French *Combat*.

The second was by Iron made red hot.

The third was by hot water.

And the fourth, by cold water.

For the triall by KAMP-FIGHT, the accuser was with the perill of his owne body to prove the accused guilty, and by offering him his glove to challenge him to this tryall, which the other must either accept of or else acknowledge himself culpable of the crime whereof he was accused. If it were a crime deserving death, then was the CAMP-FIGHT for life and death, and either on horse-

back or on foot. If the offence deserved prisonment and not death, then was the CAMP-FIGHT accomplished when the one had subdued the other by making him to yeeld or unable to defend himself, and so be taken prisoner. The accused had the liberty to chuse another in his steed, but the accuser must performe it in his owne person, and with equality of weapons. No women were admitted to behold it, nor no men children under the age of thirteene yeeres. The Priests and people that were spectators did silently pray that the victory might fall unto the guiltlesse, and if the fight were for life or death a beer stood ready to carry away the dead body of him that should be slain. None of the people might cry, scricke out, make any noyse, or give any signe whatsoever: and hereunto at *Hall in Swevia*, (a place appointed for CAMP-FIGHT) was so greate regard taken, that the executioner stood beside the Judges, ready with an Axe, to cut off the right hand and left foot of the party so offending. He that (being wounded) did yeeled himself, was at the mercy of the other to be killed or to be let live. If he were slaine, then was he cartyed away, and honorably buried; and he that slue him reputed more honorable then before: but if being overcome he were left alive, then was he by sentence of the judges declared utterly voyd of all honest reputation: and never to ride on horse-backe, nor to carry armes.

The tryall by red-hot iron, called FIRE-ORDEAL, was used upon accusations without manifest proofe (though not without suspition that the accused might be faulty), and the party accused, and denying the delict, was adjudged to take red-hot iron, and to hold it in his bare hand, which, after many prayers and invociations that the truth might be manifested, he must adventure to do, or yeeld himself guilty; and so receive the punishment that the law, according to the offence committed, should award him. Some were adjudged to goe blind-folded with their bare feete over certaine Plough-shares, which were made red hot, and layde a little distance one before another, and if the party either in passing through them did chance not to tread upon them, or treading upon them received no harm, then by the Judge he was declared innocent. And this kind of tryall was also practised in *England* upon *Emma*, the mother of King *Edward* the *Confessor*, who past them unharmed.

The tryall called HOT-WATER ORDEAL was in cases of accusation as is aforesayd of glowing iron, the party accused, and also suspected, being appoynted by the Judge to put his armes up to the elbows in seething hot water, which, after sundry prayers and invocations, he did, and was by the effect that followed, judged faulty or faultlesse.

COLD-WATER-ORDEAL was the triall which was ordinarilly used for the common sort of people, who, having a cord tyed about them under their armes, were cast into some river, and if they sunke downe into the bottome thereof untill they were drawn up, which was within a very short limited space, then were they held guiltlesse; but such as did remaine upon the water were held culpable, being (as they sayd) of the water rejected, and kept up. And to this day in some places in *Germany*, and also in the *Netherlands*, this kind of tryall is used for such as are accused to be Witches.

These aforesayd kinds of ORDEALS, the Saxons long after their Christianity continued, and in some of them Priests which were present used some exorcismes and sundry ceremonies, using also in all of them most earnest invocations unto God, as unto the most just Judge, that it would please him by such way of tryall to make the truth apparant, that the innocent might be preserved from hurt, and the unjust justly punished. But seeing these terrible kinds of trials had their beginnings in Paganisme, and were not thought fit to be continued among Christians, at the last by a decree of Pope Stephen the Second, they were utterly abolished.

Concerning the Idols of the Saxons in Pagan Brittaine.

TO RETURN againe to the more antient state of our Saxon ancestors, to wit, before their Christianity, whereof I have intended to speake: true it is that they lived according to the law of nature and reason; they also used presage by certaine lots made of little sticks, cut from fruit-bearing trees, squared and carved with characters or marks upon them, which their Pagan Priests, after invocations unto their gods, did cast at adventure upon a white spread-forth garment, and according to the falling of these lots, that is, by the charactered sides lying upward or downward, they foretold their fortune.

As touching the Idols which our Saxon ancestors adored, they were diverse, and those not such as the Pagan Romans were wont to adore, but Idols of their owne as the Romans had theirs. For with the Idols onely proper to the Romans they were unacquainted before the coming of the Romans into *Germany*, albeit some Authors have interpreted some of their Idols to have been such as among the Romans were called by other names, whereof I shall take occasion to speak more anon. Of these though they had many, yet seven among the rest they especially appropriated unto the seven dayes of the weeke, which, according to their course and properties, I will here, to satisfie the curious Reader, describe.

First, then, unto the day dedicated unto the especiall adoration of the SUN, they gave the name af Sun-day, as much as to say, as the SUNS-DAY, or the day of the SUN. This Idoll was placed in a Temple and there adored and sacrificed unto, for that they believed that the SUN in the firmament did with or in this Idoll correspond and co-operate. The manner and forme whereof was made like halfe a naked man, set upon a Piller, his face, as it were, brightened with gleames of fire (in a kind of radiating halo), and holding, with both his armes stretched out, a burning wheele before his breast—the wheele being to signifie the course which he runneth round about the world, and the fiery gleames and brightnes, the light and heat wherewith he warmeth and comforteth the things that live and grow.

The next, according to the course of the dayes of the week, was the Idoll of the MOONE, whereof we yet retain the name of

MONDAY instead of MOONE-DAY. The forme of this Idoll seemeth very strange and ridiculous, for, being made for a woman, she hath a short coat like a man; but more strange it is to see her hood with such two long eares. The holding of a Moone before her breast may seeme to have beene to expresse what she is, but the reason of her chapron with long eares, as also her short coat and pyked shooes, I doe not find. It appeared that this Idoll also was stood upon a Piller, but bye the road syde, or such like place in the open.

The next unto the Idols of the two most apparant Planets was the Idoll of TUYSCO, the most antient and peculiar god of all the Germans here described. He stood in his garment of a skinne, according to the most antient manner of the German's cloathing. Of this TUISCO, the first and chiefest man of name among the Germans, and after whom they do call themselves TUYTSHEN, that is, *duytshes*, or *duytsh-people*.[1] The name of the third daye of our weeke days which yet amongst us retaineth the name of TUISDAY, was especially dedicated unto the adoration and service of this Idoll. He also stood upon a Piller out in the open, with open hands, looking up to ye heavens; in hys right hand he grasped a kind of sceptre.

The next Idoll, WODEN, here set downe, was made armed, and among our Saxon Ancestors esteemed and honoured for their god of Battell, according as the Romans reputed and honoured their god *Mars*.

He was, while sometime he lived among them, a most valiant and victorious Prince and Captaine, and his Idoll was after

1. Japhet had, among other children, a sonne called *Gomer;* this *Gomer* was father unto *Assenez* or *Ascena*, and this *Ascena*, according to the opinion of sundry very and judicill authors, was the father of TUISCO or TUISCON, the father and conductor of the Germans, who, after his name, even unto this day, doe, in their owne tongue, call themselves TUYTSH, and their Country of *Germany* TUYTSHLAND, and the *Netherlanders*, using herein the D for the T, doe make it DUYTSH and DUYTSHLAND, both which appellations of the People and Country I doe here write according as we in our English orthography would write them after their pronunciation.

his death honoured, prayed, and sacrificed unto, that by his ayd, and furtherance they might obtaine victory over their enemies: which, when they had obtained, they sacrificed unto him such prisoners as in battell they had taken. The name WODEN signifies fires, or furious, and in like sense we yet retain it, saying, when one is in a great rage, that he is WOOD, or taketh on as if he were WOOD. And after this Idoll, we doe yet call that day of the week WEDNESDAY, in steed of WODNESDAY, upon which he was chiefly honoured. *Venerable Bede* named one WODEN, to have been the great Grandfather of HINGISTUS, that first came with the Saxons into *Brittaine*, but this seemeth to have beene another Prince of the same name; and not he whose Idoll is here spoken of, who in much likelyhood was long before the great grandfather of HINGISTUS. He stood out in the open upon a Piller, arymed, and like unto a Captain, with a drawn sword in his right hand, with a shield on his left arm, arrayed with a crowne upon his head.

The next in order as aforesayd, was the Idoll THOR, who was not only served and sacrificed unto of the antient Pagan-Saxons, but of all the *Teutonicke* people of the septentrionall Regions, yea, even of the people that dwelt beyond *Thule* or ICLAND, for in *Greeneland* was he knoune, and adored; in memory whereof a promontory or high poynt of land lying out into the sea, as also a river which falleth into the sea at the said promontory, doth yet beare his name. He is in appearance like unto a King clothed in regal vestments, with a crowne of gold upon his venerable head, which is surrounded by twelve starres of lyte, and in his right hand he held a Kingly Scepter. This great reputed God, being of more estimation than many of the rest of like sort, though of as little worth as any of the meanest of the rabble; was majestically placed in a very large and spacious Hall, and there set, as if he reposed himself upon a covered Bed.

He was of the seduced *Pagans* beleeved to be of most marvelous power and might, yet, and that there were no people through out the whole World, that were not subjected unto him; and did not owe him divine honour and service.

That there was no puissance comparable to his: his Dominion of all others most farthest extending itself, both in Heaven and Earth.

That in the Aire he governed the Winds, and the Clouds; and being displeased did cause lightning, thunder, and tempests, with excessive Raine, Haile, and all ill weather. But being well pleased by the adoration, sacrifice, and service of his suppliants, he then bestowed upon them most faire and seasonable weather, and caused Corne aboundantly to growe, as also all sorts of fruites, etc., and kept away from them the Plague, and all other evill, and infectious diseases.

Of the weekly day which was dedicated unto his peculiar service, we yet retaine the name THURS-DAY, the which the *Danes* and *Swedians* doe yet call THORS-DAY. In the *Netherlands* it is called DUNDERS-DAGH, which being written according to our English orthography is THUNDERS-DAY, whereby it may appeare that they antiently therein intended, the day of the god of THUNDER; and in some of our old Saxon bookes I find it to have beene written THUNRES-DEAG. So as it seemeth that the name of THOR, or THUR, was abreviated of THUNRE, which we now write THUNDER.

The next Idoll of FRIGA stood out in the open upon a Piller and represented both sexes, as well man as woman, and as an *Hermophrodite* is said to have had both the members of a man, and the members of a woman. In her right hand she held a drawne Sword, and in her left a Bow; signifying thereby that women as well as men should in time of neede be ready to fight. Some honoured her for a God and some for a Goddesse, but she was ordinarily taken rather for a Goddesse than a God, and was reputed the giver of peace and plenty, as also the causer and maker of love and amity, and of the day of her especiall adoration we yet retaine the name of Friday, and as in the order of the dayes of the weeke THURSDAY commeth between Wednesday and Friday, so (as *Olaus Magnus* noteth) in the septentrionall regions, where they made the Idoll THOR sitting or lying in a great Hall upon a covered bed; they also placed on the one side of him the Idoll WODEN and on the other side the Idoll FRIGA.[2] Some do call her Frea

2. In that scarce edition of Saxonis Grammatic, published at Soræ in 1645, at page 139 of the second vol. in the antiquarian library of the present writer, there is a representation of the Saxon god THOR seated in a great room, as above stated, but in his left

and not Friga, and say she was the wife of Woden, but she was called FRIGA, and her day our Saxon ancestors called FRIGE-DEAG, from whence our name now of Friday indeed commeth, *Saxo Gramaticus* saith, that the people which by reason of the great famine in the time of *Suio*, King of *Denmarke*, were constrained by lot to go seeke them new habitations, were by the Goddesse FRIGA commanded to call themselves Longobards, which is an opinion by *Albertus Crantzius*, and others rejected as fabulous, and for no lesse I esteeme it.

The Idoll SEATER [3], fondly of some supposed to be *Saturnus*, for he was otherwise called CRODO; this goodly god stood to be adored upon a Pillar placed out in the open.

There was placed on his pillar, by his feet, a pearch, on the sharpe prickled backe whereof this Idoll stood. SEATER was leane of visage, having long haire, and a long beard: and was bare-headed

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hand is what is supposed to be a number of thunderbolts in addition to the Sceptre in his right. On the left is a figure of FRIGGE, with a Sword in her right, and a bow in her left hand. On Thor's right is a figure of OTHIN, bearing his Shield, with a sword in his right hand.

With every true-born, ancient Britain removed from a mongrel parentage [as with Christians of the present age] there was an inborn reverential feeling which they imbibed with their mother's milk; and while this is a fact never to be controverted, with the intelligent heathen, such as these always had their little gods and altars—and were (and are in some instances even in these last days) zealous even as Plato and Socrates strove to regulate the intellect by higher forms of thought, removing men from the brute creation: therefore, and for this reason, it may not be difficult to discover as many different supporters of *Thor* as different saints are to be seen on either side of a Madonna, or an enthroned CHRIST in a Christian Church.

3. Our so-called Saxon forefathers had several other Idols more or less famous in history, while it is to the praise of *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, who was the first English sovereign to issue orders for their destruction, A.D. 640.

and bare-footed. In his left hand he held up a wheele, and in his right he carried a pail of water, wherein were flowers and fruites. His long coate was girded unto him with a towell of white linnen. His standing on the sharpe finnes of this fish, was to signifie that the Saxons for their serving him, should passe steadfastly, and without harm in dangerous, and difficult places. By the wheele was betokened the knit unity and conjoyned concord of the Saxons, and their concuring together in the running one course. By the girdle which with the wind streamed from him, was signified the Saxons freedome. By the paile with flowers, and fruits was declared that with kindly raine he would nourish the Earth, to bring foorth such fruites and flowers. And the day unto which we yet give the name of SATER-DAY, did first receive by being unto him celebrated, the same appellation.

THE SAXON Heptarchie is a subject which the fangle-ments of every-day life of these degenerate days has but very little concern about; and with those of the xxth century who regulate the so-called necessities of life to what constitutes "pleasure"—in that way the "bike" and the "new" woman become the only logical or valid plea for the existence of this poor humanity of ours. That things *are* "just what they seem" is a deplorable fact, since it *is* upon record of a certain nobleman selling the glorious library which he had enherited for no other reason than the *enlargment of his billiard room.* There is nothing in that, of course. Again, the ungodly length to which "theatre" going is carried in London is of so heineous a nature that Heaven shall not tolerate that sort of thing much longer. But what of the Saxon Heptarchie, since books and the love that brought them into being no longer are regarded as the "mile stones to heaven?" Who are they who read Shakespeare in these days? And who are they who have enough chivalrie about them to support that all glorious company of actors—the "Mr. and Mrs. F. R. Benson's Shakespearian Company?" Fools that men and women are—they close the eyes of the mind, as the Bard of Avon says, "after a well graced actor leaves the stage, thinking his prattle to be tedious"—perhaps, to bask in the sunshine of the "Sorrows of Satan," and to call as *much* as *that* education.

If there are any, as Ruskin was please to put it, who wish to know what it was that brought about the lasting greatness of this England of ours, understand as much as this:—

When the *Romane* Empire began to be unweldy by the weight of her owne *Greatnesse*, and her Provinces ready to shake off subjection by the *Ambition* of their *Prefects: Britaine*, then wanting her *Souldiers* (taken thence to serve in forraine warres) and abandoned by the *Romans*, who were wont to protect her, was now laid open and naked to her *Enemies*, who had long wayted an opportunitie to lay her waste. Among whom the *Picts* and *Scots* casting a covetous eye upon so rich a prey, daily with inrodes molesting the weary and now-weakened *Britaines*, inforced them to call in to their

assistance the *Saxons*; who, in a short time of ayding friends, became oppressing enemies, and supplanting the Natives of this Land, laid the foundation of their aspiring hopes so sure, that thereupon in success of time they transformed the fabricke of this one Province into a seaven-fold State, which has *seaven-crowned* Pillars, stood upon the *Basses* of *Kent*, *South-Saxia*, *West-Saxia*, *East-Saxia*, *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*; governed by so many severall Kings; whose limits are circumscribed and detailed as will be seen shortly.

Neither may we thinke that the *Limits* of the whole *Heptarchie*, or of each particular *Kingdome*, were at their first raising apportioned, as afterward they were; but that (as all other *States* doe) by steps and degrees they came to their setled bounds. Their utmost *Northerne* border was at first no other (in all likelihood) than that wherewith the *Romanes* had formerly severed this their Province from *Scotland*, being that famous partition called the *Picts-wall*, girding the *wast* (or narrowest place) of the whole Iland from Sea to Sea, and reaching twixt the Bay of *Eden* on the one coast and the mouth of *Tyne* on the other; though afterward the *Northumbrians* extended their *Marches* beyond that *wall*. The *Romans* had no other partition but onely this *Northerne:* the *Saxons* (who had made the *Britaines* also their enemies) added two others (both in the West) to strengthen them and strengthen themselves. The first was devised by *Offa* the *Mercian* King, who made a Trench of admirable worke and charge, called *Offa-Dyke*, running about *one hundred miles* over mountaines and hills, from the mouth of the *Dee* in *Flint-shire* to the fall of *Wye* in *Glocester-shire*, therewith encircling the remainder of the dispossessed *Britaines* in those Western and barren parts, which oppression King *Harold* further aggravated by a Law: *That if any Welshman were found with any weapon on this side that Ditch, he should forthwith have his right hand cut off.* The second partition was of King *Athelstan's* device, who finding that the *Britains* did still inhabit those other western parts, from the *Land's end* of Cornwall, even unto *Excester* in *Devonshire*, he not onely thrust them out of that City, fortifying the same with vast trenches, and a strong wall of squared stones to prevent their attempts; but further ordered that they should containe themselves

within the River *Tamar*, whence that *Promontory* came to be named *Corn-wall*; of the shape thereof like a Horne.

The like may be said of the particular *Kingdomes*, that they attained not to these their certaine bounds, and *Kingly Titles* but by degrees: the whole *Saxon State* being anciently divided, not into *Shires*, but into sundry small *Regions*, and those again into *Hides* (a *Hide* being foure yeard land, or as others thinke, as much as a Plow can till in one yeare), wherein all the land lying on this side the *Humber* is thus parted.

	Hides.	
Myrcna	containeth	30000 Hides
Woken-setna	,,	7000 ,,
Westerna	,,	7000 ,,
Pec-setna	,,	1200 ,,
Elmed-setna	,,	600 ,,
Lindes-farona	,,	7000 ,,
Suth-Gyrwa	,,	*600* ,,
North-Gyrwa	,,	*600* ,,
East-Gyrwa	,,	*600* ,,
East-Wixna	,,	*300* ,,
West-Wixna	,,	*6000* ,,
Spalda	,,	*600* ,,
Wigesta	,,	*900* ,,
Herefinna	,,	*1200* ,,
Sweordora	,,	*300* ,,
Eyfta	,,	*300* ,,
Wicca	,,	*300* ,,
Wight-gora	,,	*600* ,,
Noxgaga	,,	*5000* ,,
Oht-gaga	,,	2000 ,,
Hwynca	,,	7000 ,,
Ciltern-setna	,,	4000 ,,
Hendrica	,,	3000 ,,
Vnecung-ga	,,	1200 ,,
Aroseatna	,,	600 ,,
Fearfinga	,,	300 ,,
Belmiga	,,	600 ,,

Witherigga	containeth	600	,
East-Willa	,,	600	,,
West-Willa	,,	600	,,
East-Angle	,,	30000	,,
East-Sexena	,,	7000	,,
Cant-Warena	,,	15000	,,
Suth-Sexena	,,	7000	,,
West-Sexena	,,	100000	,,

But when that seaven-fold *Heptarchie* was brought to a *Monarchy*, and the Kings from Pagans to be *Christian professors*, Ælfred (that mirrour of Kings) for the setling of his Kingdome and subject under a due and certaine course of *Justice* and *Government*, did *first distribute his Kingdome into several Countries* called *Shires*, and into other *under-governments*; of which let us heare *Malmesbury*. *By occasion* (saith he) and example of the barbarous (he meaneth the *Danes*) *the naturall inhabitants also were addicted* to *robberies*, *so that none could passe in safety without weapons for defence*. Ælfred *therefore* ordained *Centuries*, *which they terme Hundreds* and *Decimes*, *which they call Tythings*, that *so every Englishman living under law*, *should be within some Hundred and Tything*. And if a man were accused of *any transgression*, he should forthwith *bring in some of that same Hundred and Tything*. And if a man were accused of any transgression, he should forthwith bring in some of that same Hundred and Tything that would be pledges for his appearance to answer the *Law*, *and he that could not finde such a suretie should abide the secueritie thereof*. *But in case ang man standing thus accused*, *either before or after such suretiship did fly*, *then all that Hundred and Tything incurred a mulct imposed by the King*, *etc.* By this device he brought peace into the Country, so as in the very high ways he commanded Bracelets of gold to be hanged up to mocke the greedy passengers, while none was found so hardy as to take them away.

This Custom King Ælfred might borrow from the use he saw in military Government, where the *Generals* direction found easiest success by help of under-rulers, *Centurions* and *Decurions*; or he might have it from the *Germans*, who kept *Courts of Justice* in every Territory, having a *hundred-men* out of the people as

Assistants to perform their *Lawdayes*. By which his Partition, and industrious care, Peace and true dealing so flourished that a Wayfaring man loosing on his journey any summe of money, might a moneth after returne to the place and have it againe.

Those fore-mentioned *Tythings* contained each ten Persons, whereof every one was Pledge for another's good bearing (for which cause in some places a Tything is yet called a *Borow*, of the Saxon, who had one chief, called the Tythingman, so that there was no one man in all the Kingdome who, in his rancke, had not the eyes of many to observe his life. Each *Hundred* had under their verge tenne such Tythings, and when any was chosen the chiefe of the Hundred, at the usuall place of their meetings, after some kind of reverence, every one with their Lances touched a Speare, which he held upright in his hand, and by that signe vowed to be peaceably ordered. Whence such a societie was also called a *Wapentake* of the Saxons—*a touching of weapons*. In these *wapentakes* many affayres were handled, but what could not bee there decided was referred to a Societie or conventicle of greater jurisdiction, containing usually *three Hundreds* (sometimes *foure*) and lastly, what could not be there defined was referred to the whole Shire, for dispatch of which greater affaires and setling of the common peace, he appointed both *Judges* and *Sheriffes* in every Countrie, whereas before the Provinces were governed by *Vidoms*.

Hereby we see both the *Saxons* distributing of this country (in their highest glory) and also the government thereof, from the King to the lowest in the land. Other intermediate Governors throughout the Land, next unto the *King's Counsellors*, were (it seemeth) those which the Saxons called the *Ealsepmen*, the Danes *Eorles*; the chiefe Magistrates in *Cities* the *Portgreues* and *Burgesses*.

Since the first most politicke distribution of King Ælfred, the number of the Shires have found some change; for what their number was, An. 1016. in the reign of *King Ethelred*, *Malmesbury* showeth. *The Danes* (saith he) at this time *when there were reckoned in England thirtie-two Shires, invaded no less than sixteen of them;* yea, and afterwards also there were no more in number, at that time the Land received a new threefold distribution according to the three sorts of Lawes, by which it

was governed; that is, *West-Saxons* Law, Danish, and Mercian. First, to the West-Saxon Law were the Counties of Kent, Sussex, Suthrie, Berkshire, Hantshire, Wiltshire, Sommersetshire, Dorcetshire, and Devonshire, nine in number. To the *Danish* Lawes were obedient fifteen other: Yorkshire, Darbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfortshire, Essex, Middlesex, Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambrigeshire, and Huntingdonshire. The *Mercian* Lawes ruled the eight Counties remaining, which were Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, and Staffordshire.

But when *William* the Conquerour had got the *English* Diademe upon his head, and taxed the Kingdome with a generall survey, wee finde in that publike record of the *Domes-day* Booke thirtie-foure named, besides those of Durham, Lancashire, Northumberland, Westmorland, and Cumberland; the three last lay exposed to the *Scots*, and the other two freed from taxe to maintaine the *Borders*; which five Counties being added to the other, their number ariseth to thirtie-nine, and the thirteene Shires of *Wales* added to both, make fiftie-two Counties, as we have at this day.

But the Author of the *Polychronicon* (upon what warrant I know not) reckons thirtie-six shires and an halfe at the Conquerour's survey, wherein, saith he, were found fiftie-two thousand and fourscore Townes; forty-five thousand and two Parish Churches; seaventy-five thousand Knights-fees, whereof twenty-eight thousand and fifteene were of *Religious order*; and yet among these he accounteth no part of *Cornwall*. But from this report it may well be that *Ruffus Warwicanus* complaineth of the depopulation of the Land, which with Towne-ships (saith he) anciently had stood so bestrewed, as a goodly Garden every where garnished with fayre flowers.

King Elfred (the first divider) instituted a *Prefect* or *Lieutenant* in every of these Counties, which were then called *Custodes* (and afterwards *Earles*, saith *Higdon*) who kept the Country in obedience to the King, and suppressed the outrages of notorious robbers. But *Canutus* the *Dane*, when successe had set him upon the *English* Throne, divided the care of his Kingdom's

affaires into a foure-fold subjection; to wit: *West-sex*, *Mercia*, *Northumbre*, and *East-England*, himself taking charge of the first and the greatest, making three Tetrarches of especiall trust over the rest, namely, *Edrich* over *Mercia*, *Yrtus* over *Northumbre*, and *Turkill* over *East-England*. *Wales*, neither in this division nor that of King *Elfred*, was any wayes liable, it being cut from *England* by King *Offa*, but those remnants of the ancient *Britaines* divided likewise that Westerne Prouvince into Kingdomes, Cantreds and Commots of that *Principalitie*. And this shall suffice for the division of *England* under the *Saxons*, who enjoyed it the space of 567 yeares, from their first entrance under *Hengist*, unto the death of *Edmund Ironside*, and again under *Edward Confessor* the terme of twentie yeares.

As pictorial representations of men, manners, and things are, and always have been potent, when Art has yielded up its best and only service to the Adorable Majesty of God, the great Creator of all things, to Whom every knee shall bow, and every heart bend its stubborn disobedience, both in matters Ecclesiastical as Civil, [and as much as *that* without cavil; a sad exhibition presents itself to reasonable men when such as they who left their own dear native land in the *Mayflower*, for what is *falsely* stated to be "for the sake of Religion," as if *they* were to be held with Truth's most benign beatitude, as if the worshipping of God "in their *own* way" could be confounded with that which Almighty God ordained —when Mercy and Truth first kist each other; wickedly saying it was for the true worship of God;] the present writer has here thought proper to insert what that great antiquarian *John Speed* thought proper to deliver himself of, in the *first* Booke of his "Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine"—an all glorious performance of which this dear old England of ours might well be proud, since no such performance may compare with such magnificence; nor has there ever been produced by any other man, relative to any Principality of the World whatsoever, any such performance, not excepting mighty Rome itself, either under the rule of the CÆSARS or the mild and beneficent rule of the Popes, which may compare therewith. This great work was issued in the year 1627, and mark *you* how sweetly that great spirit delivered itself in

the naming of its *Magnus Opus!* John Speed does not call it the *Theatre of England*, so as to correspond with the *renaming* of GREAT BRITAIN by the Saxons (who, by the way, were nothing but Colonials in those days, just as our dearest flesh and blood have peopled America, Canada, Australia, etc., which shall make—for GOD has decreed that—one tongue to herald in the Millennium—the tongue which you and I speake, dearly longing to see that great Day, with that expectancy wherein our heart's joy now rejoiceth), but he calls it the "Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine." *You* and *I* are *not* Anglo-Saxons, we are BRITONS! For God, His holy Church, and our dear Fatherland, remember that.

And now, my beloved readers, let me give you, in the words of John Speed, what I have made mention of, since *you*, I hope, have made up your minds not only to become *Patriots*, but *Chivalrous*, for this our dear, true native land. "Now if any shall be so minutely curious," says *John Speed* (Book I., page 4) "as to enquire the meaning of the *Emblematicall compartments* bordering the Mappe: the right side containeth the first seven Kings of that sevenfold State, their Names, their Kingdomes, their Escocheons, their yeares of first aspiring: the last side doth portract the like of the seven first Kings in each of those Kingdomes, which by Christian Baptisme aspired to the hope of a Kingdome eternall. 1. *Ethelbert* (of Kent) receiving Austen's instruction. 2. *Sebert* (the *East-Saxion*) converting (by advice of B. *Miletus*) the Temples of *Diana* and *Apollo* (now *St. Paul's* in *London*, and *St. Peter's* in *Westminster*) to the survice of Christ. 3. *Erpenwald* (the East-Angle) received Baptisime by exhortation of King *Edwine* the Northumbrian (though as it seemeth *Edwine* himselfe for a time deferred Baptisme), and was therefore martyred by his Pagan subjects. 4. *Edwine* (the *Northumbrian*) stirred up by a vision both to expect the Kingdome and to receive the Faith, which he did by the Preaching of *Paulinus*, whom he made Arch-bishop of *York*. 5. *Kingill* (the *West-Saxon*) converted by the preaching of *St. Berinus*, whom he made Bishop of *Dorcester* neere Oxford. 6. *Peada* (the *Mercian*) receiving Christian Faith, by perswasion of *Oswy* King of *Northumbers*, was murdered by his own mothers (some say his wives) procurement. 7. *Ethelwolfe* (the *South-Saxon*)

Baptised at Oxford by *S. Berinus*, where *Wulpherus*, King of *Mercia*, was his Godfather at the Font."

And since these *Saxons* first gave to this Island the name of England, we will here affix (for a close of all) an ancient Epigram touching both this *Country* and her Name; the rather because of late a principall part and prayse therein is surreptitiously (against Lex Plagiaria) taken from *England* and ascribed as proper to *France*. A certaine *Author* (saith *Bartholomeus*—he lived in 1330, his author, perchance, much earlier—*de proprietatibus rerum*) thus in verse describeth England:—

ENGLAND, fierce Land, Worlds Angle, fertile Art;
Rich Ile, thou needst no other Countries Mart,
Each other Country yet thy succour needs:
ENGLAND, Joyes Land, be free and joyous long,
Free Race, free Grace; free Kind, free Mind and Tounge,
Yet Hands pass Tongues for free and glorious deeds."

THAT is of very little importance what most worldly-minded people think about, much less political dissentors, who allow unworthy motives to regulate their brain power to satisfy miserable ends; while a clue is thus found for *perfectly* understanding the weak and sinful compliance which mortifies a Protestant enquirer into the personal history and character of so admirable a king as Alfred the Wise, the Good and the Great! But the one fact must ever remain, not only with true Britons, but with every Patriot who is Chivalrous for the land of his birth—that the one institution of any *real* value is the Catholic and Apostolic Church, which you and I daily profess our belief in when we recite the Apostle's Creed.

We love God because He first loved us, however mercenery that love may appear to be in simply doing a particular something, which is greater than our finite understanding. God loves a generous heart, and we have no concern with materialists, or materialism.

Great Britain is overspread, more or less completely, with endowed places of religious worship, uniform in doctrine and discipline, of very ancient foundation, and immemorially protected by the State. It has, also, no small number of endowments, occasionally in land, supporting places of worship far from uniform as to doctrine or discipline, and of no ancient foundation, but fully protected by the State. The propriety of such protection, in the latter case, has been conceded by all parties. It seems to have occurred to no man that these modern foundations are become public property, because they are no longer private inheritances. Hence we have heard nothing of their just liability to seizure for any purpose whatsoever, either religious, or local, or fiscal; nor have individual holders been tempted by a prospect of appropriating to their *own* emolument such parts of them as may fortunately be in their hands. Hitherto this line of argument has been reserved for our ancient religious foundations. These are often treated not only as mere creatures of some legislative act, but also as justly convertible, by like authority, to any purpose, either public or private, or to both conjointly, as expediency or accident may suggest. The enactment,

however, which this view assumes, has not found admittance into collections of the national records; certainly an extraordinary fate for such a statute. Nor is it less unaccountable that no trace of it appears in those monkish chronicles which comprise our ancient history, and which are ordinarily copious, nay, even rhetorical, when they have to mention some advantage gained by religion. A legislature also that provided churches, would hardly overlook the size of parishes. This, however, an uninquiring mind might assign to accident, or caprice; it is nothing of the kind! Many rural parishes, indeed, are so small as to raise the wonder of a townsman, and to render plans, drawn from cases widely different, neither very practicable or important.

Anglo-Saxon Ecclesiastical History throws much light upon these difficulties. It introduces to notice an active and able Asiatic, our first acknowledged metropolitan, who formed the plan of inducing Englishmen to build and endow churches on their estates, by tempting them, as Justinian had his own countrymen, with the patronage of their several foundations. For, Theodore, by uncommon ability, zeal, and firmness, had brought the whole Anglo-Saxon people to a conformity with papal usages [the usages of *that* self same church which you and I confess our faith in when we recite the *Credo*, as it is a Christian's bounden duty to do daily. This Theodore was a Greek, and remarkable for independence of mind Hence it was that Pope Vitalian was careful to secure for him his friend Adrain, as a companion. That learned African, to whose instructions ancient Britain owed so much.] It shows this policy to have been approved by Athelstan, one of the wisest, most powerful, and most energetic of Anglo-Saxon princes; who granted the rank of thane to proprietors, being otherwise qualified, who would not see their tenants unprovided with a place of worship—a constitution of Athelstan's attests (circ. 928) the continuance of a judicious anxiety, long prevalent, for the foundation of village churches. It shows besides, that our Anglo-Saxon ancestors did not make rank in society a mere matter of *caste*. The dignity of thane, or gentleman, was open to every one possessed of a certain property, provided with the usual appendages of wealth, and admitted among the royal officers. But then one of such a person's qualifications was a church

upon his estate. [If a churl thrived so as to have five hides of his own land, a *church*, and kitchen, a bell-tower, a seat, and an office in the king's court, from that time forward he was esteemed equal in honour to a thane. It has been observed that a *Triburg* is, ten or more families of freemen, who eat together. But it will appear that every thane's or great man's family was of itself esteemed a *Triburg* by law, 14 of Edward the Confessor, 1065; therefore, at that time for a man to have a kitchen for the dressing of his own meat might well be esteemed the mark of a thane. The *Bell-house* may denote the Hall, which was the place for ordinary diet and entertainment in the house of lords; but this kind of illustration, which one might extend to further orders, must end here.] It records an exhortation of the archbishops, given solemnly at a *witenagemot* early in the eleventh century, to the building of churches "in every place." They would hardly have acted thus at such a time without sanction from the legislature. Thus we find the authorities urging and alluring opulent individuals to build and endow churches upon their lands during the whole period of nearly four hundred years—from Theodore to the Conquest. It is known that many of these foundations are of a subsequent date, and, probably, existing parochial subdivisions were not consummated under six hundred years. Our ancient and uniform religious endowments arose then, like the multiform religious foundations of later times, from the spontaneous liberality of successive individuals. Formerly also, as now, there was every variety in the magnitudes of property. Because, however an estate was small, its lord often would not be without a church upon it. In many cases, too, he showed whose accommodation was first consulted, by placing the new erection close to his own home, although both the chief population and the house provided for its minister, might be at some distance. Parishes, therefore, owe their actual dimensions to no negligence or caprice, but to the accidental inequalities of private property.

This private origin of English parochial religious foundations is obviously the clue to existing rights of patronage. Hence the verse familiar to canonists, in days when church-building was common, or had lately been so,

Patronum faciunt dos, ædificatio, fundus.

The church's *dowry* of glebe had notoriously been settled upon it by some land-owner, who likewise raised the fabric, and provided more effectually for the maintenance of its minister, by resigning in his favour one-tenth of all that his own possessions around should hereafter produce. Such public spirit justly demanded a suitable acknowledgment. None could be more so, than a freehold right of selecting under proper control, that functionary who was to realise the liberal donor's pious intentions. This was nothing beyond an equitable return to an individual, who had not only provided his neighbours with a place for religious worship at his own expense, but had also rendered this liberality available to them, and to those who should come after them, by building a parsonage, by surrendering inalienably a part of his own property as glebe, and by burdening irredeemably the remainder. Undoubtedly the justice thus done to founders has withdrawn a very large number of benefices from professional emulation. But the laity have really no great practical reason to complain of this. They thus, however, draw important pecuniary benefits from the Church, and they are thus additionally bound to respect ecclesiastical rights. A man may have little value for religion, or may dislike that of his father's (in these ungodly days); but surely he can not be justified in encroaching upon the patromonies of his kinsmen or neighbours. Now, this character attaches to a great proportion of English parochial preferments. A land-owner has presented a younger son to a living in the gift of his family, or another person has invested a child's portion in an advowson or presentation; advancing like sums to settle his remaining children in secular callings, or situations. Charity forbids a belief that the lay brother can desire, or could even endure, to have the clergyman's portion confiscated to swell his own rent-roll, or pay his own taxes.

Our larger ancient churches have, indeed, been founded by the crown, and so have many of the smaller. But no reasonable or safe principle will allow the denial to such foundations of all that inviolability which rightfully belongs to those that originated in the public-spirited sacrifices of individuals. If even ages of possession are no secure title to a royal grant, many a child of affluence must bid farewell to hereditary splendour, and enter a profession, or sue for a pension.

Unquestionably, the great bulk of our ancient religious revenues arises from tythes, and these may be hastily regarded as wholly derivable from legislative liberality. But were this undeniable, a new appropriation, advantageous, even temporarily, to any other than the landlord, is obviously very difficult while he remains. It would, however, be a monstrous folly to present gratuitously persons of the richest class with a large augmentation of their fortunes, which they have neither inherited nor purchased, and to which, on any account, they have no more just or equitable claim than they have to some adjoining estate. If, instead of such idle prodigality, a fiscal appropriation were advocated, it would be trifling with the hopes of undiscerning occupiers. The tax-gatherer would disappoint them bitterly. For commissioners, clerks, and surveyors, patronised by the ruling party, some fortunes, it is true, might be provided, and many comfortable situations. The pressure of taxation, too, might be somewhat modified, or even lessened. But this advantage, hardly perceptible to individuals, would be fatally counterbalanced by a national disregard of all that renders property secure.

A sufficient knowledge of our ancient history gives, however, great reason to doubt the legislative origin of tythes. They seem to have been paid by the Anglo-Saxons before the legislature interfered to enforce them. There are, in fact, traces of them in every age and country.

We can not doubt but tythes were paid in England, at this time (A.D. 696) and before. Boniface, in the year 693, was twenty years of age (he was born 670), and he testifies that tythes were paid in the English church, in his letter to Cuthbert; and there is reason to believe that they were paid freely and fully, or else King *Ina*, who made so severe a law for paying the *church-scot*, would have made a much more severe one for paying tythes, as some kings did some hundred years after his death, when the people's first fervours abated. The *church-scot* was a new taxation, and therefore not readily paid; tythes were from the beginning, and therefore paid without repining. In *Arabia*, we find a law whereby every merchant was obliged to offer the tenth of his frankincense, which was the chief product and commodity of this country, to the god *Sabis* (Vide Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xii, c. 14). The *Carthaginians*

sent the *tythe* of their spoils taken in the *Sicilian* war to *Hercules* of *Tyre* (Juslin. 1. xviii, c. 7). The *Ethiopians* paid *tythes* to their god *Assabinus* (Plin. 1. xii, c. 19). The *Grecian* army which was conducted by *Xenophon*, in their memorable retreat after the death of Cyrus, reserved a *tenth* of their money to be dedicated to *Apollo* at *Delphi*, and *Diana* at *Ephesus* (Xenoph. de Exp. Cyr. 1. v). When the *Greeks* had driven the *Persians* out of their country, they consecrated a golden tripod, made of the *tenths* of their spoils, to *Delphian Apollo* (Dido. Sic. 1. xi.) The inhabitants of the isle *Siphnus* presented every year the *tenths* of the gold and silver digged out of their mines to the same god (Pausan. *Phoc.*) The *Athenians* and their confederates dedicated a buckler of gold out of the *tenths* of the spoils taken at *Tanagra* to *Jupiter* (*Ib.* Eliac. á.) And the *Athenians* dedicated a chariot and horses of gold, made out of another *tenth*, to *Pallas* (Herod. 1. v. c. 77). When Cyrus had conquered *Lydia*, *Crœsus* advised him to prevent his soldiers from plundering the goods of the *Lydians*, because they were of necessity to be tythed by *Jupiter* (Ib. 1. i.) The *Crotonians* vow to give a *tenth* of the spoils which they should take in their war with the *Locrians* to *Delphian Apollo*. (Justin. 1. xx. c. ult.) *Sylla*, the Roman General, dedicated the *tenth* of all his estate to *Hercules* (Plutarch. *Sylla.*) And the same was done by *M. Crassus*. (Ib. *Crasso.*) And we are told by *Plutarch (Roman Quæst.)* that this was a constant custom at *Rome*. *Hercules* himself is said to have dedicated to the gods the *tenth* of the spoils which he took from *Geryon (Dionys. Halicarn.* 1. i.) When *Camillus* sacked Veii, a city of *Hetruria*, the soldiers seized the spoils for their own use, without reserving the accustomed *tenth* for the gods. After this, the augurs discovered, by their observations on the sacrifices, that the gods were exceedingly offended; whereupon the *Senate* of *Rome* required all the souldiers to account UPON OATH for the spoils which they had taken, and to pay a *tenth* of them, or the full value: all which, with a golden cup of eight talents, was conveyed to *Apollo's* temple at *Delphi* by three men of the first quality in Rome (Plutarch. *Camillo.*)

I have cited all these examples of paying tythes, because of the *querulous* Nonconformists and such like grumblers, having set

their backs up in this and in every other lawful matter of Church Government. I have adduced these examples that they may repent of their ungodly example, and as much as *that*, from the fact of what FESTUS tells the world at large "That the ancients offered to their gods the tythes of all things without any exception." I could extend this matter, but it is distasteful to myself, and this must suffice.

Hence this appropriation has not unreasonably been considered as dictated by that patriarchial creed, which men have nowhere been able wholly to forget. When an early Anglo-Saxon proprietor founded a church, he solemnly dedicated the tythes of his land for its maintenance, apparently, without any legal compulsion, or any hesitation, or reserve. His foundation was an evidence of his piety; and such a man could feel no disposition to deny a religious claim which even heathens admitted on every hand. [If some people wish to worship in coal-holes, should that be binding? *Vide Ruskin.*] A similiar spirit, however, would inevitably be wanting to some among the representatives or posterity of any man. Individuals are certain to arise eager to forget any deductions under which their estates were acquired. To restrain this dishonourable rapacity, the Saxon legislature at length interfered, and that repeatedly. At first, it was hoped that solemn injunctions, or ecclesiastical censures, might sufficiently remind selfish men of their duty to religion, and of the terms on which they had become possessed of land. Hence Athelstan's legislature pronounced tythes demandable both upon crops and stock, requiring them to be strictly rendered. Edmund the Elder again gave legislature weight to this injunction. Mere admonition, however, will not long strive successfully against the necessities, artifices, and avarice of mankind. Edgar's legislature was, accordingly, driven to compel, by civil penalties, the due discharge of that claim to which every landowner had found his possessions liable. A precedent for this act of justice was, indeed, afforded by Alfred's treaty with Godrun. This great king was contented to naturalise a colony of his Danish invaders in the eastern counties; but he would not allow these unwelcome settlers to escape from the liabilities immemorially fixed upon their several estates. Well, however, did he know the lawless rapacity with which

he had to deal. He, therefore, provided pecuniary fines for keeping the new proprietors to the only terms on which he was willing to place them in possession, or, indeed, considered himself able. [The *light-shot* of Alfred's code may answer, perhaps, to the *church-shot* made payable under a heavy penalty, by the laws of Ina. The *plough-alms* are thought to have been an offering made to the church, in proportion to the number of plough-lands holden by the payers. This due is not mentioned by name in Alfred's own treaty with Godrun as now extant: we find specified there only tythes, Rome-fee, light-shot, and "Dei rectitudines aliquas." In the renewal of this treaty, however, under Edward the Elder, *plough-alms* are inserted.] From his reign more than nine hundred years have now elapsed. So long, then, has English landed property been inherited, or otherwise acquired, under a system of protecting, by civil penalties, those rights to tythe with which proprietors, greatly anterior to Alfred, had burthened their estates.

Among such as feel unwillingly the force of this, there are some who would still fain appropriate more than they have purchased or inherited, by making tythes release them, in a great degree, from assessment to the poor. Ordinarily they pour contempt upon antiquity; now they gladly seek its aid. They maintain that tythes were originally granted with a reserve to either one-fourth, or one-third, for charitable purposes. Anglo-Saxon history will show that views like theirs are of ancient standing. Evidently there were thanes anxious to regard the religious rent-charge, under which they had acquired their several estates, as an exemption from all further provision for indigence. The papal legates at *Calcuith* expressly denied this principle—gentle reader, pray allow me to ask you to pay particular attention to the marshalling of the picturesque which I, for the benefit of futurity, here reproduce for your edification:

Imagine you are living in the year A.D. 757. That being so, you will at once know *how* Offa, king of the Mercians (having expelled Beornraed, succeeded by general consent of the kingdom) won an arduous way to superiority over every domestic impediment and neighbouring power, through a remorseless career of sanguinary wars. Among his victims was the king of Kent, who perished in battle amidst a frightful carnage. This decisive victory did not

satisfy king Offa: his vindictive spirit now fastened upon Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury. That prelate had sought assistance from abroad, while his unfortunate sovereign was preparing for the fatal conflict. Mercia was to be torn from his jurisdiction by the establishment of an archbishopric at Lichfield. But such arrangements often baffle very powerful princes. Hence Offa turned his eyes to Rome, shrewdly calculating that recognition there would prove effective nearer home. Being duly mindful to give his application pecuniary weight, he thus established a precedent for stamping that subserviency (see Matt. Par. Hist. Angl. p. 155.) The recognition sought in a manner so discerningly was *not* refused, a pall soon testifying papal approbation of Offa's wish to seat a metropolitan at Litchfield. (Epist. Leonis III. Papæ ad Kenulphum Regem. *Angl. Sacr.* 1. 460.) Thus, in a way, it has been written "from the vengeance of this imperious Mercian arose another injurious innovation upon English polity." Since the days of Augustine, no agent bearing a papal commission had ever set his foot on British ground (Spelman 1. 293); but under a recent exigency, domestic approbation had been sought through Roman influences. Two legates soon appeared to improve the opening thus afforded (which has been designated as) a "selfish and short-sighted policy." Whether these Italians, Gregory, bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, bishop of Todi, were invited expressly by Offa, is not khown; he received them, however, most courteously—Kings are in duty bound to receive the Messengers of God, with becoming dignity (*Procœmium ad Adrianum Papam. 1. Conc. Calchuth.* Spelman 1. 292.), they travelled over England as accredited agents of the papal see. Their mission led to a solemn ratification of the Mercian ecclesiastical arrangements. A council was holden at Calcuith (*i.e.*, at Challock, or Chalk, in Kent. The Saxon Chronicle writes this place *Cèalchythe*, and places the Council in 785. There is, however, some difference of opinion both as to place and date. Spelman gives the date as 787.), in the presence of these, Archbishop Lambert was driven there to acquiesce under the mutilation of his archiepiscopal dignity (Gervas Act. PP. Cantuar X. Script. col. 1641), Lichfield being placed over all the Mercian suffragans of Canterbury. (Malmesb. de Gest. RR, *Script. post Bedam.* f. 15.)

The legates also presented a body of canons, to which the council gave assent. It thus yielded a solemn affirmation to the faith professed in the first six general councils, condemned various heathen practices, and regulated several points of ecclesiastical discipline. From one of these canons it appears, that although tythes were customarily paid, yet such payment was popularly considered a discharge from alms-giving. The legates reprobate this view, enjoining men to surrender not only God's tenth, but also to seek his blessing by charitable gifts out of the nine portions remaining for themselves." You, my dear readers, will understand the *reason why* I have been at the pains to present this Cameo of History to the eyes of the mind, and will at once exclaim, I know, " Laus Deo ! " Archbishop Odo a hundred and fifty years later did exactly what the legates of the Sovereign Pontiff denounced at Calcuith. It could, undoubtedly, find some shelter under venerable names. The missionary, Augustine, is thought favourable to it, as he seems to have bestowed a fourth of the eucharistic oblations upon the poor. Egbert, archbishop of York, claims for them a third of the tythes. [Among the *Excerpts* of Egbert, is one prescribing a three-fold division of tythes. From the first article in this collection, it appears that considerable progress had been already made in the settlement of a parochial clergy, but that popular eagerness for so great a benefit had outrun a sufficient provision for public worship. Arrangements were probably made, in many cases, for appropriating a rural priest before a church was ready for his ministrations. Bishops might seem to have encouraged such arrangements, by surrendering their own portion of tythes. In Egbert's fifth *Excerpt*, accordingly, no mention is made of this portion. Clergymen are enjoined to expend one portion upon ornaments for their churches, another upon the poor and upon hospitality ; the third was to be their own.] " The holy Fathers have also decreed, that tythes be paid into God's Church, and that the priest go to them, and divide them into three parts ; one for the reparation of the Church, a second to the poor, a third to God's servants who attend the church." (Spelman 1. 578. Wilk 1. 253). But even he lived while the parochial sub-division of England was in progress. The quadripartite or tripartite division of tythes arose, however, from the minster-

system, and was intended for it. Now, to supersede it, in a very great degree, by the universal diffusion of a parochial clergy, was a leading object of national and individual piety during several ages. The only legislative authority produced for the quadripartite or tripartite division, is a doubtful enactment attributed of Ethelred.

The principle really looks for sanction to three individuals, all guided by foreign canonists (what *has* to be understood about this matter is this: England had no personage at this time versed in Canon Law, which *could* be cited as a law unto herself), and chiefly thinking of a clerical body settled round a large church, both to serve it, and to itinerate in the neigbouring country. Scanty as are these authorities, a wary advocate would, probably, dispense with one of them. It appears from Egbert that the "year's tenth *sceat* was paid at Easter. (Wilkins (1. 123) renders the Saxon *cum decimum obolum annuum solvimus.* The *sceat*, however, which answers to his *obolum*, was equivalent to ten *sticas*. Eight of these made a penny, worth a modern three-pence. Hickes. Diss. Epist. 3.) If, therefore, his authority be good for a third of the tythes to relieve the poor, it may be equally good for every tenth groat from the dividends, from the gains of all placemen, trading and professional men, not holding a church benefice, and from all annuities. Nor do Anglo-Saxon monuments refuse to the Church other authority, and that of a mere formal character, even for such a claim as this. The laws of Edward the Confessor impose expressly tythes upon trade. [De nogotiationibus, et omnibus rebus quas dederit Dominus, decima pars ei reddenda est, qui novem partes simul cum decimâ largitur. Spelman 1. 621.] They likewise confirm the papal claim for Peter-pence. Those, however, who would claim for the poor one-fourth, or one-third of the tythes, need complain but little of deficiencies in early canons and enactments. The famous statute of Elizabeth has pretty thoroughly brought their favourite principle into active operation. One-fourth of the tythes, or even more, is commonly insufficient to defray assessments for the poor on that property, the glebe, and the parsonage-house. Private charity makes inroads upon the remainder to an extent of which persons unacquainted with clerical expenditure, are very little aware. At least, another fourth of the tythes, during an incumbency, is often absorbed by the house, buildings, and chancel, together with dilapidations. 60

Besides tythes, however, our ancient religious foundations are endowed with rent-charges for other purposes connected with their existence and efficiency. It certainly does not appear that these are anterior to the Saxon conversion; they plead no higher authority, then, than that of ancient legislation: this plea they powerfully urge. *Church-shot* was imposed by Ina; and defaulters in tythe paying were to be fined forty shillings and to pay the *church*-shot twelve-fold (Spelman 1. 184-5.), and, in all probability, if his legislature did not follow here a known and approved precedent, its own example quickly acted upon every kingdom of the Heptarchy. Alfred, accordingly, stipulated with Godrun, that, in addition to tithes, *light-shot* and *plough-alms* should be regularly paid by the new Danish proprietors (see Spelman 1. 392 and Wilk. 1. 293.) As years rolled on, these claims naturally encountered many cases of denial or evasion. Hence the legislature under Athelstan, Edgar, and Ethelred, lent them new force by providing civil penalties for their recovery. The latest of these enactments has an antiquity of more than eight hundred years: so long, then, at the least, has landed property been inherited, purchased, or otherwise acquired, under a liability to rent-charges, independently of tythes, statutably settled upon our ancient places of worship. Any such rent-charge, settled upon a modern place of worship, though comparatively a mere matter of yesterday, would undoubtedly be claimed as only a debt of justice. Vainly would an occupant plead religious repugnance to such an application of his money: perhaps he might be reminded of Jewish scruples, upon the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar. A sympathy so acute between purse and conscience would certainly have little chance of meeting with respect.

It is true that parochial collections have long ceased from application for *church-shot*, light-*shot*, and *plough-alms*. Those who delight in throwing unworthy imputations upon the Church, may be at a loss to account for this forbearance. Such as would reason calmly upon known facts, will, probably, view the modern church-rate, raised for some of the purposes, if not for all, answered by these ancient payments, as merely their successor and representative. That rate was no offspring, then, of some blind prescription, but as regularly derived from legislative acts, yet extant, as any other

public burthen. Its name and form, indeed, are changed; but here the payer had no reason to complain: he probably foresaw this, and easily consented. Honourable men—who form the true nobility and backbone or main-stay of any part of God's earth—men who are fond of an ancient lineage, these reasoners may be glad to learn that their class is as old as *Canute* at least: that prince, however, declares that church-repair rightfully concerns the whole community (LL. Canut. R. can. 5. Spelman 1. 553. Wilk. 1. 306); nor is any other principle reasonable. The re-building, or even the repair of a spacious pile, might absorb the tythes of several years, leaving no remuneration for the duty, if the living were a rectory; if a vicarage, wholly stripping an unfortunate impropriator of his resources.

The Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical history stamps the Benedictines as intruders, and their expulsion as an act of justice to founders. (See Soames Anglo-Saxon Church pages 195, 200, 202, 203.) The Reformation, therefore, affords no precedent bearing either upon polity or station, for interference with the clergy, termed secular by Romanists. Of that ancient body, the present ecclesiastical estate of England is the lineal successor and the lawful representative.

Nor did the Reformation make any change in our Church's orthodoxy. It was one of Theodore's earliest cares to settle a national establishment upon the principle of assent to the first four general councils, with the supplemental fifth; a similar base was laid by the Reformers. At *Calcuith* this was somewhat widened; assent being there given to the first six general councils. But Elfric subsequently shows that this extension was not viewed as interfering with Theodore's original principle: it was not, in fact, material; it was little more than a fuller admission of those doctrines which have been pronounced orthodox by the consent of ages.

Questions of a religious nature have ever occupied the study of the faithful, while the veritable monuments of the ancient British and Anglo-Saxon Church have always had and always *will* retain a powerful hold upon the public mind.

The several aspects under which the British and the Anglo-Saxon Church may be reviewed is multifarious. The present writer

has done nothing more than what his own mind required of himself for properly placing notes upon paper relative to such things as he proposed to himself as a *test* of knowledge, relative to the *one true Church of Jesus Christ* of which the Bible speaks; for he knew "the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not"—(and some calling themselves Unitarians and Nonconformists), "but are" (of) "the synagogue of Satan." Rev. ii. 9.

Something Concerning a famous Britain long since forgotten by the everyday folk of these degenerate days.

THE science or study of Hagiology, whether antient or modern, is one which but few people, if any, in these days, have the slightest interest in, or any knowledge about. They appear to forget those sublime lines of Longfellow:—

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.
Footprints that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main—
A forelorn and shipwrecked brother—
Seeing, shall take heart again."

The last of the distinguished Angle-Saxons, whose name shed lustre on the empire of the Frankish monarchs in the eighth century, was a certain personage of the name of ALCUIN.[1] Born at York, about the year 735,[2] of a noble family, Alcuin was scarcely weaned from his mother's breast when he was dedicated to the church, and entrusted to the care of the inmates of the monastery,[3] and on reaching the proper age he was placed in the school of archbishop Egbert, then celebrated for the number of noble youths who crowded thither

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1. There is only one early life of Alcuin, which is anonymous, and was written in 829, by a person who obtained much of his information from Sigulf Alcuin's friend and disciple: it is printed in the editions of Alcuin's works, in the Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. of Mabillon, in the collection of Surius, and in the Acta Sanctorum of the Bollandists. The richest source of information relating to his history is his Epistles. Much has been written concerning Alcuin in modern times; a sketch of his life is given by Mabillon; a more extensive was composed in Latin by the prince-abbot Frobenius, and prefixed to his edition of his works. More recently Alcuin's life has been published by Dr. Frederick Lorenz, professor of history at the University of Halle (1829), translated into English by Jane Mary Slee (sm. 8 vo. London, 1837).

2. See Lorenz, life of Alcuin, p. 8.; 3. See Anon: Life Cap 1.

to imbibe instruction from the lips of that noble prelate.[4] Alcuin was distinguished above his fellows by his application to the study of the sciences, which were taught by Egbert's kinsman Aelbert, who succeeded him in 766 in the see of York, and in the management of the school. Alcuin was Aelbert's favourite pupil; when about twenty years of age he was chosen to accompany him on a visit to the continent in search of books and of new discoveries in science, and on that occasion he resided a short time at Rome.[5] Immediately after Aelbert's accession to the archiepiscopal see, he ordained Alcuin a deacon, appointed him to fill the place which he had himself occupied in the school, and gave him the care of the extensive library attached to it. Under Alcuin's superintendence the school increased in reputation, and many foreigners came to partake of the advantages derived from his teaching. Archbishop Aelbert died on the 8th November, 780,[6] and was succeeded by Eanbald, one of Alcuin's pupils, who in the following year sent his instructor to Rome to obtain for him the pallium at the hands of Pope Adrian I. On his return Alcuin visited Parma, and there met with Charlemagne, who had also been at Rome. That monarch was then meditating the foundation of scholastic institutions throughout his dominions, and being well informed of Alcuin's great reputation for learning, if not already personally acquainted with him, he invited him to settle in France, and to become his adviser and assistant in his projects of reform. Alcuin readily complied with the king's desires; but he continued his journey home to fulfil his original commission, and to obtain the consent of the archbishop of York and the King of Northumbria (Alfwold) to the proposed arrangement. With the approbation of his spiritual and temporal superiors, having chosen some of his own pupils as companions, he returned to France in 782.[7]

The position of Alcuin at the court of Charlemagne during his first residence in France has been compared and contrasted with that of Voltaire and other learned foreigners who was patronised by Frederick the Great.[8] Without holding any actual appointment, he lived as the friend and counsellor of the Frankish monarch, was the companion of his private hours, which were spent in dis-

4. Ib. Cap. 2; 5. See life by Lorenz, pp. 9 and 10; 6. See Anon Life, Cap 5; 7. See Life by Lorenz, pp. 12—14; 8. Ib. p. 60.

cussing quessions of theology and science, and acted as the instructor of his children. Two monasteries, those of Ferrières in the Orléanois, and St. Lupus at Troyes,[9] were assigned to him to support his private expenses. We have few notices of the events of his life of this period; it was one of constant war and tumult, and we are astonished that amid his numerous hostile expeditions the busy warrior could find leisure to attend to the intellectual welfare of his people. Yet it was during this period, that Charlemagne conceived and carried into execution his projects of national instruction, which exercised so great an influence on the civilization of succeeding ages. It is probable that Alcuin attended Charlemagne in many of his expeditions; he lost no opportunity of making his influence with the king subservient to the interests of his native country; and after remaining about eight years in France, he resolved to return to York. Charlemagne begged him to come back speedily and make the court of France his lasting home; a request to which Alcuin was willing to consent, if he could make it consistent with his duties to his native country: "Although," he said, "I possess no small inheritance in my own country, I will willingly resign it, and in poverty serve thee." [Glorious Alcuin! How sweet to read of that eternal goodness which has ever reposed within the breast of *true* born Britons? You have ever been the preceptors and teachers of Kings; you have even filled the papal chair of Rome—while some Italians, to the lasting detriment of Italy, have prescribed its limitation to the narrowness of their own thinking powers! Still continue those courtesies, be ye prince or peasant, which have made you famous, ye are and shall be the salt of the earth!] "and with thee; let it be thy care to obtain the permission of my king and my bishop."[10]

Alcuin came to England in the year 790, as ambassador from Charlemagne to king Offa, to arrange some misunderstanding which had arisen between these two great monarchs, and it appears to have been his intention to return the same year. But he found the kingdom of Northumbria involved in troubles; and in a letter written at this period he laments that he should not be able to

9. See Anon. Life, Cap 6; 10. See Life by Lorenz, p. 62; 11. See Alcuin's Epistle, p. 5.

return to France at the time he expected." It was not indeed till the year 792 that, pressed by the letters of Charlemagne, who desired his assistance in repressing an heresy which threatened to cause a division in the Frankish church, with the permission of bishop Eanbald and king Ethelred, Alcuin left England for the last time. He took with him a number of English ecclesiastics, who were afterwards present at the council held in 794 at Frankfort on the Maine, where the doctrinal innovations of the Spanish bishops, who taught that Christ was the son of God by adoption, were condemned. The originators and chief supporters of these doctrines were Felix of Urgel and Elipandus of Toledo, against whom Alcuin wrote several controversial treatises, and the former of whom he had the satisfaction of inducing to abjure his errors.

From 792 to 796, Alcuin continued to reside at the court of Charlemagne, in the same relation to his patron as before his visit to England. His position was rendered agreeable not only by the favour of the royal family, but by the society of a circle of learned friends; yet his happiness was frequently interrupted by grief at the troubles with which his native country was visited. In 793, the barbarians from the North devastated the island of Lindisfarme, profaned its monastery, and murdered many of the monks. This calamity, which Alcuin made the subject of one of the best of his poems, is alluded to in several of his letters, and appears to have made a deep impression on his mind. It served him as the occasion for earnest exhortations to his countrymen, in which he urged them to reform certain bad manners which had crept in. Alcuin's letter to the monks who had escaped from the massacre, commencing, "Vestræ vero caritatis familiaritas præsentem multum me lætificare solebat," will serve as a specimen of his epistolary style. Those to whom this form of study is of interest will procure Alcuin's life by Lorenz.

During the years which preceded 796, Charlemagne had been occupied in wars against the Saxons and Huns, and in that year, having reduced both those people to his obedience, his mind was occupied with the means of spreading Christianity among the latter people. He consulted Alcuin, who, in an interesting letter, congratulates him on his conquests, and advises him to proceed with

mildness rather than harshness in the work of conversion. Alcuin's liberality of sentiment is remarkably conspicuous in this letter; he recommends the king in the first place to select with care the preachers who were to be sent among the barbarians, and to avoid burthening the converts by the imposition of heavy rates for the support of the church. With this view, he warns him strongly against the immediate exaction of tythes: he entreats him to consider, that a tax which the established Christians reluctantly consented to pay, would naturally alienate the minds of new converts from a doctrine which they saw to be oppressive even at its announcement. (See Alcuin. Epist. p. 37).

The correspondence of Alcuin during the year 796 is unusually interesting, and exhibits his intelligent mind in many directions. Among the scholars at the court of Charlemagne it was a custom, not unknown in other times, of taking literary names and surnames. In this learned nomenclature Alcuin himself took the name of Flaccus Albinus, which, in after ages, was frequently appended to his writings; the common name given to Charlemagne was David; among Alcuin's more intimate friends, Riculf, archbishop of Mentz, was addressed by the name of Damoetas; the name of Arno was changed into Aquila, and to Angilbert was given the name of Homerus. Early in 796 Angilbert was sent by the king on a mission to Rome, and after his departure Alcuin addressed to him one of his playful epistles, "Ad dulcissimum filium Homerum." Though Alcuin seldom quitted his monastery at Tours, he continued still to be the favourite counsellor of the king, his majesty visiting him on more important occasions. The monastic school which Alcuin established there produced some of the most remarkable scholars in the following age. He sent a mission to England to procure books for its library, and it was here that he composed most of his writings.

In 803, Alciun's zeal in defending the privileges of the church drew upon him the temporary displeasure of Charlemagne, and his great grief on that occasion probably hastened his death—yet Alcuin not only defended his monks, but also refused to surrender the ecclesiastic of Orleans, although Charlemagne had signed the warrant. Alcuin allowed the person in question to escape—had

probably told the delinquent the front-door stood open; and departing, good King Charlemagne's wrath was appeased.

Alcuin died at Tours, on Wednesday, the 19th May, 804, and was buried with great pomp in the church of S. Martin. An epitaph, written by himself in Latin elegiacs, was placed on his tomb, which is preserved by his unknown biographer.

∴ The story of Alcuin's life is well worthy of study, and every scholar should read it with avidity.

Alfred the Great, of Blessed Memory,

THE youngest child of Ethelwolf and Osburgha. Alfred,[1] was born in the year 849 in the royal manor of Wantage, in Berkshire, where the kings of the West-Saxons had a palace, supposed to have been built on the site of a Roman station. History has preserved several anecdotes of the childhood and youth of this great prince. He was distinguished above all his brothers by his beauty, graceful manners, and early display of talent, and was on that account the favourite of his parents. The affection of king Ethelwolf for his youngest child, and perhaps a presage of his future greatness, made him conceive the idea of appointing him his successor to the throne ; and on this account he seems to have been an object of jealousy to his elder brothers. It was probably with this view that Ethelwolf

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1. The chief authority for the history of Alfred's private and literary life, is the biographical sketch attributed to bishop Asser—whomsoever he may be. The King's public life is the subject of general history, while those who are scholars and able to bring any erudition to bear upon *that* class of study are possessed with an intuitive knowledge thereon, which mere *hucksters* (be they professors at universities or not) are forbidden to understand. In modern times his biography has exercised the pen of various writers. A life written by Sir John Spelman was published in Latin, at Oxford, in 1678, which was published in the original English with considerable additions by Thomas Hearne, printed at the Theater at Oxford, in 1709. [And here I should state, the Latin version in which Sir John's labours were first given to the world at large was made by Obadiah Walker.] In 1634, a life of Alfred was published by Robert Powell, who ingeniously finds a resemblance between the life of Alfred, and that of his Sacred Majesty King Charles the First of blessèd memory. In 1777 a life of Alfred was also published by A. Bicknell—a work absolutely without value in the mind of the present writer, save for one or two aspects which may or may not be dwelt upon with profit. It is a questionable book ; but read what Dr. Pauli has written about it in his *most* excellent Monograph of King Alfred.

committed the infant, when but five years of age, in 853, to the dangers of sea and land (no slight ones, when we consider that both elements were then infested with the Northern pirates), that his high destiny might be consecrated by the hands of Pope Leo IV., by whom he was not only adopted as his spiritual son, but anointed and crowned as the future monarch of the West-Saxons.[2] Two years afterwards his father took him to visit Rome a second time, and remained with him there a full year.

The notion, so widely prevalent, that the education of Alfred had been neglected in his childhood, is a popular error, founded upon the monastic ideas of his supposed biographer. In these early ages those children only were taught to read and write who were destined for the clerical order. In the times which preceded the introduction of Christianity, the priest and the minstrel alone were able to decipher the mystic runes—mystic only because they were not known to the uninitiated; this continued to be the case with the two classes of society (churchmen and laymen) long after the conversion of the Saxons; it was no part of the accomplishments of a prince to be able to write or to read, for with them learning and literature were entrusted to the memory, and in this respect we are sure that Alfred experienced no neglect. The learning of his father, who was of a contemplative turn of mind, was of no mean order; while it is asserted by Roger de Hoveden that he had been Bishop of Winchester until he was forced by circumstances to ascend the throne[3]: all this and the influence of Swithun, are proofs enough that the young prince could not have wanted teachers at the hands of a royal father who loved him so tenderly—Asser himself informs us that he was taught and excelled in all the accomplishments which became a prince.

Alfred spent much of his time in listening to the national poetry as sung by the minstrels of his father's household, and committed it to memory with great facility. He was skilful beyond his age in hunting and the use of arms. His early visits to Rome, the capital of Western civilization, must have tended to enlarge his

2. Asser Vit. Ælfe. p. 1. (Ed. Camden).

3. See Roger de Hovedin (Bohn's Ed.), p. 36.

mind. It is said that when he had reached his twelfth year, he had not yet been taught to read; yet, according to the anecdote related by Asser, in this point he was not inferior to his elder brothers. It appears that when Ethelwolf married the French Princess Judith, Alfred's mother was set aside to make way for his step-mother, and it is probable that the children took her part and went with her. It was after his father's death, and in his mother's house (not, as some have supposed, in that of his step-mother, who had then become his sister-in-law), that the following incident is said to have occurred. In his twelfth year, when he and his brothers were one day in their mother's presence, she showed them a splendid book of Anglo-Saxon poetry, an article then of great value, and she told them that she was ready to give it to him who should first make himself master of its contents, and commit them to memory. Alfred, attracted by the beauty of the initial letters, and already distinguished by his thirst for knowledge, accepted the challenge, took the book out of his mother's hand, and "went to his master and read it, and, having read it, he brought it back to his mother, and recited it."

Alfred had early experience of the cares of government. In his eighteenth year he had lost all his brothers except Ethelred, who was then on the throne of Wessex, and it appears that Alfred held the second rank in the kingdom. The brief reign of Ethelred was a continual struggle against the overpowering hordes of the Northern invaders. In 868, Alfred, being then in his twentieth year, married Alswitha, daughter of the Mercian Earl Ethelred; and immediately afterwards he and his brother led the army of the West-Saxons into Mercia to dislodge the Danes from Nottingham. In 871 the two brothers were defeated at Reading, and Ethelred received a wound which hastened his death; but four days afterwards they fought again, and obtained a decisive victory at Escendun (Ashdown). A few days later they were again defeated at Basing, and then, soon after Easter, Ethelred died, and was buried in Wimburne Minster.

The popular choice pointed out Alfred as his successor. "The young prince alleged modestly that the sceptre of the West-Saxons was a dignity which, in the circumstances of the times,

he dared not accept; that it was evident that no one, unless especialy aided by the divine providence, would be able to make head against the devastating storm which was sweeping over them; and that he feared he was not himself worthy to be the object of God's choice." But the urgent solicitations of the people overcome his reluctance. After the ceremonies of his brother's burial and his own advancement to the throne had been hurried over, he hastened into Wiltshire, and within the same month fought a great battle at Wilton, in which the Danes obtained the victory. During the first eight years of his reign Alfred was engaged in constant warfare with the Danes, until in 878, after numerous battles fought with various success, his fortunes were reduced so low that he was compelled to seek a shelter with a small body of his most faithful companions in the wilds and woods of Somersetshire. His chief abode was in the Isle of Athelney, where a remarkable monument of his misfortune has since been found, in a beautiful enamelled jewel, bearing his name:—Ælfred het meh ge-wyrcan, *i.e.*, Alfred ordered me to be made; which is now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. This spot was the scene of the interesting legend, so often repeated by modern writers, which appears te have been current in the latter part of the tenth century. The king, according to the oldest document in which this legend is noticed, "then went lurking through hedges and ways, through woods and fields, so that he through God's guidance arrived safe at Athelney, and begged shelter in the house of a certain swain, and even diligently served him and his evil wife. It happened one day that this swain's wife heated her oven, and the king sat thereby, warming himself by the fire, the family not knowing that he was the king. Then was the evil woman suddenly stirred up, and said to his majesty in angry mood, 'Turn thou the loaves, that they burn not; for I see daily that thou art a great eater.' He was quickly obedient to the evil woman, because he needs must.

According to other legends, St. Neot before his death had foretold all the misfortunes which now fell upon his royal kinsman; and while the latter remained concealed in the peasant's cottage, *the saint appeared to him in a vision, and assured him that the*

time was now come when God would restore him to his throne, after having given him the victory over his enemies. It is probable that the king, during the brief period he remained at Athelney, was actively engaged in watching the movements of the Danes, and in preparing to attack them. Another legend represents him passing three days in the Danish camp in the disguise of a minstrel, in order that he might observe their position and learn their designs. Soon after Easter he nearly destroyed the united Danish army in the great battle at Ethandune, and compelled those who escaped with their king Guthrum, to embrace Christianity and become his dependents.

It is difficult to account for the hasty submission of the Danes who were in England, after the battle of Ethandune, which was but one victory gained—but, in the words of Palgrave, "they seem to have become weary of their barbarism." (Vide his History of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 132). But their peaceful conversion did not entirely deliver Alfred from his terrible enemies; for scarcely a year passed during the rest of his reign, in which the coasts of England were not visited by parties of the northern pirates. In 879, a large army of north-men arrived in the Thames, and joined the army of Guthrum, and went with it the year following to settle in East-Anglia, with the exception of a party who, probably dissatisfied with the pacification, left England to seek their fortune in Flanders and France. In 882, Alfred defeated another body of invaders in a naval fight. In 884, another army entered the Medway, and laid siege to Rochester, but they were driven back to their ships by Alfred's approach. In the same year, at the mouth of the Stour, he defeated a fleet which attempted to land in Essex, to join the Danes in East-Anglia, who were on the point of rebelling. The two or three years which followed were undisturbed by hostilities of any importance, and were employed by Alfred in re-building the towns and monasteries which had been destroyed by the invaders. In 886, he rebuilt London. In 894, the English Danes having rebelled, joined some of their countrymen who appeared suddenly on the coast, but they were defeated by Alfred in a decisive battle, which however did not hinder them from harassing the country till 897, when they went over to their countrymen in

France. Convinced by long experience of the difficulty of expelling these invaders when they had once set foot on land, Alfred now saw the necessity of establishing a strict guard of the coasts, and for this purpose he ordered long vessels to be made of a new construction, which drew more water and had higher decks, and which were not only superior in battle but swifter in their motions than those of his enemies. (Vide Saxon Chronicon, sub an. 897).

When Alfred felt himself secure upon his throne, and the submission of the English Danes had given him leisure to attend to the improvement of his people, one of his first measures was to renew his intercourse with the Pope. In 883, pope Marinus sent to the West Saxon king a piece of the wood of the Cross, and subsequently he added other precious relics. The same year Sighelm and Ethelstan carried the king's alms not only to Rome, but to the Christians of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew in the remote regions of India, from whence they brought back numerous rich gems and other commodities. (Saxon Chron. sub. an. 883, also W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 44). The alms of Alfred seem to have been sent to Rome yearly, and the English of all ranks began again to make frequent voyages to that city. In 888 the king's sister, Ethelswitha, died on her way thither. The next year it is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle as a remarkable event that there was "no journey to Rome," with the exception of two couriers whom Alfred sent with letters. (Saxon Chron. sub an. 889). The increase of the number of travellers to Italy restored the importance of the English school in the Eternal city, which had already been revived by the munificence of king Ethelwolf. At the intercession of Alfred, pope Marinus granted to the School new privileges, freeing it of the payment of taxes to the papal see. (Saxon Chron. sub an. 885). Alfred further showed his attachment to the Church by repairing those monasteries which had been destroyed by the Danes, and by building others. His principle foundations were the monasteries of Athelney and Winchester, the former of which places was the scene of his most reduced fortunes. The Danes had inflicted on his kingdom one loss which it was not in Alfred's power to repair; with the monastic houses they had committed to the flames the literature of the country, in which the

libraries of the monks were rich, and with them have perished even the names of many of our native writers. "I thought," says the King himself, in mournful language, "how I saw, before it was all spoiled and burnt, how the churches throughout England stood filled with treasures and books." (Vide preface to the translation to the Pastoral. It is printed with Asser's Life, by Matthew Parker, fol. London 1574; also in 1597, again in 1603, and by Wise in his ed. of Asser, at Oxford in 1722).

Alfred's efforts for the restoration of literature in England were great, and to a certain degree successful. He tells us himself that the native scholars had disappeared with the troubles of the preceding reigns, and, to supply their place, he sent for learned men from France, a country which was then suffering under the same evils from which he had delivered his own country. In this way he brought over Grimbald, whom he made abbot of his new monastery at Winchester, and a learned priest of the nation of the Old Saxons, named John, to whom also he is said to have given an abbey. To these, according to some authorities, we are to add the name of the celebrated Johannes Scotus (vide W. of Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 45). At the same time the king sought out and rewarded men of learning in our own island: he invited Plegmund from Mercia to make him archbishop of Canterbury; summoned to his court three of his countrymen, bishop Werfrith, and the priests Ethelstan and Werwulf, all distinguished for their erudition; and he is said to have promoted Asser, abbot of St. David's (qy.), to the bishopric of Sherborne. The king is represented as spending a large portion of his time with his learned men. According to Asser, he established a school for the education of the princes, and the sons of his nobles, in which they were instructed in letters before they learned any manly exercise, and in which Anglo-Saxon as well as Latin was publicly taught. The authority which connects the name of Alfred with the pretended schools at Oxford is more than suspicious. ¶ It consists of two interpolations, one in the text of Asser, and the other in the legend of St. Neot, and in the assertions of much later writers. The legend of the foundation of the University of Oxford by king Alfred appears to be now entirely exploded. According to the questionable passage in the life of St.

Neot, Grimbald was made professor in the new university. Camden's Asser states that in the year 886, there arose a great dispute in the university between the old scholars and the new ones, and that, Grimbald having complained to Alfred, the king hastened to Oxford, and pacified the scholars; but Grimbald, who had built the church of St. Peter in that town, and had constructed the crypt underneath it in which he intended to be buried, was so disgusted at their quarrelsome temper, that he left the place altogether, and retired to his monastery at Winchester. [It is extremely difficult for the present transcriber to understand how *such* a man as Camden could have printed such worthless stuff.]

Alfred was not only a great patron of learning in others, but he was himself remarkable for his eagerness in the search after knowledge, and was the writer, or rather the translator, of several books. Historians represent him as being moved to this undertaking by the patriotic love of his native language, and Asser describes him as eagerly listening to the national songs of his countrymen, but Alfred himself tells us that his reason for transcribing books into English, *was the neglect then shown to the study of Latin by the larger portion even of the clergy, and the consequent difficulty in finding people who could understand the originals.* Perhaps we are right in judging that he was actuated by both these feelings. It has by some been supposed, though with some apparent probability, that the compilation of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle was begun in his reign. The following works were written by King Alfred of ever Blessed memory, or have been attributed to him.

1.—In order to make his subjects more generally acquainted with ancient history, Alfred translated into English the historical work of Orosius. A manuscript of this translation is in the Cottonian Library, Tiberius B. i., from which it was printed by Daines Barrington. Another copy is now with the other manuscripts belonging to the Lauderdale Library, in the possession of Lady Dysart (this was in 1842).

2.—The Anglo-Saxon version of Bede's History of the Anglo-Saxon Church has also been generally attributed to Alfred. Manuscripts of this work are in the Public Library of the University of

Cambridge, and in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 41, the latter of which belonged to Leofric bishop of Exeter. The other manuscript (MS. Cotton. Otho., B. xi.) was destroyed by the fire in the Cottonian Library. This book also has been printed.

3.—Alfred translated for the more especial use of his clergy the Pastorale of Pope Gregory, and is said to have sent a copy of it to each of his bishops, whose names were severally inserted in the translator's preface. Three of the original copies thus sent are still preserved, addressed to Wulfsige bishop of Sherborne (in the Public Library, Cambridge), to Wærferth bishop of Worcester (in the Bodleian Library, MS. Hatton, No. 88), and to Plegmund of Canterbury (MS. Cotton. Tiberius, B. xi.) The latter is very much injured by fire. The Cambridge MS., which had been preserved in the Cathedral of Wells, and was sent by bishop Jewel to Archbishop Parker, is as clean and fresh in appearance as when it came from the hands of Alfred's scribe, and is a noble specimen of Anglo-Saxon writing. The Cottonian MS. Otho., B. ii., now destroyed by the fire, contained a copy from the one sent by the king to Hehstan bishop of London. There is also a somewhat later transcript of Wulfsige's copy of the Pastoral in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and another manuscript of the book in the library of Corpus Christi College, No. 12. This work has not been printed. The Dialogues of Pope Gregory were translated by Werferth, bishop of Worcester, under Alfred's command.

4.—Another work of the king's which is still preserved is a select translation of the Soliloquies of St. Augustine. A copy of it is in MS. Cotton. Vitellius, A. xv., but it had not been printed in 1842.

5.—One of the most interesting of Alfred's translations is that of the treatise of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiæ, a work exceedingly popular during the Middle Ages. It is more freely translated than the other books, and exhibits more than any of them the philosophical turn of Alfred's mind. The original is said to have been glossed for the king by Asser, to render it more easily intelligible (vide W. Malmsb. pp. 44 and 248). A manuscript of this work, written in the common hand of the tenth century, Cottonian Otho. A. vi., has been so much injured by the fire that

it consists only of a few ragged leaves. A transcript of it is preserved among the Manuscripts of Junius in the Bodleian Library. Another, written towards the beginning of the twelfth century, is in the Bodleian, described by Wanley, has been twice printed.

6.—Alfred's Manual, or Hand-book (as he called it), existed in the time of William of Malmesbury. Asser says that it was about the size of a Psalter, and that Alfred entered in it prayers and psalms and his daily observations, and that he always carried it about with him. It appears from William of Malmesbury that it also contained historical anecdotes, and miscellaneous entries—here is one of these: "Abbot Aldhelm had observed with pain that the peasantry were become negligent in their religious duties, and that no sooner was the church service ended than they all hastened to their homes and labours, and could with difficulty be persuaded to attend to the exhortations of the preacher. He watched the occasion, and stationed himself in the character of a minstrel on the bridge over which the people had to pass, and soon collected a crowd of hearers by the beauty of his voice; when he found that he had gained possession of their attention, he gradually introduced, among the popular poetry which he was reciting to them, words of a more serious nature, till at length he succeeded in impressing upon their minds a truer feeling of religious devotion."

7.—Most writers who have given lists of Alfred's works include among them what they call Alfred's Proverbs. This work, which has been printed, is preserved in two manuscripts, in MS. Trin. Coll., Cambridge, B. 14, 39, and in MS. Col. Jes., Oxon., 1, 29; a third MS. Cotton. Galba, A. xix., perished in the fire. They are of the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is a collection of moral instructions in verse, conveyed in popular proverbs, supposed to be addressed by him to his people and to his son, but it has no claim to be ranked among his works. This tract must have been in existence early in the twelfth century, for it is mentioned by Ailred of Rievaux (Ailred. Rieval. ap. Leland. de Script. Brit. p. 150).

8.—The translation of Æsop's Fables attributed to king Alfred was probably more genuine. Our knowledge of this book is derived from the Epilogue to the fables of the Anglo-Norman poetess

Marie, who says that she translated them from Alfred's English version. Some of the manuscripts of these fables give a different reading of the name, but that of Alfred is the best supported. Alfred's name continued long to be popular, and was probably affixed in different ways to many such works as the two last mentioned. The introduction to a Latin version of Æsop, preserved in manuscript in the British Museum, also mentions Alfred's English translations, in a manner which can leave little doubt of the existence of such a book bearing the monarch's name.

The old bibliographers, such as Bale and Leland, enumerate other works under the name of Alfred for which there is no authority. We think also that it is not necessary to place among the king's literary productions his enactments, which are printed in all the editions of the Anglo-Saxon laws.

Alfred's translations are executed with much spirit. As he tells us himself, he "sometimes interprets word for word, and sometimes meaning for meaning"; and he not unfrequently inserted passages of his own. The most interesting of his works in respect to this latter point are, his version of *Boethius*, containing several very remarkable additions, and his *Orosius*, in the geographical part of which he has given the valuable narratives of two northern navigators, Ohtere and Wulfstan, whom he had personally examined. In point of style, Alfred's translations may be considered as the purest specimens we possess of Anglo-Saxon prose. We could not select a better example than the Introduction to the translation of Gregory's Pastorale, taken from the copy sent to bishop Wulfsige.

∴ This is the preface how St. Gregory made the book which people call *Pastorale:* "Alfred the king greets affectionately and friendly bishop Wulfsige his worthy, and I bid thee know, that it occured to me very often in my mind, what kind of wise men there formerly were throughout the English nation, as well of the spiritual degree as of Laymen, and how happy times there were then among the English people, and how the kings who then had the government of the people obeyed God and his Evangelists, and how they both in their peace and in their war, and in their government, held them at home, and also spread their nobleness abroad, and how they then flourished as well in war as in wisdom;

and also the religious orders how earnest they were both about doctrine and about learning, and about all the services that they owed to God; and how people abroad came hither to this land in search of wisdom and teaching, and how we now must obtain them from without if we must have them. So clean it was ruined amongst the English people, that there were very few on this side the Humber who could understand their service in English, or declare forth an epistle out of Latin into English; and I think that there were not many beyond Humber. So few such there were, that I can not think of a single one to the south of the Thames when I began to reign. To God Almighty be thanks, that we now have any teacher in stall. Therefore I bid thee that thou do as I believe thou wilt, that thou, who pourest out to them these worldly things as often as thou mayest, that thou bestow the wisdom which God gave thee wherever thou mayest bestow it. Think what kind of punishments shall come to us for this world, if we neither loved it ourselves nor left it to other men. We have loved only the name of being Christians, and very few the duties. When I thought of all this, then I thought also how I saw, before it was all spoiled and burnt, how the churches throughout all the English nation were filled with the treasures and books, and also with a great multitude of God's servants, and yet they knew very little fruit of the books, because they could understand nothing of them, because they were not written in their own language: as they say our elders, who held these places before them, loved wisdom, and through it obtained weal and left it to us. Here people may yet see their path, but we can not follow after them, because we have lost both weal and wisdom by reason of our unwillingness to stoop to their track. When I thought of all this, then I wondered greatly that none of the excellent wise men who were formerly in the English nation and had fully learned all the books, would translate any part of them into their own native language; but I then soon again answered myself and said, they did not think that ever man would become so careless and learning so decay. They therefore willingly let it alone, and would that more wisdom were in this land, the more languages we know. Then I considered how the law was first found in the Hebrew tongue; and

again the Greeks learnt it, then they translated it all into their own speech, and also all other books; and also the Latin people afterwards, as soon as they had learnt it they translated it all through wise interpreters into their own tongue; and also all other Christian people translated some part of them into their own tongue; and also all other Christian people translated some part of them into their own languages. Therefore it appears to me better, if you think so, that we also have some books which seem most needful for all men to understand, that we translate them into that language that we can all understand, and cause, as we very easily may with God's help, if we have the leisure, that all the youth that is now in the English nation of free men, such as have wealth to maintain themselves, may be put to learning, while they can employ themselves on nothing else, till at first they can read well English writing. Afterwards let people teach further in the Latin tongue those whom they will teach further and ordain to higher degree. When I thought how the learning of the Latin language before this was decayed through the English people, though many could read English writing, then I began among other divers and manifold affairs of this kingdom to translate into English the book which is named in Latin *Pastoralis*, and in English *Herdsman's book*, sometimes word for word, sometimes meaning for meaning, as I learnt it of Plegmund my archbishop, and of Asser my bishop, and of Grimbald my presbyter, and of John my presbyter. After I had then learnt it so that I understood it as well as my understanding could allow me, I translated it into English; and I will send one copy to each bishop's see in my kingdom, and on each one there is a stile of the value of fifty mancuses; and I bid in God's name that no one take the handle from these books, nor the books from the mynster, unknown, as long as there are my learned bishops, as (thanks to God) there are now everywhere. Therefore I would that they remain always in their places, unless the bishop will have them with him, or it be lent somewhere until somebody write another copy."

∴ In so many words I hear dower you, gentle reader, with the soul and spirit of the greatest and most noble Monarch who has ever sat upon the British Throne. Is it for nought that, while

I desired to get into the marrow of my bones and the eyes of my mind that particular something which should make *you* the richer by the perusal thereof, that you shall sit idly folding your hands—squandering even your leisure hours in frivolity? God forbid! Pray let this gentle admonition, in the unqualified love ye must bear to good King Alfred, so lead thee onward—until you shall obtain eternal blessedness. Let not God's arm be shortened in *yourself*, let the love of our most dear humanity be *human*; then, in the words of Alfred the Good, the Wise, and the Great, you most certainly "will leave to your successors a memory of good work done."

Former biographers have been induced to give Alfred the fame of being a poet as well as a prose writer; this is owing to Asser's account of the love which the king shewed always in his native poetry, and of the metrical version of the Metres of Boethius attributed to him. [The Romances of the Anglo-Saxons hold historically the same place in literature which belongs to the Iliad or the Odyssey. To the comparison already made between the earliest poetry of Greece and that of England, it may be added that the names given to a minstrel, *Scóp* on the one hand, from *scapan*, to make, and, on the other, ποιητὴς, from ποιεῖν, are identically the same, and, indicating a consciousness of the creative faculty of the poet, differ entirely from the *trobador*, and *trouvère*, of a later period of mediæval poetry. ' The Anglo-Scottish poetry of the fifteenth century was merely an imitation of the English of the thirteenth and fourteenth, and their *makkar*, or *maker*, can only be conceived to have merited his name by the old rule *lucus a non lucendo*, because he borrowed his materials ready-made. Their subjects were either exclusively mythological or historical facts, which, in their passage by tradition from age to age, had taken a mythic form. Beowulf himself is, probably, little more than a fabulous personage—another Hercules destroying monsters of every description, natural or supernatural, nicors, ogres, grendels, dragons. No weak or selfish feelings ever interfere with his straight course of heroic probity. Courage, generosity, and fidelity are his virtues. The coward, the niggard, and the traitor, whenever they are mentioned, are spoken of with strong marks of abhorrence. The weaker sex, though it has scarcely any share in the action, is always treated with extreme delicacy and respect. The plot of the poem is at once simple and bold. Among the other romances, that of *Finn* had for its subject the mutual injury of two hostile tribes, and acts of vengeance repeated until the one was vanquished and became dependent on the other. Sometimes the ladies stand forth as more active and powerful agents. Then the romance of *Offa* was founded on the marriage of a king with a wood-nymph, and the hatred with which she was regarded by his mother—a story frequently reproduced in the romances of the thirteenth century.

The old German romance of the *Niebelungen* has for its subject the disastrous consequences which arose out of the vanity and petulance of two royal dames. The subject of that of *Walthariu*s, preserved to us only in a Latin dress, is the escape of a prince and his affianced bride from the court of the Huns, where they had been detained as hostages. (This romance has been printed more accurately than in the older editions, by Grimm and Schmeller.) But the only perfect monument of Anglo-Saxon romance, which the hand of time has left us, is *Beowulf.*|

We have already stated it is *our* opinion that these metres of Boethius were not the work of Alfred; they were probably composed by some writer lost to posterity of the tenth century, who imagined that Alfred's version of Boethius was imperfect so long as the metres were only given in prose. If Alfred had written verse, it would certainly have possessed some of the higher characteristics, which distinguished that class of compositions in the Anglo-Saxon language; and we can not believe that he would have submitted to the puerile occupation of arranging his own words in *alliterative* couplets.

The metres omitted of Boethius are, lib. I., metr. 6; II. metr. 2; and IV. metr. 7. (See Cardale's Boethius, pp. 16, 34, 36.) The reason of this omission is very remarkable. Alfred generally introduces the metres with the words "When wisdom began to sing (ongan he singan, or giddian, or gliowian), but in these three instances only he has omitted that expression in the prose version, which led the writer of the metrical version to overlook them entirely. It seems to us quite impossible that king Alfred should have fallen into such an error when reading over his own book—in a measure the writer of the metrical version exhibits a greater ignorance of the ancient classics than Alfred. In his translation of third metre of the fourth book of Boethus, Alfred tells us that Ulysses governed two countries, Ithaca and Retia. The versifier, either having before him a corrupted copy of Alfred's version, or mistaking the word, changed Ithaca into *Thrace*, and made his alliteration to suit it. All these circumstances taken together, seem to us conclusive in proving that Alfred was not the author of the metrical Anglo-Saxon version of the Metres of Boethius. Of the

only manuscript known to contain this version a considerable portion is still preserved in the Cottonian library; this is in the common handwriting of the tenth century, and may have been written towards the latter end of it.

Alfred died on the 28th October, 901. His children, and even his grandchildren, inherited from him the same greatness of mind, and love of science and literature, which were so conspicuous in his own character. His name continued to be cherished among his countrymen till the extinction of Anglo-Saxon independence, and it was without doubt the subject of numerous traditionary stories and anecdotes. Even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries his memory was kept alive, as the burthen of popular songs, and by productions similar to the fables and proverbs already mentioned. In one of these laudatory songs good king Alfred is called the "shepherd" and the "darling of the English people."

In thus drawing to a close this study of the life of King Alfred—which has been infinately more to myself than *meat* and *drink*, let it be said, I lay my pen down that *you* may take a better one; and if you only give to the world as much as I have striven to do, you shall not have dwarfed the statue of one who, while he was a KING, was yet a MAN!

> "Alfred found learning dead, and he restored it.
> Education neglected, and he revived it.
> The laws powerless, and he gave them force.
> The Church debased, and he raised it.
> The land ravaged by a fearful enemy, from
> Which he delivered it!"

There are some among *you* who may wish to know how the English Chronicle records the death of Alfred. It begins the entry for the year 901, in so many words: "This year died Alfred, son of Æthelwulf, six days before the mass of All Saints. He was king over the whole English nation, except that part which was under the dominion of the Danes. And he held the kingdom one year and a half less than thirty years. And then Edward, his son, succeeded to the kingdom."

∴ There are not a few devout Christians in this dear old Britain of king Alfred, living one thousand years after his death

[while *I* born out of due time may be the only person, in a thoroughly Christian spirit] record this fact; who are solicitous to know *how* the good king pillowed his head in the bosom of our heavenly Father! Beloved in the Lord (the king's dying words to Edward, his son, are given in the collection of Alfred's sayings, in the following words), thus quoth Alfred: "My dear son, sit thou now beside me, and I will deliver thee true instruction. My son, I feel that my hour is near, my face is pale, my days are nearly run. We soon must part. I shall to another world, and thou shalt be left alone with all my wealth. I pray thee, for thou art my dear child, strive to be a father and a lord to my people: be thou the children's father and the widow's friend: comfort thou the poor and shelter the weak: and with all thy might right that which is wrong." "And, my son, govern thyself by law, then shalt the Lord love thee, and God above all things shall be thy reward. Call thou upon Him to advise thee in all thy need, and so shall He help thee the better to compass that which thou wouldest."

Cynewulf, the poet of Alfred's time, tells us how sweetly those that are CHRIST'S lay life's earthly burthern down upon the waveless shore:—

"There is the angels' song; the bliss of the happy;
There is the gracious presence of the Lord;
Brighter than the sun, for all the blessed ones,
There is the love of the beloved; life without death's end;
A gladsome host of men; youth without age;
The glory of the heavenly chivalry; health without pain
For righteous doers; and for souls sublime
Rest without toil: there is day without dark gloom,
Ever gloriously bright; bliss without fear;
Friendship 'twixt friends, for ever without feud;
Peace without enmity, for the blest in heaven,
In the communion of saints. Hunger is not there nor thirst,
Sleep nor grievous sickness; nor sun's heat,
Nor cold, nor care, but there that blissful band
The fairest of all hosts, shall aye enjoy
Their sovran's grace, and glory with their king."

THE history of bishop Asser is involved in some obscurity, because, independent of the information contained in the book which goes under his name, we have very few personal allusions to him. We know from authentic documents that there was an Asser bishop of Sherborne at the beginning of the tenth century.[1] This bishop Asser died, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in 910, or, according to the Latin Chronicle called Asser's Annals, in 909. He is supposed to be the same person with the Asser whom king Alfred, in his preface to the Pastorale, calls "Asser my bishop" (æt Assere minum biscope); but it is rather singular that the very preface in which he speaks thus of bishop Asser is addressed to Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne, and therefore Alfred's bishop Asser can not then have filled that see. We can only account for this apparent discrepancy by supposing that Asser was bishop of some other see before he was translated to Sherborne. Some writers have pretended that he was bishop o St. David's in Wales[2]; but it is quite certain that Alfred would apply the term "my bishop" only to one whose see was within his own dominions and in his own appointment. Alfred, in his will, made between 872 (when he came to the throne) and 885 (when Esne bishop of Hereford, mentioned in it, died), probably not very long after the former date, makes a bequest to "the bishop of Sherborne,"[3] who is called, in the Latin copy of the will, "Asser

1. In the list of Bishops in MS. Cotton. Tiberius, A.v., written in the latter part of the tenth century, the see Sherborne is said to have been occupied by five bishops from the death of Heahmund (872) to Wærstan (who was also slain by the Danes, in 918). Asser's name appears as the third. The name of Asser (ego Asser episcopus) occurs among the signatures to some charters of the reign of Edward the Elder. *See Tanner Biblioth.* The twenty-fourth Archbishop of St. David's is noted in the Clergy list, as being filled by Asser but with no date thereto. But see note No. 5.

2. On referring to this list of the Abps. of St. David's it is found to be in the handwriting of the time of James the First.

3. See King Alfred's Will Ed. 1828, p. 20.

bishop of Sherborne." This however must be an error of the Latin translator. Ingulf says that Asser was abbot of Bangor.[4]

Asser gives us the following account of himself in his life of Alfred. He says that at the time when Alfred invited the foreign scholars from France (Grimbald and John of Corvei), he also sent for him from Wales. Asser accompanied the king's messengers, and found Alfred at Dene in Sussex, who received him in the most friendly manner, and begged him urgently to "relinquish the possessions he had on both sides of the Severn," in order to come and live at his court, promising to give him property of much greater value to repay the sacrifice. Asser replied that he could not promise to do this without further consideration, as he thought it wrong to quit the place where he had been nursed, and educated, and had received the tonsure, and been finally ordained, unless by some strong compulsion. The king then said that he would be satisfied to enjoy his services during six months of the year, and that the other six he should spend in Wales. But Asser refused also to agree to this proposal, until he had consulted with his friends; and Alfred let him return to his country, with the promise to visit him at the end of six months, and make the king acquainted with his final determination. Four days after this, Asser left the court, but when he reached Winchester he was suddenly attacked by a violent fever, under which he lay in a hopeless state during more than twelve months. On his recovery, he came to Alfred, whom he found at Leonaford, and he there agreed to attend at his court six months in the year, on the condition that they should not be consecutive, but that he should pass alternately three months at St. David's and three months in England. He pretends that he was only induced to make this agreement by the hope that his friendship with the king would protect his monastery, and the diocese of St. David's, against the persecutions of the Welsh prince Hemeid, who on one occasion had driven away from the diocese himself and "his kinsman the archbishop of the See."[5] But Asser seems to have

4. Ingulphi Historia, Ed. Savile, p. 870.

5. "Sicut et. nobis Archiepiscopum propinquam meum et me expulit aliquando." Asser, p. 15. Could not this Asser have been *titular* bishop, a kind of domestic prelate, to the Archbishop? The present writer is fully of that opinion.

been so well satisfied with Alfred's court that his first residence there lasted eight months instead of three; and when he pressed the king for permission to go, he gave him the two monasteries of Angresbury and Banwell, with other gifts, observing at the same time that these were trifles in comparison with those which he reserved for him at a future period. Asser then informs us that the king afterwards gave him Exeter, with the "whole parish that belonged to it in Saxony (Wessex) and in Cornwall,[6] and loaded him with many other favours, which he begs his readers not to think that he enumerates from ostentatious feelings, but rather to show the extent of the king's generosity and liberality. The only further information which Asser gives concerning himself is, that he wrote the life of Alfred in the forty-fifth year of Alfred's age, that is about A.D. 893. It is dedicated to the King. The performance which goes by the name of Asser is very questionable. His reluctance to quit Wales, and the extreme anxiety of the king to bring him into England on any terms, are equally difficult to understand. There are several reasons for impeaching its authority.

It appears, in the first place, strange that the life of Alfred should have been written in his life time, when he was in the vigour of his age (in his forty-fifth year), and particularly by a man in the position of Asser. It is not easy to conceive for what purpose it was written, or to point out any parallel case; but it is still more difficult to imagine why (if Asser the biographer and Asser bishop of Sherborne be the same) its author, who lived nine years after Alfred's death, did not complete it. When we examine the book itself, we see at once that it does not support its own character; it has the appearance of an unskilful compilation of history and legend. Asser's life of Alfred consists of two very distinct parts: first, a chronicle of events, strictly historical, from 851 to 887; and, secondly, a few personal anecdotes of Alfred, which are engrafted upon the chronicle at the years 866 and 884, without any particular reference to those years, and at the conclusion. No person can compare the first, or strictly historical part of the work, with the Saxon Chronicle, without being convinced that it is a mere translation from the corresponding part

6. Vide Asser, p. 15.

of that document, which was most probably not in existence till long after Alfred's death. Why the writer should discontinue his chronological entries at the year 887, when he distinctly states that he was writing in 893, does not appear, unless we may suppose that the copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle he used was mutilated, and reached no lower than that year.

The second part of the book, or the matter interpolated in the chronicle, evidently contains legendary matter which could not have been written in Alfred's time, or by his bishop Asser. The account he gives of Alfred's youth can not be strictly true: it is impossible to believe that the education of the favourite child of King Ethelwulf, who was himself a scholar, should have been neglected, or that in the court where Swithun was the domestic adviser, he should want teachers. His early mission to Rome is a proof that such was not the case. Yet Asser states that Alfred complained that in his childhood, when he was desirous of learning, he could find no instructors? There are several things in the book which are not consistent: on one occasion the writer quotes the authority of king Alfred for the study of the West-Saxon Queen Eadburga, which must have been well known to all Alfred's subjects;[7] while in another place he goes to a legendary life of St. Neot for all the information relating to Alfred's misfortunates at Athelney, which he has added to what is said in the Saxon Chronicle.[8] In the same manner he asserts in one place that king Alfred laboured under a painful disease, which never quitted him from the time of his marriage till his *fortieth* year, when he was miraculously relieved from it in consequence of his praying to St. Neot, after which he never suffered a relapse;[9] and in a subsequent page he says that the king still continued to suffer from it at the time he was writing, in his *forty-fifth* year, and that he had never been free from it an hour together.[10]

There can be but little doubt that the writer of this life of Alfred made use of a life of St. Neot. The story of Alfred and the peasant's wife is considered to be an interpolation in the original text, because it was omitted in the older manuscript; but even in

7. Vide Asser, p. 3. 8. Vide Asser, p. 9. 9. Vide Asser, p. 12. 10. Vide Asser, p. 17.

that manuscript (the one printed by Matthew Parker) the reference to Neot remained. There are also other allusions to this life of Neot. It is our firm conviction that there existed no life of Neot in the time of the real Asser. There is, on the contrary, every reason for believing that the life of St. Neot began to be written long after his relics were carried into Huntingdonshire, in 974. In this case, the life of Alfred attributed to Asser can not have been written before the end of the tenth century; and it was probably the work of a monk who, with no great knowledge of history, collected some of the numerous traditions relating to king Alfred which were then current, and joined them with the legends in the life of St. Neot, and the historical entries of the Saxon Chronicle; and, to give authenticity to his work, published it under the name of Asser. At the time when it was published, and when the Anglo-Saxons looked back to their great monarch with regret, it may have been intended to serve a political object.

To our understanding power, there is another thing which stamps this life by Asser as ficticious—in drawing particular attention to these *ostentatious feelings* with which he loads his readers with.

King Alfred's Parliament at Shifford.—A Metrical Fragment from the Anglo-Saxon.

TRANSLATED BY MARTIN F. TUPPER, D.C.L., F.R.S.

At Shifford many thanes were set;
There book-learned bishops met,
Earls and knights, all awsome men,
And Alfric, wise in lawsome ken:
There too England's own darling,
England's shepherd, England's king,
Alfred! them he truly taught
To live in duty as they ought.

Alfred, England's king and clerk,
Well he loved God's holy work:
Wise was he and choice his speech,
First of England skill'd to teach.

Thus quoth Alfred, England's love,
"Would ye live for God above?
Would ye long that He may show
Wiselike things for you to know,
That you may world's worship gain,
And your soul's to Chist attain?"

Wise the sayings Alfred said:
"Christ the Lord I bid thee dread;
Meekly, O mine own dear friend,
Love and like him without end;
He is Lord of life and love,
Blest all other bliss above,
He is Man, our Father true,
And a meek mild Master too;
Yea, our brother; yea, our king;
Wise and rich in everything,
So that nought of His good will
Shall be aught but pleasure still
To the man who Him with fear
In the world doth worship here."

Thus quoth Alfred, our delight:

"He may be no king of right
Under Christ, who is not filled
With book lore, in law well skilled;
Letters he must understand,
And know by what he holds his land."

Thus quoth Alfred, England's praise,
England's pride and joy always:

"Earl and atheling
Both be under the king,
The land to lead
With duteous deed;

"Both the clerk and the knight
Equally hold by right:
For as a man soweth
Thereafter he moweth,
And every man's doom
Shall come to his home."

Thus quoth Alfred: "To the knight;
'tis his wisdom and his right
To lighten the land
By the mower's hand
Of harvest and of heregongs;
To him it well belongs
That the Church have peace
And the churl be at ease
His seeds to sow,
His meads to mow,
His ploughs to drive afield
In our behoof to yield;
This is the good knight's care
To look that these well fare."

Thus quoth Alfred: "Wealth is but a curse,
If wisdom be not added to the purse.
Though a man hold an hundred and three-score
Acres of tilth, with gold all covered o'er

Like growing corn,—it all is nothing worth,
Unless it prove his Friend, not Foe, on earth.
For wherein, saving for good use alone,
Does gold-ore differ from a simple stone?"

Thus quoth Alfred: "Never let the young
Despair of good, nor give himself to wrong,
Though to his mind right come not as it should,
And though he take no joy in what he would.
For Christ when he will
Gives good after ill,
And wealth by His grace
In trouble's hard place.
And happy the mind
That to Him is resign'd."

Thus quoth Alfred: "When a child is wise,
That is indeed a father's blessed prize.
Hast thou a child?--while yet a little one,
In man's whole duty timely teach thy son;
When he is grown, he still shall keep the track
And for all cares and troubles pay thee back.
But, if thou leave him to his evil will,
When grown, such duties will be galling still,
For thy bad teaching he shall curse thee sore,
And shall transgress thy counsels more and more;
Better for thee an unborn son, I wot,
Than one whom thou the father chastenest not."

Thus quoth Alfred: "If thou growest old,
And hast no pleasure, spite of weal and gold,
And goest weak;—then, thank thy Lord for this,
That He hath sent thee hitherto much bliss,
For life, and light and pleasures past away;
And say thou, come and welcome, come what may!"

Thus quoth Alfred: "Worldly wealth and strength
Come to the worms, and dust, and death at length,
Though one be king of earth and all its power,
He can but hold it for life's little hour.

Thy glorious state will work thee grievous fate,
Unless thou purchase Christ, before too late.
Therefore in living well, at God's behest,
By serving Him we serve ourselves the best.
So, rest thou well that He will send thee aid,
As Solomon the King right wisely said,
He that does worthy good on earth has wit,
At last he goeth where he findeth it."

Thus quoth Alfred: "My dear son, come near,
Sit thou beside, and I will teach thee here.
I feel mine hour is well-nigh come, my son;
My face is white; my days are almost done;
Soon must we part; I to another throne,
And thou in all my state shall stand alone:
I pray thee,—for mine own dear child thou art,
Lord of this people, play their father's part,
Be thou the orphan's sire, the widow's friend,
Comfort the poor man, and the weak defend.
With all thy might
Succour the right,
And be strong
Against the wrong:
And thou, my son, by law thyself restrain,
So God shall be thy Guide and glorious Gain;
Call thou for help on Him in every need,
And He shall give thee greatly to succeed."

∴ Gentle reader, you have here set out before you somewhat of the very mind of the good king Alfred the Great, and that as much as might be in his own pure words: a wholesome feast of reason and most curious interest; for the first time (though after a thousand years) translated in such a way that you may confidently meditate upon it with ease, and not without profit. The exact authorship is disputable; while there is not the slightest doubt about it being a genuine echo of the words of king Alfred, especially the latter part, the beautiful pathos of which, being addressed by the dying king to his son and successor, Edward the Elder, is truly affecting.

You have here evidence of the deep love and high sense of duty that dwelt in the breast of our first great King of old: in that, notwithstanding the continual torments of a chronic disease, the constant vicissitudes of invasion or conquest, and the ceaseless cares and anxieties of government, Alfred still found time himself to learn, and then to teach his half barbarian people. To this end, he used the common speech of his own Anglo-Saxon realm, instead of the language of the learned: herein standing almost alone among the teachers, not only of that day, but of almost all others. Bede, Alcuin, and John Erigena, with every body else a thousand years ago, and all but every body ever since, wrote and taught in Latin (the all glorious Florentine alone excepted): but it better pleased our noble-minded King to condescend to the instruction of his humblest subjects through the means of their mother-tongue.

Thus, as we have seen, he did his best to give them an insight, however small our more enlightened age may deem it, not only into those highest matters of morals and religion, but also into such good earthly food for man's mind here below, as physics, history, geography, astronomy. All this argued the King to be himself the liberal-minded scholar, as well as the pure-minded Christian: and in these more independent and democratic days of wide-spread knowledge, we cannot sufficiently estimate the good practically accomplished by such a man as Alfred, at once the Ruler and the Teacher of his people.

Speaking of King Alfred's poems (and such other performances regulated or rendered in prose by the king), Dr. Martin Tupper says, "according to the genius of the Anglo-Saxon *fitte* or song, Alfred aims at bringing the same sounds upon the ear, and the same sense upon the mind, over and over again, those modern abominations of criticism, alliteration and tautology, must be regarded not as faults but beauties*; not symptoms either of carelessness or

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*Similes are very rare in Anglo-Saxon poetry. The whole romance of Beowulf contains only five, and those are of the simplest kind; the vessel gliding swiftly over the waves is compared to a bird; the Grendel's eyes of fire; his nails to steel; the light which Beowulf finds in the Grendel's dwelling, under the waters,

of a mere ear-tickling jingle, but marks of heedfulness and art, and according to the character of early bardic ballads. These metres, for the most part, I have rendered into such primitive English as the Saxon may readily understand every word of them. But it does not follow that, because some words appear to be Latin, they are not also Anglo-Saxon: for instance, Alfred uses some very similar to MAGISTER, CASTRUM, OVIS, CARCER, and many others: and, as every linguist is aware, there are several words which prove our common origin, being common to nearly every nation under heaven; and in this last place let me ask you to just look once again at those most touching words of Alfred to his son.

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resembles the serene light of the sun; and the sword which has been bathed in the monster's blood melts immediately "like ice."

A Note upon the Name of Brittaine, contrasted with that of England, the land of the English.

TIME trying to imbue the mind with as much as it might properly understand, when many were babbling about our *so-called* Anglo-Saxon origin, took myself to the consideration of the subject, as one which most certainly had a beginning long anterior to that epoch. For myself I *flatly* refused to believe the Anglo-Saxon craze, and as much as that from the fact of Brittaines never having been designated as *Danes*. Why not call us Englishmen of to-day *Picts?* Think, and surmise what you please, you can not make a "purse out of a sow's ear." The *Teutons* may have left their mark upon what has been called a "barbaric" vernacular, but of a certainty it is they have never been able to alter the shape of a Britain's skull. It is a fact that, where the greatest influence has been felt or *exercised* by the teutonic-race, and that in Norfolk and Suffolk, that the heads of the inhabitants of those parts are as "round as turnips"—our invaders settling in those counties, having brought their women with them, would account for *that* phenomenon.

If there are any who will study the labours of the famous John Selden, so that they may get his dogged spirit (in matters of study) into the marrow of their bones, one thing shall be known for certain, that mere *assertion* in matters of history shall at once go to the wall. If English-men are *English*, Brittains are *Britons!* And, since you and I desire to know the Fabulous in History (that is, if facts not *generally* known are to be designated as such because they are not known to the vulgar), you at least, my courteous reader, will not think myself *over* credulous when I sought to discover for myself all that which was once known about our all glorious Nation long before our beloved native-land was known by the name of Brittaine. And so much for the Brittish.

∴ And thus much for Albion.

In Geoffrey's Chronicle this England of ours is called ALBION, or "White Island," before Brutus gave it the name of *Britain;* but the Triads give the following as the true origin of the name:—"There were three names given to the Isle of Britain from the

beginning. Before it was inhabited, it was called *the Sea-girt Green Spot.* After it was inhabited, it was called the *Honey Island,* from the quantity of wild honey found in it. And after the people were formed into a commonwealth by Prydain (and who are they who have ever heard of this maker of England before?), the son of Aedd the Great, it was denominated the Isle of Prydain [English, Britain's Isle.] And no one has any right to it but the tribe of the Cymry, for they first settled in it; and before that time no persons lived thereon, but it was full of bears, wolves, crocodiles, and bisons."—*Triad* 1.

In the Triads respecting renowned men and things that were in the Isle of Britain, and the circumstances and misfortunes which happened to the nation of the Aborigines, we find the following notices:—

"The three national pillars of the Isle of Britain. First Hu [Hugh] the Mighty, who first brought the nation of the Cymry to the Isle of Britain. They came from the Summer country, which is called Defrobani [that is the place where Constantinople now stands;] and they came over the Hazy Sea, to the Isle of Britain, and to Armorica, where they settled."—*Triad* 4.

But this primary and principal colony was soon followed by another two, as appears from the 5th Triad:—

"The three Social tribes of the Isle of Britain. The first was the tribe of the Cymry, that came with Hugh the Mighty into the Isle of Britain, because he would not posssess a country and lands by fighting and contention, but justly and in peace.

"The second was the tribe of the *Loegrians*, who came from Gwasgyn (Gascony), and were descended from the primitive tribe of the Cymry.

"The third were the Brython, or Britons, who came from the land of Llydaw (Armorica), and were also descended from the primitive tribe of the Cymry.

"These were called the three peaceful tribes, because they came by mutual consent and permission, in peace and tranquility: and these three tribes had sprung from the primitive race of the Cymry; and the three were of one language and one speech."

The descendants of Japheth that first took possession of Britain, though composed of several distinct tribes, yet formed but one nation, having sprung from the same stock, and all speaking the same language. Their form of government was pure patriarchism; that is, they were all subject to the heads of respective families, who were also in Britain, as well as in the East, the ministers of religion to their respective tribes. But as these patriarchal priests chose to instruct the people and perform their solemn rites in groves, and especially under the oak, their official name *Gwyddon* (the plural of *Gwydd*, which implies wisdom or knowledge) acquired in the course of time another syllable by way of prefix, taken from *Derw*, their own Cymbric appellation of the oak or oak-groves. The name compounded of *Drew* and *Gwyddou* stood thus, *Derwyddon*, which implied the oak-wise-men, or Priests of the oak. And this term we render *Druids* in English.

The practice of worshipping God under the oak, and sacrificing to him in groves, doubtless prevailed among the patriarchs in the East from the most remote times. We read in Genesis that "Abraham passed through the land (of Canaan) into the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh." The same custom prevailed after the dispersion in the East, among the descendants of Shem, until the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, and the erection of the Tabernacle in the wilderness, which probably was the first building ever formed as an habitation for the Diety. And the Israelites were then forbidden to worship in groves, as incompatible with the worship of the Tabernacle, and because groves had been desecrated by the idolatrous Canaanites, the descendants of Ham, had made them the scenes of the vilest abominations. This custom was first debased and perverted to idolatrous purposes by the Canaanites, long after the time of Abraham, and the arrival of the elder branch of Japheth in Britain.

The stones set up by *Jacob* at *Luz*, and the pillar or heap at *Galeed*—those by *Joshua* at *Gilgal*, and that by *Samuel* at *Eben-ezer*, present to the antiquary a highly interesting subject of inquiry, and will enable him to trace up to the patriarchs themselves the origin of Druidical monuments of our own land,—the carnes, the cromlechs, the circles, and the wild architecture, whose gigantic

stones hanging on one another are still to be seen frowning upon the plains of Stonehenge.

This is not the time nor the place to dwell upon the good nor the bad deeds of the Canaanites, but since it is a fact that we Britains cometh of the elder branch of Japheth already incidentally mentioned on page 36 of these memorials of Alfred the Great of Blessed Memory—it is a matter of paramount importance to know as much as *may* be known,—every incident,—every influence—or whatsoever may have gauged the mind of man which perfected the thinking powers of such men as ALFRED THE GREAT! Men are not called into this world to be laggards, "gathering fruits where they planteth not,"—oppressing the tillers of the land with undue severity! KINGS are nothing more than supreme Governors or Rulers of those who are called to till the land (and this assertion embraces every trade or science which is exercised for the perfecting the needs of this every-day-world in which we live and have our being)—governing men who shall marshall all things for GOD, and His thrice holy Church. They are divinely anointed for this *one* purpose—whereby they may the better lead God's dear people into the land of Promise, *i.e.*, into the Kingdom of God prepared for us from all Eternity. And if all this be true—and I defy any Master in Theology to refute any one of my assertions—"It is to reproduce things which belong to the time rather than the subject, which shall be eagerly listened to"—therefore, and for this reason, *I* give you in this place an epitome of the religious principles as believed in by those of the *elder* branch of Japheth —who peopled this all glorious Brittaine of ours.

The religious principles of the primitive Druids of Britain are drawn from their own memorials, and will show their conformity, in a very marked degree, to the religion of Noah and the ante-diluvians; that the patriarchal religion was actually preserved in Britain under the name of Druidism; and that the British Druids, while they worshipped in groves and under the oak like Abraham, did really adore the God of Abraham, and with an implicit trust in His mercy:—

1. They believed in the existence of one Supreme Being.

2. In the doctrine of Divine Providence, or that God is the Governor of the universe.

3. In man's moral responsibility, and considered his state in this world as a state of discipline and probation.

4. They had a most correct view of moral good and evil.

5. They offered sacrifices in their religious worship.

6. They believed in the immortality of the soul, and a state of recompense after death.

7. They believed in a final or coming judgment.

8. They believed in the transmigration of the soul.

9. They observed particular days and seasons for religious purposes; and that,

10. Marriage was held sacred among them.[1]

The Druids were regarded with profound veneration for their knowledge; so that it was a kind of adage with respect to any thing that was deemed mysterious, namely, "No one knows but God and the holy Druids." Being ministers of religion, and frequently, if not generally, exercising the highest offices in the community, their power and influence could not fail of being very extensive. The account given by Cæsar abundantly confirms this. According to the great Roman, the Druids had not only the charge of the public sacrifices, and the various ceremonies of religion, but to them the education of youth was entrusted. They presided in the courts of justice, and all litigated matters were brought before them. In all cases, their decision was final, and if any person, however eminent, refused to abide by their sentence, he was interdicted the public sacrifices, and treated as an outlaw; and denied the common rights of a citizen.

∴ It will be seen by these "Memorials of Alfred the Great of Blessed Memory"—while so much has been claimed by those several personages who have presumed to pen paper in connection

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1. The ordinary reader might consult with profit an ably written tractate on the Patriarchal Religion of Britain, by the Rev. D. James, which displays great research. Also, that by the learned Dr. Parsons, in his "Remains of Japheth." Ch. iv. I might say that the Rev. Mr. James, at p. 14, traces the route by which the Cymry arrived in Britian.

with the "Millenary of Alfred's Death" that, out of that, that I have led you forth, my patient readers, to the study of our common and great progenitors—a people of this Great Britain of ours who peopled these realms long anterior to the re-naming of the same, when some of our invaders called it "England." The Saxon Heptarchy being a comparatively modern *excrescence* so to speak, incorporated with a greatness far more glorious than anything which might have had its first beginnings with the *Jutes*, the *Saxons*, the *Angles*, the *Frisians* or the *Anglo-Saxons*. I trust I have not wearied you with my way of writing or transcribing historical matters—nowhere marshalled into a consistent ordering by any antiquarian or historical writer. Lastly I would here direct you to what might prove to be a living store-house of much useful research—I mean the burial-places even of the Anglo-Saxons; and for this purpose I have ransacked my thinking powers to supply you with an all but perfect list of ancient cemeteries, in the hope *you* may be the fortunate discoverer with myself even with perhaps a far more glorious FIBULÆ than I have been the humble means of unearthing—an ornament as glorious as what is commonly called "King Alfred's Jewel!"

The List of Antient Cemeteries.

In England: *Bedfordshire*—at Kempston. *Berkshire*, at Abingdon, Reading, Long Wittenham. *Buckinghamshire*, at Ashendon, Dinton, Mentmore, Taplow. *Cambridgeshire*, at Haslingfield, Linton Heath, Little Wilbraham, Soham. *Durham*, at Castle Eden. *Essex*, at Colchester. *Gloucestershire*, at Chavenage Fairford. *Isle of Wight*, at Chessell Down. *Kent*, at Ash, Ashford, Barfriston Down, Bourne Park, Breach Down, Canterbury, Cavoran, Chatham Down, Chatham, Coombe, Faversham, Folkestone Hill, Gilton, Harrietsham, Heppington, Kingston Down, Ozingell, Richborough, Sandgate, Sandwich, Sarre, Sibertswold, Sittingbourne, Wingham, Woodensborough. *Leicestershire*, at Billesdon, Husband's Bosworth, Rothley Temple. *Lincolnshire*, at Scaleby, Searby, Sleaford, Stamford. *Norfolk*, at Kenninghall, Sporle, Walsingham. *Northamptonshire*, at Barrow Furlong, Desborough, Norton, Welford. *Northumberland*, at Hexham. *Oxfordshire*, at Brighthampton, Cuddesdon, Dorchester, Iffley, Islip. *Suffolk*, at Eye, Icklington, Little Bealings,

Stowe Heath, Tostock. *Surrey*, at Farthing Down. *Sussex*, at Lancing, Lewes. *Warwickshire*, at Marston Hill, Ragley Park, Rugby, St. Nicholas. *Wiltshire*, at Harnham Hill, Roundway Down, St. Margaret's Plain. *Yorkshire*, at Driffield.

Austria-Hungary: *Dalmatia*, at Narona, *Hungary*, at Kalocsa, Osztropataka.

Belgium: At Eprave, Furfooz, Harmignies, Pondrome, Samson, Spontin, Tournay.

France: *Aisne*, at Grugies, Homblières. *Calvados*, at Douvrend, Vieux. *Champagne*, at Oyes, Pouan. *Lot*, at Gourdon. *Meuse*, at Verdun. *Oise*, at Hermes, Rue St. Pierre. *Pas-de-Calis*, at Hardenthun, Mareuil, Nesles-les-Verlincthun, Nœux, Pincthun, Sens. *Seine-te-Oise*, at Vicq. *Seine Inférieure*, at Envermeu. *Somme*, at Miannay, Pecquigny. *Yonne*, at Charnay.

Germany: *Northern Provinces*, at Lüneburg, Nieuburg, Oberstein, Slade-on-the-Elbe, Wolpe. *Rhenish Provinces and Hesse*, at Alzey, Heddersdoft, Monsheim, Nordendorf, Schiersteiner, Worms. *Schleswig*, at Borgstedt, Frestedt. Immenstedt, Nydam. *Swabia*, at Oberflacht, Selzen, Sinzheim, Wittislingen.

Italy: *Lombardy*, at Monza, Testona. *Romagna*, at Ravenna.

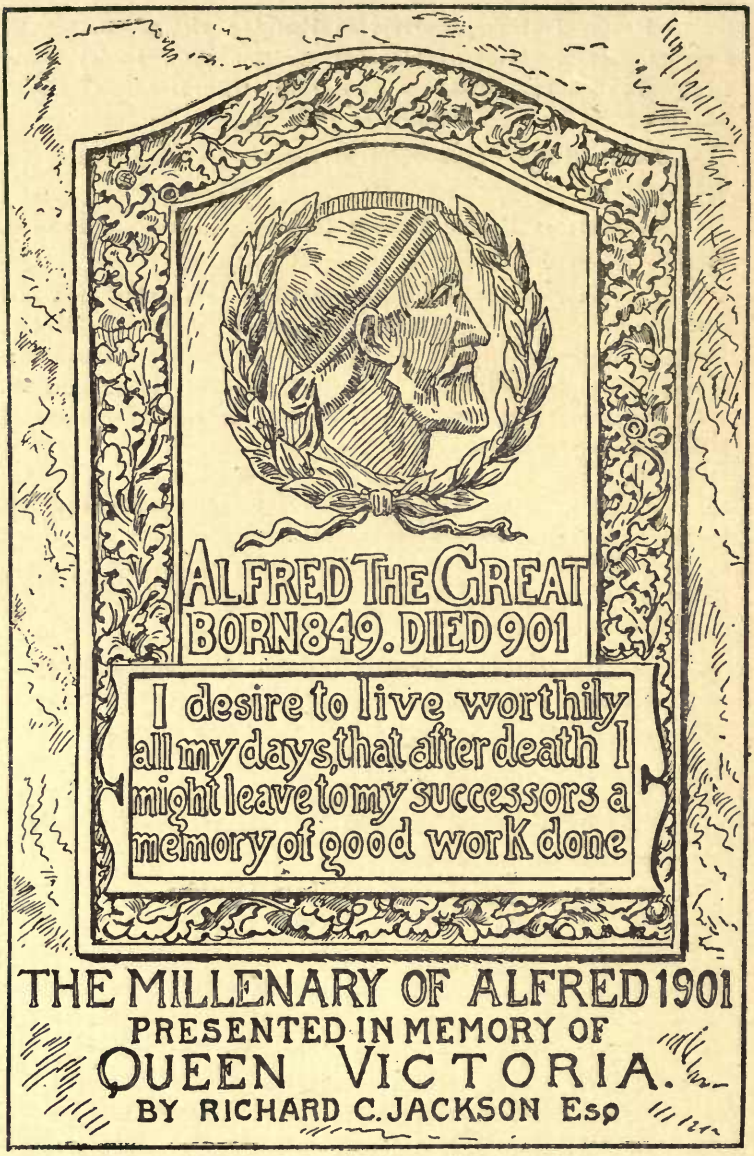
Roumania: At Petrossa.

Russia: At Novotcherkask.

Spain: At Guarrazar, Oviedo.

Sweden: At Oland, Svanskog.

Switzerland: St. Moritz.



"THE LONDON MILLENARY MEMORIAL, 1901."

The Portraiture of Alfred the Great of Blessed Memory.

THE lively "effigies" of Alfred the Great, of all monarchs of this England of ours, is a subject of national interest. To every true born Briton it is of infinitely greater importance than anything which may have been written about the excavations of Pompeii, or the source of the Nile, though the subject is one which has, seemingly, seldom troubled the brain power of England's literary giants in the slightest degree. How, then, shall we turn our thoughts backwards? Cœval with the founding of University College, Oxford (a suggestion which, however, meets with little credence on the part of exact scholars), at least, it is only natural to expect some documentary evidence should be forthcoming respecting the true effigies of its supposed royal founder, "England's own Darling," while the best portrait of the "Mirrour of Princes" is to be found in the words of King Alfred:—"I desire to live worthily all my days, that after death I might leave to my successors a memory of good work done."

A cheap advertisement has been obtained by the small-fry in literature who have tried to magnify a mole-hill into a mountain with respect to the so-called "lost" portrait of the most perfect character of history. This picture (the whereabouts, in part, is known to the present writer), for a number of years was conserved at University College, and designated the "Traditional Portrait of Alfred the Great." This conception of Alfred's portrait is in all probability two-hundred years old, and not much older of a certainty. It appears in one of the Bodlein prints with the following legend attached thereto:—"Alfredus Saxonum Rex, Coll. Universitatis Oxon. Fundator. Circa A. Chr. 877. Hujus Summi Regis Effigiem a Tabula in Bibl. Bodleiana factam Reverendo viro Nathan Wetherell, S.T.P."

Of this particular portrait of the King a large number of engravings have been executed, not always from the "Tabula" itself, but copies made from other engravings until the engraver's art has well nigh obliterated the so-called "traditional" portrait. The engraving by the famous George Virtue, perhaps, is the most beautiful to look upon, characterised as it is by fine embelishments. It is like that beautiful form of poetry in which nothing but polish exists;

causing one to admire the frame to the discomfiture of the "effigies,"—an engraving in which the splendid austerity of the original is nowhere to be seen. Again, why should so much be made of this *lost* portrait when the whole thing, at its best, is only fit to be relegated to the cellars of the National Gallery to keep company with the questionable Titians and Van Dykes? In this place let me direct your attention to the sort of crown which this "traditional" portrait places upon the head of King Alfred. You, my courteous reader, shall at once declare it to be of late 14th or 15th century style, while the picture itself is of a much later date—a composition of the latter part of the 16th century.

It has been said to the writer, "I fear you must be mistaken as to the real portrait of the King as there is none known to be extant." We shall presently see what this person knows about the matter.

With a certain class of writers of these latter days too much is assumed, while the assumption which directs a vast number of people in this or that direction is seldom marked by any very deep research into the archives of "judicious" antiquarians. And here let me introduce to your notice that famous personage, John Selden, a true antiquarian who never put pen to paper without first having a thoroughly reliable piece of information worth recording. This John Selden was much interested in our all-glorious King Alfred, and so much so that he wanted to know the *exact* form of crown which the "Mirrour of Princes" wore. I give you Selden's own words, for no person dare call in question any one of his several utterances:—"King Alfred's head in his coins, whence this is taken here (Selden reproduces the coin in his book) is circled with a simple diadem after the common and antientest fashion, as most of his successors also were till Edward the Confessor. Only, if I mistake not, King *Edred* and King *Edmund Ironside* have crowns somewhat like coronets of our Earls, pointed and pearled on the points which are raised higher than commonly those in our Earl's coronets, but are not so many." . . . "But for the Christian Kings of this Territory of England, it seems that in the elder times of the Saxons (to omit here as a vanity that of King Arthur's crown which *Leland* saies he saw in his seal) they had at first, after the common fashion

of other nations, which perhaps had been antient with them also, the ordinary plain fillet or diadem as we see in the head of *Aldulph*, King of the East Angles, who began his reign in the year 664." (See Selden's "Titles of Honour," published by John Leigh in 1672, p. 133.) This discrimination of Selden's is of the utmost importance, and it does appear strange that Count Gleichen and others, in presuming to give a portrait or semblence of our greatly beloved and venerated king, should disregard altogether what has sailed down to posterity with the stamp of *absolute* truth upon it, respecting Alfred the Good, the Wise, and the Great! What is the use of research and scholarship—such as Selden's—if it does not direct us to the consideration of historical matters in the light of true antiquarian study.

A good deal of small talk has been indulged in with respect to what is called the "Cynehelme," but what has Selden said upon the subject? He writes, "But after the Confessour, Harold returns again in some of his monies to the Diadem of Pearls and bears it on a Helm. And this on a Helm, I conceive to be properly that which they called *Cynehelme*, as the Diadem without the Helm, that which was their Royal Fillet." (Ib. p. 134.) There is evidently, therefore, no authority for placing a golden diadem upon what may be called a helmet, as worn by King Alfred.

It might be stated, without fear of contradiction, no king whatsoever ever permitted a single coin or medal to be struck in his honour without the moneyer first submitting a sketch of the proposed design for his approval. With respect to our late most dearly beloved, virtuous Queen and Empress, we do know that every coin and medal issued during her long and unprecedented reign, is an exact representation of our most gracious Sovereign Lady—and that in every particular. It is fair, also, to presume that the moneyer of King Alfred would have been severely cashiered had he presumed to give representations of the King other than what was absolutely true. You and I behold, therefore, in the coins of Alfred the Great, which the learned Selden produces for our edification, an exact representation of what King Alfred wore upon his head. Many coins are extant of Alfred, and in as many as there may be do we possess EXACT PORTRAITS OF KING ALFRED. No coin has come down to us in these last days with

what has been called the "Cyne-helme" upon the head of the "Mirrour of Princes." With respect to the Royal Fillet, of which Selden gives a representation, the detail becomes of paramount importance, since the Moneyer of Alfred (in every instance) has been scrupulously exact about the identical way in which the Diadem or Royal Fillet was made fast to the head of the King. It is so represented as being tied with a flowing ribbon.

Next in importance to the portraits upon the several coins of King Alfred is that which is to be seen in a manuscript in the Cottonian Collection lettered, Claud. D. vi. s. xiv. But this is all too modern an affair to be of any real importance. Its crown has a kind of debased fleur-de-lis decoration, while the ornamentation of the crown of the so-called "traditional" portrait might have been a design of yesterday. The next representation of the King coming before the eyes of the mind—(of whom that "marvellous boy," Thomas Chatterton, has said, in speaking of the goodness of heart of "England's own Darling," "It is certain we are indebted to Alfred and other Saxon Kings for the wisest of our laws, and in part for the British Constitution"[1])—is that which is enshrined in the Medal of Alfred struck in 1849 in honour of the millenary of the King's birth, which Martin Farquhar Tupper, D.C.L., an early friend of the present writer, designed—and especially with the rarer example of this modest looking medal with the heraldic shields of England and America upon the obverse, which also carries Dr. Tupper's name as the designer of the same. In this portrait of the King, the medallist, W. J. Taylor, has given a fairly good representation, from the design which Dr. Tupper reproduced from the portrait contained in the above mentioned manuscript preserved in the Cottonian Collection. The mantle is correctly enough represented, while the Cynehelme (which should be written or here printed) is conspicuous by its absence.

Count Gleichen's statue at Wantage comes in sequence, while it is *not* the first statue set up of the King. Selden at once puts to shame the sculptor's knowledge of ancient history, the *something* placed upon the king's head being other than what the king actually

1. From a letter of the poet's in the British Museum dated 14th April, 1769.

wore. Again, the present writer is the first person to point out the base use to which the good Count puts what is commonly called "King Alfred's Jewel"—he attaches it to some charter or other, which the king is represented holding in his left hand; it hangs "pendant" wise. Heavens! how is it that such ignorance is tolerated and public money wasted without due regard to its importance? A sculptor should be a well-read man—his knowledge of the antique should be of no mean order; and while it is not incumbent such should be conversant with every known dialect, since the statue was not erected before 1879 and all that was worth recording about the good King's literary performances having been translated not later than 1842, there is no excuse for sending down to posterity as a seal of King Alfred (when it is not known that he used any such a thing—while it is a fact that the notorious Edric or Alfric had one), that which the good King distinctly calls the "handle of a book."[2] In this place mention might be made of the portrait of the king, by way of illustration of the *Cynehelme*, which Thomas Hearne issued with his edition of Spelman's "Life of Alfred the Great," issued in 1709. It is a vigorous conception, but here the Cynehelme is a thing utterly foreign to the latest rubbish stuck upon the images of Alfred—the Royal Fillet as given by Selden, being the only head ornament known.

But this statue set up at Wantage, we have said, is not the first statue to the King. Somewhere about the year 1807, or at the period of the erection of their classical offices at Exeter, the West of England Fire and Life Insurance Company had a finely-executed statue set up of our great and glorious King Alfred, and there it still stands to the present day. This company, which has an office in London at 20, Bridge-street, Blackfriars, still retain copies of the design representing almost all which could be associated with King Alfred in a pictorial design upon a policy—a design filled with grace and dignity, equal in merit with anything set up in a public way with respect to the King in later years, about which nothing previously appears to

2. See his preface to the Pastoral of St. Gregory.

THE FIRST STATUE TO THE MEMORY OF KING ALFRED.

have been written by any other writer. Here you have a representation of this statue—a classical adornment of the ancient city of Exeter, a statue which is infinitely more correct than that colossal affair uncovered at Winchester the other day —representing the king with a thing upon his head, the like of which he never wore; while there is placed in the right hand of the king that, which, on any ordinary evening, can have no other appearance than the "Sword of Doom" held over the heads of our people.

The Sword is not a thing for veneration. Swords of honour are not presented to heroes in such a way. It is not the Sword of Chivalry. It is not the Sword of Victory—for that has never been represented sheathed in its scabbard. It is not the Sword of Valour.

The present writer is absolutely ignorant of the period in the life of King Alfred in which his majesty went about the land in the act of stabbing his people. Of course, such could not be done while the sword is kept in its case—but on State occasions the sword is never carried about with a glass case held over it. "The glistening steel is seen to sparkle in the sun!" For what purpose, then, has that all glorious statue in Palace-yard, Westminster, been set up? The portraiture of the new statue at Winchester compares favourably with the portrait which Thomas Hearne dishes up in his edition of Spelman's "Life of Alfred the Great" above mentioned, while the whole thing as there represented appears to add very considerably to the years of Alfred's age. He was but fifty-two when he died—the same age as Shakespeare.

King Alfred has never been represented as he should have been. But in this place the public are informed that the present writer is erecting in several places a number of memorials of the good King Alfred, constituting the London Millenary Memorial of Alfred, the first of which was unveiled by Dr. Richard Garnett on Tuesday, the 17th September, at the Sir Henry Tate Public Library at Brixton, in which all that has come down to posterity is for the first time faithfully represented. These memorials are in green bronze, with the high lights polished bright, as seen in the best examples preserved in the Museum at Naples. The portrait is a real one, reproduced from the example of which Selden speaks, the rude representation of the Anglo-Saxon Moneyer being softened

down, while no essential detail has been departed from in the slightest degree. From these memorial portraits the " Cynehelme " craze has been eliminated altogether, while the exact formation of the Royal Fillet or Crown which the King wore has been strictly adhered to. The portrait of the "Mirrour of Princes" is circled by a wreath made of the leaves of the *Laurus Nobilus*, beneath which is the title of the King with the year of his birth and death, followed by the words of Alfred the Great : " I desire to live worthily all my days, that after death I might leave to my successors a memory of good work done." The memorial is surrounded with a rich design of the national emblem of England—the Oak represented naturally. The bronze is laid upon a rich solid block of red alabaster, and forms one of the most beautiful memorial tablets ever set up at any time. The work has been carried out by the sculptors T. and E. Nicholls, who executed some of the most dignified figures in the great screen at Winchester Cathedral, who also executed that exquisite statue of our late most dearly beloved Queen and Empress at Eton College (unveiled by her Majesty in person) in 1891, who heartily co-operated with the ideas expressed by the donor and raiser up of this London Memorial to King Alfred, faithfully delineating all which the judicious Selden has presented to our gaze :

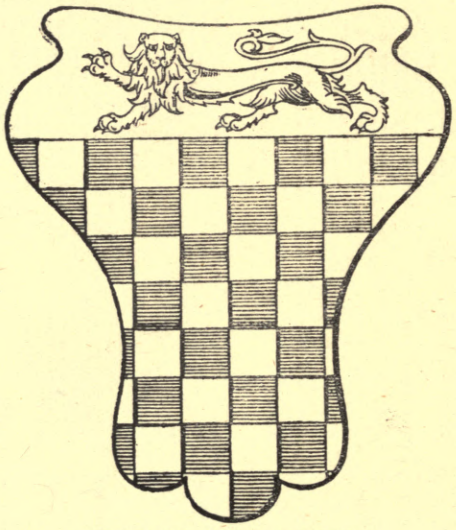
" Thus by the sculptor's art divine is shown
The breathing statue from the cold, dead stone."

The present writer has executed an interesting Memorial of Alfred the Good, the Wise, and the Great, forming the " Jacksonian Commemoration Medal of the Millenary of Alfred, 1901." A remarkably fine and vigorous inspiration, equal to anything previously seen, which has been inspired by a life-long study of the antique. The portrait is again that which John Selden singles out for veneration, which has been placed between two sprays (represented naturally of the Laurus Nobilus, and dedicated to BRITONS EVERYWHERE. The drawing for the block of this medal has been made by that highly-gifted black and white artist, Ernest Cousins, which at once becomes (in the direction of medals), the *chef d'œuvre* of Anglo-Saxon Art.

What is to be the future of this design has not as yet been determined upon, but it is fondly hoped it may be the humble means of leading honourable men to the consideration—if not emula-

tion—of all that is good and true in human nature, leading mankind forth to that calmer atmosphere where peace and unity dwell together for evermore. Some such object as a Commemorative Medal of Alfred the Great is sorely needed, which, in the hours that intervene between labour and study, may direct the eyes of the mind to the contemplation of the labours of the good and the true, the wise and the great,—even as such work and such actions are nowhere to be seen in greater magnificence than in the life and character of Alfred the Great. Laus Deo!

This Book has been transcribed from various old authors not accessible to the general public, and entirely produced in London. First, out of gratitude by a grandson of a Citizen of London to and for our Great Father of his Country, King Alfred, who re-built our all glorious City, the "World's Mart," a city more ancient than the ancient city of Rome (a fact which is recorded in the "Historia Britonum," ascribed to Nennus) Anno Domini 886, and is issued to the public on the 1,000th Death-day of Alfred the Great, the "Truth Teller," the "Mirrour of Princes," of Blessed Memory, on the Feast-day of the Apostles and all glorious Martyrs SS. Simon and Jude, by the Bowyer Press, and are to be obtained of Messrs. Jones and Evans, Ltd., of 77, Queen Street, Cheapside, in the above mentioned City of London. The title-page and other blocks have been executed by T. B. Brown, Ltd., of 162, Queen Victoria Street, in the aforesaid City, and the work has been printed by J. Hartnoll and Son, of Brixton, a suburb of the South-West district of London. GOD SAVE THE KING.



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