**Miscellanies, antiquarian and historical / By F. Sayers.**

# MISCELLANIES.

# MISCELLANIES,

## ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL,

BY

F. SAYERS, M. D.

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——— *nec ego id, quod deest antiquitati, flagito potius, quam laudo quod est.*

CICERO.

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# PREFACE.

In that highly advanced state to which literature is at present arrived, few productions can be expected which may allure by the novelty of their matter, or fascinate by the brilliancy of their execution. Not only the most attractive and prominent, but many even of the humbler themes of imagination and science, have been seized by the vigilance of genius, and moulded into form with a skill, a fancy, and an elegance which can hardly be equalled. But we are not on this account condemned to a mere indolent enjoyment of the delight and instruction which is already prepared for us; an exami-

nation

nation of our literary possessions will still afford us ample occasion for the exercise of our talents; in such an examination, we may collect the scattered, we may arrange the irregular, we may enlighten the obscure, we may correct the erroneous: the praise of learning, of perspicuity, of penetration, of accuracy, may still be the object of successful pursuit, and if we cannot be as splendidly, we may at least be as usefully employed as many of our more eminent predecessors.

Such are the opinions which have led to the composition and publication of the following Essays; and if any tendency should be found in these pieces to refute improbable conjecture, to elicit obscured truth, or merely to recall attention to some neglected, but instructive enquiry, the wishes and expectations of their author will not be disappointed.

# CONTENTS.

# MISCELLANIES.

## *ON THE TERM "HEBREW."*

ABRAHAM is called in the Old Teſtament עברי* (Ἑβραιος, ὁ Περατης†) becauſe he came from beyond the river (Euphrates); his poſterity are thence denominated by the Jewiſh writers, both before and after the captivity,‡ *Hebrews*, i.e. Trans-fluvials.§

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* Geneſis, xiv. 13.

† Septuagint (Bos.) Gen. xiv. 13. (various readings.)

‡ Geneſis, xxxix. 16. Exod. i. 16. Deut. xv. 12. 2 Corinth. xi. 22. Acts vi. 1.

§ The opinion entertained by ſome writers that Abraham and his poſterity were named Hebrews, from *Heber*, the ſon of Salah, is now generally deemed erroneous.

The *ancient* language of the Jewiſh nation has been named by the moderns (for it is *not* ſo called either in the Old or New Teſtament) the *Hebrew* tongue.

It is not eaſy to decide what this language was; it is ſuppoſed by ſome to have been the Canaanitiſh;* the ſtrongeſt arguments adduced in favour of this opinion are, that the Jews appear to have required no interpreters of the Canaanitiſh language, as they did of many other tongues; that ſeveral words, or the roots of ſeveral words at leaſt, in the Phœnician and Punic languages, which are dialects of the Canaanitiſh, are to be found in the Hebrew;† and that Iſaiah expreſsly calls the language of the Jews the lip of Canaan (כנען).‡

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* Bochart. (Canaan, Lib. xi. 1.) Le Clerc (Proleg. in Pentateuch. Diſſert. 1. 5.) Walton (Prolegom. iii. 13.)

† As the Carthaginian words *Suffetes*, *Dido*, *Eliſa*.

‡ Iſaiah xix. 18.

By others§ again, it is ſtrenuouſly contended that the ancient language of the Jews was the original inſpired language of man; that this language was received by Abraham from his forefathers, and tranſmitted by him to his deſcendants; the moſt convincing arguments in favour of this opinion are, that the Jews can hardly be ſuppoſed to have adopted the language of a hateful and impious nation; that the Law of Moſes, which was at all times intelligible to the Jews previous to the captivity, was written by command of the Deity, or in part by the finger of God himſelf, in the original inſpired language; and that the words (particularly *proper names* for example) which were in uſe among the Jews when reſiding in Canaan, were as truly Hebrew in their etymology as words of an earlier date, which occur in the Old Teſtament. With reſpect to the term Canaanitiſh applied by Iſaiah to the

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§ Lightfoot (Heb. and Talmud. Exercitat. p. 644.) Gregory Sharpe (Hebrew Grammar, p. 22.) Parkhurſt (Preface to Hebrew Lexicon, and the word קרא) and the whole Hutchinſonian ſchool.

Jewiſh tongue, it is urged that he meant to ſpeak only of the *then* language of Canaan as *occupied by the Jews*.

Calmet and others again, adopting in part the opinion which I have juſt been ſtating, farther aſſert, that the ancient Jewiſh language was in fact Chaldee; this hypotheſis, however, it is impoſſible to ſupport without ſuppoſing, that either the Chaldee of the Jews or that of the Aſſyrians, although originally the ſame, muſt have undergone, not very ſlowly, ſome moſt extraordinary changes, for both in the earlier and later periods of the Jewiſh hiſtory, we find deciſive proofs of a *material* difference between the Jewiſh and Chaldee tongues*.

This

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* "The heap of teſtimony" which was called by Laban יגר שהדותא (Jegar Sahaduta) was named by Jacob גלד (Galeed); the former of theſe appellations is Chaldee, the latter Jewiſh. Geneſis, xxxi. 47. See Le Clerc (Pentateuch), and Pole's Synopſis on this verſe.

It is plain, too, from 2 Kings, xviii. 25. that the Chaldee language was unintelligible to the Jewiſh populace in the time of Hezekiah.

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This old Jewiſh tongue then, whatever may have been its origin, was denominated by the moderns Hebrew; now the word Hebrew, as ſignifying *Tranſfluvial*, might undoubtedly have been applied with more accuracy to the Chaldee tongue,* which was an *acknowledged Tranſfluvial* one, than to that of the *Jews*;† but it does not appear that the moderns meant, by denominating the Jewiſh tongue Hebrew, to define the *nature* or *origin* of that tongue, but merely to expreſs that it was the language uſed by the *Hebrew* nation.‡

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At the return of the Jews from Babylon, when they had acquired the Chaldee dialect, they were unable to comprehend their own Scriptures, except in a tranſlation. Nehemiah VIII. 8. and Pole (Synopſis) on this verſe. The Chaldee paraphraſes prove the ſame.

* The Chaldee language, however, was never called Hebrew, or Transfluvial, even by the Jews; it is uſually named in the Old Teſtament ארמית (Aramith) which is rendered ſomewhat too vaguely (but after the LXX. and Vulgate) in our tranſlation *Syrian*.

† Eſpecially if Canaanitiſh.

‡ As the words Welch, Iriſh, &c. are uſed in ſpeaking of the Celtic tongue.

After the captivity, the dialect of the Jews, which had been changed during their residence at Babylon, was *Syro-Chaldaic*, but *this* language is denominated by the writers of the New Testament, by Josephus, &c. *Hebrew.** Here the word עברית, Ἑβραϊστι, appears to be properly used as expressing the Chaldee or Transfluvial tongue, but the propriety of its application in this respect is merely *accidental*, as the words עברית and Ἑβραιστι are by no means applied to the then Jewish tongue, to mark its being a *Transfluvial dialect*, or dialect spoken beyond the Euphrates, but are used to signify that the people whose language they designate were a Transfluvial people;† in the same way we might

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* This language certainly differs from the Syriac, for in the Syriac version of the N. T. the dialect of Syria is called "*Suraith*," whereas the Ἑβραϊστι of the N. T. is rendered "Ghebraith."

Besides this common dialect the Jewish writers had a peculiar one of their own, which may be called the *Rabbinical* language.—See Butler's Hor. Bib.

† This explanation of the word עברית is given by the Jews themselves. Aruch. in עבר Glos, in Megil. fol. 8. 2. (Lightfoot, vol. 2.)

As

might call the native language of the Blacks, the Black language.

The word Hebrew, then, whether applied by *the moderns* to the Jewiſh tongue *before* the captivity, or by *the Jews themſelves* to the newly acquired dialect of their nation *after* the captivity, appears to have had in neither caſe any reference to the origin of theſe languages, but merely to the name of the people, "Hebrews," whoſe language it was uſed to ſignify.

It is ſomewhat remarkable, that, after the captivity, the pure and ancient language of the Old Teſtament (which is called by the moderns Hebrew) was called by the Jews themſelves (אשורי לשון) Aſſyrian, or the holy language;* but this

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As the Jews bore a great hatred to their conquerors, they ſeem to have purpoſely denominated their language at this time Hebrew, inſtead of Chaldee (as it might have been more properly called), in order to make it appear to have been their original *national* tongue.

* See Lightfoot's Heb. and Talmud, Exercit. 2d vol. of his works, p. 659.

appellation

appellation undoubtedly applies only to the *characters* of that language; by ſome it is ſuppoſed that the Scriptures were originally written in the Aſſyrian character, and that after the firſt temple, the Canaanitiſh or Samaritan character was introduced; by others it is aſſerted, that none but Aſſyrian characters were ever uſed in writing the Scriptures; by others again, that the Samaritan character was only uſed till after the captivity;* by *all*, however, it is admitted, that the Aſſyrian letter was uniformly adopted in writing the Scriptures, after the return of the Jews from Babylon.† This then explains the term *Aſſyrian* as applied to the language of the Old Teſtament.

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* Kennicot's Diſſertation on the Hebrew Text.

† Prideaux's Connection, &c.

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# REMARKS

*tending to prove that the Melita on which St. Paul was shipwrecked, was the Melita of the Mediterranean.*

THE following account of a voyage of St. Paul is recorded in the New Teſtament.

St. Paul, after his examination by Agrippa, ſet ſail for Italy; he touched at Sidon, coaſted along the ſhores of Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, and arrived at Crete.

From Crete he was proceeding to Italy, when a violent ſtorm aroſe, the wind Euroclydon blew with great violence, and the veſſel in which St.

Paul had embarked, after being toſt for ſome time in the Adriatic, was finally ſtranded on the coaſt of Melita.*

That the Melita on which St. Paul was thus caſt, was the Melita (or Malta) of the Mediterranean, and not that of the Adriatic, will appear highly probable from the following conſiderations.

1ſt.—Melita of the Mediterranean was more *in the direction* in which the ſhip ſhould paſs in its courſe from Crete to Italy, than the Melita of the Adriatic, and the mariners would undoubtedly endeavour as much as poſſible to keep the veſſel in its proper direction, though driving before the ſtorm.

2d.—The Euroclydon (which is tranſlated in the vulgate Euroaquilo) was certainly a wind blowing from a *northern* quarter, hence it ſeems difficult to conceive that the veſſel ſhould have been

* Acts, Chapter XXVII and XXVIII.

driven

driven *ſo far up* the Adriatic as to be wrecked on that Melita which lies oppoſite to the coaſt of Illyricum.

3d.—St. Paul ſays, indeed, that the ſhip was driven backwards and forwards in the *Adriatic*, yet it is not neceſſary to ſuppoſe that he means to ſpeak here of the Adriatic, ſtrictly ſo called, for Strabo obſerves, that the title of Adriatic was given *to the Adriatic and Ionian ſeas united;* the latter of theſe ran down to the moſt ſouthern extremity of Italy, and it is highly probable, that, from ſome temporary variation of the wind, or from the force of currents, the veſſel might be borne ſome little way into the *Ionian* ſea, toſt about there for a time, driven by the wind, (again blowing as before from a northern quarter) paſt Sicily, and finally daſhed upon Malta, which is at no great diſtance from that iſland.

4th.—After St. Paul reaches Melita, he proceeds to Italy in an Alexandrian veſſel; now the track of this veſſel appears completely to determine

from

from *what* Melita St. Paul ſailed; it coaſts Sicily, touching at Syracuſe, and proceeds to Rhegium and Puteoli; from this courſe it is plain that the veſſel muſt have ſailed from Melita in the Mediterranean, for it would be quite unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that any veſſel would have paſt from the Adriatic Melita to Italy in ſo circuitous and ſtrange a direction.

5th.—It appears more probable that the Alexandrine veſſel above mentioned ſhould have been found at Melita of the Mediterranean, than at Melita of the Adriatic, becauſe the former was a place of very conſiderable trade, and becauſe it is evidently more in the courſe of a veſſel which may reaſonably have been ſuppoſed to have ſailed from Alexandria, and which appears to have been bound to Syracuſe and to Italy.

# *AN ACCOUNT*

OF

# ST. GEORGE OF ENGLAND,

WITH A

*Translation of a Gothic Fragment respecting him.*

DIFFERENT opinions have been adopted reſpecting the æra, the origin, and the adventures of the tutelary Saint of England; and the doubts which are ſtill entertained on theſe ſubjects will never perhaps be entirely removed, till ſome new ſources of information ſhall be fortunately diſcovered. A ſummary view however of the hiſtorical information which we are now able to collect reſpecting St. George, will not be deemed, I truſt, an unacceptable introduction to the tranſlation

which I have to offer of a very ancient metrical fragment which celebrates his ſufferings.

The account of St. George, which has the greateſt pretenſions to antiquity, is that attributed to Paſicrates, who is reported to have been his ſervant: but both the authenticity and the date of this production are exceedingly queſtionable.

It has alſo been aſſerted by ſome, that the martyrdom of our patron Saint is recorded by Euſebius in entering upon the narrative of the perſecution by Diocletian; but in the paſſage adduced in proof of this aſſertion, the name of George certainly does not occur,* although Euſebius might poſſibly mean to include him in the claſs of "military brethren," who firſt fell victims to the indignation of the Emperor.

But although ſuch very equivocal teſtimonies as theſe may be readily rejected; and although a va-

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* εκ των εν στρατειαις αδελφων καταρχομενα τε διωγμε. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccles. Lib. VIII. 1.

riety

riety of idle, improbable tales reſpecting St. George, which have been introduced into the legends of Metaphraſtes and others, have undoubtedly no better claim to attention, yet I cannot conceive that any good reaſon can be adduced for a contemptuous diſregard of *all* that evidence reſpecting the life and character of our Saint, which is contained in the *moſt ancient rituals and ſervice-books* of the Eaſtern Church.

The compoſers of theſe works may certainly have been occaſionally tempted to exaggerate the virtues, the ſufferings, or the powers of the canonized, but it is highly improbable that they ſhould have ſo widely and wantonly deviated from truth, as not to have uſually recorded, with ſome degree of accuracy, the *ordinary* circumſtances which they deigned to notice.

Totally diſregarding, then, any miraculous particulars related of St. George, we need not, I think, heſitate to believe, from an examination of the compoſitions above mentioned, that *he was a*

*Saint of high repute in the Eaſtern Church at a very early period; that he was a Cappadocian of a good family, a commander of note in the time of Diocletian, and that after obtaining the honourable title of Count, he finally ſuffered martyrdom on the twenty-third of April,* the day on which his feſtival is ſtill kept.*

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* The above aſſertions reſt upon the following paſſages:

Ὁ ενδοξος, και θαυμαστος, και μεγας μαρτυς Γεωργιος κατα τους χρονους ἠν Διοκλητιανε τε βασιλεως εκ χωρας της Καππαδόκων, γενες επισημε, εν ταις των τριβενων στρατειαις διαπρεψας—Κομης ἠν. Μηνιαιον *Aprilis* κγ.

In verſes ſung juſt before the commemoration of St. George, in the Greek Church, we find:—

Εχθρους ὁ τεμνων Γεωργιος εν μαχαις
Εκων παρ' εχθρων τεμνεται δια ξιφος— and
Ηρε Γεωργιε εκαδι τριτατη αυχενα χαλκος.

He is thus addreſſed in the Greek ritual:—

Τε μεγαλε βασιλεως στρατιῶτα Γεωργιε—Καλλινικε Γεωργιε.

And is alſo ſtyled in the ſame,

Μονομαχος
Μυριονικος Χριστε αθλητης, and
Τροπαιοφορος, αιχμαλωτων ελευθερωτης, και των πτωχων υπερασπιστης, ασθενεντων ιατρος, βασιλεων ὑπερμαχος, μεγαλόμαρτυς.

Even in the ſmaller rituals of the Greeks, St. George is uniformly noticed.

For farther ſatisfaction on this ſubject, ſee Selden's Titles of Honor. p. 659, 664, &c.

Such

Such is the brief, but, as I conceive, authentic account of St. George, which we collect from the venerable memorials above-mentioned, and the teſtimony which they afford us is, at leaſt in ſome degree, corroborated by other evidence.

The inſtitution by Conſtantine of a religious order of knighthood, under the title of *St. George*, in which was worn *a red croſs*, with the words εν τουτῳ νικᾶ,* may certainly be adduced as a proof that our Saint was believed, in the time of that Emperor, to have been a chriſtian warrior, and probably a martyr, of high rank and diſtinction.

The churches too which were erected in the Eaſt, in honour of St. George, are an additional evidence of the truth of what I have advanced above; the moſt remarkable of theſe was that which, according to Procopius, was founded by Juſtinian,

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* See Euſebius in vita Conſtantini, and Selden's Titles of Honor. p. 667.

in

in Armenia;* that of Lydda, which was afterwards repaired by our Richard I, and that at Mangana, which, together with a Monaſtery, was built by the Biſhop of Euchaita;† the founders of theſe churches, as indeed appears as well from the dedications of the buildings, as from ſome particulars preſerved reſpecting them, certainly attributed to St. George the ſame character as that which we collect of him from the rituals of the Greeks.

That St. George *ſuffered at Ramel, and by the order of Diocletian*, (an opinion which reſts chiefly on the authorities of Anna Commena,‡ Cedrinus and Baronius,) is not ſo ſtrongly confirmed as the other particulars reſpecting him which I have re-

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* Or as ſome imagine at Conſtantinople. The words of Procopius are, και ἱερον Γεωργιῳ τῳ μαρτυρι εν βυζανοις εδηματο. Περι Κτισματων Ιυστιν. λογ. δευτ.

By βυζανοις is moſt probably meant Bazanis, in Armenia. Johan. Cotovic. Itinerar. Hieroſolym. Lib. 2.

† Cedrini Compend. Hiſt. p. 650.

‡ Speaking of Godfrey of Bulloign, ſhe ſays Ειτα εκειθεν το Ραμελ κατελαβεν εν ᾗ ὁ Μεγαλομαρτυς Γεωργιος μεμαρτυρηκε. Alexiados, Lib. 8.

lated

lated above.—A very ancient Saxon martyrology* informs us that he was put to death by Thatianus, and this Thatianus (or Dacianus, for ſo the word has been erroneouſly read) has very abſurdly been imagined by ſome to have been a Perſian ;† Selden, with more probability, conjectures that Thatianus is a corruption of Diocletianus, for it is at leaſt abundantly plain, from the title of "ſe Caſere," which is affixed in the martyrology to the name of the perſon in queſtion, that he muſt have been a *Roman Emperor.*

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* From this martyrology the following curious extract is to be found in Selden's Titles of Honor. p. 672, in tranſcribing it I have merely changed the Saxon to the Roman character:

" On thone threo and twentigothan dæg,thæs bith Saincte Georgius tyd, thæs ædelan martyres thone Thatianus ſe Caſere ſeofan geare myd unaſecgendlicum witum hyne threatode that he Criſt withſoce, and he næfre hyne ofer ſwithan ne mihte; and æfter tham ſeofon gearum het he hyne beheafdian."

† It is ſomewhat extraordinary that this opinion ſhould have been countenanced by the venerable Bede; ſpeaking of St. George, he ſays, " qui ſub Daciano, rege Perſarum potentiſſimo qui dominabatur ſuper 70 reges, &c."

Bedæ Martyrolog. p. 300.

The

The renown of St. George quickly extended itſelf into the Weſt ;* and many abſurd ſtories appear to have been ſpeedily added by the Roman devotees to the information which they had received reſpecting him from the Greeks.† The martyrology

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* Salmon's Hiſtorical account of St. George, p. 77.

St. George's arm is ſaid to have been preſented by the Emperor Juſtinian to St. German, Biſhop of Paris.

Aimonius de geſt. Franc. Lib. 11. 20.

Romanam Eccleſiam (ſays Baronius in his De Divin. offic.) ad expugnandos fidei hoſtes hos præcipue martyres invocare conſueviſſe, Mauritium, Sebaſtianum et Georgium.

† See the Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, and the Lives of the Saints, by Surius and others.

I know of no earlier record of that moſt famous achievement of St. George, the *ſlaughter of the dragon*, than a hymn which is contained in a *very ancient compoſition* entitled *Horæ Beatæ Virginis ſecundum uſum Sarum ;* the words to which I allude are

O Georgi martyr inclyte,
Te decet laus et gloria,
Prædotatum militia.
Per quem puella regia,
Exiſtens in triſtitia,
Coram dracone peſſimo
Salvata eſt.

I am not however hence inclined to infer that the ſtory of the dragon was merely a European invention, as we are informed

martyrology which I have mentioned above, ſufficiently proves that St. George was not unknown in this country even in the time of the Saxons, but it ſeems to be generally admitted that he was not received as the Guardian of our nation till the period of the Cruſades, when the fierce and ſuperſtitious warriors of England moſt judiciouſly adopted for their patron a Saint who was not leſs diſtinguiſhed by his valour than by his piety. The choice of the Cruſaders was confirmed by the inſtitution of the *Order of the Garter.**

George, the *Arian*, or, as he has been called from the place of his birth, George of Cappa-

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informed by Pococke, that a well was in his time ſhewn by the Turks, (who pay great reſpect to St. George under the title of *Cheter Eliaz*) near to which, they informed him, our Saint had ſlain the dragon which was haſtening to devour the daughter of the king of Bayreut; this well is in the territory of the Druſes.

See Pococke's Deſcription of the Eaſt, Vol. II, p. 91, and the Apologia of Joannes Cantacuzenus.

* It appears from Walſingham, that in the time of Henry V. the feaſt of St. George was decreed to be a "feſtum duplex ad modum majoris duplicis."

docia,* has by ſome writers been ſuppoſed to be the ſame perſon as the Saint of whom I have hitherto been ſpeaking; the hiſtory of this man may be compriſed in a few words: he appears to have been born of obſcure parents, but, by his aſſiduity and obſequiouſneſs, he obtained a profitable employment in the army, in which ſituation he acquired great wealth; having imbibed the opinions of Arius, he contrived, by the aſſiſtance of partiſans of a ſimilar faith, to force himſelf into the ſeat of Athanaſius, at Alexandria:† the power which he had thus obtained was exerciſed to the worſt of purpoſes; he not only perſecuted with ſeverity the oppoſers of his theological opinions, but by his illiberal conduct in other reſpects, he provoked a general indignation:‡ but the career of his violence and injuſtice was at length effectually checked; he was degraded, thrown into priſon, and ſoon after maſſacred in a popular tumult.‡

* Sozomen. Hiſt. Eccles. IV. 29.

† Sozomen, as above, Lib. v. 8. Ammian. Marcel. Lib. 22.

‡ Socratis Hiſt. Eccles. Lib. III. 2.

He

He was exalted to the primacy of Alexandria in the reign of Conſtantine, and periſhed under Julian.*

This narrative cannot I think but convince every unprejudiced reader, that George the Arian was a very different perſon from St. George of the Eaſt, for without inſiſting upon the difficulty of introducing into the Catholic calendar a heterodox army-contractor, whoſe title to the honour of martyrdom was *openly diſputed* by Epiphanius,† the particulars of his life, no leſs than the *mode* and *period* of his death, are utterly irreconcilable, by any ingenuity, with the hiſtory of the more ancient St. George.

Mr. Salmon has ſtarted a new hypotheſis reſpecting our national Saint;‡ rejecting with an indignation not altogether unpardonable in an Engliſh-

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* Sozomen and Socrates, as above.

† Tom. 1. Lib. 1.

‡ New Hiſtorical Account of St. George:

man, the mean and cruel George of Alexandria, he has introduced to us a *new* Saint, certainly of a much more reſpectable character than the one whom he diſcards, but whoſe pretenſions to the honour which is claimed for him are equally ill-grounded. George of Oſtia, Pope Adrian's legate to England, is the perſon who has attracted Mr. Salmon's attention, and whom he has endeavoured to prove, by a few fanciful arguments, to be the genuine tutelary Saint of our country: that George of Oſtia was undoubtedly in England, that he was preſent at a council held at Cealchythe, that he much diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by eſtabliſhing, or rather by confirming the Catholic faith among the Anglo-Saxons, and that he was every where received with the reſpect and honour due to his character, all this, I ſay, may be ſupported by authorities which cannot be reaſonably queſtioned;*

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* Henry of Huntindon, p. 197. Hoveden. Annal. pars prior, p. 232. S. Dunelm. Ann. 786.

See too, reſpecting the Council, Chronic. Saxon, p. 63, and Spelman. Concil. p. 291, in the latter *Gregorio* is printed by miſtake for *Georgio*.

but

but of his farther pretenſions we have no proofs; it appears by no means certain that he was ever canonized; and the particulars reſpecting St. George, which are handed down to us in the martyrology of Bede, as well as in the Saxon martyrology above-mentioned, appear to me to prove moſt deciſively that in the time of the Saxons, (and at no other time would the Biſhop of Oſtia have been ſo peculiarly celebrated) the St. George of the Engliſh Calendar, was the ſame as the St. George of the Greeks.*

I have

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* The argument drawn by Mr. Salmon (p. 106.) in favour of his hypotheſis, from certain churches dedicated to St. George, he has himſelf abundantly refuted, by acknowledging that not one of them (nor any one in England) is dedicated expreſsly in the name of St. George of *Oſtia*.

The opinion, ſupported by Dr. Pettingal, that St. George is merely an *allegorical* perſonage, I conceive to be ſufficiently diſproved by what I have advanced above; but if any doubts ſhould remain on this head, I muſt refer the reader to Dr. Heylin's Hiſtory of St. George, (p. 161, &c.) from which he will learn that the *reality* of our Saint and Martyr is admitted by authors of all ages, from the fourth to the ſeventeenth century. Mr. Byrom's ſtill more extraordinary

I have now to ſpeak of the fragment of which I propoſe to give a literal tranſlation; the original of it is written in the [Franco-Theotiſh language, and is annexed to the Vatican manuſcript of Otfrid's Franciſh Goſpels:* it is printed with a Latin tranſlation and notes (by Sandvig) in the Symbolæ Literaturæ Teutonicæ of Suhm; I have omitted ſome lines which were defective or unintelligible, the reſt is as follows:—

George went to judgment,
With much honour,
From the market-place,
And with a great multitude (following him);

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traordinary hypotheſis, that St. George is the ſame perſon as *Pope Gregory the Great*, has been ſo ſatisfactorily refuted by Mr. Pegge, (Archæologia vol. v. p. 14, &c.) that it requires no farther notice.

* This is ſaid to be the oldeſt Gothic or German verſion extant, and muſt conſequently have been compoſed before the middle of the fourth century, as the verſion of Ulphilas is ſuppoſed to be of about that date.

He

He proceeded to the Rhine
To (perform) the ſacred duty,
Which then was highly celebrated,
And moſt acceptable to God.
He quitted the kingdoms of the earth
And he obtained the kingdom of heaven;
Thus did he do
The illuſtrious Count George;
Then haſtened all
The Kings, who wiſhed
To ſee this man entering,

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*The Rhine.*] It appears doubtful whether the original word ſhould be tranſlated "the Rhine," or "a place of judgment;" if it means the former, it gives us ſome information reſpecting St. George, of which we have elſewhere no hint, and it may ſerve perhaps to ſupport a conjecture that the zeal of St. George had prompted him to paſs from the Eaſt into Germany, and thence into England, and that he had been there known as an early propagator of the Chriſtian faith. I am more inclined however from the ſequel of the poem to accept the interpretation of "a place of judgment."

*Count.*] It is ſcarcely neceſſary to remind the reader, that in giving this title to St. George, the writer of the fragment agrees with the Greek rituals,

(But)

(But) who did not wiſh to hear him.
The ſpirit of George was there honoured,
I ſpeak truly from the report of theſe men,
(For) he obtained
What he ſought from God.
Thus did he
The holy George.
Then they ſuddenly adjudged him
To priſon;
Into which with him entered
Two beautiful Angels
* * * * *
Then he became glad
When that ſign was made (to him);
George there prayed;
My God granted every thing
To the words of George;
He made the dumb to ſpeak,
The deaf to hear,
The blind to ſee,

---

*Sought from God.*] I preſume miraculous powers, or the glory of martyrdom.

The lame to walk,

* * * * * *

Then began the powerful man
To be exceedingly enraged;
Tatian wiſhed
To ridicule theſe miracles;
He ſaid that George
Was an impoſtor.
He commanded George to come forth,
He ordered him to be uncloathed,
He ordered him to be violently beaten
With a ſword exceſſively ſharp.
All this I know to be altogether true;
George then aroſe and recovered himſelf,
He wiſhed to preach to thoſe preſent,
And the Gentiles
Placed George in a conſpicuous ſituation.
(Then) began that powerful man

---

*Tatian.*] This name agrees with the Thatianus of the Saxon martyrology; I have no better conjecture to offer reſpecting it than that of Selden, which has been noticed before.

To be exceedingly enraged,
He then ordered George to be bound
To a wheel, and to be twirled round;
I tell you what is fact;
The wheels were broken in pieces;
This I know to be altogether true;
George then aroſe and recovered himſelf.
He there wiſhed (to preach)—the Gentiles
Placed George in a conſpicuous place.
Then he ordered George to be ſeized
And commanded him to be violently ſcourged;
Many deſired he ſhould be beaten to pieces
Or be burnt to a powder.
They at length threw him into a well,
There was this ſon of beatitude,
Vaſt heaps of ſtones above him
Preſſed him down;
They took his acknowledgment;
They ordered George to riſe;
He wrought many miracles,

---

*His acknowledgment.*] I preſume this only means they diſcovered he was living.

As

As in fact he always does.
George roſe and recovered himſelf,
He wiſhed to preach to thoſe preſent.
The Gentiles
Placed George in a conſpicuous place.
* * * * * * *
* * * * * * *
They ordered him to riſe,
They ordered him to proceed,
They ordered him inſtantly to preach;
Then he ſaid
I am aſſiſted by faith,
(Thus he ſaid) when
Ye renounce the devil
Every moment * * *
* * * * * * *
This is what Saint George himſelf may teach us.
Then (he was permitted) to go into the chamber
To the Queen;

He

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*The Queen.*] The Queen ſpoken of above is probably that Alexandra (the ſuppoſed wife of Diocletian) who has

 been

He began to teach her,
She began to liſten to him—

The fragment here terminates; it is certainly not without its due portion of the incredible, and the abſurd; but as its antiquity is *very great*, as it has hitherto been almoſt unnoticed, and as it tends ſo ſtrongly to confirm ſome of the particulars reſpecting St. George, which we gather from the Greek rituals, I truſt that it will not be deemed totally unworthy of attention.

Having no inclination to extend my enquiry here into all the idle legendary tales of which St. George

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been canonized by the Catholic Church; this lady is reported to have been converted by St. George to the Chriſtian faith, and to have ſuffered martyrdom with her teacher; in the celebration of her feaſt-day, ſome honours were alſo paid to St. George. A further account of Alexandra may be found in the Paſſionale Lubicenſe.

is the hero,* and from which, as they are chiefly of a *later* date than the ſervice books of the Greeks, and little elſe than repetitions of each other in all *material* points, no information I conceive could be extracted, which would prove more ſatisfactory than that which I have adduced above, I ſhall conclude this eſſay with obſerving, that the *red croſs*, which is uſually attributed to St. George for an armorial bearing, was poſſibly adopted from the inſtitution of Conſtantine's order of knighthood, which I have already mentioned; that the figure of the ſame Saint *armed and on horſeback*, expreſſes his martial character, and was introduced by the Greeks at a very early period; that the *dragon* which he is depictured as ſlaying, is generally, and I believe juſtly, deemed to be the ſymbol of

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* I cannot, however, deny myſelf the pleaſure of copying the ſpirited addreſs by which he is ſaid to have provoked the rage of Diocletian: "Et ego, inquit, O imperator, ſum Chriſtianus; miror autem tanto in idolis colendis errore vos detineri, et æternum et viventem Deum ignorare, qui et ipſum hoc regnum tibi, O imperator, dedit.

Vitæ Sanct. potiſſ. ex Surio collect. Aprilis XXIII.

Paganiſm; and that the figure of *a young woman kneeling* by St. George, which is frequently met with in paintings and carvings, was either deſigned as a type of ſome city or province imploring his aid, or may have been rather intended to repreſent the damſel whom he is reported to have ſo gallantly ſaved from deſtruction.

# SKETCH

OF

# *THE RISE AND PROGRESS*

OF

# ENGLISH POETRY.

THERE is no reaſon to ſuſpect that any poetry exiſted in Britain previous to that of the *Cymric* or *Celtic* bards; the date of their moſt ancient compoſitions we ſeek in vain, as the *origin* of the bardic ſyſtem is entirely obſcured by its profound antiquity.

During the period in which a large portion of Britain was poſſeſſed by the *Romans*, the inhabitants certainly imbibed ſome tincture of Roman litera-

ture, and Roman arts: rhetoric was a ſtudy in which the Britiſh youth are ſaid to have greatly excelled; but as the bards were ſtill the chief, if not the ſole compoſers of poetical pieces, and as the religious opinions of theſe men, no leſs than their extreme hatred to their conquerors, effectually deterred them from any attempt at imitating Roman productions, the character and ſpirit of our national poetry ſtill remained unchanged.

When England was ſubdued by the *Saxons*, the Britons chiefly retired into Cornwall and Wales, and a portion of them thence fled into Armorica, a country which had before received Britiſh Colonies in the time of Conſtantine and of Maximus;* the name of this diſtrict was ſoon after changed to Britanny,† and its language, which nearly reſembled that of Wales, received the appellation of Bas-Breton.

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* See Camden's Chapter on Armorica (in his Britannia), and Milton's Hiſtory of England.

† Camden, as above.

The

The national poetry of England was now cultivated only in Armorica, in Wales, and in ſuch parts of Britain as had not yet yielded to the Saxon arms, while the country which the invaders had ſubdued received with its conquerors the *Scandinavian* poetry.

The Saxons not only introduced into England their Edda, their Sagas*, and other pieces of Runic verſe,† but to theſe they ſoon after added new productions;

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* Many ſpecimens of theſe compoſitions have been preſerved by Snorro, Torſæus, and Bartholinus.

† The poetry of the Scandinavians is not without its pretenſions to antiquity; their war-ſongs are noticed by Tacitus, and are probably of a much earlier date than the time in which that writer flouriſhed: moſt of their mythological poems are admitted to have been compoſed ſoon after the time of Odin, of whoſe æra, however, various opinions are entertained, but he is by none fixed at a later period than the fourth century: Sæmund's, or the more modern Edda, is not ſuppoſed to have been written till after the year 500.

Doubtleſs the poetry of the Britons may be traced much farther back than that of the Scandinavians; but the more celebrated Welſh bards, as Talieſen, Llywark, Talhiart, &c. did not flouriſh till the ſixth century.

ductions; ſome ſpecimens of early Anglo-Saxon poetry are to be found in Hickes, they chiefly conſiſt of moral rhapſodies, ſcriptural hiſtories, or religious invocations; ſome remains of Cædmon, a Saxon poet of high repute, are preſerved by Bede; the ſong on Athelſtan's victory is an Anglo-Saxon piece of much merit; a conveyance of Edward the Confeſſor's, and a very ancient deſcription of the Bath waters, both of which are compoſed in *rime*, are particularly curious.*

Such

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Various kinds of poetry, as hymns, elegies, heroic ſongs, ſatyrs, &c. are to be found among both the nations of whom I am ſpeaking; *rime* alſo was common to them both; by the Welſh it was uſed, I believe, *always;* by the Scandinavians *rarely*, as they wrote in a vaſt variety of meaſures, in which alliteration, and other tricks of conſtruction, rendered rime leſs neceſſary; Egill's Ranſome (p. 92, of Five pieces of Runic poetry) is one of their moſt celebrated rimed productions; rime alſo occaſionally occurs in the Dying Ode of Regner Lodbrog.

* The Scalds of the Continent occaſionally viſited England after it was ſubdued by the Saxons and Danes, and there produced verſes, which were received with much applauſe; Egill was in high favour with Æthelſtan; and many poems have been preſerved, which were compoſed by

Sighvatr

Such are the more remarkable though ſcanty remains which have yet been publiſhed of the Anglo-Saxon ſchool.

The ſettlement of the *Danes* in England produced but a ſlight effect either upon the language or the poetry of the nation; the ſpecimens of Dano-Saxon verſes which are preſerved by Hickes, ſtrongly reſemble the purer Anglo-Saxon poems, both in dialect and in matter.*

At the Norman conqueſt, however, the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and of courſe the Anglo-Saxon poetry, were anxiouſly diſcouraged; Talliefer and Berdic, the minſtrels of the Conqueror, accompanied their maſter to England, and Norman poetry was

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Sighvatr, Ottar, and the other Scalds who attended Canute; the verſes of theſe men cannot, however, be conſidered, with ſtrict propriety, as works of the Anglo-Saxon School, but rather of the *Scandinavian or Runic*, from which indeed that ſchool immediately ſprang.

* Some of theſe pieces are rimed.—Hicke's Theſaurus, p. 222, &c.

conſequently introduced. Philip de Than, who lived in the time of Henry I. and who was the author of the Liber de Creaturis, appears to have been the firſt poet in England who compoſed in the Norman tongue; his example was followed by Nantueil, by Gaimar, and by Wace; the Brut of this latter writer was finiſhed about 1155, and was rimed; other writers might be enumerated who compoſed their poetical works in the Norman dialect; but it is enough to obſerve, that the *pure Norman* ſchool of poetry ſeems to have prevailed from the reign of the firſt to that of the ſecond Henry.

To the Norman ſucceeded the *Anglo-Norman* ſchool; in this the Saxon dialect was preſerved, but with an uncertain mixture of Norman words; the firſt writer of this ſchool was Layamon, who tranſlated Wace's Brut;* the author of the Land of Cockayne is another compoſer of the ſame claſs,

* This tranſlation is chiefly in rime.

though

though the Saxon prevails more in his compoſition than in the work of Layamon. Robert of Glouceſter, Manning, and a few other writers of inferior note, conſtitute the remainder of this ſchool.* The favourite materials of the poets, both of the Norman and Anglo-Norman ſchools, were the tales of *Chivalry* and *Romance;* this ſpecies of writing, if not invented in Armorica, was thence imported into England, and chiefly through the medium of the Normans. The minſtrels of William the Conqueror, who ſang to his troops the animating praiſes of Charlemagne and Roland, may juſtly be conſidered as the earlieſt introducers of the ſtrains of Romance, and the ſubſequent acquiſition

* Nearly about the period in which we may fix the origin of the Anglo-Norman ſchool, a great rage for *Latin* compoſition appears to have ariſen, both among the writers of proſe and verſe; John of Saliſbury, Peter de Blois, and Joſeph of Exeter, (the loſs of whoſe Antiocheis cannot but be greatly regretted) were in their day particularly diſtinguiſhed in this ſpecies of writing; and the practice was adopted, although apparently with inferior ſucceſs, by Ramſey, Nequam, Effebie, and others.

of the Exploits of King Arthur, of the Geſte of King Horne, of Turpin's Charlemagne, and of many works of a ſimilar kind, propagated a very general admiration of that ſpecies of compoſition, and excited in the poets of the time an eager deſire to tranſlate, or to imitate, productions of ſo faſcinating a kind.

The Anglo-Norman ſchool of poetry was followed by that which I cannot better diſtinguiſh than by the denomination of *English:* of this ſchool Chaucer is the acknowledged father; the language indeed of this writer abounds, like that of his immediate predeceſſors, with Norman words, but the eminence of his productions fixed with tolerable ſtability that mixture of French and Saxon which was to conſtitute the baſis of the Engliſh tongue; and although it cannot be denied that many of the words which he has uſed are now become obſolete, yet the general ſtructure and compoſition of our language have never been materially changed ſince the period in which he wrote.

The followers of Chaucer, or the race of poets of the Engliſh ſchool, are exceedingly numerous, and may be conſidered, without impropriety, as deſcending to our own times; but although it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to form any very accurate claſſification of theſe writers merely from the varieties which occur in the *language* of their compoſitions, yet ſome *general* diſtinction of them may ſtill be eſtabliſhed from an attention to the *models* which have been the favourite objects of their imitation.

The firſt traces which can be diſcovered in Engliſh poetry of an imitation of the Italian writers occur, I believe, in the works of Chaucer; the example, however, thus given by this extraordinary man does not appear to have been generally followed till the days of Elizabeth; at this period Spencer and a few of his cotemporaries eſtabliſhed a ſchool of poetry, which has been highly and juſtly celebrated under the title of *Italian*.

From the time of Spencer to that of Dryden, ſome marks of the imitation of Italian writers, or of their followers, may be traced in moſt of our poets of note. Shakſpeare, indeed, borrowed little more than the fables of his plays from any writer, but in his ſonnets he has certainly adopted the taſte of his age; Milton was formed no leſs upon the Ancient than the Italian model; but the whole race of metaphyſical poets, beginning with Donne and ending with Cowley, were decided imitators of the abſurd conceits, the fatiguing allegories, and the profuſe deſcription of Marino.

Dryden forms a new æra in our poetry; although he retained ſome of the Italian materials, yet his taſte and his verſification were principally formed by the ſtudy of French writers;* this great

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* I cannot refrain from expreſſing the aſtoniſhment and admiration with which I contemplate the happy union of harmony and vigour that pervades the poetry of Dryden; from no other writer can we derive an *equally* ſtrong idea of the majeſty, force, and ſweetneſs of the Engliſh tongue;

great man then, together with Pope and the reſt of his imitators, conſtitute a ſchool which may be termed, with ſufficient accuracy, the *French* ſchool.†

Although the tales, as well as the mythology, of of Greece and Rome had long ſince ſerved to decorate the poetry of England, and although the

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tongue; and I truſt that I may be permitted to add (nearly in the words which a great critic has uſed in commending the proſe of Addiſon) "that whoever wiſhes to acquire a ſkill in Engliſh verſification, muſt give his days and nights to the volumes of Dryden."

† It is ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve, that in endeavouring to eſtabliſh a convenient claſſification of the Engliſh Poets, I by no means intend to aſſert that *every* poet who lived in the periods of which I am ſpeaking, can, with propriety, be included in the ſchool which generally prevailed in his age; thus about the time in which the French ſchool was eſtabliſhed, the celebrated Butler appeared, whoſe claim to a perfect ſingularity of manner muſt be univerſally admitted, and at a later æra were produced the Night Thoughts of Young, the Seaſons of Thompſon, and the Bath-guide of Ainſtie, each of which is decidedly characterized by a ſtriking originality.

moſt ſplendid and graceful imitations of the ancients had diſtinguiſhed the works of Milton, yet a taſte for the claſſical forms of compoſition never ſeems to have ſo generally prevailed in England, as when it was awakened by the animating productions of Collins and Gray; theſe writers then may be properly deemed the founders of a *Greek* ſchool.

As the works of this ſchool, however, can only be highly reliſhed, or well imitated, by thoſe who have acquired ſome tincture of learning, it cannot be reaſonably expected that they ſhould ever be very popular or very abundant; and although the the taſte for compoſitions formed on the ancient models is far from being extinct, yet that ſpecies of writing has lately received a powerful check from the loud and almoſt univerſal applauſe which has been won by the tranſlators and imitators of the German writers.

The novelty, the extravagance, and the pathos of the *German* ſchool was not ill calculated to produce a vehement effect on the minds of a people, whoſe

whoſe taſte has been perhaps in ſome degree injured by their ardent and very laudable affection to their great national poet; and even the caricatures of his excellencies and defects (for ſuch are many of the works of which I am ſpeaking) were conſequently received with no ordinary delight. The reputation however of the German ſchool is already in its wane, the enthuſiaſm which it awakenened has been already abaſhed by the ſtrictures of ſound criticiſm, and by the ſneers of well-directed ridicule; and we may now indulge a hope that the Garden of Engliſh Poeſy will ſoon be watered by the ſtreams of a purer Hippocrene.

# HINTS

ON

# *ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE.*

IT is greatly to be regreted that the Architectural work which had been planned by Gray and Maſon, ſhould never have been brought to perfection; that work, as appears from Mr. Gray's letters, would have been compoſed of a *ſeries of drawings* illuſtrative of Engliſh Architecture, in all the moſt remarkable periods of its progreſs, and of remarks upon theſe drawings, tending to *eſtabliſh certain criteria*, by which the age of any building in Britain, or of the parts of ſuch building, might readily have been determined with accuracy.

A work

A work of a ſimilar kind, although much inferior to that which might have been expected from the united talents and ſkill of Gray and of Maſon, would certainly be highly acceptable, and could not but greatly facilitate the acquiſition of architectural knowledge, which is now to be ſought for in a variety of unconnected works, many of which are certainly performances of great and deſerved reputation, but from which, as they commonly illuſtrate only ſome *particular building*, and as they frequently abound with theoretical enquiry, it is by no means eaſy to ſelect in abundance ſuch remarks as may aſſiſt us in forming a general ſyſtem of Engliſh Architecture.

From having experienced ſome inconvenience from the want of ſuch a manual as that of which I have juſt been ſpeaking, I have endeavoured to ſketch out from the works of others, and from the obſervations which I have been able to make myſelf, a general view of thoſe claſſes into which the ſtructures or remains of ſtructures in this Iſland, may be conveniently diſtributed, and under each

of

of theſe diviſions I have noticed, where neceſſary, the kinds of buildings, &c. which may be properly included in it, and *ſome* of the more remarkable peculiarities by which the ſtructures of that claſs or age, are commonly diſtinguiſhed.

The Memoranda (for they can be deemed little more), which I have thus collected and arranged, I am now induced to offer to the public, by the wiſh to explain more fully, the ſpecies of performance which I have been recommending in the preceding pages, and by the hope that till a more copious and finiſhed work of the ſame kind ſhall appear, the following Hints may not be totally unwelcome.

# HINTS

ON

# *ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE.*

## ANCIENT BRITISH.

THE old Britiſh or Celtic remains chiefly conſiſt of caves, hiding places, conical huts, hill-fortreſſes, ſtones of memorial, circles of memorial, Druidical circles, viz. aſtronomical, juridical, and places of worſhip, Druidical altars, cromlechs (or altars for human ſacrifices), barrows, cairnes (or ſepulchral heaps of ſtones) kiſtvaens (or ſepulchral ſtone caves), Logan or rocking-ſtones, Tolman or baſon-ſtones; towers of ſtone and mortar, in imitation of thoſe of the Eaſt, viz. ſingle, round, or angular towers,

towers, with ſteps on the outſide to the entrance, and a dungeon at the bottom; generally of three ſtories, the upper ones conſiſting of a chamber or μυχος, and of a larger room, but all ſmall; a paſſage in the wall, loops, and *one* window in the upper part of the tower, ſtore cloſets in the wall, chimnies and fire-places in the rooms; the tower generally ſituated on high ground. *Duns*—ſimilar buildings to the laſt, but ſmaller, conical, and without mortar.

At a later period, probably from about the year 300 to 400, the inhabitants of Britain not only continued to build ſtructures of a ſimilar kind, but they alſo imitated the Roman works; their fortreſſes were now generally placed on rocks of a great height, they were ſurrounded by one or more walls, and in the area were offices for attendants; a poſtern was added; no machicolations. The *arch* was now borrowed from the Romans, but the Britiſh arch was coarſe, and the key ſtone was not inſerted with accuracy.

# ROMAN.

*From the Conquest of Britain by the Romans to 422.*

The remains of Roman architecture in Britain, beſides their celebrated *walls* and *roads*, are chiefly the following: Caſtra of a regular oblong ſhape, with the Decuman (or larger) and Prætorian (or ſmaller) gate of entrance at the oppoſite extremities of the camp, with two other gates (the principes) opening on oppoſite ſides into the middle of the camp; a vallum and foſs; towers in the walls, and generally at the gates of entrance; the walls of the caſtra were uſually compoſed of ſtrata of Roman bricks (which are very hard, large, and thiniſh), and of ſtrata of flints cut, and very regularly placed, or of other ſtones; the the whole cemented by a ſtrong mortar. Remains of the Prætorium are often to be traced.

Beſides the caſtra, we find among the Roman remains, a few fragments of temples, villas, and baths,

baths, (in ſome of which portions of hypocauſts have been diſcovered) of teſſellated pavements, relievos, and ſtatues, generally much injured, and of ſmall votive altars, with inſcriptions.

Very few Roman arches remain in Britain, and ſome of them are rudely executed, but others with much exactneſs.*

## SAXON.

*From about* 450 *to* 1066.

### *ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.*

The churches of the Saxons were of wood till about the year 658, when Benedict and Wilfred

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* For many of the above particulars I have to acknowledge myſelf indebted to that very admirable work, the Munimenta Antiqua; and in the following diviſions, I have, *in ſome degree*, adopted the claſſification which is recommended by Warton.

began to build with ſtone; it has been obſerved as a general characteriſtic, that moſt parts of the Saxon buildings are on "a circular principle;" round arches, imitations of the Roman ones, were uſed in their doors, windows, &c; in general few ornaments, no cima, ovolo, nor ſcotia, ſome zizzag and mouldings, with heads of animals, &c. but uſually ſimple; they occaſionally, however, have a rich appearance, from being double, triple, or quadruple; the materials which were uſed by the Saxons were commonly rough flints and other ſtones rudely ſhaped, except for ornament or inſide work; they had no towers to their churches before Edgar's time (in 959); their towers were generally round and maſſy; the roofs of their buildings were of timber, the pillars thick and round, with a ſort of regular capital and baſe, the capitals of leaves or flouriſhes ſometimes rich, the windows were moſtly ſmall; the eaſt end of ſome of the Saxon churches was circular.

The

The bricks, and probably the mortar, uſed by the Saxons were imitations of the Roman brick and mortar.*

The *fonts* were at this period very large, and frequently ſituated low, a mode of conſtruction which is accounted for by the Saxon cuſtom of immerging in water the whole body of the perſon baptized.

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* I am aware that it has been much doubted whether the Saxons knew the art of making bricks; I have not, however, heſitated to believe that they did, from having ſeen ſpecimens of bricks, or rather tiles, of *great antiquity*, which were picked out of the ruins of the very ancient church of Leziate, near Lynn Regis; theſe tiles, of which forty or fifty were collected, are of hard red earth, about four inches and a half ſquare, and not more than one inch thick; their ſurfaces, which are of a pale yellowiſh hue, appear to have been glazed, and on one of them ſeveral *Saxon* letters are *diſtinctly impreſſed:* Tiles of this kind were chiefly uſed for pavements.

## *SAXON FORTRESSES.*

They were commonly ſituated on hills; they had a circular foſs, narrower and ſhallower than that afterwards introduced by the Normans, but more extended; the towers, or rather caſtles of the Saxons were larger than the Britiſh; they were uſually of a ſquariſh form, ſometimes with angular abutments, and ſometimes running out at their corners into a circular ſhape; their walls were very thick; they had a *keep;* two or more ſtories of apartments not large; a dungeon; ſmall windows or loops; no chimnies, the ſmoke paſſing through the top of the room; in the oldeſt caſtles or towers the entrance was by ſteps from without, but afterwards it was even with the ground, over the door were machicolations; the main building ſtood in an area formed by a ſurrounding wall, in this were ſometimes ſmaller towers at unequal diſtances; the walls were often of chalk, flint, and ſandſtone mixed.

SAXO-NORMAN.

## SAXO-NORMAN.

### *ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.*

*From* 1066 *to about* 1200.

In this period the pillars were more maſſy and ornamented than thoſe of the Saxons, the roof was arched, and of ſtone; a variety of mouldings were gradually introduced, as the nail-head, billet, hatchet, nebule, fillet; the capitals were more ornamented; ſome rude *pointed* arches have been diſcovered of the time of Henry I.* and Stephen; but the round Saxon arch was ſtill generally retained; interſecting round arches occaſionally oc-

* In the north tranſept of Norwich Cathedral, which was built by Biſhop Herbert at the end of *William Ruſus' reign*, an arch *ſlightly* pointed is now to be ſeen, which we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe is of a more modern date than the reſt.

cur,* and ſeries of ornamental ſmall round arches; diamond-ſhaped ſtone-work, herring-bone work, rows of ſmall arches, circles, and other ornaments, now appear on the outſide of towers, &c.; the whole ſcale of building is larger than the Saxon, and more ornamented.

## NORMAN.†

*From* 1200 *to about* 1300.

The *pointed arch now became common*, though the round arch was not entirely relinquiſhed; the favourite

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* A beautiful row of interſecting round arches is extended acroſs the *whole weſt front* of the Priory of the Virgin, at Caſtleacre, Norfolk; this Priory was built by Wm. de Warren, Earl of Surrey, in 1090.

† Though I ſtill continue to apply to our Architecture in the following periods the title of Norman, it might perhaps with equal propriety be now termed *Engliſh*, and I merely continue to uſe the former of theſe words for the ſake of avoiding a more ambiguous expreſſion.

As

favourite form for ſome time was the lancet-ſhaped; the towers now erected were generally ſquare,

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As the Architecture of England was in all probability influenced in no ſmall degree by the alterations and improvements which took place in the Norman Architecture *on the Continent*, it is ſomewhat extraordinary, that we ſhould neither poſſeſs any complete account of the ancient buildings of the Gallo-Normans, nor, what would be ſtill more deſirable, a *comparative view* of the ſtate of Architecture in Normandy and England after the conqueſt. Indeed *all* the antiquities of Normandy are from that period intimately connected with thoſe of our own country; and Ducarel, in his Anglo-Norman Antiquities, has merely begun an enquiry which might certainly be purſued with great advantage.

There is undoubtedly good reaſon for ſuppoſing that the *pointed* arch was known in *Normandy* before its introduction into this kingdom; in one of the towers of the weſt front of St. Stephen's at Caen (built by William the Conqueror in 1054) *pointed* arches occur; but as in the tower on the contrary ſide, and in the other parts of the front, we find only *round* arches, the pointed ones in this inſtance, may *poſſibly* be of a more modern date than the reſt of the building, and I am the more inclined to believe this to be the caſe, becauſe in another building at Caen of a later date, (the Church of the Holy Trinity) I find no traces of a pointed

ſquare, and loftier than thoſe of the preceding æra; ſpires were introduced in 1222; the pillars of the churches

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ed arch. In the Cathedral of Bayeux, however, built by Philip of Harcourt in 1159, *pointed* arches abound, and alſo in the very ancient Norman Church of St. Sauveur du Marche; Ducarel goes ſo far as to aſſert that the *round* arch was introduced into Normandy after the conqueſt in imitation of the Saxon one, a conjecture which I imagine will not be readily adopted.

It is alſo worthy of obſervation, that the two towers of St. Stephen's of Caen, are both topped by *ſpires*, and that ſpires as well as *fluted* pillars and very beautiful *painted* glaſs, are alſo to be ſeen in the palace of William the Conqueror at Caen; ſpires occur too in the abovementioned Cathedral of Bayeux.

Although I am aware that I ſhall digreſs from the ſubject before me, yet I truſt I ſhall be excuſed if I here inſert a few curious obſervations (from Ducarel p. 98) on the *curfeu bell*. "The covrefeu or curfeu bell," he obſerves, "exiſts almoſt every where, and yet the ignorance of the people of all ranks is ſuch that they are entirely unacquainted with its hiſtory. At Caen they call it *la retraite*, and fancy that it was inſtituted to call the ſoldiers to their quarters. In other places they conſider it as intended to ſummon the people to the compline, or laſt daily ſervice of the Roman Catholic Church, which anciently was performed at eight o'clock in the evening, though it now begins at five. The inſtitution of the curfeu bell is uſually attributed to William the

churches, &c. were very maſſy, often fluted or cut ſpirally, and occaſionally cluſtered, with ornaments

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the Conqueror, who is ſaid, after his conqueſt of England, to have ordered that it ſhould be rung at eight o'clock at night, and that then all perſons ſhould retire to their own houſes, and put out their fire and candle, he thereby politically intending to prevent all private meetings and cabals among the Engliſh, who, he apprehended, were inclined to contrive a revolt, and that finding the good effect of this injunction in England, he introduced it into Normandy. Some perſons however are of opinion, and that not without good grounds, that the ringing the curfeu bell was inſtituted by Duke William before his conqueſt of England, and in the year 1061, upon the following occaſion. The Duke, ſay they, having ſummoned a provincial council to be held at the Church of St. Paix de Tous Saintes at Caen, which he had lately built, took effectual care to ſtop all commotions and diſorders during the time of that aſſembly by ordaining the ſtrict obſervance of a ſtate of tranquillity which he called La Trieve de Dieu, and that finding the good effects of this ordinance, he enjoined the continuance of it all over Normandy, and from thence introduced it into England.

In Normandy we ſee this bell directs the people when to ſay their prayers. It might formerly be of the ſame uſe in England, or the cuſtom of ringing it might be kept up with a view to inform the meaner ſort of people, who had neither clocks nor almanacks, how the time went."

and

and mouldings, as before; ſtained glaſs was introduced, the vaulting of the roof was ribbed, the windows were larger, and divided by mullions of the plainer kinds, the eaſt and weſt windows were of conſiderable dimenſions; ſeries of low and cloſe arch work, ſometimes with a pointed head were often placed on the front of buildings; flints and ſtones well ſhaped.

## ORNAMENTED NORMAN.

*From* 1300 *to about* 1450.

Henry the Sixth's, or King's College Chapel is the moſt finiſhed ſpecimen of the architecture of this period; the pillars were now more cluſtered and ſlender, the windows were larger, and divided into ſeveral lights, and branched out at the top into a multiplicity of whimſical ſhapes and com-

partments,

partments, the glaſs was painted with figures,* abundance of ſmall ornamental pointed arches occur; ſome of them formed niches in which ſtatues were placed; ſpiry and other ornaments increaſed; the ſhape of the arch, of which I ſhall ſpeak again, often changed; the mouldings were very various, and the mullions of the windows were complex: ſcreens and other ornaments of painted and carved wood appear to have been now introduced, and the doors of the larger eccleſiaſtical buildings at leaſt were now cut into various fantaſtical ſhapes.

## FLORID NORMAN.

*From* 1450 *to about* 1500.

Henry the Seventh's Chapel is the moſt perfect ſpecimen of the architecture of this period; the

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* Painted glaſs was often procured for the Engliſh Churches, from the great manufactory of that article eſtabliſhed at Rouen.

Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 14.

ſtyle

ſtyle of this æra was like that of the laſt, but ſtill more highly ornamented; the roofs were adorned with a beautiful fretwork of ſtone, rich and delicate carving in ſtone and braſs, figures, ſtatues, pinnacles, angular ornaments, treillages, and every kind of decoration, wrought to its greateſt perfection, were profuſely introduced.

Soon after the Norman conqueſt Caen ſtone and Purbeck marble were employed in eccleſiaſtical ſtructures; the flints and ſtones which were then uſed were cut and joined with ſomewhat more dexterity than before, at leaſt in the exterior of buildings, and the outſide of ſome of the churches and chapels of the laſt æra of Norman Architecture are extremely beautiful, particularly when formed of flint *inlaid* with ſtone of various ſhapes.*

* The exterior of the Chantry Chapel of the Virgin (built in the time of Henry VII.) on the ſouth ſide of St. Michael's of Coſlany Church, Norwich, is a remarkably fine ſpecimen of this ſpecies of workmanſhip.

Some

Some portions ſtill remain in our churches of a *very ancient kind* of pavement, compoſed of ſmall, ſquare, and very ſolid tiles, which greatly reſemble the Roman brick in their ſtructure and form.*

Even in the time of the Saxons ſome coarſe *painting* and *ſtaining*, and *painted figures* alſo appear to have been occaſionally introduced into their religious buildings; this practice was continued by the Normans, and the walls of moſt of our churches, chantries, &c. till the period of the reformation, were decorated with paintings or drawings of our Saviour, of the Virgin, or of the Saints to whom the building was dedicated.

The *Saxon characters* were uſed, as well as the Roman, in inſcriptions on tombs, &c. till about

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* They are nearly the ſame as the *Saxon* bricks or tiles ſpoken of above, but they may poſſibly be a Norman imitation of thoſe tiles, or of the Roman bricks.

the beginning of the fourteenth century;* the *Gothic* letter was then introduced, and continued in uſe in ſepulchral, and other braſſes and tablatures, till about the latter end of the ſixteenth century, when the *Roman* character was revived.

## *Remarks on the Pointed Arch.*

The earlieſt pointed arches ſeem to have deviated but little from the round arch; but when generally introduced in the time of Henry III. they were formed of a much more angular ſhape, which has been, not inaptly, compared to a lancet; in the reign of Edward I. they were ſomewhat more open, but were, at leaſt frequently, *very* narrow and pointed in the time of Edward II. The arch

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* The lateſt inſcription in the *Saxon* letter which I have been able to diſcover in any of the numerous churches in the city of Norwich, is an inſcription in Norman French, dated 1298, engraved on the wall which is united to the ſteeple of St. Mary's of Coſlany, and which is much older than the reſt of the church.

peculiar

peculiar to the reign of Edward III. is formed by two *ſtraight* lines riſing from the top of the ſupporting ſides, and meeting in a point; this ſpecies of arch does not appear, however, to have continued very long in vogue; in Richard II.'s time the arch was well proportioned, but not ſo beautiful as thoſe of Henry IV. and V. the latter more eſpecially preſerve a medium in their breadth and heighth which is difficult to define, but which unites in an extraordinary degree both lightneſs and magnificence; the arch appears to have been much flattened in many of the buildings of the æra of Henry VI. from which circumſtance it derives a heavy appearance; the ſhape of the arches of King's-college Chapel, of the Chapel at Windſor, founded by Edward IV. and of the Chapel of Henry VII. are too well known to require any particular deſcription.

## *NORMAN FORTRESSES.*

The Norman caſtles were larger than the Saxon ones, and uſually ſituated on high hills; they were

ſurrounded by a deep circular ditch, and ſometimes by two or three; the ſpaces circumſcribed by theſe ditches were denominated *ballia*, and thus the caſtle had its inner, its outer, and ſometimes its third ballium; the caſtle itſelf was generally of a ſquariſh form; its walls were thick and high; it had a keep, a draw-bridge, a poſtern, and not unfrequently a barbican; the entrance to the caſtle was on the ground, and was ſecured by a portcullis and ſometimes by a fenced entry; moſt of the buildings of which I am ſpeaking had hanging arches to defend their loops, and were alſo topped with turrets and battlements; they had at firſt but few windows in the lower ſtories; they generally contained ſeveral large rooms, as well as a chapel, and in the time of Edward I. a great hall was added to many of them; they had regular chimnies, and offices were built to them in the adjoining courts. They were more ornamented on the outſide than the Saxon caſtle. Religious houſes were often ſituated near them.

Such,

Such, then, are the more remarkable criteria by which the æras of our ancient eccleſiaſtical and military ſtructures may be determined, as I conceive, with tolerable accuracy.

In the reign of Henry VIII. the *Norman*, or as it is moſt commonly called, the *Gothic* Architecture began to decline, and in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, the *Roman* Architecture was introduced into England in its ſtead.*

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* A full and chronological account of the changes which have taken place in the ſtructure of the *dwelling-houſes and manſions* of the Engliſh, would doubtleſs form a valuable addition to that kind of work of which I have now been endeavouring to trace the outlines. On this ſubject I have hitherto met with little more than brief and occaſional hints, except in Mr. Whitaker's very amuſing and inſtructive Diſſertation on our domeſtic architecture (in his Hiſtory of Whalley, p. 472). From this piece, and from the ſcattered notices which occur on the ſame ſubject in ſeveral other writers, we gather in general, that

The earlieſt houſes or huts of the *ancient Britons* were formed of twigs or boughs of trees, and were made ſufficiently large to contain a family and ſome portion of its cattle; they appear, at a later period, to have been built with ſods, or with rough ſtones, and uſually, I believe, without

without mortar (as was the caſe in the Duns, and even in ſome of the meaner cottages of Scotland to a very late period); the ſtone huts of the Britons were *conical*, of which form ſome traces ſtill remain in the ſmaller farm-houſes of Wales; they conſiſted of but one room, and were without chimnies, the ſmoke paſſing through the roof.

The houſes of the more wealthy Britons ſeem to have been ſomewhat improved during the time in which the Iſland was poſſeſſed by the *Romans*, and poſſibly ſome of the Anglo-Roman villas, of which we ſtill find remains, were the ſeats of Britons of diſtinction; there is, however, little reaſon to ſuppoſe that any *great* or *general* change was introduced at this period into the humbler domeſtic buildings of the Britons, for the very clumſy and unſucceſsful attempt which they made, at the departure of the Romans, to repair the wall of Severus, ſufficiently proved them to have been, even at that time, exceedingly deficient in architectural ſkill.

The dwelling-houſes of the *Saxons* appear to have been ſmall, chiefly built with wood and clay, and thatched with ruſhes or ſtraw; their cottages were merely ſingle apartments without chambers.

After the *Norman* conqueſt the art of building rapidly improved in England; bricks and cut ſtones were gradually introduced; but a very large proportion of wood continued to be uſed even in the ſtructure of the houſes of the metropolis to a late period. The farm-houſes of three or four centuries ago, were low, dark, and ſupported by crooks; it is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that the uſe of clay, and of thatches of different kinds, is not even yet entirely aboliſhed.

The reſidences of our foreſathers were, however, of very different kinds; beſides their ordinary houſes and cot-

tages,

tages, they had alſo their caſtlets or peels, their manor-houſes, their halls, and their greater and leſs embattled manſions.

The *caſtlets or peels* were generally ſituated on the borders; they ſeem in ſome degree to have reſembled the ancient Britiſh fortreſs, as they conſiſted of a ſingle tower of ſeveral ſtories, contrived for the reception of cattle beneath and of a family above.

The unembattled *manor-houſe* ſurrounded a quadrangle, and was defended by a mote—this quadrangular form of building has been thought by ſome to have been borrowed by the Saxons from the Romans, and to have been afterwards copied by the Anglo-Normans in conſtructing the cloiſtered courts of monaſteries, colleges, and hoſpitals, as well as the manor-houſes abovementioned.

The ordinary *Hall* before the time of Elizabeth, was a very ſubſtantial building, reſting upon crooks of the oldeſt form; it contained a lobby, a hall, with a parlour beyond it on one ſide, and offices on the other; the windows were apertures ſix inches wide, not originally intended for glaſs, the floors of clay, the chimnies wide and open, the apartments, one only excepted, low and narrow. In the Halls built of ſtone (after the time of Elizabeth) the original form of the more ancient ones was retained, but with great enlargement; on the right of the entrance was the hall, lighted by one great *range* window, and containing an immenſe fire place; at the lower end was a gallery, and beyond the hall a parlour, or ſleeping room furniſhed with a maſſy oak bedſtead.

The *embattled* houſes of the time of Elizabeth and James.—"Theſe," ſays Mr. Whitaker, "were of two kinds, the one an improvement upon the rude quadrangle, the other an expanſion of the ancient caſtlet, the one luminous and magnificent,

magnificent, with deep projecting bow-windows, the other lofty, ſquare, and compact; of ſuch houſes it is a known complaint of Lord Bacon, that one knows not where to become to be out of the ſun." The firſt of theſe kinds of houſes contained large halls and kitchens, with huge arched fire-places, chambers of ſtate richly carved, and adorned with armorial bearings in wood, ſtone, or alabaſter; a gallery for muſic and dancing; glaſs painted with armorial bearings. The furniture of theſe houſes was very ſtrong and heavy.

The building with ſtone began to prevail in the time of Elizabeth.

The ſaſh-window and model of the ſquare modern houſe was firſt introduced from Italy in the reign of Charles I.

# *ON SAXON LITERATURE.*

WHILE the antiquities and compoſitions of the Celtic tribes are exciting conſiderable intereſt in the literary world, it cannot but be a ſubject both of ſurpriſe and regret that the language and productions of the Saxons ſhould have almoſt ceaſed to attract our attention.

The obligations which we are under to this ſpecies of literature appear to be nearly forgotten, although we are indebted to it for a great and valuable portion of the hiſtory and antiquities of our nation; more knowledge might undoubtedly be yet gleaned from the ſame field; and were it neceſſary to enforce a proſecution of Saxon ſtudies by the authority and example of diſtinguiſhed men,

the names of Camden, of Spelman, and of Junius, might alone awaken us to more ſpirited exertions.

At the beginning of the period in which theſe eminent antiquaries flouriſhed, the knowledge of the Saxon language was nearly extinct in England; they were, however, forcibly ſtruck by the value of that language, and by the importance of the works which were compoſed in it; and the efforts which they ſo earneſtly directed to the revival of Saxon literature * were rewarded by an extraordinary ſucceſs.

The work which was thus happily begun, was ſoon after greatly promoted, as well by the patro-

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* Spelman having himſelf experienced ſome difficulty in acquiring a ſkill in the Saxon tongue, determined, with a moſt judicious generoſity, to eſtabliſh a Saxon Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity of Cambridge; this chair was filled, with great advantage to the public, both by Wheelock and Somner; but the ſupply deſtined to its maintenance was ſequeſtered, with the reſt of the property of the Spelman family, in the courſe of the civil wars.

See Spelman's life prefixed to his works.

nage or labours of Laud, Uſher, Selden, Somner and Hickes, as by the perſevering exertions of the ſon of Spelman, on whom his father had beſtowed the honourable title of "heir to his ſtudies."

The fondneſs, however, for the Saxon tongue, which had thus been awakened and cheriſhed in the Engliſh nation, abated with a rapidity that is much to be lamented, and little of importance has been added to our Saxon ſtores during the courſe of the eighteenth century, except the works of the Elſtobs, of Wilkins, and of Lye.*

But while we have to regret, on the one hand, the languor with which that ſtudy is purſued of which I have juſt been ſpeaking, we may, on the

* The Saxon period in the excellent work of Dr. Henry, parts of Mr. Strutt's compilations, and the reſpectable hiſtory of the Saxons by Turner, all publiſhed within a few years paſt, are certainly contributing to diffuſe a knowledge of the cuſtoms, laws, &c. of the Saxons; but it is plain that theſe are not the kind of works to which I allude above.

other

other, derive much ſatisfaction and encouragement from conſidering the great number of unedited Saxon manuſcripts which are to be found in many of our moſt celebrated libraries,* and of which it is yet to be hoped that a copious and judicious ſelection may at ſome future period be offered to the public; the ſkilful execution of a taſk like this would certainly redound highly to the literary honour of the nation, and could not but greatly tend to revive that laudable attention to Saxon

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* It is impoſſible to attempt, in a work of this kind, even an imperfect enumeration of the Saxon compoſitions which are hitherto unedited; it might be enough to refer to the very copious catalogue of Saxon MSS. in the Cottonian Collection; but beſides theſe, a variety of Saxon productions are alſo preſerved in the Harleian Collection; in that of his Majeſty; in the Bodleian, in Trinity, Emanuel, and Bene't Libraries, Cambridge, (the latter of which was particularly enriched by the gifts of Archbiſhop Parker,) and alſo in ſome few of the Libraries of our Cathedrals.

Catalogues of ſeveral of the collections abovementioned may be found in Wanley's Additions to Hickes' Theſaurus Ling. vet. Septentrion.

philology

philology and compoſitions which has been too long dormant.

I cannot but here obſerve, that it is certainly ſomewhat to be regreted, that the tranſlations of thoſe Saxon works which have hitherto been publiſhed are almoſt univerſally executed in the *Latin* tongue; for what good reaſon their contents ſhould be thus veiled from the unlearned Engliſh reader, I confeſs I am at a loſs to conceive; it can hardly be aſſerted with truth that theſe works ought rather to be dedicated to the uſe of the literary public of Europe, than to that of our own countrymen; ſurely the Engliſh are the people to whom they muſt be principally intereſting, and whoſe curioſity reſpecting them has the firſt claim to indulgence.

An *Engliſh* tranſlation then of the beſt unedited Saxon manuſcripts would certainly be a deſirable acquiſition, and I am alſo inclined to believe, that even a re-tranſlation into Engliſh, of ſuch Saxon pieces as have been publiſhed with a *Latin* verſion only, is an object not unworthy of attention.—

Hiſtory

Hiſtory is a ſtudy to which the mere Engliſh reader is often very ſtrongly and very properly attached, and a thorough knowledge of his own hiſtory (the moſt valuable to him of all) would doubtleſs be much promoted by ſome familiarity with the writings of the Saxons; I know no man who has any taſte for hiſtorical purſuits that could fail of being gratified by a peruſal of that curious and venerable remain the Saxon Chronicle.

For the ſame reaſons, a tranſlation of Bede and of ſuch of the Saxon and other early writers in England as have *compoſed in Latin* would alſo be very deſirable.*

A ſimilar tranſlation too of the poetry of the Saxons, or of ſome ſpecimens of it at leaſt, could not I think be totally unintereſting; no great por-

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* Many amuſing and inſtructive portions of Engliſh hiſtory might be extracted from the Scriptores poſt Bedam, and from Gale's larger collection of Scriptores Rerum Anglicanarum, &c.

tion

tion of the original poetry itſelf has yet been given to the public, and in that portion which has appeared, little perhaps is contained that was peculiarly eminent in its time: of Cædmon, a poet of great celebrity, a few lines only have been preſerved by Bede, and no publiſhed piece of Saxon poetry is ſuperior on the whole to the Ode on Athelſtan's victory, of which a moſt admirable tranſlation may be ſeen in Ellis's Specimens.

I cannot, perhaps, better conclude theſe ſhort hortatory remarks than by riſking the addition of a nearly literal tranſlation of the fragment of Cædmon, which I have mentioned above, and of a chapter in the Saxon Chronicle which gives a minute account of the foundation-charters of that famous monaſtery at Medeſhamſtead, which conſtitutes the ſite of the preſent Peterborough.

The former of theſe pieces was compoſed in the ſixth century, and the latter, probably, but very little later than the ſeventh; for although the Saxon Chronicle includes the death of Stephen,

yet there is good reaſon for believing that it is the work of different perſons, and that the events recorded in it were inſerted very ſoon after the time in which they happened.

## CÆDMON.

*(From Hickes' Theſaurus, Vol. I. p. 87.)*

Now we ſhall praiſe,
Directing ourſelves to the kingdom of heaven,
The power of the Creator,
And thank his ſpirit.
The father, the glorious-worker,
Is wonderful.

Eternal Lord, firſt exiſting,
The original former
Of the ſons of earth;
Of the vault of heaven
The holy builder.

This

This world
The keeper of mankind,
The eternal Lord, afterward doomed
To fires — of the earth
Ruler all-powerful.

Of the metre of Cædmon no accurate idea can be obtained except from the original, as his lines are not rimed, and as the harmony of them ariſes both from a ſpecies of rhythm, which it is difficult to imitate or even to aſcertain, and alſo from the occaſional introduction of alliteration, to which the Saxons were greatly attached. If we can credit the tradition that this Author was in the habit of compoſing in his ſleep, his poetry will certainly create great aſtoniſhment.

## CHAPTER FROM THE CHRONICON SAXONICUM,

*(p. 41. An. 674.)*

In his time (Æthelred's) then he ſent Biſhop Wilfrid to Rome to the Pope who then was; his name was Agatho; and the King told him, by writ and by word, how his brothers Peada and Wulfere, and the Abbot Saxulph, had built a minſter (or monaſtery) called Medeſhamſtede, and that they had freed it, with the King and the Biſhop, from all bondage, and exhorted him that he would confirm it by his writ, and by his bleſſing. And the Pope then ſent his writ to England, thus ſaying "I, Agatho, Pope of Rome, greet well the worthy Æthelred the King of Mercia, and the Archbiſhop Theodore of Canterbury, and Saxulph the Biſhop of the Mercians, who before was Abbot, and all the Abbots who are in England. God's greeting and my bleſſing. I have heard the yearnings of King Æthelred, and of the Archbiſhop Theodore,

and

and of Biſhop Saxulph, and of the Abbot Cuthbald, and I will that it ſhould in all ways be as ye have ſpoken; and I have bidden in behalf of God, and of Saint Peter, and of all Saints, and of every holy head, that neither King, nor Biſhop, nor Earl, nor any man, shall have any tribute, cuſtom, toll, or fourthing, and that no man ſhall exact any kind of ſervitude from the Abbey of Medeſhamſtede; I alſo order that no Biſhop of the ſhire ſhould have the boldneſs to ordain or conſecrate in this Abbacy, unleſs the Abbot ſhould bid him; nor that he ſhould exact either Biſhop's fees, or Synodals, or any other kind of payment. And I will, that the Abbot be held as the Legate of Rome over all the iſland, and that any Abbot who is there choſen by the Monks ſhall be bleſſed (conſecrated) by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and I will and ordain, that if any man have made a vow to go to Rome, and cannot perform it, either from ſickneſs, or from the need of his maſter, or from any other buſineſs, be he of England or of any other iſland, let him come to the Minſter of Medeſhamſtede, and let him have ſuch

forgiveneſs

forgiveneſs from Chriſt and Saint Peter, and the Abbots, and the Monks, as he ſhould have if he went to Rome. And now I bid thee, brother Theodore, that thou permitteſt a ſynod to be called through all England, and that this writ be read and obeyed. Alſo I ſay to thee, Biſhop Saxulph, that as thou haſt yearned that the minſter be free, ſo I have forbidden thee, and all the Biſhops who come after thee, (ſent) by Chriſt and all his ſaints, that none of ye ſhall have any tribute from the minſter but as much as the Abbot chuſeth. Now I will ſay, in a word, that whoſoever abideth by this writ and this ordinance, he ſhall ever dwell with God Almighty in the Kingdom of Heaven, and whoſoever breaketh it, he ſhall be excommunicated, and condemned with Judas and with all the devils in hell, unleſs he ſhall repent. Amen." This writ Pope Agatho, and an hundred and twenty-five Biſhops, ſent into England by Wilfrid, Archbiſhop of York. This was done in the 680th year after the nativity of our Lord, and in the 6th year of King Æthelred. Then the King deſired Archbiſhop Theodore to

appoint

appoint a witenagemot at a place called Heatfelde; when they were there gathered together, he permitted the letter to be read which the Pope had ſent, and all ordained and confirmed it; then ſaid the King "All that my brother Peada and my brother Wulfere, and my ſiſters Cineburgh and Kyneſuith, gave and confirmed to Saint Peter and the Abbot, that will I have to ſtand good: and I will in my day alſo increaſe it for the ſake of their ſouls and of my ſoul. Now I give to day to Saint Peter, for his Minſter of Medeſhamſtede, theſe lands and all that thereto belongs, that is Bredune, Cedenac, &c.* Theſe lands I give to Saint Peter, as freely as I myſelf held them, and ſo that none of my ſucceſſors ſhall take therefrom any part: but if any one do ſo, may he have the curſe of the Pope of Rome, and of all Biſhops, and of all

* As moſt of the places mentioned in the original are not now known, or diſtinguiſhed by ſome other name, it is enough to mention that among them appear to have been Brecdon, in Worceſter, Swineſhead, in Huntingdon, and Cosford, and Stratford on Avon, in Warwickſhire.

who are here witneſſes; and this I confirm with the ſign of Chriſt. ✠. I, Theodore, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, am witneſs to this Charter of Medeſhamſtede, and I confirm it with my hand, and I excommunicate all who take any thing from it, and I bleſs all thoſe who abide by it. ✠. I, Wilfrid, Archbiſhop of York, am witneſs to this Charter, and confirm the ſame curſe. ✠. Amen.*

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* It is alſo ſigned, with ſimilar denunciations, by Saxulph, Oſtritha, and by the Biſhops of London and Rocheſter, with Cuthbald the Abbot.

TABLE AND EXPLANATION

OF THE

# *SAXON NAMES OF MONTHS.*

WOLFMONATH*—Giuli aftera,† January.
Sproutkele,‡ Solmonath,§ February.
Lenctmonath,*

* I ſcarcely need to obſerve that "monath" is the Saxon word for "month," and that "wolfmonath" was ſo named from its being the moſt favourable ſeaſon for hunting that animal.

† "Guili (or Giuli) aftera," means, the ſecond Giul, or the ſecond Chriſtmas, and is derived, according to Hickes, from "iol or ol," "ale" this word ſtill occurs for Chriſtmas, in "yiul-cake," "yiul-block," &c.

‡ "Kele" is a ſpecies of cabbage ſtill well known by that name.

§ "Solmonath" is explained by Bede "menſis placentarum;"

Lenctmonath,* Rhedmonath†, Hlydmonath,‡ - - - - - March.

Oſter or Eaſtermonath.§ - - - April.

Trimilki,‖ Seremonath,** Unnemonath,†† May.

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tarum"; and Spelman, in an *unedited manuſcript*, renders it "*pan-cake* month": it was thus called becauſe in the courſe of it, cakes were offered by the pagan Saxons to the ſun; and "ſol" or "ſoul" ſignifies "food" or "cakes."

* "Lenct," or Lent, means "Spring."

† This word is derived by ſome, from a Saxon deity named Rheda, to whom ſacrifices were offered in March; by others it is derived from the Saxon "ræd" council, March being the month in which wars or expeditions were generally undertaken by the Gothic tribes.

‡ "Hlyd" means "ſtormy."

§ In this month the feaſt of the Saxon goddeſs Eaſtre, Eaſter, or Eoſter, is ſaid to have been celebrated. Spelman obſerves on it "Impium et indignum, ſacroſanctam Chriſtianorum feſtivitatem turpiſſima fædari Gentilium appellatione; ſunt tamen qui reſurrectionem interpretantur et inde *Coſterne*, Teutonice, nuncupant, juxta quod in antiqua Bedæ editione *Coſter* legitur, non *Eoſter*."

‖ "Trimilki" implies milking three times in the day.

** "Sere" is ſtill uſed to expreſs dry.

†† "Unne" is the Saxon word for joy.

Weydmonath,*

Weydmonath,* Medemonath, Midfumor-
monath, Braeckmonath,† according to
ſome, Woedmonath,‡ Lida erra, §- June.
Henmonath,‖ heymonath,** Lida aftera,†† July.
Trilidi emboliſmus.‡‡

Arnmonath,*

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* "Weyd" is probably from "Weyden" (German) to go about, as if to paſture.

† "Braeckmonath" is thought to be ſo named from the breaking up of the ſoil from "brækan" Sax. to break.

‡ "Woed" means "weed."

§ I can find no ſatisfactory account of the word "Lida;" Lida or Litha ſignifies in the Icelandic tongue "to move, or *paſs over*," (Gloſs. to Scœmundar Edda), and I am in ſome degree ſupported by Bede's remarks on this month in conjecturing that Lida implies the ſun's *paſſing its greateſt height*, and that "Lida erra" conſequently means the firſt month of the ſun's deſcent: "Lida" is by ſome deemed the ſame as ſet-lift or ſmooth-air.

‖ "Hen" has probably the meaning of "hain" (German), that is, wood or trees, Henmonth then may be rendered foliage-month.

** "Hey" means "hay."

†† The ſecond "Lida" or ſecond month of the ſun's deſcent.

‡‡ This is an inſerted month to make up the thirteen lunar months of which the Saxon year was formerly compoſed;

Arnmonath,* Barnmonath, Harveſtmonath,
according to ſome, Woedmonath,† Auguſt.
Gerſtmonath,‡ Haligemonath,§ September.
Wynmonath,‖ Winterfulleth, - October.
Wintmonath,** Blotmonath,†† - November.
Wintermonath or Midwintermonath,
Giul erra,‡‡ - - - December.

A very

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poſed; it may be explained the third month of the ſun's deſcent.

* "Arn" is the Saxon word for harveſt.

† "Woed" has been explained above.

‡ "Gerſt" means "barley."

§ "Haligemonath" may be rendered "holy-month;" it appears from a Saxon menology (in Wanley's additions to Hickes) that this month was named holy from the annual celebration of a pagan feſtival in it; the menology, which I tranſlate *literally*, ſays thus "Haligemonath—for that our forefathers, the while they heathens were, on this month celebrated their devil-gild."

‖ "Wyn" means "wine."

** "Wint" is the Saxon word for wind.

†† "Blot" means "blood"—in this month cattle were killed in great abundance by the Saxons for winter ſtore, or according to ſome as ſacrifices.

‡‡ "Giul erra" means the former or firſt Giul; the feaſt

of

A very curious emblematical repreſentation of the Saxon months is ſtill, I believe, to be ſeen on an ancient font in the pariſh church of Burnham Depdale, in Norfolk; they are very rudely ſculptured, but the employments of moſt of the figures that are introduced may be detected with ſufficient certainty. As theſe employments throw ſome light upon the ſubject of which I have juſt been treating, I ſhall briefly notice them. Giul aftera is deſignated by a man drinking out of a horn; Solmonath is repreſented by a perſon apparently ſitting at the door of his houſe; Lenctmonath is diſtinguiſhed by a man digging; Eaſtermonath by a man employed in pruning; Seremonath *ſeems* to be marked by a perſon occupied in trimming a vine; Woedmonath is repreſented by a weeder; Heymonath by a mower; Arnmonath by a reaper;

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of Thor, which was celebrated in the mother-night (i. e. at the winter ſolſtice) was thus called, and poſſibly, as before obſerved, from iol or ol. This feaſt ſeems to have been continued through a part of January. (ſee notes above.)

Gerſtmonath

Gerſtmonath by a threſher; Wynmonath is diſtinguiſhed by a perſon apparently pouring wine from a bottle into a cup or funnel; Blotmonath is repreſented by a man killing a hog; and Giul erra by a company feaſting.*

In a ſeries of painted windows which ornament the *Town-hall of Leiceſter*, two ſtill remain,

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* A farther account of this very curious font may be found in the Archæologia, vol. X. p. 177. The author of that account contends that the font is an early Norman, and not a Saxon work; but as the employments of the figures on its ſides correſpond ſo exactly, in moſt inſtances, with the names of the Saxon months, I cannot heſitate to believe that it is at leaſt the work of a Saxon artiſt. An engraving of it was made in 1791 by the Rev. H. Crowe, jun. and the learned friend, to whom I am indebted for a copy of that print, informed me that he had detected on the pavement of the chapel of the Holy Trinity (in Canterbury cathedral), ſeveral emblematical figures, of which no explanation had been hitherto given, and which ſtrongly reſembled thoſe on the font at Depdale in deſign and workmanſhip.

though

though conſiderably damaged, on which the months of *June* and *September* are emblematically deſigned, and in a manner nearly reſembling the ſculptured repreſentation of thoſe months on the font at Depdale. The windows of which I am ſpeaking are thus deſcribed by Mr. Nichols:* "In the firſt light, at the entrance, is the figure of a threſher, and two ſheaves of corn, and over it "September."—"In the ſeventh light, a man in a cap, bare leg and thigh, ſtockings down to the ancles; has a belt from which hangs another; behind him a building with turrets, before him a wooden fork holds a ſtump of a branch upwards, while a hook-like ſtick head pulls down a ragged leaf like a holly." Over this figure, which I conceive to repreſent a *weeder*, is inſcribed "June."

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* Hiſtory of Leiceſterſhire, Vol. II. 2d part, p. 354.

The date of theſe paintings is not decidedly aſcertained; doubtleſs the ſeries of months was originally complete, but the reſt of them are deſtroyed, or were probably removed to make room for the armorial bearings with which the remainder of the windows are at preſent decorated.

## *TRANSLATION FROM EADMER.*

THE manner in which the celebrated Anſelm exerciſed his power as Archbiſhop of Canterbury is very generally known; the following particulars of his promotion to that dignity may not be an unamuſing ſpecimen of a very ancient hiſtorical compoſition of the Norman School.*

The ſee of Canterbury had been vacant about four years after the death of Lanfranc when Anſelm was

* The Hiſtoria Novorum (Selden's Edition), p. 16, &c. Eadmer, the writer of this work, was a monk of Canterbury,

was called to ſucceed him by the united voice of the people—Anſelm trembled and turned pale at the ſound; and when he was carried by force to the king, that he might receive from his hands the paſtoral ſtaff of inveſtiture, he very ſtrongly reſiſted, and urged that many reaſons prevented his accepting the honour that was offered him. The Biſhops, therefore, drew him aſide from the multitude and thus addreſſed him; "what is it you are doing? what is it you have in view? you cannot but ſee that chriſtianity has almoſt periſhed in England, that every thing is in confuſion, that all kinds of abominations have ariſen, that we ourſelves, as well as the churches of God, which are under our direction, are in danger of eternal deſtruction, and you, who might aſſiſt us, only deſpiſe us; whence is this aſtoniſhing conduct? whither are your ſenſes fled? the Church of Canterbury, in the oppreſſion

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bury, and profeſſes to give in it an account of tranſactions in which he was himſelf engaged, or of which he was at leaſt a ſpectator, from the time of the Norman Conqueſt, to the twenty-ſecond year of the reign of Henry I.

of

of which we are all oppreſſed and deſtroyed, calls upon you aloud, and anxiouſly ſeeks you as her preſerver and as ours; but you, heedleſs of her liberties, heedleſs of our comfort, diſdain to aſſiſt your brethren in their labours, and are devoted only to your own repoſe." To this Anſelm replied, "bear with me, I beſeech you, bear with me, and attend; I admit that there are many grievances which require a remedy, but conſider, I implore you, that I am far advanced in years, and little capable of bearing any earthly labour; how then can I, who am unable to exert myſelf in my own behalf, how can I undertake the charge of the whole Engliſh church? Beſides, as my conſcience can well teſtify, from the time in which I became a monk I have ſhunned all ſecular concerns, nor can I ever attend to them with good will, for I can diſcover nothing in them which is capable of creating in me any intereſt or delight; therefore permit me to be at reſt, and do not involve me in buſineſs which I diſlike, leſt it ſhould on that account be unproſperous: but do thou," continued he, "accept the primacy without heſita-

tion

tion, go thou before in the way of the Lord, teaching us our duty, and behold, we give thee our promiſe that we will not be ſlack in obeying thy commands: do thou dedicate thyſelf to God for our ſakes, and we will manage thy ſecular concerns for thee: what you require of me is impoſſible, I am abbot of a monaſtery in another kingdom, having an archbiſhop to whom I owe obedience, a prince to whom I owe ſubjection, and monks to whom I owe the miniſtration of counſel and aſſiſtance; to all theſe I am ſo ſtrictly bound that I cannot deſert my monks without their permiſſion, I cannot ſhake off the dominion of my prince without his acquieſcence, nor can I refuſe obedience to my primate, without his abſolution, except at the peril of my ſoul." "All this," ſay they, "is of no importance, they will all conſent." "It cannot be" ſays Anſelm, "your wiſhes cannot be gratified." They then hurry him away to the King who lay dangerouſly ill, and relate the obſtinacy of Anſelm: the King, with a ſorrow which almoſt brought tears into his eyes, ſaid to him, "O Anſelm, what is it you do? how can you thus con-

ſign

ſign me to eternal torments? Remember, I implore you, the faithful friendſhip which my father and mother ever entertained for you, and you for them; by this I conjure you to ſuffer not the body and ſoul of their ſon to periſh together; I ſhall be utterly loſt if I finiſh my days while I ſtill hold the primacy in my own hands; aid me then, aid me, my Lord and father, and aſſume that dignity on account of which I am ſo grievouſly afflicted, and fear to be ſtill more afflicted in eternity." The words of the king produced a great effect on thoſe who were near him, and they thus warmly inveighed againſt Anſelm, who ſtill excuſed himſelf, and was ſtill unwilling to take upon himſelf ſo heavy a load, "what madneſs has occupied your mind? you afflict the king, you afflict him to death, you do not ſcruple to diſtreſs him even in his dying moments; know then that every annoyance, every oppreſſion, every crime, which may hereafter afflict England, will be imputed to you, unleſs you this day avert them by receiving the paſtoral care of the church." In

theſe difficulties Anſelm, turning to two monks who were near him, exclaimed "Ah, my brethren, why do you not aſſiſt me?" Theſe words he uttered with ſuch anguiſh of mind, that, as he was wont to declare, if the option had then been given him, he would rather, with the permiſſion of God, have died on the ſpot than have been exalted to the Archiepiſcopal throne. Baldwin anſwered him, "If it be the will of God that it ſhould be thus, what are we who oppoſe the will of God?" This ſpeech was followed by tears and by guſhes of blood from his noſe, which ſhewed to all preſent with what regret of heart theſe words were uttered. Anſelm, having heard the anſwer, cries out "Alas! how ſoon is thy ſtaff broken!" The king then perceiving that the labour of all was ineffectual, directed that every one ſhould fall at the feet of Anſelm, to endeavour in that manner to extort his conſent. But what happened? While they were falling down before him, he himſelf falls down before the king, nor could he in any wiſe be moved from his firſt determination:

termination: but the ſpectators being at length provoked, both by Anſelm himſelf, and by their own inactivity in permitting ſuch delay by liſtening to his refuſals, called aloud "the paſtoral ſtaff! the paſtoral ſtaff!" and having ſeized his right arm, ſome began to draw him forward while he was ſtruggling againſt them, others forced him along from behind, and they brought him at laſt cloſe to the bed where the king lay ſick. When the king offered him the paſtoral ſtaff, he cloſed his hand, and ſteadily refuſed to receive it; the biſhops endeavoured to force open his fingers, which were cloſely bent in his palm, that the ſtaff might then be placed in his hand; but when they found, after ſome trial, that the attempt was vain, being only able to raiſe his forefinger which he ſoon bent back, and when they heard him utter ſome complaint from the tearing of his fleſh, they at length reſted the ſtaff on his cloſed hand, and it was there ſupported by the hands of the biſhops. The multitude then ſhouting "long live the biſhop!" the clergy began to ſing the Te Deum,

with a loud voice, and they dragged, rather than conducted, Anſelm to a neighbouring church; he ſtill however reſiſted, calling out "what ye do is of no avail;" after the uſual ceremonies were performed, Anſelm returned to the king.—Theſe things were tranſacted in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, 1093."

THE

# *LIFE OF EDGAR ATHELING.*

THE materials for a life of Edgar Atheling are very thinly ſcattered in the hiſtories of our country; but as he is a perſon whoſe character, pretenſions, and diſappointments have excited much intereſt in the Engliſh nation, I have imagined that the collection and orderly arrangement of even the few particulars which I could diſcover reſpecting him, might not be unfavourably received.

EDGAR

EDGAR ATHELING, or Edgar Clito, as he is ſometimes ſtyled, was born in Hungary* about the year one thouſand and forty; his father, Edward the Outlaw, was the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, the paternal brother of the Confeſſor:† at the deceaſe of this prince, who died without lawful iſſue, the right to the crown of England clearly devolved to Edgar, the ſole ſurviving male of the

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* Polydori Vergilii Anglic. Hiſt. Lib. VIII. p. 188. S. Dunelm.

† Eadmeri Hiſt. Nov. Lib. III. p. 56. Polydori Vergilii Lib. VIII. and Milton's Hiſtory of England, Book 6.

Edmund Ironſide left two infant ſons, Edwin and Edward. By order of Canute they were conveyed out of England in 1017. At length they found an aſylum in Hungary. Edwin died there. Edward was recalled by Edward the Confeſſor, in 1057. He only lived to ſee the land of his nativity from which he had been exiled during 40 years. The children of Edward were Edgar, Margaret, and Chriſtian.

Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, p. 6.

family

family of Ethelred;* and his pretenſions indeed ſeem

* The pedigree of the family is as follows:

Ethelred, King of England, d. 1016.

- Edward the Confeſſor, d. 1066.
- Edmund Ironſide, d. 1017.
  - Edwin, or (according to Speed) Edmund; died without iſſue in Hungary.
  - Edward, d. 1057.
    - EDGAR ATHELING
    - Margaret, married to Malcolm Canmore, d. 1093.
      - Edgar, K. of Scotland
      - Maud, married to Henry I. d. 1118.
        - Maud, married to Geoffray Plantagenet d. 1167.
          - Henry II.
    - Chriſtina, a Nun.

The armorial bearing of Edgar Atheling is uſually deemed to have been nearly the ſame as that of the Confeſſor,

ſeem to have been previouſly acknowledged by his receiving the title of Atheling,* which, in the time of the Saxons, uſually diſtinguiſhed the heir apparent to the kingdom.

At the death of the Confeſſor, however, the influence and power of Harold prevailed over the rights of Edgar, and the uſurper was ſeated on the throne by the voice of an aſſembly of nobles, whom he had probably collected with caution, and on whoſe attachment he could ſecurely rely.† The prince who had obtained the endearing title of "the darling of England,"‡ was thus ungenerouſly

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ſeſſor, viz. *Azure, a croſs patonce between four martlets or;* but in an ancient manuſcript (in the collection of J. Patteſon, Eſq. M. P.) I find the *croſs formee* is attributed to him inſtead of the croſs patonce.

* Atheling, or Ætheling, is generally underſtood by Saxon ſcholars to ſignify "noble," but I am inclined to ſuſpect that it rather means, when uſed as above, "the *ſon* of the noble" (or the king's ſon) from *æthel*, "noble," and "*ing*" the termination of the Saxon patronymics.

† Milton's Hiſtory of England, Book 6. p. 117.

‡ Rapin, vol. 1. p. 168.

neglected

neglected by his people, and acquiescing without a struggle, in the unjust decision of the nobility, he appeared to have been soothed, if not satisfied, with the honour of the Earldom of Oxford, which was immediately conferred upon him by his courteous and successful rival.*

Although the wealth and consequence of the Godwyn family, of whom Harold was now the chief, had long been increasing in England under a series of preceding monarchs, yet we cannot but observe with some astonishment the height to which it was at length exalted. In the succession of the Saxon kings, the right of primogeniture had not indeed been strictly adhered to in every case,† and we find even at a much later period of English history, that the approving voice of the representatives of the nation was deemed a desire-

* Stowe's Chronicle, p. 98.—MS. in Corporation Library, Norwich.

† Alfred, for instance, succeeded to the prejudice of his nephews. Speed's Chronicle, 328.

able, though not a neceſſary ſanction, to the aſſumers of the throne ;* yet till now the ſucceſſion to the crown of England, whether reſting upon inherent right, or influenced by the will of the nobles, had been uniformly confined to ſome branch of the family by which the throne had been previouſly poſſeſſed. The riches and the rank of Harold, then, ſcarcely ſeem alone ſufficient to account for his irregular exaltation; the abſurd pretenſions which he made to the crown, as the gift of the dying Edward,† muſt have operated ſtill leſs powerfully in his favour; but it may not be unreaſonably preſumed, that the youth, the inexperience, the foreign education,‡ and above all, the ſtrange inactivity of Edgar at this important criſis, were each unfavourable to his cauſe, and that the nation, who might well foreſee the approaching at-

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* As in the caſes of Henry IV. and Richard III.

† Speed, p. 403.

‡ Polydori Virgilii, Lib. VIII.

Edgar, at this time, was barely able to ſpeak the Engliſh language. Speed, p. 400.

tack of the Norman Duke, were not ill pleaſed with the exchange of ſuch a leader as Edgar for the ſkilful, daring, and indefatigable Harold.

The power of Harold, in whatever way it was obtained, ſpeedily fell before the arms of William; and there was little reaſon to expect that the claims of Edgar, which had been before diſregarded, ſhould meet with any efficacious ſupport againſt the energy of the victorious invader.

Theſe claims however were now brought forward to notice by the very perſons who had lately ſo keenly oppoſed them; Edwin and Morcar, the brethren of the Queen, dreading no doubt the reſentment of the Conqueror, and ſtill hoping to retain, and perhaps to increaſe, their influence, through the gratitude or weakneſs of Edgar, haſtily aſſembled their vaſſals and prepared to aſſert and to defend his rights;* many of the Engliſh nobility,

*Holinſhed's Chronicles, vol, III. p. 1.

the

the citizens of London, and the naval forces of the realm, readily joined the confederacy; and Aldred, the Archbiſhop of York, whoſe concurrence was deemed of great importance, enliſted with alacrity under the banners of Edgar; but the ſuperſtitious opinions of the age ſoon operated more powerfully upon the mind of the prelate than his honour or his patriotiſm; and dreading to oppoſe the man who fought under the protection of the ſpiritual father of Chriſtendom, he meanly deſerted his party, and ſet an example of fear and of baſeneſs which was ſo rapidly followed by the reſt of the followers of Edgar, that in a very ſhort time the whole of theſe haughty chieftains, together with the prince himſelf, were content to yield their allegiance to William.*

Edgar,

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* Speed's Chronicle, p. 420. Ann. 1066. Milton's Hiſtory of England, Book 6, p. 120.

Edgar and the nobles ſwore fealty to William, at Beorcham or Berkhamſtead. Hoveden, p. 450.

It has been aſſerted that, during the period of which I have now been ſpeaking, Edgar had aſſumed the title of

*King*,

Edgar, although treated with great reſpect and generoſity by the Conqueror,* appears to have been much mortified by his degradation. The oppreſſion of the Normans ſoon provoked the Engliſh to violence, and the Atheling was again invited by the reſtleſs and powerful Earls of Cheſter and of York, to place himſelf at the head of the malcontents; he acceded to their wiſhes; but the attempt of his followers was defeated by the vigilance of William, and he was obliged to conſult his ſafety by flight.†

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*King*, and had exerciſed a royal power in ſome eccleſiaſtical regulations; but of theſe aſſertions I am unable to find any decided proofs: I know not in what eccleſiaſtical affairs Edgar interfered, unleſs his interview with Brand, Abbot of Burh, (who came to ſeek redreſs from him ſoon after William had entered England) can be conſtrued into ſomething of the kind. See Chronic. Saxon, p. 173.

* Rapin, vol. 1. p. 168, notes. According to William of Malmſbury, p. 103, Edgar received a daily ſtipend of a pound of ſilver, and Baker in his Chronicle, (p. 27) adds that "he had other large livings beſide."

† Speed's Chronicle, p. 422. Anno. 1067.

Edgar

Edgar then, accompanied by Merleſwegen and many other followers, and taking with him his mother Agatha* and his ſiſters Chriſtina and Margaret, embarked for Hungary, the place of his nativity ;† but contrary winds drove them on the coaſt of Scotland,‡ and they there found an aſylum in the court of Malcolm Canmore. This generous and ſpirited prince not only received the fugitives with the moſt liberal hoſpitality, but heard with diſdain the threats which were employed by William to extort the ſurrender of Edgar.§

The

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* Said by ſome to have been the daughter of Solyman, King of Hungary. Papebroch. vit St. Marg. 325.

† Matthew Paris, p. 4. Holinſhed, vol iii. p. 6.

‡ They anchored, according to Fordun, in the Sinus Margaretæ, (now S. Margaret's Hoop.)

§ Chronic. Saxon, p. 173. Anno 1067. Speed as above, Anno 1067. Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, p. 7.

Malcolm Canmore was the ſon of that Duncan who was aſſaſſinated by Macbeth, (Chron. de Mailros, 156, and Fordun); he eſpouſed Margaret, the ſiſter of Edgar, ſoon after her arrival in Scotland; Maud, his third daughter by this lady, was married to Henry I. of England; the fruit of this marriage was Maud, the mother of Henry II. in whom

The Atheling did not long remain inactive in the North, but haſtened to encourage by his preſence a revolt which had been excited in Northumberland.* A force under Cumins and Robert was immediately ſent by William to oppoſe the inſurgents, but the followers of Edgar ſurpriſed theſe commanders at Durham, and of the ſeven hundred Normans, of which their ſmall army was compoſed, one only eſcaped with his life.† William exceedingly exaſperated by this diſaſter, immediately marched, although in the depth of winter, into the revolted country, and quickly ſucceeded in reducing it to obedience; many of the leaders of the inſurrection fell into his hands, and were con-

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whom the Saxon blood-royal was again reſtored to the Engliſh throne. Ædmer and Rapin.

S. Dunelm erroneouſly fixes the flight of Edgar into Scotland, in 1068.

According to the Chronic. de Mailros, (p. 156 and 165, Gale.) Margaret was betrothed to Malcolm in 1067, but was not married to him till 1070.

* Holinſhed, vol. III. p. 6.

† January 28, 1068.

demned to death, but Edgar was fortunate enough to effect his eſcape to Scotland.*

He was ſoon however drawn from his retreat again; the Engliſh fugitives in Norway had prevailed upon Swain to invade their country; and nearly three hundred veſſels, containing a formidable force, had arrived ſafely in the Humber; Canute and Harold, the ſons of Swain, were entruſted with the command of the expedition, and to theſe princes Edgar, with Waltheof, Marleſwegen, and other of his followers, immediately joined themſelves;† the progreſs of the Danes was rapid; York yielded to their arms; and the Norman garriſon, in deſerting it, having fired its ſuburbs, the flames extended to the city and con-

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* Speed, p. 422. Anno. 1068.

The Robert, mentioned by Speed, appears to be the ſame perſon as *Rodbert*, whom the Saxon Chronicle (p. 174.) ſtates to have been the newly appointed *Norman* Earl of Northumbria in the time of the abovementioned revolt.

† Henry of Huntindon, p. 369.

ſumed

ſumed a conſiderable portion of it.* The Danes kept poſſeſſion of the diſtrict which they had conquered during the following winter; but William, as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted, attacked them with a formidable power and completely routed them; Harold, Canute, and the remains of their army fled to their ſhips, and Edgar Atheling again found ſafety in Scotland.†

The conqueror, having cruelly deſolated the country which he had thus recovered,‡ retired with his victorious army to the South.

It is not eaſy to account for the ſupineneſs with which the greater part of the Engliſh appear to

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* Speed, p. 423. Anno 1068. According to S. Dunelm, the Danes arrived about the 11th of September, and took York on the 22d of October.

The Church of St. Peter, and a valuable library annexed to it, were entirely deſtroyed. Stowe's Chronicle, p. 111.

† Speed, p. 423. Anno 1069. Holinſhed, vol. III. p. 7.

‡ The famine occaſioned by the devaſtation of this diſtrict, was ſo exceſſive, that the inhabitants are ſaid to have eaten human fleſh.

have viewed the ſtruggle which thus terminated ſo unfortunately to Edgar ;* irritated by the rapacity of the Normans, encouraged by the example of their prince, and allured as well by the ſucceſs of the Daniſh ſuccours, as by the promiſes of the King of Scotland,† the maſs of the nation ſtill remained inactive,

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* We learn indeed from one writer, (S. Dunelm) that the Northumbrians, under Goſpatric, had joined the Danes, but were ſoon detached from the confederacy.

† "It undoubtedly had been concerted" ſays Dalrymple, (p. 9.) "that the King of Scotland ſhould march into England and co-operate with the invaſion, but ſome unforeſeen accident retarded his motions ; at length, when it was too late, he led a numerous army through the weſtern borders by Cumberland. He waſted Teeſdale, routed the Engliſh who oppoſed him at Hunderdeſkelde, penetrated into Cleveland, and from thence into the eaſtern parts of the Biſhopric of Durham, ſpreading univerſal deſolation. Not even the edifices ſacred to religion were ſpared ; they who fled into churches for refuge were burnt in their imaganied ſanctuary. Malcolm from an eminence beheld this ſcene of horror. He received tidings that his own territories in Cumberland were laid waſte by the falſe Goſpatric. Enraged at a mode of war reſembling his own, he ordered his ſoldiers to ſlay without diſtinction of age or ſex ; but he ſeemed to mitigate their ſeverity by commanding all the young

inactive, and the moſt tempting proſpect of ſucceſs failed to provoke in them any effort to recover their fame or their liberty; poſſibly however the very ſource of their hope at this period might have had ſome tendency to check their exertions, and the ideas of deſolation, of cruelty, and of inſolence which they had ſo ſtrongly and ſo juſtly aſſociated even with the name of a Dane, might not unreaſonably have induced them to dread the accidental reſtoration of the power and influence of that nation as the moſt deplorable misfortune which could befall their country.

Edgar, after remaining in Scotland about four years, ſeems at length to have deſpaired of making any impreſſion on his adverſary, and having paſt

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young men and maidens to be driven captive into Scotland. So great was the number of captives, ſays an Engliſh Hiſtorian, that for many years they were to be found in every Scottiſh village, nay even in every Scottiſh hovel."

I cannot but ſuſpect that this dreadful account, which reſts ſolely on the authority of S. Dunelm, is much exaggerated.

into

into Normandy, he there fought and obtained a reconciliation with William.*

From this period a long ſilence reſpecting the fate of Edgar, is preſerved by the Annaliſts of England; but we learn that about a year before the death of the Conqueror our unfortunate prince had been greatly irritated by the treatment which he received from him;† his diſcontent does not appear

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* Chronic. Sax. p. 182. Stowe, p. 114. Anno. 1073.

† Chronic. Sax. p. 187. Anno 1085.

The ſuſpicion, which is expreſſed by an anonymous writer, that the indignation of Edgar aroſe from his being deprived of his poſſeſſions in Normandy, is in ſome degree countenanced by the following paſſage from the Annales Waverleienſes, (p. 133.)

"Anno regis Willielmi XX. rex tenuit Curiam ſuam apud Wintoniam, poſtea ad Kalendas Auguſti fuit apud Saliſburiam, ibique venerunt coram eo Barones ſui et omnes terrarii hujus regni, qui alicujus pretii erant, cujuscunque fædi fuiſſent, et omnes homines ſui effecti ſunt, et juraverunt illi fidelitatem contra omnes homines. Poſtea rex, adquiſitis magnis theſauris ab hominibus ſuis, ſupra quos aliquam cauſam invenire porterat ſive juſte ſive injuſte, deinde ivit in Wicht, and ſic in *Normanniam*, et *Edgar Atheling*

appear however to have diſcovered itſelf by any act of violence, but having obtained the permiſſion of William, he paſt over into Apulia,* accompanied by two hundred followers in arms: what other views he might have entertained in this excurſion, beſides that of removing himſelf from a ſituation which was now become intolerable to him, are not very eaſy to be aſcertained: he might poſſibly have been prompted to it by the deſire of uniting his fortunes with thoſe of the revolted Normans who had quitted their country after their defeat by Duke William, and who had ſoon after made themſelves maſters of that province which Edgar now choſe for an aſylum.†

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*Atheling cognatus regis Edwardi receſſit a rege quia non erat cum eo honorifice; ſed Dominus Omnipotens det illi honorem.*"

The warm affection diſplayed towards Edgar by the compoſer of this paſſage, who was probably a *Saxon*, is peculiarly ſtriking.

* Stowe, p. 121. Anno 1086. Holinſhed, vol. III. p. 14.

† Sir William Temple's Introduction to the Hiſtory of England, p. 95.

About the time at which Edgar departed for Apulia, his ſiſter Chriſtina entered as a nun into the monaſtery of Ramſey. Stowe, as above.

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The length of his reſidence in Apulia could not have exceeded four or five years, for, early in the reign of Rufus, we find our amiable prince engaged in the friendly office of reconciling that monarch to Malcolm of Scotland;* Rufus had previouſly cheriſhed a diſlike to Edgar, and had lately baniſhed him from Normandy; but his conduct on this occaſion, ſeconded by the kind interference of Robert, the brother of Rufus, regained to him the regard of the King.†

The proof which was afterwards exhibited by Rufus of the warmth of that regard was ſurely ſomewhat extraordinary. At the deceaſe of Malcolm Canmore, Edgar, his fourth,‡ but eldeſt ſurviving ſon, was unjuſtly excluded from the ſucceſſion, and a civil war was excited in Scotland, by

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* Annales Waverleienſes, (in Hiſt. Ang. Script. v. vol. 11.) p. 137.

† Stowe, p. 130. Holinſhed, vol. 111. p. 18, Anno 1091.

‡ Holinſhed's Chronicles, vol. 1. p. 260, Anno 1097.

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the jarring pretenſions of Donald and of Duncan to the crown of that kingdom; the former of theſe was the brother, and the latter the illegitimate ſon of Malcolm Canmore; while Donald was in poſſeſſion of the throne he baniſhed the Engliſh from his dominions, and Edgar Atheling, who ſeems to have accompanied Malcolm into Scotland after his reconciliation with Rufus, immediately fled. Together with his nephews, whom he had kindly taken under his protection, he ſought the Court of England,* and by his repreſentations and entreaties, he greatly diſpoſed the King to interfere both juſtly and effectually in the affairs of Scotland. After the moſt liberal offers had been vainly made to Donald to induce him to reſign his uſurped ſovereignty, an army was at length raiſed by the orders of Rufus, and the command of it was very generouſly entruſted to Edgar Atheling: with this force, and accompanied by his nephew,

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* Hovedon, p. 465. Rapin, vol. 1, p. 186.

he immediately marched into Scotland; the holy ſtandard of St. Cuthbert was diſplayed in his ranks,* and excited in the enemy a ſuperſtitious dread which greatly contributed to his ſucceſs; the numerous army, which was oppoſed to him by

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* "At his coming to Durham he was admoniſhed by a viſion in his ſleepe, that if he tooke with him the baner of St. Cuthbert he ſhould have victorie. On the morrow after he came from the Abbey Church, where firſt hearing divine ſervice, when the ſame was ended, he diſplayed the foreſaid baner, and cauſed it to be borne before him in that journey." Holinſhed, vol. II. p. 260.

Cuthbert was a monk and ſaint of great celebrity in the North of Britain. He was born about the year 600, was educated by the Scottiſh monks in the famous abbey of Ilgii (or I'colmkill), and he thence paſt into Northumberland, by the invitation of King Egfred, with a view of converting the Saxons of that diſtrict. He finally ſettled, and founded a monaſtery, in Lindisfarne (or Holy Iſland). The banner which he conſecrated, probably that of the King his patron, may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been preſerved in Cuthbert's monaſtery, and to have been thence removed to *the Church of Durham* when the epiſcopal See was transferred from Holy Iſland to that city in the year 994. See Vit. Sanct. and Bedæ Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. IV.

Donald,

Donald, was ſpeedily routed; the uſurper himſelf was taken priſoner, and the younger Edgar was firmly ſeated on the throne of his anceſtors.*

It may reaſonably be conjectured, that it was nearly at this period that Edgar formed the cloſe connection with Robert of Normandy,† the eldeſt ſon of the conqueror, which induced him ſoon afrer to accompany that prince in his expedition to the Holy-land.‡ For this undertaking he was

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* Holinſhed as above. Annales Waverleienſes p. 141. S. Dunelm. 233. Fordun. v. 26, 28.

Edgar was the firſt King of Scotland who was *anointed*, "for his mother Queene Margaret" ſays Holinſhed "purchaſed a little before her death of Urbane the Pope that from henceforthe all the Kings of Scotland ſhould be anoynted."

† The beginning of this intimacy may perhaps be traced back to a year or two previous to this time, as appears from Robert's interceſſion for Edgar abovementioned.

‡ Andrew's Chronological Hiſtory of Great Britain.

His companion is ſaid by Malmſbury to have been *Robert* the ſon of Godwyn; but this appears to be a miſtake; poſſibly, however, ſuch a perſon might have been in his train.

ſplendidly equipped by the liberality of the King;* he joined the cruſaders at the period in which Baldwin was beſieged in Rama;† and his conduct in Paleſtine, of which, however, I can diſcover no particulars, is ſaid to have gained him the eſteem of his commanders.‡

In the beginning of the reign of Henry I. Edgar again attracts our notice as the fellow-ſoldier of Robert, in the war which he waged in Normandy againſt the king of England; in this ſhort conteſt Henry proved victorious, and Robert, together with his friend, were obliged to yield themſelves priſoners at the battle of Tenerchebray; Robert was cruelly confined for life in the caſtle of Cardiff, but Edgar was permitted to depart unpuniſhed.§

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* Sir William Temple's Introduction to Engliſh Hiſtory. p. 225.

† William of Malmſbury, p. 103.

‡ Temple as above.

§ Speed p. 455. Annales Waverleienſes p. 144.

Of

Of this permiſſion he immediately took advantage, and returned to England, and the reſt of his life appears to have been paſt in repoſe, and probably in obſcurity, as we find no other particulars recorded of him but that he again viſited Scotland at a very advanced period of life, and died, in that kingdom,* in the year eleven hundred and twenty.†

The character of Edgar cannot, perhaps, be very accurately collected from the ſcanty materials of his biography; it ſeems not, however, to have been diſtinguiſhed either by very ſtriking excellencies or very glaring defects; the prepoſſeſſing title which he once obtained of the "darling of England," appears to have been rather conferred on him from a national partiality to his race, than as the juſt tribute to his own deſert; rather from

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* The Spelman MSS. in the poſſeſſion of J. Patteſon, Eſq. M. P.

† Bryant's Genealogical Table.

an expectation of what he might be, than from any thing that he actually was. His courage was undoubtedly more prominent than his intellect; but although he might not be eminent, he certainly was not deficient in underſtanding;* the purity of his honour, although otherwiſe apparently unſullied, muſt be confeſſed to have been in ſome degree ſtained by his appearing more than once in arms againſt William, to whom he had taken, though doubtleſs with reluctance, an oath of allegiance; from the warm attachment which Edgar diſcovered to Robert, as well as from ſeveral traits

* The *groſs imbecility* of intellect which is ſo haſtily imputed by Dalrymple to Edgar, is by no means to be inferred from his general conduct, and much leſs from the contemptuous expreſſions reſpecting him which have been uſed by Malmſbury; and the ſtory, extracted from that writer by Dalrymple, of Edgar's giving up his penſion for a horſe is ſufficiently explained by the paſſage, which this author has himſelf quoted from the compoſer of the index to Malmſbury, from which we gather that the penſion ſpoken of was the *penſion of one day only*, a high price for a horſe, as it ſhould appear, at that time. See Dalrymple's Annals, p. 7, 8, and 18. and William of Malmſbury, p. 103.

recorded

recorded above, we may not unreaſonably conclude that in his diſpoſition and ſentiments he bore much reſemblance to that liberal and affectionate, but careleſs, impetuous and capricious prince; and on the whole it is not very eaſy to determine whether the clemency of three ſucceſſive kings, to whom Edgar was indebted for his life, aroſe moſt from the reſpect, the compaſſion, or the contempt, with which they viewed him.

THE

# *LIFE OF EDMUND MORTIMER.*

ABOUT the period in which the houſes of York and Lancaſter were preparing to determine by the ſword their reſpective pretenſions to the crown of England, the lawful heir of that kingdom expired, almoſt forgotten, after his throne had been uſurped with impunity for the ſpace of nearly thirty years.

The perſon to whom I allude is Edmund Mortimer.

EDMUND MORTIMER was the eldeſt ſon of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, by Eleanor Holland; Roger Mortimer was the eldeſt ſon of Philippa, the *daughter* and *heireſs* of Lionel Duke of Clarence,* who was the *third* ſon of Edward III, and who did not long ſurvive his father.† William of Hatfield, the *ſecond* ſon of the ſame king, died young and without iſſue, and conſequently at the deceaſe of Richard II. (the only child of Edward the Black Prince) the right to the crown of Eng-

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* "Lionell Plantaganet, otherwiſe called Lionell of Antwerp, the ſonne of Edward III. married Elizabeth daughter and heir to William Bannyge Earle of Ulſter, and after was in her right Earle of Ulſter, and after King Edward III. in the 33d year of his reigne created him Duke of Clarence, and in the 34th year of his reigne he was made regent of Fraunce, he married to his ſecond wife the daughter and heir of the Duke of Myllant, by whom he had no iſſue, and by his firſt wife he had iſſue Philip, his only daughter and heir married to Edmund Mortimer."

The Spelman MSS. in the poſſeſſion of J. Patteſon, Eſq. M. P.

† Rapin in his genealogical Table of the poſterity of Edward III. fixes the death of Lionel in 1368, but it appears from Holinſhed that this nobleman was preſent at his father's funeral, in 1377. He certainly died before 1386.

land

land clearly devolved to the family of the Mortimers.

During the reign of Richard the ſecond this right was decidedly eſtabliſhed;* but as the father of

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* In the 9th of Richard II. Roger Mortimer *(the father of our Edmund)* was declared by the parliament to be the preſumptive heir to the throne. Richard, who ſeems to have been much attached to him, promoted him to the honour of Governor of Ireland, in which ſtation he fell, in oppoſing a rebellion in that country, in the year 1398.

Collin's Peerage, vol. II. p. 94, and Rapin, vol. I. p. 470.

This Roger Mortimer, or rather indeed his ſhade, is introduced into that very amuſing poem the "Mirour for Magiſtrates," and is repreſented as relating ſeveral particulars reſpecting his family and his fall; the æra of his death is fixed however in that work at an earlier period than is ſpecified above: the following is the moſt intereſting and pleaſing part of the narration of Mortimer.

To count my kin, Dame Philip was my mother,
Daughter and heir of douty Lionell,
The third King Edward's ſonne as ſtories tell.
My father hight Sir Edmund Mortimer,
True Earle of March, whence I was after Earle,
By juſt deſcent theſe two my parents were,

Of

of Edmund Mortimer did not ſurvive that unfor-

tunate

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Of which the one of Knighthood bare the fearle,
Of Womanhood the other was the pearle,
Through their deſert ſo call'd of every wight,
Till death them took, and left me in their right.

While fortune unto me her grace did deigne,
King Richard's grace, the ſecond of that name,
(Whoſe looſer life did ſoon abridge his reigne,)
Made me his mate in earneſt and in game:
*The Lords themſelves ſo well allowed the ſame,*
*That through my titles duely coming down,*
*I was made heire apparent to the Crowne.*

But ſeldom joy continueth trouble void,
In greateſt charge cares greateſt do enſue,
The moſt poſſeſt are ever moſt annoid,
In largeſt ſeas ſore tempeſts lightly brue,
The freſheſt colours ſooneſt fade the hue,
In thickeſt place is made the deepeſt wound,
True proof whereof myſelf too ſoon have found.

For whilſt fair fortune lul'd me in her lap,
And gave me gifts more than I did require,
The ſubtile dame behind me ſet a trap,
Whereby to daſh and lay all in the mire:
The Iriſh men againſt mee did conſpire
My lands of Ulſter from mee to have reft,
Which heritage my mother had mee left.

And

tunate king, Edmund himſelf became, at the deceaſe of Richard, the lawful heir to the throne.

The pretenſions of the houſe of Mortimer are well illuſtrated by part of a ſcene in Shakſpeare.*

YORK, SALISBURY, AND WARWICK.

YORK.—Then thus—
Edward the third, my Lords, had ſeven ſons
The firſt Edward the Black Prince, Prince of Wales;
The ſecond William of Hatfield; and the third
Lionel Duke of Clarence; next to whom
Was John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaſter:

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And whiles I there to ſet all things in ſtay,
(Omit my toils and trouble thitherward)
Among mine owne with my retinue lay,
The wilder men whom I did not regard,
(And had therefore the reckles man's reward)
When leaſt I thought ſet on me in ſuch number,
That from my corps my life they rent aſunder.
Mirour for Magiſtrates, (Edit. 1610.) p. 273.

* Second part of Henry VI. Act. II. Scene II. See too Holinſhed's Chronicles, vol. III. p. 412 and 448.

The

The fifth was Edmund Langley, Duke of York;
The ſixth was Thomas of Woodſtock, Duke of Gloſter;
William of Windſor was the ſeventh and laſt.
Edward, the Black Prince, died before his father,
And left behind him Richard, his only ſon,
Who after Edward the Third's death reign'd king;
Till Henry Bolinbroke, Duke of Lancaſter,
The eldeſt ſon and heir of John of Gaunt,
Crown'd by the name of Henry the fourth,
Seiz'd on the realm; depoſed the rightful king:
Sent his poor queen to France, from whence ſhe came,
And him to Pomfret; where, as both you know,
Harmleſs Richard was murder'd traiterouſly.

WAR.—Father, the duke has told the truth,
Thus got the houſe of Lancaſter the throne.

YORK.—Which now they hold by force and not by right;
For Richard the firſt ſon's heir being dead,
The iſſue of the next ſon ſhould have reign'd.

SAL.

SAL.—But William of Hatfield died without an heir.

YORK.—The third ſon, Duke of Clarence, (from whoſe line
I claim the crown) had iſſue. Philippe a daughter,
Who married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.
Edmund had iſſue—Roger, Earl of March:
Roger had iſſue—Edmund, Anne, and Eleanor.

SAL.—This Edmund in the reign of Bolinbroke
As I have read, laid claim unto the crown;
And but for Owen Glendower had been king,
Who kept him in captivity till he dy'd.
But to the reſt.

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*But the reſt.*] In the above ſpeech of Saliſbury Shakeſpeare has erred (as will be ſhewn in the ſequel) by confounding the *uncle* of our Edmund Mortimer with Edmund Mortimer himſelf, and the Anne, who is mentioned in the next ſpeech, was *not* the ſiſter of this *uncle*, (whoſe name was alſo Edmund) but of Edmund, Earl of March, and ſon of Roger.

YORK.

YORK.—His eldeſt ſiſter, Anne,
My mother being heir unto the crown,
Married Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who was ſon
To Edmund Langley, Edmund the third's fifth ſon,
By her I claim the kingdom; ſhe *then* was the heir
To Roger, Earl of March; who was the ſon
Of Edmund Mortimer, who married Philippe
Sole daughter unto Lionel, duke of Clarence.
So if the iſſue of the elder ſon
Succeed before the younger, I am king.

WAR.—What plain proceeding is more plain than this?
Henry does claim the crown from John of Gaunt
The fourth ſon: York claimeth it from the third.
Till Lionel's iſſue fails, his ſhould not reign:
It fails not yet but flouriſhes in thee
And in thy ſons, fair ſlips of ſuch a ſtock.

It will be here proper to obſerve, that ſome inaccuracy has ariſen in the hiſtory of the Mortimer family, from confounding with Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March and heir to the crown, *another Edmund Mortimer*, who was a ſecond or younger ſon of Philippa,* and conſequently the *uncle* of the former; and it is ſtill difficult to aſcertain with preciſion which of theſe two perſons was the real actor in ſome of thoſe tranſactions, in which both the one and the other are by different writers ſuppoſed to have been engaged.†

From a careful examination, however, of theſe tranſactions, I am very fully perſuaded that Edmund Mortimer, the *uncle* of the Earl of March, (and *not*, as has been erroneouſly ſuppoſed, the Earl of March himſelf) was taken priſoner by

* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. 1. p. 138.

† As by Shakſpeare (in his Henry IV. and in the latter part of the ſcene above quoted), and alſo by Camden (Radnorſhire) and Speed.

Glendower, in the year 1400,* that the ſame nobleman eſpouſed, in 1402, the daughter of this celebrated Welch Chieftain,† that he ſoon after became a confederate with his father-in-law in the grand rebellion which was excited by Northumberland‡ and Percy, and that he ſurvived but a very ſhort time the extinction of that rebellion,§ which was

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* Holinſhed, (vol. iii. p. 520, 591) and ſome other writers of note, inform us that the Mortimer who was taken by Glendower at this period was the *Earl of March;* but it appears from Dugdale (Baronage, p. 150 and 151), that *both* the uncle and the nephew were, at different periods, priſoners to the Welch Chieftain; and as *that* Mortimer who fell into his hands in 1400, *ſoon after* married his daughter and *died*, it is plain that he *could not be* the Earl of March, who (as will be ſeen in the ſequel) was not more than eight years of age at this period, and who *undoubtedly lived more than twenty years after it.* I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak again of the time in which the *younger* Mortimer appears to have been in the power of Glendower.

† Stowe's Chronicle, p. 328. Holinſhed, vol. iii. p. 521.

‡ This nobleman had married Elizabeth, the daughter of the elder Edmund Mortimer.

§ According to Speed he died even before the conteſt was terminated.

ſpeedily

ſpeedily quelled after the deciſive victory of Henry in 1403.*

Having thus diſmiſſed the concerns of the elder Mortimer, we ſhall be able to proceed more clearly in our account of the younger, who is the principal object of enquiry in this Eſſay.

Edmund Mortimer, then, the ſon of Roger, was born at New Foreſt, on the ſixth of November, 1392.† At the death of Richard II. his indiſputable right to the crown appears to have attracted ſome notice, but no ſucceſsful appeal could be made to it againſt the power and ambition of Henry IV. and at the period in which that monarch was ſeated upon the throne, the Earl of March was prudently removed from a ſcene of buſtle and danger to his domains at Wigmore.‡

* Rapin, vol. 1. p. 494, 495.
† Dugdale's Baronage, vol. 1. p. 151.
‡ Rapin, vol. 1. p. 484.

It has been aſſerted by ſome, that Edmund Mortimer was perſonally engaged in the revolt of Northumberland, which has been noticed above; but of the truth of this aſſertion I can find no decided proofs; and although the confederates on that occaſion certainly engaged to ſupport his claims to a certain extent,* yet his youth muſt neceſſarily have excluded him from taking an active part in the rebellion, and the vindication of his pretenſions were in all probability entirely entruſted to the greater experience and zeal of his uncle Edmund.†

But although the rebellion of Northumberland terminated very unfortunately to the cauſe of Mortimer, the claims of the family were ſoon after

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* Speed's Chronicle, p. 735. Holinſhed vol. III. p. 521.

† "Yea this meek Mortimer (the younger Edmund) was content to wave the crown, ſo be it he might but enjoy his private patrimony." Fuller's Worthies, p. 56.

brought

brought forward by Scroope;* but neither on this occaſion again does Edmund himſelf appear to have been active, and the injudicious and haſty attempt of his friends was as haſtily defeated.

While the uncle of the Earl of March was living, he attracted the notice of Henry much more ſtrongly than the nephew; but ſoon after the deceaſe of that nobleman, either the deſign of Scroope, or ſome imprudent conduct, with which we are unacquainted, of Edmund Mortimer himſelf, awakened the fears of the king, and he began to diſcover much anxiety to ſecure the perſon of a youth whoſe right to the throne of England was ſo clearly ſuperior to his own: the wiſhes of Henry were ſoon gratified; and the Earl of March as well as his brother, were ſeized, and confined in Windſor Caſtle about the year 1406.†

After

* Rapin, vol 1. p. 496.

† "In the ſame year, (7th Henry IV.) the king ſo "much confided in this Sir John Pelham, that till the meeting

After ſome attempts to eſcape from confine-ment, which were attended by no deciſive ſucceſs,

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"meeting of the next Parliament, he committed to his "keeping in the caſtle of Pevenſey, Plantagenet Duke of "York, who was accuſed of *taking out of the caſtle of "Windſor* the *ſons* of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March." Collins' Peerage, vol. II. p. 94; and ſee too Stowe, p. 332.

But though theſe unfortunate noblemen were thus liberated, they very ſoon after fell again into the hands of Henry, for (as Collins continues) "Two years after this (11th Henry IV.) the king commits to Sir John Pelham the keeping of the *Earl of March and his brother*, ſons of Roger Earl of March, who had been declared heir apparent to the throne." Vol. II. p. 95.

It appears that when the Duke of York ſucceeded (as has juſt been noticed) in procuring the eſcape of Edmund Mortimer and his brother from Windſor-caſtle, he delivered them *for protection* into the hands of Owen Glendower; (Collins as above); this circumſtance has probably given riſe to the aſſertion mentioned p. 158, that the Earl of March himſelf, as well as his uncle Edmund, was taken priſoner by the Welch Chieftain.

*The brother* of Edmund Mortimer who was confined with him at Windſor, and of whom I find no account previous to this time, is ſaid by Rapin (probably from Dugdale) to have been named Roger; but I am very ſtrongly induced to believe that he was the *John Mortimer* of whom I ſhall ſhortly have occaſion to ſpeak more fully.

Edmund

Edmund at length eluded the vigilance of Henry, for at the acceſſion of Henry V. we are informed that the Earl of March *voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf* to that Prince,* and experienced from him a liberality of treatment which might well have been expected.

During the reign of that amiable and generous monarch, Edmund Mortimer was not only allowed the full enjoyment of his liberty and poſſeſſions,† but he was permitted to head a party of the Engliſh troops in France, and was alſo honoured by the king with the important ſtation of Lieutenant of Normandy.‡ In return for the kindneſs which was ſhewn to him, he uniformly diſplayed the greateſt zeal and fidelity in the ſervice of Henry; he revealed to him, juſt before his departure from

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* "The Earl of March himſelf came and put himſelf into his (Henry's) hands, to give him a convincing proof of his ſincere intention to leave him in peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown." Rapin, vol. 1. p. 505.

† Hardyng's Chronicle, p. 229.

‡ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. 1. p. 151.

Southampton,

Southampton, the traiterous deſigns of the Earl of Cambridge,* and in the liſt of illuſtrious men

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* The particulars of this affair are thus recorded by Stowe: (p. 346) "The chiefeſt of them (the conſpirators) was Henry Scroope Lord Treaſurer, the ſecond Richard Earle of Cambridge, and Sir Thomas Gray, a knight of the North; theſe had made Edmond Earle of March to ſwear upon a booke, not to diſcloſe their counſell, and then told him that they thought to ſlay the King, and to make the ſaid Edmond King; the which if he refuſed to take upon him they would ſlay him: whereupon the Earle prayed them to give him one hour's ſpace to take adviſement what was beſt to doe; which being granted, the Earle went ſecretly and told the King thereof, who cauſed them forthwith to be apprehended."

Holinſhed (vol. III. p. 549) agrees with Stowe in ſtating the object of the Earl of Cambridge, in this conſpiracy to have been the exaltation of the Earl of March to the Crown; "after the death of which Earle," ſays he, "for diverſe ſecret impediments not able to have iſſue, the Earle of Cambridge was ſure that the crowne ſhould come to him by his wife, and to his children of her begotten."

Mortimer appears to have very wiſely ſuſpected that the bloody means which the Earl of Cambridge was ſo willing to have employed in promoting his ambitious views on this occaſion, would in all probability have been as readily adopted by that nobleman in removing any other impediment which might have ſtood between him and the throne.

who

who attended the funeral of that celebrated monarch, we find the name of Edmund Mortimer.*

It

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* I truſt I ſhall be excuſed for copying the intereſting account of this funeral, given by Holinſhed (vol. III. p. 584.).

"His bodie imbalmed and cloſed in lead, was laid in a chariot roiall, richlie apparalled with cloth of gold, upon his coffin was laid a repreſentation of his perſon, adorned with robes, diadem, ſcepter, and ball, like a king; the which chariot, ſix horſſes drew richlie trapped, with ſeveral appointments; the firſt with the armes of St. George, the ſecond with the armes of Normandie, the third of king Arthur, the fourth of St. Edward, the fifth of France, and the ſixth with the armes of England and France. On this ſame chariot gave attendance, James, king of Scots, the principal mourner, king Henrie's uncle, Thomas Duke of Exceſter, Richard Earle of Warwicke, *the Earle of March Edmund*, the Earle of Stafford Humfrie, the Earle of Mortaigne Edmund Beaufort, the Lord Fitz Hugh Henrie, the Lord Hungerford Walter, Sir Robert Robſert Lord Bourchier, Sir John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope, and the Lord Crumwell, were the other mourners. The Lord Lovell, the Lord Audeleie, the Lord Morleie, the Lord Sowch bare the baners of Saints and Aumuries, as they then were called; the Baron of Dudleie bare the ſtandard, and the Earle of Longuſte the baner. The hachments were carried onelie by Capteins to the number of twelve, and round about the chariot rode five hundred men at arms, all in blacke armour, their horſſes barbed blacke, and they with

It was probably at this period of his life that he eſpouſed Anne, the daughter of the Earl of Staffford.*

At the acceſſion of Henry VI. the Earl of March appears to have made no efforts to aſſert his rights, and from this circumſtance, as well as from the remarkable mildneſs of the new monarch, we may ſafely infer that Henry continued to grant to him the ſame indulgence as he had formerly received.†

I am

with the but end of their ſpeares upwards. Beſide theſe on every ſide of the chariot went three hundred perſons, holding long torches, lords bearing baners, banerols, and penons."

* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. 1. p. 151.

† Some vague and diſcordant accounts indeed are preſerved by Fuller, Weever, and Hall, of Mortimer's being confined for 20 years in the Caſtle of Trim; but theſe reports are entirely unſupported by any hiſtoric evidence, or rather indeed are in direct oppoſition to it. We have already ſeen that Mortimer had recovered his liberty at the death of Henry IV. and during the reign of that king, the place of his confinement had undoubtedly been Windſor Caſtle; now if we even ſuppoſe that he was ſent to the Caſtle of Trim at the acceſſion of Henry VI. (of which however I cannot diſcover the ſlighteſt proof) it was impoſſible

I am aware that a celebrated ſcene in Shakſpeare* may be urged againſt this concluſion, but Shakſpeare, though certainly well acquainted even with many of the minutiæ of Engliſh hiſtory, can hardly be deemed a deciſive evidence in a caſe of this kind,† and it appears by no means improbable that in order to increaſe the intereſt of his piece, he

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poſſible that he ſhould have been twenty years in confinement there, as he lived only *two* years after that period. Weever quotes as his authority on this occaſion Camden's Radnorſhire, but Cambden ſays not a word of Mortimer's confinement; farther proofs of the improbability of the above reports will appear in the ſequel.

* The ſcene in the firſt part of Henry VI. in which Edmund Mortimer, broken down with age, and a priſoner in the tower, yields his pretenſions to the crown to his nephew Richard Plantagenet.

† One error of our great Bard, with reſpect to the Mortimer family, has been noticed above, and the ſcene of which I am now ſpeaking is a decided proof of that error; Shakſpeare makes Saliſbury aſſert (as may be ſeen a few pages back) that the Edmund Mortimer who was heir to the crown, died when a captive with Owen Glendower, and now he introduces the *ſame heir to the crown* as dying in the reign of Henry VI. Shakſpeare too appears, in common with ſome other writers, to have adopted a very erroneous opinion of the extreme old age of Edmund Mortimer, at the period of his deceaſe.

has knowingly ſacrificed hiſtoric truth in ſome degree, and has moved us by the ſufferings of *John*, and not by thoſe of Edmund Mortimer.

*Sir John Mortimer* was undoubtedly confined in the Tower in the ſecond year of the reign of Henry VI. he was a man of a violent and ambitious temper, and was probably detained in priſon, and certainly condemned to death, on account of his reſtleſſneſs and intrigues: among other accuſations which were adduced againſt him, he was charged with ſaying "that hee would goe into Wales unto *the Earle of the Marches*, and there hee would raiſe forty thouſand men, and with that power hee would enter the land, and that the Earle of March was but a daw, ſave that hee was the greateſt, nobleſt, and worthieſt of blood, and ſhould be king by right of inheritance, and *that hee himſelf was next rightfull heire to the ſaid crowne** after the ſaid Earle

* This is a convincing proof of his being the *brother* of Edmund Mortimer, who was childleſs. Rapin indeed (as I before obſerved) has informed us that the name of the brother

Earle of March, wherefore if the ſaid Earle would

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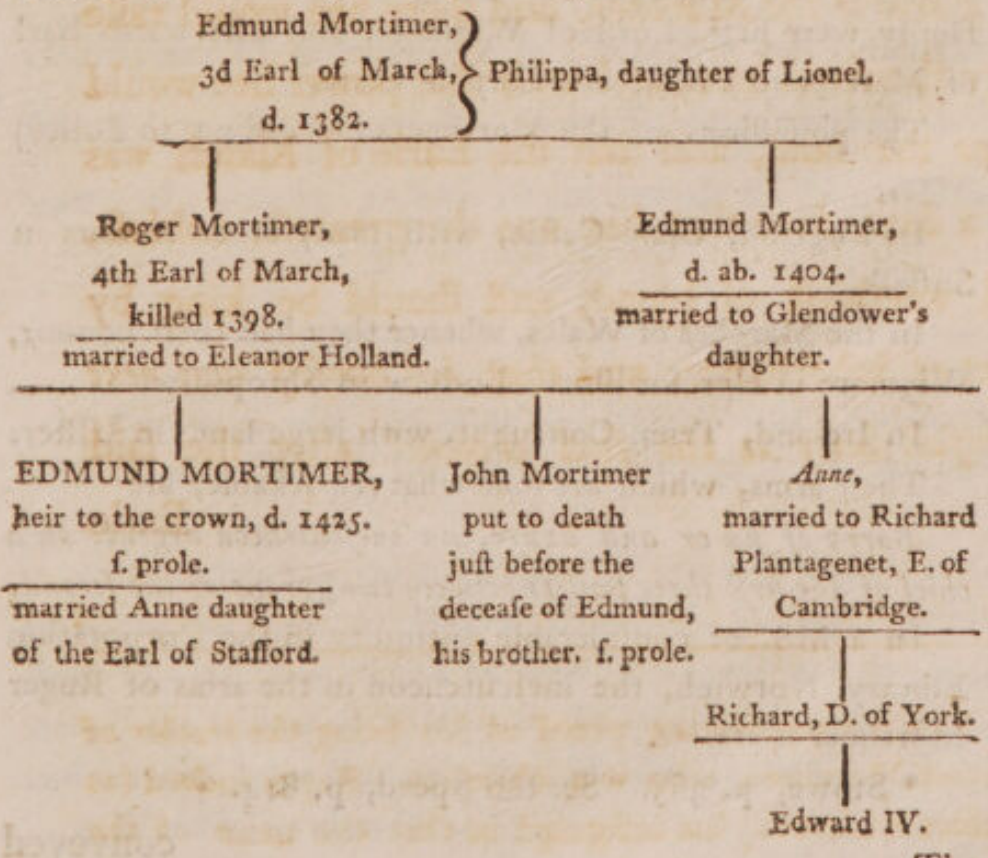
brother (and formerly fellow priſoner) of Edmund was *Roger*, but he afterwards (vol. 1. p. 542) ſeems to retract this opinion. Tindal contends that the Sir John Mortimer above-mentioned was the *uncle* of Edmund, but this ſuppoſition is countenanced by no authority, and no uncle of Edmund's could poſſibly have thoſe pretenſions which were advanced by Sir John Mortimer.

If any confuſion ſhould ſtill remain (though I truſt it will not) reſpecting the perſons engaged in the tranſactions above narrated, the following genealogical ſketch of part of the Mortimer family (corrected by the ſuppoſitions advanced in this Eſſay) will probably remove it.




The

would not take upon him the crown and rule of the land, hee ſaid that hee elſe would."*

From theſe expreſſions there is every reaſon to infer that Edmund Mortimer continued to enjoy his rank, his property, and his liberty at this period.

Theſe enjoyments however ſpeedily ceaſed; from ſome cauſe, which is not well underſtood, he was

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The Mortimers deſcended from Gonora, wife of Richard I. Duke of Normandy, (in 942); the *titles* borne by the family were firſt, Lord of Wigmore, and afterwards Earl of March and Ulſter, and Lord of Clare.

The poſſeſſions of the Mortimers (according to Fuller) were,

In England, Clare-Caſtle, with many other manors in Suffolk.

In the Marches of Wales, whence they had their honour, Wigmore in Herefordſhire, Ludlow in Shropſhire.

In Ireland, Trim, Conaught, with large lands in Ulſter.

Their arms, which are ſomewhat remarkable, are

*Barry of ſix or and azure, an inefcutcheon argent, on a chief of the firſt three pallets between two gyrons of the ſecond.*

In a MS. of conſiderable antiquity in the Corporation Library, Norwich, the inefcutcheon in the arms of Roger Mortimer is *ermine*.

* Stowe, p. 365. See too Speed, p. 814.

conveyed

conveyed into Ireland, but with an honourable retinue, in the year 1424,* and on the nineteenth of January, 1425, he died in the Caſtle of Trim, in that kingdom:† his body was removed for burial to the Collegiate Church of Stoke Clare,‡ in Suffolk, which had been founded by his anceſtors; as he left no children, and as his brother John had been previouſly cut off, his rights and eſtates deſcended to the ſon of his ſiſter Anne, Richard Plantagenet.

We poſſeſs no information ſufficient to juſtify any endeavour to delineate the character of Edmund Mortimer; but from his never having himſelf attempted, except *poſſibly* in the revolt of Northum-

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* Stowe, p. 366. Dugdale ſays, he was made Lieutenant of Ireland, 1 Hen. 6, but this appointment is not noticed by the hiſtorians.

† Dugdale's Baronage, p. 151. Weever (Funeral Monuments, p. 742.) and Baker (Chronicle, p. 195.) fix his death in 1424, and Fuller, by ſome ſtrange miſtake, in 1454. Anne, the widow of Mortimer, ſurvived him eight years, and married John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon.

‡ Weever, as above.

berland,

berland, to vindicate his claims by the ſword, and from the great lenity which he experienced, both from the fifth and ſixth Henry, we may ſafely infer, that whatever may have been the other qualities which he poſſeſſed, his temper was unambitious, conciliating, and amiable.

FINIS.

# *Corrigenda and Addenda.*

PAGE 12, line 9.—For "was only" read "alone was."

P. 25, note.—After "Conſtantini" inſert "Lib. II. Cap. VIII."

P. 30, l. 8.—For "acquired" read "amaſſed."

P. 47, l. 11.—For "Torſæus" read "Torfæus."

P. 60, l. 4.—For "certainly" read "doubtleſs."

P. 61, l. 9.—After "fully," dele the comma.

P. 63, l. 8.—For "building" read "buildings" and dele "ings" in next line.

P. 69, l. 6.—Inſert as a note to the word "ſtone."

In fixing the introduction of the roof of ſtone at this æra, I may poſſibly be deemed in ſome degree inaccurate. The fact is, that roofs or rather *ceilings* of ſtone, are to be found even in ſome few *Saxon* remains (as in the Crypts of York Minſter, and of ſome other Cathedrals), and that they occur frequently in gates, and ſuch other ſtructures of early Norman erection, as have incumbent rooms, &c, to ſupport; but though the Normans thus appear to have introduced *more generally* the mode of building of which I am ſpeaking, yet it is certain that the inner roof of ſtone was added to ſome of our Cathedrals at a *much later* period than that ſpecified above.

P. 81 and 83.—For "Mr." read "Dr." Whitaker.

P. 84, l. laſt.—For "Charles I." read "Charles II."

P. 126, Notes.—After "Rapin, vol. I, p. 168," inſert, Holinſhed (vol. III, p. 9.) thus ſpeaks of him; "a comelie gentleman and a valiant, in whome alſo the whole hope

of the Engliſh nation repoſed, as appeareth by his accuſtomed by-word, *Edgar Atheling Englande's Dearling.*"

P. 131, l. 22.—Inſert after "beſide." What theſe livings or poſſeſſions may have been, we are now unable to determine with preciſion; in Domeſday-book, p. 142, an account may be ſeen of the lands which were held by Edgar in *Edwineſreve Hundred, Hertfordſhire;* but his name does not occur in any other part of the work. It appears that he alſo poſſeſſed ſome lands or lordſhips in Normandy.

P. 137, l. 14.—Inſert, as a note, to "years."

He is ſaid by ſome writers, as Malmſbury and Matthew Paris, to have again headed an unſucceſsful revolt which was excited, in 1072, by Edwin and Morcar, in the Iſle of Ely; but Ingulph and others ſtate that the commander on this occaſion was *Hereward*, a knight of great proweſs, and nephew to the Abbot of Peterborough. The Saxon Chronicle alſo (p. 181.) notices this rebellion and the leaders of it, amongſt whom the name of Edgar does not occur; it moreover informs us that *all thoſe leaders, except Hereward alone, were taken priſoners by William himſelf in perſon*, a circumſtance which could not poſſibly have happened to Edgar Atheling, and have been paſt over in ſilence by all the hiſtorians of the time.

P. 137, l. 21.—For "ſolely" read "chiefly."

P. 140, l. laſt.—For "vol. I." read "vol. II."

P. 151, l. 9.—For "honour" read "honourable ſtation."

P. 160, l. laſt.—After "page 56" inſert (Suffolk).

P. 170, l. 8.—For "Gonora" read "the niece of Gonora."

P. 170, l. 24.—Inſert after "ermine."

A full account of the lands and lordſhips of which Edmund Mortimer was ſeized at the time of his death, may be found in Dugdale's Baronage, p. 151.

The 2d vol. of Holinſhed which is referred to in this work is dated 1577, the 3d vol. 1586.

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