

# The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

## Part 4: A.D. 1015 - 1051

### Online Medieval and Classical Library Release #17



A.D. 1015. This year was the great council at Oxford; where

Alderman Edric betrayed Sigferth and Morcar, the eldest thanes

belonging to the Seven Towns. He allured them into his bower,

where they were shamefully slain. Then the king took all their

possessions, and ordered the widow of Sigferth to be secured, and

brought within Malmsbury. After a little interval, Edmund

Etheling went and seized her, against the king's will, and had

her to wife. Then, before the Nativity of St. Mary, went the

etheling west-north into the Five Towns, (58) and soon plundered

all the property of Sigferth and Morcar; and all the people

submitted to him. At the same time came King Knute to Sandwich,

and went soon all about Kent into Wessex, until he came to the

mouth of the Frome; and then plundered in Dorset, and in

Wiltshire, and in Somerset. King Ethelred, meanwhile, lay sick

at Corsham; and Alderman Edric collected an army there, and

Edmund the etheling in the north. When they came together, the

alderman designed to betray Edmund the etheling, but he could

not; whereupon they separated without an engagement, and sheered

off from their enemies. Alderman Edric then seduced forty ships

from the king, and submitted to Knute. The West-Saxons also

submitted, and gave hostages, and horsed the army. And he

continued there until midwinter.

A.D. 1016. This year came King Knute with a marine force of one

hundred and sixty ships, and Alderman Edric with him, over the

Thames into Mercia at Cricklade; whence they proceeded to

Warwickshire, during the middle of the winter, and plundered

therein, and burned, and slew all they met. Then began Edmund

the etheling to gather an army, which, when it was collected,

could avail him nothing, unless the king were there and they had

the assistance of the citizens of London. The expedition

therefore was frustrated, and each man betook himself home.

After this. an army was again ordered, under full penalties, that

every person, however distant, should go forth; and they sent to

the king in London, and besought him to come to meet the army

with the aid that he could collect. When they were all

assembled, it succeeded nothing better than it often did before;

and, when it was told the king, that those persons would betray

him who ought to assist him, then forsook he the army, and

returned again to London. Then rode Edmund the etheling to Earl

Utred in Northumbria; and every man supposed that they would

collect an army King Knute; but they went into Stafforddhire, and

to Shrewsbury, and to Chester; and they plundered on their parts,

and Knute on his. He went out through Buckinghamshire to

Bedfordshire; thence to Huntingdonshire, and so into

Northamptonshire along the fens to Stamford. Thence into

Lincolnshire. Thence to Nottinghamshire; and so into Northumbria

toward York. When Utred understood this, he ceased from

plundering, and hastened northward, and submitted for need, and

all the Northumbrians with him; but, though he gave hostages, he

was nevertheless slain by the advice of Alderman Edric, and

Thurkytel, the son of Nafan, with him. After this, King Knute

appointed Eric earl over Northumbria, as Utred was; and then went

southward another way, all by west, till the whole army came,

before Easter, to the ships. Meantime Edmund Etheling went to

London to his father: and after Easter went King Knute with all

his ships toward London; but it happened that King Ethelred died

ere the ships came. He ended his days on St. George's day;

having held his kingdom in much tribulation and difficulty as

long as his life continued. After his decease, all the peers

that were in London, and the citizens, chose Edmund king; who

bravely defended his kingdom while his time was. Then came the

ships to Greenwich, about the gang-days, and within a short

interval went to London; where they sunk a deep ditch on the

south side, and dragged their ships to the west side of the

bridge. Afterwards they trenched the city without, so that no

man could go in or out, and often fought against it: but the

citizens bravely withstood them. King Edmund had ere this gone

out, and invaded the West-Saxons, who all submitted to him; and

soon afterward he fought with the enemy at Pen near Gillingham.

A second battle he fought, after midsummer, at Sherston; where

much slaughter was made on either side, and the leaders

themselves came together in the fight. Alderman Edric and Aylmer

the darling were assisting the army against King Edmund. Then

collected he his force the third time, and went to London, all by

north of the Thames, and so out through Clayhanger, and relieved

the citizens, driving the enemy to their ships. It was within

two nights after that the king went over at Brentford; where he

fought with the enemy, and put them to flight: but there many of

the English were drowned, from their own carelessness; who went

before the main army with a design to plunder. After this the

king went into Wessex, and collected his army; but the enemy soon

returned to London, and beset the city without, and fought

strongly against it both by water and land. But the almighty God

delivered them. The enemy went afterward from London with their

ships into the Orwell; where they went up and proceeded into

Mercia, slaying and burning whatsoever they overtook, as their

custom is; and, having provided themselves with meat, they drove

their ships and their herds into the Medway. Then assembled King

Edmund the fourth time all the English nation, and forded over

the Thames at Brentford; whence he proceeded into Kent. The

enemy fled before him with their horses into the Isle of Shepey;

and the king slew as many of them as he could overtake. Alderman

Edric then went to meet the king at Aylesford; than which no

measure could be more ill-advised. The enemy, meanwhile,

returned into Essex, and advanced into Mercia, destroying all

that he overtook. When the king understood that the army was up,

then collected he the fifth time all the English nation, and went

behind them, and overtook them in Essex, on the down called

Assingdon; where they fiercely came together. Then did Alderman

Edric as he often did before -- he first began the flight with

the Maisevethians, and so betrayed his natural lord and all the

people of England. There had Knute the victory, though all

England fought against him! There was then slain Bishop Ednoth,

and Abbot Wulsy, and Alderman Elfric, and Alderman Godwin of

Lindsey, and Ulfkytel of East-Anglia, and Ethelward, the son of

Alderman Ethelsy (59). And all the nobility of the English

nation was there undone! After this fight went King Knute up

with his army into Glocestershire, where he heard say that King

Edmund was. Then advised Alderman Edric, and the counsellors

that were there assembled, that the kings should make peace with

each other, and produce hostages. Then both the kings met

together at Olney, south of Deerhurst, and became allies and

sworn brothers. There they confirmed their friendship both with

pledges and with oaths, and settled the pay of the army. With

this covenant they parted: King Edmund took to Wessex, and Knute

to Mercia and the northern district. The army then went to their

ships with the things they had taken; and the people of London

made peace with them, and purchased their security, whereupon

they brought their ships to London, and provided themselves

winter-quarters therein. On the feast of St. Andrew died King

Edmund; and he is buried with his grandfather Edgar at

Gastonbury. In the same year died Wulfgar, Abbot of Abingdon;

and Ethelsy took to the abbacy.

A.D. 1017. This year King Knute took to the whole government of

England, and divided it into four parts: Wessex for himself,

East-Anglia for Thurkyll, Mercia for Edric, Northumbria for Eric.

This year also was Alderman Edric slain at London, and Norman,

son of Alderman Leofwin, and Ethelward, son of Ethelmar the

Great, and Britric, son of Elfege of Devonshire. King Knute also

banished Edwy etheling, whom he afterwards ordered to be slain,

and Edwy, king of the churls; and before the calends of August

the king gave an order to fetch him the widow of the other king,

Ethelred, the daughter of Richard, to wife.

((A.D. 1017. This year Canute was chosen king.))

A.D. 1018. This year was the payment of the tribute over all

England; that was, altogether, two and seventy thousand pounds,

besides that which the citizens of London paid; and that was ten

thousand five hundred pounds. The army then went partly to

Denmark; and forty ships were left with King Knute. The Danes

and Angles were united at Oxford under Edgar's law; and this year

died Abbot Ethelsy at Abingdon, to whom Ethelwine succeeded.

A.D. 1019. This year went King Knute with nine ships to Denmark,

where he abode all the winter; and Archbishop Elfstan died this

year, who was also named Lifing. He was a very upright man both

before God and before the world.

((A.D. 1019. And this winter died Archbishop Elfstan [of

Canterbury]: he was named Living; and he was a very provident

man, both as to God and as to the world.))

A.D. 1020. This year came King Knute back to England; and there

was at Easter a great council at Cirencester, where Alderman

Ethelward was outlawed, and Edwy, king of the churls. This year

went the king to Assingdon; with Earl Thurkyll, and Archbishop

Wulfstan, and other bishops, and also abbots, and many monks with

them; and he ordered to be built there a minster of stone and

lime, for the souls of the men who were there slain, and gave it

to his own priest, whose name was Stigand; and they consecrated

the minster at Assingdon. And Ethelnoth the monk, who had been

dean at Christ's church, was the same year on the ides of

November consecrated Bishop of Christ's church by Archbishop

Wulfstan.

((A.D. 1020. And caused to be built there [Canterbury] a minster

of stone and lime, for the souls of the men who there were slain,

and gave it to one of his priests, whose name was Stigand.))

A.D. 1021. This year King Knute, at Martinmas, outlawed Earl

Thurkyll; and Bishop Elfgar, the abundant giver of alms, died in

the morning of Christmas day.

A.D. 1022. This year went King Knute out with his ships to the

Isle of Wight. And Bishop Ethelnoth went to Rome; where he was

received with much honour by Benedict the magnificent pope, who

with his own hand placed the pall upon him, and with great pomp

consecrated him archbishop, and blessed him, on the nones of

October. The archbishop on the self-same day with the same pall

performed mass, as the pope directed him, after which he was

magnificently entertained by the pope himself; and afterwards

with a full blessing proceeded homewards. Abbot Leofwine, who

had been unjustly expelled from Ely, was his companion; and he

cleared himself of everything, which, as the pope informed him,

had been laid to his charge, on the testimony of the archbishop

and of all the company that were with him.

((A.D. 1022. And afterwards with the pall he there [at Rome]

performed mass as the pope instructed him: and he feasted after

that with the pope; and afterwards went home with a full

blessing.))

A.D. 1023. This year returned King Knute to England; and

Thurkyll and he were reconciled. He committed Denmark and his

son to the care of Thurkyll, whilst he took Thurkyll's son with

him to England. This year died Archbishop Wulfstan; and Elfric

succeeded him; and Archbishop Egelnoth blessed him in Canterbury.

This year King Knute in London, in St. Paul's minster, gave full

leave (60) to Archbishop Ethelnoth, Bishop Britwine, and all

God's servants that were with them, that they might take up from

the grave the archbishop, Saint Elphege. And they did so, on the

sixth day before the ides of June; and the illustrious king, and

the archbishop, and the diocesan bishops, and the earls, and very

many others, both clergy and laity, carried by ship his holy

corpse over the Thames to Southwark. And there they committed

the holy martyr to the archbishop and his companions; and they

with worthy pomp and sprightly joy carried him to Rochester.

There on the third day came the Lady Emma with her royal son

Hardacnute; and they all with much majesty, and bliss, and songs

of praise, carried the holy archbishop into Canterbury, and so

brought him gloriously into the church, on the third day before

the ides of June. Afterwards, on the eighth day, the seventeenth

before the calends of July, Archbishop Ethelnoth, and Bishop

Elfsy, and Bishop Britwine, and all they that were with them,

lodged the holy corpse of Saint Elphege on the north side of the

altar of Christ; to the praise of God, and to the glory of the

holy archbishop, and to the everlasting salvation of all those

who there his holy body daily seek with earnest heart and all

humility. May God Almighty have mercy on all Christian men

through the holy intercession of Elphege!

((A.D. 1023. And he caused St. Elphege's remains to be borne

from London to Canterbury.))

A.D. 1025. This year went King Knute to Denmark with a fleet to

the holm by the holy river; where against him came Ulf and Eglaf,

with a very large force both by land and sea, from Sweden. There

were very many men lost on the side of King Knute, both of Danish

and English; and the Swedes had possession of the field of

battle.

A.D. 1026. This year went Bishop Elfric to Rome, and received

the pall of Pope John on the second day before the ides of

November.

A.D. 1028. This year went King Knute from England to Norway with

fifty ships manned with English thanes, and drove King Olave from

the land, which he entirely secured to himself.

A.D. 1029. This year King Knute returned home to England.

A.D. 1030. This year returned King Olave into Norway; but the

people gathered together against him, and fought against him; and

he was there slain, in Norway, by his own people, and was

afterwards canonised. Before this, in the same year, died Hacon

the doughty earl, at sea.

((A.D. 1030. This year came King Olave again into Norway, and

the people gathered against him, and fought against him; and he

was there slain.))

A.D. 1031. This year returned King Knute; and as soon as he came

to England he gave to Christ's church in Canterbury the haven of

Sandwich, and all the rights that arise therefrom, on either side

of the haven; so that when the tide is highest and fullest, and

there be a ship floating as near the land as possible, and there

be a man standing upon the ship with a taper-axe in his hand,

whithersoever the large taper-axe might be thrown out of the

ship, throughout all that land the ministers of Christ's church

should enjoy their rights. This year went King Knute to Rome;

and the same year, as soon as he returned home, he went to

Scotland; and Malcolm, king of the Scots, submitted to him, and

became his man, with two other kings, Macbeth and Jehmar; but he

held his allegiance a little while only. Robert, Earl of

Normandy, went this year to Jerusalem, where he died; and

William, who was afterwards King of England, succeeded to the

earldom, though he was a child.

A.D. 1032. This year appeared that wild fire, such as no man

ever remembered before, which did great damage in many places.

The same year died Elfsy, Bishop of Winchester; and Elfwin, the

king's priest, succeeded him.

A.D. 1033. This year died Bishop Merewhite in Somersetshire, who

is buried at Glastonbury; and Bishop Leofsy, whose body resteth

at Worcester, and to whose see Brihteh was promoted.

A.D. 1034. This year died Bishop Etheric, who lies at Ramsey.

A.D. 1035. This year died King Knute at Shaftesbury, on the

second day before the ides of November; and he is buried at

Winchester in the old minster. He was king over all England very

near twenty winters. Soon after his decease, there was a council

of all the nobles at Oxford; wherein Earl Leofric, and almost all

the thanes north of the Thames, and the naval men in London,

chose Harold to be governor of all England, for himself and his

brother Hardacnute, who was in Denmark. Earl Godwin, and all the

eldest men in Wessex, withstood it as long as they could; but

they could do nothing against it. It was then resolved that

Elfgiva, the mother of Hardacnute, should remain at Winchester

with the household of the king her son. They held all Wessex in

hand, and Earl Godwin was their chief man. Some men said of

Harold, that he was the son of King Knute and of Elfgive the

daughter of Alderman Elfelm; but it was thought very incredible

by many men. He was, nevertheless, full king over all England.

Harold himself said that he was the son of Knute and of Elfgive

the Hampshire lady; though it was not true; but he sent and

ordered to be taken from her all the best treasure that she could

not hold, which King Knute possessed; and she nevertheless abode

there continually within the city as long as she could.

A.D. 1036. This year came hither Alfred the innocent etheling,

son of King Ethelred, and wished to visit his mother, who abode

at Winchester: but Earl Godwin, and other men who had much power

in this land, did not suffer it; because such conduct was very

agreeable to Harold, though it was unjust.

 Him did Godwin let,

 and in prison set.

 His friends, who did not fly,

 they slew promiscuously.

 And those they did not sell,

 like slaughter'd cattle fell!

 Whilst some they spared to bind,

 only to wander blind!

 Some ham-strung, helpless stood,

 whilst others they pursued.

 A deed more dreary none

 in this our land was done,

 since Englishmen gave place

 to hordes of Danish race.

 But repose we must

 in God our trust,

 that blithe as day

 with Christ live they,

 who guiltless died --

 their country's pride!

 The prince with courage met

 each cruel evil yet;

 till 'twas decreed,

 they should him lead,

 all bound, as he was then,

 to Ely-bury fen.

 But soon their royal prize

 bereft they of his eyes!

 Then to the monks they brought

 their captive; where he sought

 a refuge from his foes

 till life's sad evening close.

 His body ordered then

 these good and holy men,

 according to his worth,

 low in the sacred earth,

 to the steeple full-nigh,

 in the south aile to lie

 of the transept west --

 his soul with Christ doth rest.

((A.D. 1036. This year died King Canute at Shaftesbury, and he

is buried at Winchester in the Old-minster: and he was king over

all England very nigh twenty years. And soon after his decease

there was a meeting of all the witan at Oxford; and Leofric, the

earl, and almost all the thanes north of the Thames, and the

"lithsmen" at London, chose Harold for chief of all England, him

and his brother Hardecanute who was in Denmark. And Godwin the

earl and all the chief men of Wessex withstood it as long as they

could; but they were unable to effect anything in opposition to

it. And then it was decreed that Elfgive, Hardecanute's mother,

should dwell at Winchester with the king's, her son's, house-

hold, and hold all Wessex in his power; and Godwin the earl was

their man. Some men said of Harold that he was son of King

Canute and of Elfgive, daughter of Elfelm the ealdorman, but it

seemed quite incredible to many men; and he was nevertheless full

king over all England.))

A.D. 1037. This year men chose Harold king over all; and forsook

Hardacnute, because he was too long in Denmark; and then drove

out his mother Elgiva, the relict of King Knute, without any

pity, against the raging winter! She, who was the mother of

Edward as well as of King Hardacnute, sought then the peace of

Baldwin by the south sea. Then came she to Bruges, beyond sea;

and Earl Baldwin well received her there; and he gave her a

habitation at Bruges, and protected her, and entertained her

there as long as she had need. Ere this in the same year died

Eafy, the excellent Dean of Evesham.

((A.D. 1037. This year was driven out Elfgive, King Canute's

relict; she was King Hardecanute's mother; and she then sought

the protection of Baldwin south of the sea, and he gave her a

dwelling in Bruges, and protected and kept her, the while that

she there was.))

A.D. 1038. This year died Ethelnoth, the good archbishop, on the

calends of November; and, within a little of this time, Bishop

Ethelric in Sussex, who prayed to God that he would not let him

live any time after his dear father Ethelnoth; and within seven

nights of this he also departed. Then, before Christmas, died

Bishop Brihteh in Worcestershire; and soon after this, Bishop

Elfric in East Anglia. Then succeeded Bishop Edsy to the

archbishopric, Grimkytel to the see of Sussex, and Bishop Lifing

to that of Worcester shire and Gloucestershire.

((A.D. 1038. This year died Ethelnoth, the good archbishop, on

the kalends of November, and a little after, Ethelric, bishop in

Sussex, and then before Christmas, Briteagus, Bishop in

Worcestershire, and soon after, Elfric, bishop in East-Anglia.))

A.D. 1039. This year happened the terrible wind; and Bishop

Britmar died at Lichfield. The Welsh slew Edwin. brother of Earl

Leofric, and Thurkil, and Elfget, and many good men with them.

This year also came Hardacnute to Bruges, where his mother was.

((A.D. 1039. This year King Harold died at Oxford, on the

sixteenth before the kalends of April, and he was buried at

Westminster. And he ruled England four years and sixteen weeks;

and in his days sixteen ships were retained in pay, at the rate

of eight marks for each rower, in like manner as had been before

done in the days of King Canute. And in this same year came King

Hardecanute to Sandwich, seven days before midsummer. And he was

soon acknowledged as well by English as by Danes; though his

advisers afterwards grievously requited it, when they decreed

that seventy-two ships should be retained in pay, at the rate of

eight marks for each rower. And in this same year the sester of

wheat went up to fifty-five pence, and even further.))

A.D. 1040. This year died King Harold at Oxford, on the

sixteenth before the calends of April; and he was buried at

Westminster. He governed England four years and sixteen weeks;

and in his days tribute was paid to sixteen ships, at the rate of

eight marks for each steersman, as was done before in King

Knute's days. The same year they sent after Hardacnute to

Bruges, supposing they did well; and he came hither to Sandwich

with sixty ships, seven nights before midsummer. He was soon

received both by the Angles and Danes, though his advisers

afterwards severely paid for it. They ordered a tribute for

sixty-two ships, at the rate of eight marks for each steersman.

Then were alienated from him all that before desired him; for he

framed nothing royal during his whole reign. He ordered the dead

Harold to be dragged up and thrown into a ditch. This year rose

the sester of wheat to fifty-five pence, and even further. This

year Archbishop Edsy went to Rome.

((A.D. 1040. This year was the tribute paid; that twenty-one

thousand pounds and ninety-nine pounds. And after that they paid

to thirty-two ships, eleven thousand and forty-eight pounds.

And, in this same year, came Edward, son of King Ethelred, hither

to land, from Weal-land; he was brother of King Hardecanute: they

were both sons of Elfgive; Emma, who was daughter of Earl

Richard.))

A.D. 1041. This year was the tribute paid to the army; that was,

21,099 pounds; and afterwards to thirty-two ships, 11,048 pounds.

This year also ordered Hardacnute to lay waste all

Worcestershire, on account of the two servants of his household,

who exacted the heavy tribute. That people slew them in the town

within the minster. Early in this same year came Edward, the son

of King Ethelred, hither to land, from Weal-land to Madron. He

was the brother of King Hardacnute, and had been driven from this

land for many years: but he was nevertheless sworn as king, and

abode in his brother's court while he lived. They were both sons

of Elfgive Emma, who was the daughter oÅ“ Earl Richard. In

this

year also Hardacnute betrayed Eadulf, under the mask of

friendship. He was also allied to him by marriage. This year

was Egelric consecrated Bishop of York, on the third day before

the ides of January.

((A.D. 1041. This year died King Hardecanute at Lambeth, on the

sixth before the ides of June: and he was king over all England

two years wanting ten days; and he is buried in the Old-minster

at Winchester with King Canute his father. And his mother, for

his soul, gave to the New-minster the head of St. Valentine the

martyr. And before he was buried, all people chose Edward for

king at London: may he hold it the while that God shall grant it

to him! And all that year was a very heavy time, in many things

and divers, as well in respect to ill seasons as to the fruits of

the earth. And so much cattle perished in the year as no man

before remembered, as well through various diseases as through

tempests. And in this same time died Elsinus, Abbot of

Peterborough; and then Arnwius the monk was chosen abbot, because

he was a very good man, and of great simplicity.))

A.D. 1042. This year died King Hardacnute at Lambeth, as he

stood drinking: he fell suddenly to the earth with a tremendous

struggle; but those who were nigh at hand took him up; and he

spoke not a word afterwards, but expired on the sixth day before

the ides of June. He was king over all England two years wanting

ten nights; and he is buried in the old minster at Winchester

with King Knute his father. And his mother for his soul gave to

the new minster the head of St. Valentine the Martyr: and ere he

was buried all people chose Edward for king in London. And they

received him as their king, as was natural; and he reigned as

long as God granted him. All that year was the season very

severe in many and various respects: both from the inclemency of

the weather, and the loss of the fruits of the earth. More

cattle died this year than any man ever remembered, either from

various diseases, or from the severity of the weather. At this

same time died Elfsinus, Abbot of Peterborough; and they chose

Arnwy, a monk, for their abbot; because he was a very good and

benevolent man.

A.D. 1043. This year was Edward consecrated king at Winchester,

early on Easter-day, with much pomp. Then was Easter on the

third day before the nones of April. Archbishop Edsy

consecrated him, and before all people well admonished him. And

Stigand the priest was consecrated bishop over the East Angles.

And this year, fourteen nights before the mass of St. Andrew, it

was advised the king, that he and Earl Leofric and Earl Godwin

and Earl Siward with their retinue, should ride from Gloucester

to Winchester unawares upon the lady; and they deprived her of

all the treasures that she had; which were immense; because she

was formerly very hard upon the king her son, and did less for

him than he wished before he was king, and also since: but they

suffered her to remain there afterwards. And soon after this the

king determined to invest all the land that his mother had in her

hands, and took from her all that she had in gold and in silver

and in numberless things; because she formerly held it too fast

against him. Soon after this Stigand was deprived of his

bishopric; and they took all that he had into their hands for the

king, because he was nighest the counsel of his mother; and she

acted as he advised, as men supposed.

((A.D. 1043. This year was Edward consecrated king at Winchester

on the first day of Easter. And this year, fourteen days before

Andrew's-mass, the king was advised to ride from Gloucester, and

Leofric the earl, and Godwin the earl, and Sigwarth [Siward] the

earl, with their followers, to Winchester, unawares upon the lady

[Emma]; and they bereaved her of all the treasures which she

possessed, they were not to be told, because before that she had

been very hard with the king her son; inasmuch as she had done

less for him than he would, before he was king, and also since:

and they suffered her after that to remain therein. This year

King Edward took the daughter [Edgitha] of Godwin the earl for

his wife. And in this same year died Bishop Brithwin, and he

held the bishopric thirty-eight years, that was the bishopric of

Sherborne, and Herman the king's priest succeeded to the

bishopric. And in this year Wulfric was hallowed Abbot of St.

Augustine's at Christmas, on Stephen's mass-day, by leave of the

king, and, on account of his great infirmity, of Abbot Elfstun.))

A.D. 1044. This year Archbishop Edsy resigned his see from

infirmity, and consecrated Siward, Abbot of Abingdon, bishop

thereto, with the permission and advice of the king and Earl

Godwin. It was known to few men else before it was done; because

the archbishop feared that some other man would either beg or buy

it, whom he might worse trust and oblige than him, if it were

known to many men. This year there was very great hunger over

all England, and corn so dear as no man remembered before; so

that the sester of wheat rose to sixty pence, and even further.

And this same year the king went out to Sandwich with thirty-five

ships; and Athelstan, the churchwarden, succeeded to the abbacy

of Abingdon, and Stigand returned to his bishopric. In the same

year also King Edward took to wife Edgitha, the daughter of Earl

Godwin, ten nights before Candlemas. And in the same year died

Britwold, Bishop of Wiltshire, on the tenth day before the

calends of May; which bishopric he held thirty-eight winters;

that was, the bishopric of Sherborn. And Herman, the king's

priest, succeeded to the bishopric. This year Wulfric was

consecrated Abbot of St. Augustine's, at Christmas, on the

mass-day of St. Stephen, by the king's leave and that of Abbot

Elfstan, by reason of his great infirmity.

((A.D. 1044. This year died Living, Bishop in Devonshire, and

Leoftic succeeded thereto; he was the king's priest. And in this

same year died Elfstan, Abbot of St. Augustine's, on the third

before the nones of July. And in this same year was outlawed

Osgod Clapa.))

A.D. 1045. This year died Elfward, Bishop of London, on the

eighth day before the calends of August. He was formerly Abbot

of Evesham, and well furthered that monastery the while that he

was there. He went then to Ramsey, and there resigned his life:

and Mannie was chosen abbot, being consecrated on the fourth day

before the ides of August. This year Gunnilda, a woman of rank,

a relative of King Knute, was driven out, and resided afterwards

at Bruges a long while, and then went to Denmark. King Edward

during the year collected a large fleet at Sandwich, through the

threatening of Magnus of Norway; but his contests with Sweyne in

Denmark prevented him from coming hither.

((A.D. 1045. This year died Grimkytel, Bishop in Sussex, and

Heca, the king's priest, succeeded thereto. And in this year

died Alwyn, Bishop of Winchester, on the fourth before the

kalends of September; and Stigand, bishop to the north

[Flanders], succeeded thereto. And in the same year Sweyn the

earl went out to Baldwin's land [Of Elmham] to Bruges and abode

there all the winter; and then in summer he went out.))

A.D. 1046. This year died Lifting, the eloquent bishop, on the

tenth day before the calends of April. He had three bishoprics;

one in Devonshire, one in Cornwall, and another in

Worcestershire. Then succeeded Leofric, who was the king's

priest, to Devonshire and to Cornwall, and Bishop Aldred to

Worcestershire. This year died Elfwine, Bishop of Winchester, on

the fourth day before the calends of September; and Stigand,

Bishop of Norfolk, was raised to his see. Ere this, in the same

year, died Grimkytel, Bishop of Sussex; and he lies at

Christ-church, in Canterbury. And Heca, the' king's priest,

succeeded to the bishopric. Sweyne also sent hither, and

requested the aid of fifty ships against Magnus, king of the

Norwegians; but it was thought unwise by all the people, and it

was prevented, because that Magnus had a large navy: and he drove

Sweyne out, and with much slaughter won the land. The Danes then

gave him much money, and received him as king. The same year

Magnus died. The same year also Earl Sweyne went out to

Baldwin's land, to Bruges; and remained there all the winter. In

the summer he departed.

A.D. 1046. This year went Earl Sweyne into Wales; and Griffin,

king of the northern men with him; and hostages were delivered to

him. As he returned homeward, he ordered the Abbess of

Leominster to be fetched him; and he had her as long as he list,

after which he let her go home. In this same year was outlawed

Osgod Clapa, the master of horse, before midwinter. And in the

same year, after Candlemas, came the strong winter, with frost

and with snow, and with all kinds of bad weather; so that there

was no man then alive who could remember so severe a winter as

this was, both through loss of men and through loss of cattle;

yea, fowls and fishes through much cold and hunger perished.

((A.D. 1046. This year died Brithwin, bishop in Wiltshire, and

Herman was appointed to his see. In that year King Edward

gathered a large ship-force at Sandwich, on account of the

threatening of Magnus in Norway: but his and Sweyn's contention

in Denmark hindered his coming here. This year died Athelstan,

Abbot of Abingdon, and Sparhawk, monk of St. Edmund's-bury,

succeeded him. And in this same year died bishop Siward, and

Archbishop Eadsine again obtained the whole bishopric. And in

this same year Lothen and Irling came with twenty-five ships to

Sandwich, and there took unspeakable booty, in men, and in gold,

and in silver, so that no man knew how much it all was. And they

then went about Thanet, and would there do the like; but the

land's-folk strenuously withstood them, and denied them as well

landing as water; and thence utterly put them to flight. And

they betook themselves then into Essex, and there they ravaged,

and took men, and property, and whatsoever they might find. And

they betook themselves then east to Baldwine's land, and there

they sold what they had plundered; and after that went their way

east, whence they before had come. In this year was the great

synod at St. Remi's [Rheins]. Thereat was Leo the pope, and the

Archbishop of Burgundy [Lyons], and the Archbishop of Besancon,

and the Archbishop of Treves, and the Archbishop of Rheims; and

many men besides, both clergy and laity. And King Edward sent

thither Bishop Dudoc [Of Wells], and Wulfric, Abbot of St.

Augustine's, and Abbot Elfwin [Of Ramsey], that they might make

known to the king what should be there resolved on for

Christendom. And in this same year King Edward went out to

Sandwich with a great fleet. And Sweyn the earl, son of Godwin

the earl, came in to Bosham with seven ships; and he obtained the

king's protection, and he was promised that he should be held

worthy of everything which he before possessed. Then Harold the

earl, his brother, and Beorn the earl contended that he should

not be held worthy of any of the things which the king had

granted to them: but a protection of four days was appointed him

to go to his ships. Then befell it during this, that word came

to the king that hostile ships lay westward, and were ravaging.

Then went Godwin the earl west about with two of the king's

ships; the one commanded Harold the earl, and the other Tosty his

brother; and forty-two of the people's ships. Then Harold the

earl was removed from the king's ship which Harold the earl

before had commanded. Then went they west to Pevensey, and lay

there weather-bound. Upon this, after two days, then came Sweyn

the earl thither, and spoke with his father, and with Beorn the

earl, and begged of Beorn that he would go with him to the king

at Sandwich, and help him to the king's friendship: and he

granted it. Then went they as if they would go to the king.

Then whilst they were riding, then begged Sweyn of him that he

would go with him to his ships: saying that his seamen would

depart from him unless he should at the soonest come thither.

Then went they both where his ships lay. When they came thither,

then begged Sweyn the earl of him that he would go with him on

ship-board. He strenuously refused, so long as until his seamen

seized him, and threw him into the boat, and bound him, and rowed

to the ship, and put him there aboard. Then they hoisted up

their sails and ran west to Exmouth, and had him with them until

they slew him: and they took the body and buried it in a church.

And then his friends and litsmen came from London, and took him

up, and bore him to Winchester to the Old-minster, and he is

there buried with King Canute his uncle. And Sweyn went then

east to Baldwin's land, and sat down there all the winter at

Bruges, with his full protection. And in the same year died

Eadnoth [II.] bishop [Of Dorchester] of the north and Ulf was

made bishop.))

A.D. 1047. This year died Athelstan, Abbot of Abingdon, on the

fourth day before the calends of April; and Sparhawk, monk of St.

Edmundsbury, succeeded him. Easter day was then on the third day

before the nones of April; and there was over all England very

great loss of men this year also. The same year came to Sandwich

Lothen and Irling, with twenty-five ships, and plundered and took

incalculable spoil, in men, and in gold, and in silver, so that

no man wist what it all was; and went then about Thanet, and

would there have done the same; but the land-folk firmly

withstood, and resisted them both by land and sea, and thence put

them to flight withal. They betook themselves thence into Essex,

where they plundered and took men, and whatsoever they could

find, whence they departed eastward to Baldwin's land, and having

deposited the booty they had gained, they returned east to the

place whence they had come before.

((A.D. 1047. This year died Living the eloquent bishop, on the

tenth before the kalends of April, and he had three bishoprics;

one in Devonshire, and in Cornwall, and in Worcester. Then

Leofric (61) succeeded to Devonshire and to Cornwall, and Bishop

Aldred to Worcester. And in this year Osgod, the master of the

horse, was outlawed: and Magnus [King of Norway] won Denmark. In

this year there was a great council in London at mid-Lent, and

nine ships of lightermen were discharged, and five remained

behind. In this same year came Sweyn the earl into England. And

in this same year was the great synod at Rome, and King Edward

sent thither Bishop Heroman and Bishop Aldred; and they came

thither on Easter eve. And afterwards the pope held a synod at

Vercelli, and Bishop Ulf came thereto; and well nigh would they

have broken his staff, if he had not given very great gifts;

because he knew not how to do his duty so well as he should. And

in this year died Archbishop Eadsine, on the fourth before the

kalends of November.))

A.D. 1048. This year came Sweyne back to Denmark; and Harold,

the uncle of Magnus, went to Norway on the death of Magnus, and

the Northmen submitted to him. He sent an embassy of peace to

this land, as did also Sweyne from Denmark, requesting of King

Edward naval assistance to the amount at least of fifty ships;

but all the people resisted it. This year also there was an

earthquake, on the calends of May, in many places; at Worcester,

at Wick, and at Derby, and elsewhere wide throughout England;

with very great loss by disease of men and of cattle over all

England; and the wild fire in Derbyshire and elsewhere did much

harm. In the same year the enemy plundered Sandwich, and the

Isle of Wight, and slew the best men that were there; and King

Edward and the earls went out after them with their ships. The

same year Bishop Siward resigned his bishopric from infirmity,

and retired to Abingdon; upon which Archbishop Edsy resumed the

bishopric; and he died within eight weeks of this, on the tenth

day before the calends of November.

((A.D. 1048. This year was the severe winter: and this year died

Alwyn, Bishop of Winchester, and Bishop Stigand was raised to his

see. And before that, in the same year, died Grinketel, Bishop

in Sussex, and Heca the priest succeeded to the bishopric. And

Sweyn also sent hither, begging assistance against Magnus, King

of Norway; that fifty ships should be sent to his aid. But it

seemed unadvisable to all people: and it was then hindered by

reason that Magnus had a great ship-force. And he then drove out

Sweyn, and with much man-slaying won the land: and the Danes paid

him much money and acknowledged him as king. And that same year

Magnus died. In this year King Edward appointed Robert, of

London, Archbishop of Canterbury, during Lent. And in the same

Lent he went to Rome after his pall: and the king gave the

bishopric of London to Sparhafoc, Abbot of Abingdon; and the king

gave the abbacy of Abingdon to Bishop Rodulf, his kinsman. Then

came the archbishop from Rome one day before St. Peter's mass-

eve, and entered on his archiepiscopal see at Christ's Church on

St. Peter's mass-day; and soon after went to the king. Then came

Abbot Sparhafoc to him with the king's writ and seal, in order

that he should consecrate him Bishop of London. Then the

archbishop refused, and said that the pope had forbidden it him.

Then went the abbot to the archbishop again for that purpose, and

there desired episcopal ordination; and the archbishop constantly

refused him, and said that the pope had forbidden it him. Then

went the abbot to London, and occupied the bishopric which the

king before had granted him, with his full leave, all the summer

and the harvest. And then came Eustace [Earl of Boulogne] from

beyond sea soon after the bishop, and went to the king, and spoke

with him that which he then would, and went then homeward. When

he came to Canterbury, east, then took he refreshment there, and

his men, and went to Dover. When he was some mile or more, on

this side of Dover, then he put on his breast-plate, and so did

all his companions, and went to Dover. When they came thither,

then would they lodge themselves where they chose. Then came one

of his men, and would abide in the house of a householder against

his will, and wounded the householder; and the householder slew

the other. Then Eustace got upon his horse, and his companions

upon theirs; and they went to the householder, and slew him

within his own dwelling; and they went up towards the town, and

slew, as well within as without, more than twenty men. And the

townsmen slew nineteen men on the other side, and wounded they

knew not how many. And Eustace escaped with a few men, and went

again to the king, and made known to him, in part, how they had

fared. And the king became very wroth with the townsmen. And

the king sent off Godwin the earl, and bade him go into Kent in a

hostile manner to Dover: for Eustace had made it appear to the

king, that it had been more the fault of the townsmen than his:

but it was not so. And the earl would not consent to the inroad,

because he was loth to injure his own people. Then the king sent

after all his council, and bade them come to Gloucester, nigh the

aftermass of St. Mary. Then had the Welshmen erected a castle in

Herefordshire among the people of Sweyn the earl, and wrought

every kind of harm and disgrace to the king's men there about

which they could. Then came Godwin the earl, and Sweyn the earl,

and Harold the earl, together at Beverstone, and many men with

them, in order that they might go to their royal lord, and to all

the peers who were assembled with him, in order that they might

have the advice of the king and his aid, and of all this council,

how they might avenge the king's disgrace, and the whole

nation's. Then were the Welshmen with the king beforehand, and

accused the earls, so that they might not come within his eyes'

sight; because they said that they were coming thither in order

to betray the king. Thither had come Siward the earl [Of

Northumbria] and Leofric the earl [Of Mercia], and much people

with them, from the north, to the king; and it was made known to

the Earl Godwin and his sons, that the king and the men who were

with him, were taking counsel concerning them: and they arrayed

themselves on the other hand resolutely, though it were loathful

to them that they should stand against their royal lord. Then

the peers on either side decreed that every kind of evil should

cease: and the king gave the peace of God and his full friendship

to either side. Then the king and his peers decreed that a

council of all the nobles should be held for the second time in

London at the harvest equinox; and the king directed the army to

be called out, as well south of the Thames as north, all that was

in any way most eminent. Then declared they Sweyn the earl an

outlaw, and summoned Godwin the earl and Harold the earl, to the

council, as quickly as they could effect it. When they had come

thither, then were they summoned into the council. Then required

he safe conduct and hostages, so that he might come, unbetrayed,

into the council and out of the council. Then the king demanded

all the thanes whom the earls before had: and they granted them

all into his hands. Then the king sent again to them, and

commanded them that they should come with twelve men to the

king's council. Then the earl again required safe conduct and

hostages, that he might defend himself against each of those

things which were laid to him. Then were the hostages refused

him; and he was allowed a safe conduct for five nights to go out

of the land. And then Godwin the earl and Sweyn the earl went to

Bosham, and shoved out their ships, and betook themselves beyond

sea, and sought Baldwin's protection, and abode there all the

winter. And Harold the earl went west to Ireland, and was there

all the winter within the king's protection. And soon after this

happened, then put away the king the lady who had been

consecrated his queen [Editha], and caused to be taken from her

all which she possessed, in land, and in gold, and in silver, and

in all things, and delivered her to his sister at Wherwell. And

Abbot Sparhafoc was then driven out of the bishopric of London,

and William the king's priest was ordained thereto. And then

Odda was appointed earl over Devonshire, and over Somerset, and

over Dorset, and over the Welsh. And Algar, the son of Leofric

the earl, was appointed to the earldom which Harold before

held.))

A.D. 1049. (62) This year the emperor gathered an innumerable

army against Baldwin of Bruges, because he had destroyed the

palace of Nimeguen, and because of many other ungracious acts

that he did against him. The army was immense that he had

collected together. There was Leo, the Pope of Rome, and the

patriarch, and many other great men of several provinces. He

sent also to King Edward, and requested of him naval aid, that he

might not permit him to escape from him by water. Whereupon he

went to Sandwich, and lay there with a large naval armament,

until the emperor had all that he wished of Baldwin. Thither

also came back again Earl Sweyne, who had gone from this land to

Denmark, and there ruined his cause with the Danes. He came

hither with a pretence, saying that he would again submit to the

king, and be his man; and he requested Earl Beorn to be of

assistance to him, and give him land to feed him on. But Harold,

his brother, and Earl Beorn resisted, and would give him nothing

of that which the king had given them. The king also refused him

everything. Whereupon Swevne retired to his ships at Bosham.

Then, after the settlement between the emperor and Baldwin, many

ships went home, and the king remained behind Sandwich with a few

ships. Earl Godwin also sailed forty-two ships from Sandwich to

Pevensey, and Earl Beorn went with him. Then the king gave leave

to all the Mercians to return home, and they did so. Then it was

told the king that Osgod lay at Ulps with thirty-nine ships;

whereupon the king sent after the ships that he might dispatch,

which before had gone homewards, but still lay at the Nore. Then

Osgod fetched his wife from Bruges; and they went back again with

six ships; but the rest went towards Essex, to Eadulf's-ness, and

there plundered, and then returned to their ships. But there

came upon them a strong wind, so that they were all lost but four

persons, who were afterwards slain beyond sea. Whilst Earl

Godwin and Earl Beorn lay at Pevensey with their ships, came Earl

Sweyne, and with a pretence requested of Earl Beorn, who was his

uncle's son, that he would be his companion to the king at

Sandwich, and better his condition with him; adding, that he

would swear oaths to him, and be faithful to him. Whereupon

Beorn concluded, that he would not for their relationship betray

him. He therefore took three companions with him, and they rode

to Bosham, where his (63) ships lay, as though they should

proceed to Sandwich; but they suddenly bound him, and led him to

the ships, and went thence with him to Dartmouth, where they

ordered him to be slain and buried deep. He was afterwards

found, and Harold his cousin fetched him thence, and led him to

Winchester, to the old minster, where he buried him with King

Knute, his uncle. Then the king and all the army proclaimed

Sweyne an outlaw. A little before this the men of Hastings and

thereabout fought his two ships with their ships, and slew all

the men, and brought the ships to Sandwich to the king. Eight

ships had he, ere he betrayed Beorn; afterwards they all forsook

him except two; whereupon he went eastward to the land of

Baldwin, and sat there all the winter at Bruges, in full

security. In the same year came up from Ireland thirty-six ships

on the Welsh coast, and thereabout committed outrages, with the

aid of Griffin, the Welsh king. The people were soon gathered

against them, and there was also with them Bishop Eldred, but

they had too little assistance, and the enemy came unawares on

them very early in the morning, and slew on the spot many good

men; but the others burst forth with the bishop. This was done

on the fourth day before the calends of August. This year died

the good Bishop Ednoth in Oxfordshire; and Oswy, Abbot of Thomey;

and Wulfnoth, Abbot of Westminster; and King Edward gave the

bishopric which Ednoth had to Ulf his priest, but it ill betided

him; and he was driven from it, because he did nought like a

bishop therein, so that it shameth us now to say more. Bishop

Siward also died who lies at Abingdon. In this same year King

Edward put nine ships out of pay; and the crews departed, and

went away with the ships withal, leaving five ships only behind,

for whom the king ordered twelve months pay. The same year went

Bishops Hereman and Aldred to the pope at Rome on the king's

errand. This year was also consecrated the great minster at

Rheims, in the presence of Pope Leo and the emperor. There was

also a great synod at St. Remy; (64) at which was present Pope

Leo, with the Archbishops of Burgundy, of Besancon, of Treves,

and of Rheims; and many wise men besides, both clergy and laity.

A great synod there held they respecting the service of God, at

the instance of St. Leo the pope. It is difficult to recognise

all the bishops that came thither, and also abbots. King Edward

sent thither Bishop Dudoc, and Abbot Wulfric, of St. Augustine's,

and Elfwin, Abbot of Ramsey, with the intent that they should

report to the king what was determined there concerning

Christendom. This same year came Earl Sweyne into England.

((A.D. 1049. This year Sweyn came again to Denmark, and Harold.

uncle of Magnus, went to Norway after Magnus was dead; and the

Normans acknowledged him: and he sent hither to land concerning

peace. And Sweyn also sent from Denmark, and begged of King

Edward the aid of his ships. They were to be at least fifty

ships: but all people opposed it. And this year also there was

an earthquake, on the kalends of May, in many places in

Worcester, and in Wick, and in Derby, and elsewhere; and also

there was a great mortality among men, and murrain among cattle:

and moreover, the wild-fire did much evil in Derbyshire and

elsewhere.))

A.D. 1050. This year returned the bishops home from Rome; (65)

and Earl Sweyne had his sentence of outlawry reversed. The same

year died Edsy, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the fourth day

before the calends of November; and also in the same year Elfric,

Archbishop of York, on the eleventh before the calends of

February, a very venerable man and wise, and his body lies at

Peterborough. Then had King Edward a meeting of the great

council in London, in mid-lent, at which he appointed Robert the

Frank, who was before Bishop of London, Archbishop of Canterbury;

and he, during the same Lent, went to Rome after his pall. The

king meanwhile gave the see of London to Sparhawk, Abbot of

Abingdon, but it was taken from him again before he was

consecrated. The king also gave the abbacy of Abingdon to Bishop

Rodulph his cousin. The same year he put all the lightermen out

of pay. (66) The pope held a council again, at Vercelli; and

Bishop Ulf came thither, where he nearly had his staff broken,

had he not paid more money, because he could not perform his

duties so well as he should do. The same year King Edward

abolished the Danegeld which King Ethelred imposed. That was in

the thirty-ninth year after it had begun. That tribute harassed

all the people of England so long as is above written; and it was

always paid before other imposts, which were levied

indiscriminately, and vexed men variously.

((A.D. 1050. Thither also came Sweyn the earl, who before had

gone from this land to Denmark, and who there had ruined himself

with the Danes. He came thither with false pretences; saying

that he would again be obedient to the king. And Beorn the earl

promised him that he would be of assistance to him. Then, after

the reconciliation of the emperor and of Baldwin, many of the

ships went home, and the king remained behind at Sandwich with a

few ships; and Godwin the earl also went with forty-two ships

from Sandwich to Pevensey, and Beorn the earl went with him.

Then was it made known to the king that Osgood lay at Ulps with

thirty-nine ships; and the king then sent after the ships which

before had gone home, that he might send after him. And Osgod

fetched his wife from Bruges, and they went back again with six

ships. And the others landed in Sussex [Essex] at Eadulf-ness,

and there did harm, and went again to their ships: and then a

strong wind came against them, so that they were all destroyed,

except four, whose crews were slain beyond sea. While Godwin the

earl and Beorn the earl lay at Pevensey, then came Sweyn the

earl, and begged Beorn the earl, with fraud, who was his uncle's

son, that he would be his companion to the king at Sandwich, and

better his affairs with him. He went then, on account of the

relationship, with three companions, with him; and he led him

then towards Bosham, where his ships lay: and then they bound

him, and led him on ship-board. Then went he thence with him to

Dartmouth, and there ordered him to be slain, and deeply buried.

Afterwards he was found, and borne to Winchester, and buried with

king Canute his uncle. A little before that, the men of Hastings

and thereabout, fought two of his ships with their ships; and

slew all the men, and brought the ships to Sandwich to the king.

Eight ships he had before he betrayed Beorn; after that all

forsook him except two. In the same year arrived in the Welsh

Axa, from Ireland, thirty-six ships, and thereabout did harm,

with the help of Griffin the Welsh king. The people were

gathered together against them; Bishop Aldred [Of Worchester] was

also there with them; but they had too little power. And they

came unawares upon them at very early morn; and there they slew

many good men, and the others escaped with the bishop: this was

done on the fourth before the kalends of August. This year died,

in Oxfordshire, Oswy, Abbot of Thorney, and Wulfnoth, Abbot of

Westminster; and Ulf the priest was appointed as pastor to the

bishopric which Eadnoth had held; but he was after that driven

away; because he did nothing bishop-like therein: so that it

shameth us now to tell more about it. And Bishop Siward died: he

lieth at Abingdon. And this year was consecrated the great

minster at Rheims: there was Pope Leo [IX.] and the emperor

[Henry III]; and there they held a great synod concerning God's

service. St. Leo the pope presided at the synod: it is difficult

to have a knowledge of the bishops who came there, and how many

abbots: and hence, from this land were sent two -- from St.

Augustine's and from Ramsey.))

A.D. 1051. This year came Archbishop Robert hither over sea with

his pall from Rome, one day before St. Peter's eve: and he took

his archiepiscopal seat at Christ-church on St. Peter's day, and

soon after this went to the king. Then came Abbot Sparhawk to

him with the king's writ and seal, to the intent that he should

consecrate him Bishop oÅ“ London; but the archbishop

refused,

saying that the pope had forbidden him. Then went the abbot to

the archbishop again for the same purpose, and there demanded

episcopal consecration; but the archbishop obstinately refused,

repeating that the pope had forbidden him. Then went the abbot

to London, and sat at the bishopric which the king had before

given him, with his full leave, all the summer and the autumn.

Then during the same year came Eustace, who had the sister of

King Edward to wife, from beyond sea, soon after the bishop, and

went to the king; and having spoken with him whatever he chose,

he then went homeward. When he came to Canterbury eastward,

there took he a repast, and his men; whence he proceeded to

Dover. When he was about a mile or more on this side Dover, he

put on his breast-plate; and so did all his companions: and they

proceeded to Dover. When they came thither, they resolved to

quarter themselves wherever they lived. Then came one of his

men, and would lodge at the house of a master of a family against

his will; but having wounded the master of the house, he was

slain by the other. Then was Eustace quickly upon his horse, and

his companions upon theirs; and having gone to the master of the

family, they slew him on his own hearth; then going up to the

boroughward, they slew both within and without more than twenty

men. The townsmen slew nineteen men on the other side, and

wounded more, but they knew not how many. Eustace escaped with a

few men, and went again to the king, telling him partially how

they had fared. The king was very wroth with the townsmen, and

sent off Earl Godwin, bidding him go into Kent with hostility to

Dover. For Eustace had told the king that the guilt of the

townsmen was greater than his. But it was not so: and the earl

would not consent to the expedition, because he was loth to

destroy his own people. Then sent the king after all his

council, and bade them come to Gloucester nigh the after-mass of

St. Mary. Meanwhile Godwin took it much to heart, that in his

earldom such a thing should happen. Whereupon be began to gather

forces over all his earldom, and Earl Sweyne, his son, over his;

and Harold, his other son, over his earldom: and they assembled

all in Gloucestershire, at Langtree, a large and innumerable

army, all ready for battle against the king; unless Eustace and

his men were delivered to them handcuffed, and also the Frenchmen

that were in the castle. This was done seven nights before the

latter mass of St. Mary, when King Edward was sitting at

Gloucester. Whereupon he sent after Earl Leofric, and north

after Earl Siward, and summoned their retinues. At first they

came to him with moderate aid; but when they found how it was in

the south, then sent they north over all their earldom, and

ordered a large force to the help of their lord. So did Ralph

also over his earldom. Then came they all to Gloucester to

the aid of the king, though it was late. So unanimous were they

all in defence of the king, that they would seek Godwin's army if

the king desired it. But some prevented that; because it was

very unwise that they should come together; for in the two armies

was there almost all that was noblest in England. They therefore

prevented this, that they might not leave the land at the mercy

of our foes, whilst engaged in a destructive conflict betwixt

ourselves. Then it was advised that they should exchange

hostages between them. And they issued proclamations throughout

to London, whither all the people were summoned over all this

north end in Siward's earldom, and in Leofric's, and also

elsewhere; and Earl Godwin was to come thither with his sons to a

conference; They came as far as Southwark, and very many with

them from Wessex; but his army continually diminished more and

more; for they bound over to the king all the thanes that

belonged to Earl Harold his son, and outlawed Earl Sweyne his

other son. When therefore it could not serve his purpose to come

to a conference against the king and against the army that was

with him, he went in the night away. In the morning the king

held a council, and proclaimed him an outlaw, with his whole

army; himself and his wife, and all his three sons -- Sweyne and

Tosty and Grith. And he went south to Thorney, (67) with his

wife, and Sweyne his son, and Tosty and his wife, a cousin of

Baldwin of Bruges, and his son Grith. Earl Harold with Leofwine

went to Bristol in the ship that Earl Sweyne had before prepared

and provisioned for himself; and the king sent Bishop Aldred from

London with his retinue, with orders to overtake him ere he came

to ship. But they either could not or would not: and he then

went out from the mouth of the Avon; but he encountered such

adverse weather, that he got off with difficulty, and suffered

great loss. He then went forth to Ireland, as soon as the

weather permitted. In the meantime the Welshmen had wrought a

castle in Herefordshire, in the territory of Earl Sweyne, and

brought as much injury and disgrace on the king's men thereabout

as they could. Then came Earl Godwin, and Earl Sweyne, and Earl

Harold, together at Beverstone, and many men with them; to the

intent that they might go to their natural lord, and to all the

peers that were assembled with him; to have the king's counsel

and assistance, and that of all the peers, how they might avenge

the insult offered to the king, and to all the nation. But the

Welshmen were before with the king, and bewrayed the earls, so

that they were not permitted to come within the sight of his

eyes; for they declared that they intended to come thither to

betray the king. There was now assembled before the king (68)

Earl Siward, and Earl Leofric, and much people with them from the

north: and it was told Earl Godwin and his sons, that the king

and the men who were with him would take counsel against them;

but they prepared themselves firmly to resist, though they were

loth to proceed against their natural lord. Then advised the

peers on either side, that they should abstain from all

hostility: and the king gave God's peace and his full friendship

to each party. Then advised the king and his council, that there

should be a second time a general assembly of all the nobles in

London, at the autumnal equinox: and the king ordered out an army

both south and north of the Thames, the best that ever was. Then

was Earl Sweyne proclaimed an outlaw; and Earl Godwin and Earl

Harold were summoned to the council as early as they could come.

When they came thither and were cited to the council, then

required they security and hostages, that they might come into

the council and go out without treachery. The king then demanded

all the thanes that the earls had; and they put them all into his

hands. Then sent the king again to them, and commanded them to

come with twelve men to the king's council. Then desired the

earl again security and hostages, that he might answer singly to

each of the things that were laid to his charge. But the

hostages were refused; and a truce of five nights was allowed him

to depart from the land. Then went Earl Godwin and Earl Sweyne

to Bosham, and drew out their ships, and went beyond sea, seeking

the protection of Baldwin; and there they abode all the winter.

Earl Harold went westward to Ireland, and was there all the

winter on the king's security. It was from Thorney (69) that

Godwin and those that were with him went to Bruges, to Baldwin's

land, in one ship, with as much treasure as they could lodge

therein for each man. Wonderful would it have been thought by

every man that was then in England, if any person had said before

this that it would end thus! For he was before raised to such a

height, that he ruled the king and all England; his sons were

earls, and the king's darlings; and his daughter wedded and

united to the king. Soon after this took place, the king

dismissed the lady who had been consecrated his queen, and

ordered to be taken from her all that she had in land, and in

gold, and in silver, and in all things; and committed her to the

care of his sister at Wherwell. Soon after came Earl William

from beyond sea with a large retinue of Frenchmen; and the king

entertained him and as many of his companions as were convenient

to him, and let him depart again. Then was Abbot Sparhawk driven

from his bishopric at London; and William the king's priest was

invested therewith. Then was Oddy appointed earl over

Devonshire, and over Somerset, and over Dorset, and over Wales;

and Algar, the son of Earl Leofric, was promoted to the earldom

which Harold before possessed.

((A.D. 1051. In this year died Eadsine, Archbishop of

Canterbury; and the king gave to Robert the Frenchman, who before

had been Bishop of London, the archbishopric. And Sparhafoc,

Abbot of Abingdon, succeeded to the bishopric of London; and it

was afterwards taken from him before he was consecrated. And

Bishop Heroman and Bishop Aldred went to Rome.))

**ENDNOTES:**

(59) There is a marked difference respecting the name of this

 alderman in MSS. Some have Ethelsy, as above; others,

 Elfwine, and Ethelwine. The two last may be reconciled, as

 the name in either case would now be Elwin; but Ethelsy, and

 Elsy are widely different. Florence of Worcester not only

 supports the authority of Ethelwine, but explains it "Dei

 amici."

(60) Matthew of Westminster says the king took up the body with

 his own hands.

(61) Leofric removed the see to Exeter.

(62) So Florence of Worcester, whose authority we here follow for

 the sake of perspicuity, though some of these events are

 placed in the MSS. to very different years; as the story of

 Beorn.

(63) i.e. The ships of Sweyne, who had retired thither, as before

 described.

(64) "Vid. Flor." A.D. 1049, and verbatim from him in the same

 year, Sim. Dunelm. "inter X. Script. p. 184, I, 10. See

 also Ordericus Vitalis, A.D. 1050. This dedication of the

 church of St. Remi, a structure well worth the attention of

 the architectural antiquary, is still commemorated by an

 annual loire, or fair, on the first of October, at which the

 editor was present in the year 1815, and purchased at a

 stall a valuable and scarce history of Rheims, from which he

 extracts the following account of the synod mentioned above:

 -- "Il fut assemble a l'occasion de la dedicace de la

 nouvelle eglise qu' Herimar, abbe de ce monastere, avoit

 fait batir, seconde par les liberalites des citoyens, etc."

 ("Hist. de Reims", p. 226.) But, according to our

 Chronicle, the pope took occasion from this synod to make

 some general regulations which concerned all Christendom.

(65) Hereman and Aldred, who went on a mission to the pope from

 King Edward, as stated in the preceding year.

(66) Nine ships were put out of commission the year before; but

 five being left on the pay-list for a twelvemonth, they were

 also now laid up.

(67) The ancient name of Westminster; which came into disuse

 because there was another Thorney in Cambridgeshire.

(68) i.e. at Gloucester, according to the printed Chronicle;

 which omits all that took place in the meantime at London

 and Southwark.

(69) Now Westminster.



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