

# The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

## Part 5: A.D. 1052 - 1069

### Online Medieval and Classical Library Release #17



A.D. 1052. This year, on the second day before the nones of

March, died the aged Lady Elfgiva Emma, the mother of King Edward

and of King Hardacnute, the relict of King Ethelred and of King

Knute; and her body lies in the old minster with King Knute. At

this time Griffin, the Welsh king, plundered in Herefordshire

till he came very nigh to Leominster; and they gathered against

him both the landsmen and the Frenchmen from the castle; and

there were slain very many good men of the English, and also of

the French. This was on the same day thirteen years after that

Edwin was slain with his companions. In the same year advised

the king and his council, that ships should be sent out to

Sandwich, and that Earl Ralph and Earl Odda should be appointed

headmen thereto. Then went Earl Godwin out from Bruges with his

ships to Ysendyck; and sailed forth one day before midsummer-eve,

till he came to the Ness that is to the south of Romney. When it

came to the knowledge of the earls out at Sandwich, they went out

after the other ships; and a land-force was also ordered out

against the ships. Meanwhile Earl Godwin had warning, and betook

himself into Pevensey: and the weather was so boisterous, that

the earls could not learn what had become of Earl Godwin. But

Earl Godwin then went out again until he came back to Bruges; and

the other ships returned back again to Sandwich. Then it was

advised that the ships should go back again to London, and that

other earls and other pilots should be appointed over them. But

it was delayed so long that the marine army all deserted; and

they all betook themselves home. When Earl Godwin understood

that, he drew up his sail and his ship: and they (70) went west

at once to the Isle of Wight; and landing there, they plundered

so long that the people gave them as much as they required of

them. Then proceeded they westward until they came to Portland,

where they landed and did as much harm as they could possibly do.

Meanwhile Harold had gone out from Ireland with nine ships, and

came up at Potlock with his ships to the mouth of the Severn,

near the boundaries of Somerset and Devonshire, and there

plundered much. The land-folk collected against him, both from

Somerset and from Devonshire: but he put them to flight, and slew

there more than thirty good thanes, besides others; and went soon

after about Penwithstert, where was much people gathered against

him; but he spared not to provide himself with meat, and went up

and slew on the spot a great number of the people -- seizing in

cattle, in men, and in money, whatever he could. Then went he

eastward to his father; and they went both together eastward (71)

until they came to the Isle of Wight, where they seized whatever

had been left them before. Thence they went to Pevensey, and got

out with them as many ships as had gone in there, and so

proceeded forth till they came to the Ness; (72) getting all the

ships that were at Romney, and at Hithe, and at Folkstone. Then

ordered King Edward to fit out forty smacks that lay at Sandwich

many weeks, to watch Earl Godwin, who was at Bruges during the

winter; but he nevertheless came hither first to land, so as to

escape their notice. And whilst he abode in this land, he

enticed to him all the Kentish men, and all the boatmen from

Hastings, and everywhere thereabout by the sea-coast, and all the

men of Essex and Sussex and Surrey, and many others besides.

Then said they all that they would with him live or die. When

the fleet that lay at Sandwich had intelligence about Godwin's

expedition, they set sail after him; but he escaped them, and

betook himself wherever he might: and the fleet returned to

Sandwich, and so homeward to London. When Godwin understood that

the fleet that lay at Sandwich was gone home, then went he back

again to the Isle of Wight, and lay thereabout by the sea-coast

so long that they came together -- he and his son Earl Harold.

But they did no great harm after they came together; save that

they took meat, and enticed to them all the land-folk by the sea-

coast and also upward in the land. And they proceeded toward

Sandwich, ever alluring forth with them all the boatmen that they

met; and to Sandwich they came with an increasing army. They

then steered eastward round to Dover, and landing there, took as

many ships and hostages as they chose, and so returned to

Sandwich, where they did the same; and men everywhere gave them

hostages and provisions, wherever they required them. Then

proceeded they to the Nore, and so toward London; but some of the

ships landed on the Isle of Shepey, and did much harm there;

whence they steered to Milton Regis, and burned it all, and then

proceeded toward London after the earls. When they came to

London, there lay the king and all his earls to meet them, with

fifty ships. The earls (73) then sent to the king, praying that

they might be each possessed of those things which had been

unjustly taken from them. But the king resisted some while; so

long that the people who were with the earl were very much

stirred against the king and against his people, so that the earl

himself with difficulty appeased them. When King Edward

understood that, then sent he upward after more aid; but they

came very late. And Godwin stationed himself continually before

London with his fleet, till he came to Southwark; where he abode

some time, until the flood (74) came up. On this occasion he

also contrived with the burgesses that they should do almost all

that he would. When he had arranged his whole expedition, then

came the flood; and they soon weighed anchor, and steered through

the bridge by the south side. The land-force meanwhile came

above, and arranged themselves by the Strand; and they formed

an angle with the ships against the north side, as if they wished

to surround the king's ships. The king had also a great land-

force on his side, to add to his shipmen: but they were most of

them loth to fight with their own kinsmen -- for there was little

else of any great importance but Englishmen on either side; and

they were also unwilling that this land should be the more

exposed to outlandish people, because they destroyed each other.

Then it was determined that wise men should be sent between them,

who should settle peace on either side. Godwin went up, and

Harold his son, and their navy, as many as they then thought

proper. Then advanced Bishop Stigand with God's assistance, and

the wise men both within the town and without; who determined

that hostages should be given on either side. And so they did.

When Archbishop Robert and the Frenchmen knew that, they took

horse; and went some west to Pentecost Castle, some north to

Robert's castle. Archbishop Robert and Bishop Ulf, with their

companions, went out at Eastgate, slaying or else maiming many

young men, and betook themselves at once to Eadulf's-ness; where

he put himself on board a crazy ship, and went at once over sea,

leaving his pall and all Christendom here on land, as God

ordained, because he had obtained an honour which God disclaimed.

Then was proclaimed a general council without London; and all the

earls and the best men in the land were at the council. There

took up Earl Godwin his burthen, and cleared himself there before

his lord King Edward, and before all the nation; proving that he

was innocent of the crime laid to his charge, and to his son

Harold and all his children. And the king gave the earl and his

children, and all the men that were with him, his full

friendship, and the full earldom, and all that he possessed

before; and he gave the lady all that she had before. Archbishop

Robert was fully proclaimed an outlaw, with all the Frenchmen;

because they chiefly made the discord between Earl Godwin and the

king: and Bishop Stigand succeeded to the archbishopric at

Canterbury. At the council therefore they gave Godwin fairly his

earldom, so full and so free as he at first possessed it; and his

sons also all that they formerly had; and his wife and his

daughter so full and so free as they formerly had. And they

fastened full friendship between them, and ordained good laws to

all people. Then they outlawed all Frenchmen -- who before

instituted bad laws, and judged unrighteous judgment, and brought

bad counsels into this land -- except so many as they concluded

it was agreeable to the king to have with him, who were true to

him and to all his people. It was with difficulty that Bishop

Robert, and Bishop William, and Bishop Ulf, escaped with the

Frenchmen that were with them, and so went over sea. Earl

Godwin, and Harold, and the queen, sat in their stations. Sweyne

had before gone to Jerusalem from Bruges, and died on his way

home at Constantinople, at Michaelmas. It was on the Monday

after the festival of St. Mary, that Godwin came with his ships

to Southwark: and on the morning afterwards, on the Tuesday, they

were reconciled as it stands here before recorded. Godwin then

sickened soon after he came up, and returned back. But he made

altogether too little restitution of God's property, which he

acquired from many places. At the same time Arnwy, Abbot of

Peterborough, resigned his abbacy in full health; and gave it to

the monk Leofric, with the king's leave and that of the monks;

and the Abbot Arnwy lived afterwards eight winters. The Abbot

Leofric gilded the minster, so that it was called Gildenborough;

and it then waxed very much in land, and in gold, and in silver.

((A.D. 1052. This year died Alfric, Archbishop of York, a very

pious man, and wise. And in the same year King Edward abolished

the tribute, which King Ethelred had before imposed: that was in

the nine-and-thirtieth year after he had begun it. That tax

distressed all the English nation during so long a time, as it

has been written; that was ever before other taxes which were

variously paid, and wherewith the people were manifestly

distressed. In the same year Eustace [Earl of Boulougne] landed

at Dover: he had King Edward's sister to wife. Then went his men

inconsiderately after quarters, and a certain man of the town

they slew; and another man of the town their companion; so that

there lay seven of his companions. And much harm was there done

on either side, by horse and also by weapons, until the people

gathered together: and then they fled away until they came to the

king at Gloucester; and he gave them protection. When Godwin,

the earl, understood that such things should have happened in his

earldom, then began he to gather together people over all his

earldom, (75) and Sweyn, the earl, his son, over his, and Harold,

his other son, over his earldom; and they all drew together in

Gloucestershire, at Langtree, a great force and countless, all

ready for battle against the king, unless Eustace were given up,

and his men placed in their hands, and also the Frenchmen who

were in the castle. This was done seven days before the latter

mass of St. Mary. Then was King Edward sitting at Gloucester.

Then sent he after Leofric the earl [Of Mercia] and north after

Siward the earl [Of Northumbria] and begged their forces. And

then they came to him; first with a moderate aid, but after they

knew how it was there, in the south, then sent they north over

all their earldoms, and caused to be ordered out a large force

for the help of their lord; and Ralph, also, over his earldom:

and then came they all to Gloucester to help the king, though it

might be late. Then were they all so united in opinion with the

king that they would have sought out Godwin's forces if the king

had so willed. Then thought some of them that it would be a

great folly that they should join battle; because there was

nearly all that was most noble in England in the two armies, and

they thought that they should expose the land to our foes, and

cause great destruction among ourselves. Then counselled they

that hostages should be given mutually; and they appointed a term

at London, and thither the people were ordered out over all this

north end, in Siward's earldom, and in Leofric's, and also

elsewhere; and Godwin, the earl, and his sons were to come there

with their defence. Then came they to Southwark, and a great

multitude with them, from Wessex; but his band continually

diminished the longer he stayed. And they exacted pledges for

the king from all the thanes who were under Harold, the earl, his

son; and then they outlawed Sweyn, the earl, his other son. Then

did it not suit him to come with a defence to meet the king, and

to meet the army which was with him. Then went he by night away;

and the king on the morrow held a council, and, together with all

the army, declared him an outlaw, him and all his sons. And he

went south to Thorney, and his wife, and Sweyn his son, and Tosty

and his wife, Baldwin's relation of Bruges, and Grith his son.

And Harold, the earl, and Leofwine, went to Bristol in the ship

which Sweyn, the earl, had before got ready for himself, and

provisioned. And the king sent Bishop Aldred [Of Worcester] to

London with a force; and they were to overtake him ere he came on

ship-board: but they could not or they would not. And he went

out from Avonmouth, and met with such heavy weather that he with

difficulty got away; and there he sustained much damage. Then

went he forth to Ireland when fit weather came. And Godwin, and

those who were with him, went from Thorney to Bruges, to

Baldwin's land, in one ship, with as much treasure as they might

therein best stow for each man. It would have seemed wondrous to

every man who was in England if any one before that had said that

it should end thus; for he had been erewhile to that degree

exalted, as if he ruled the king and all England; and his sons

were earls and the king's darlings, and his daughter wedded and

united to the king: she was brought to Wherwell, and they

delivered her to the abbess. Then, soon, came William, the earl

[Of Normandy], from beyond seas with a great band of Frenchmen;

and the king received him, and as many of his companions as it

pleased him; and let him away again. This same year was given to

William, the priest, the bishopric of London, which before had

been given to Sparhafoc.))

((A.D. 1052. This year died Elfgive, the lady, relict of King

Ethelred and of King Canute, on the second before the nones of

March. In the same year Griffin, the Welsh king, plundered in

Herefordshire, until he came very nigh to Leominster; and they

gathered against him, as well the landsmen as the Frenchmen of

the castle, and there were slain of the English very many good

men, and also of the Frenchmen; that was on the same day, on

which, thirteen years before, Eadwine had been slain by his

companions.))

((A.D. 1052. In this year died Elgive Emma, King Edward's mother

and King Hardecanute's. And in this same year, the king decreed,

and his council, that ships should proceed to Sandwich; and they

set Ralph, the earl. and Odda, the earl [Of Devon], as headmen

thereto. Then Godwin, the earl, went out from Bruges with his

ships to Ysendyck, and left it one day before Midsummer's-mass

eve, so that he came to Ness, which is south of Romney. Then

came it to the knowledge of the earls out at Sandwich; and they

then went out after the other ships, and a land-force was ordered

out against the ships. Then during this, Godwin, the earl, was

warned, and then he went to Pevensey; and the weather was very

severe, so that the earls could not learn what was become of

Godwin, the earl. And then Godwin, the earl, went out again,

until he came once more to Bruges; and the other ships returned

again to Sandwich. And then it was decreed that the ships should

return once more to London, and that other earls and commanders

should be appointed to the ships. Then was it delayed so long

that the ship-force all departed, and all of them went home.

When Godwin, the earl, learned that, then drew he up his sail,

and his fleet, and then went west direct to the Isle of Wight,

and there landed and ravaged so long there, until the people

yielded them so much as they laid on them. And then they went

westward until they came to Portland, and there they landed,

and did whatsoever harm they were able to do. Then was Harold

come out from Ireland with nine ships; and then landed at

Porlock, and there much people was gathered against him; but he

failed not to procure himself provisions. He proceeded further,

and slew there a great number of the people, and took of cattle,

and of men, and of property as it suited him. He then went

eastward to his father; and then they both went eastward until

they came to the Isle of Wight, and there took that which was yet

remaining for them. And then they went thence to Pevensey and

got away thence as many ships as were there fit for service, and

so onwards until he came to Ness, and got all the ships which

were in Romney, and in Hythe, and in Folkstone. And then they

went east to Dover, and there landed, and there took ships and

hostages, as many as they would, and so went to Sandwich and did

"hand" the same; and everywhere hostages were given them, and

provisions wherever they desired. And then they went to North-

mouth, and so toward London; and some of the ships went within

Sheppey, and there did much harm, and went their way to King's

Milton, and that they all burned, and betook themselves then

toward London after the earls. When they came to London, there

lay the king and all the earls there against them, with fifty

ships. Then the earls sent to the king, and required of him,

that they might be held worthy of each of those things which

had been unjustly taken from them. Then the king, however,

resisted some while; so long as until the people who were with

the earl were much stirred against the king and against his

people, so that the earl himself with difficulty stilled the

people. Then Bishop Stigand interposed with God's help, and the

wise men as well within the town as without; and they decreed

that hostages should be set forth on either side: and thus was it

done. When Archbishop Robert and the Frenchmen learned that,

they took their horses and went, some west to Pentecost's castle,

some north to Robert's castle. And Archbishop Robert and Bishop

Ulf went out at East-gate, and their companions, and slew and

otherwise injured many young men, and went their way to direct

Eadulf's-ness; and he there put himself in a crazy ship, and went

direct over sea, and left his pall and all Christendom here on

land, so as God would have it, inasmuch as he had before obtained

the dignity so as God would not have it. Then there was a great

council proclaimed without London: and all the earls and the

chief men who were in this land were at the council. There

Godwin bore forth his defence, and justified himself, before King

Edward his lord, and before all people of the land, that he was

guiltless of that which was laid against him, and against Harold

his son, and all his children. And the king gave to the earl and

his children his full friendship, and full earldom, and all that

he before possessed, and to all the men who were with him. And

the king gave to the lady [Editha] all that she before possessed.

And they declared Archbishop Robert utterly an outlaw, and all

the Frenchmen, because they had made most of the difference

between Godwin, the earl, and the king. And Bishop Stigand

obtained the Archbishopric of Canterbury. In this same time

Arnwy, Abbot of Peterborough, left the abbacy, in sound health,

and gave it to Leofric the monk, by leave of the king and of the

monks; and Abbot Arnwy lived afterwards eight years. And Abbot

Leofric then (enriched) the minster, so that it was called the

Golden-borough. Then it waxed greatly, in land, and in gold, and

in silver.))

((A.D. 1052. And went so to the Isle of Wight, and there took

all the ships which could be of any service, and hostages, and

betook himself so eastward. And Harold had landed with nine

ships at Porlock, and slew there much people, and took cattle,

and men, and property, and went his way eastward to his father,

and they both went to Romney, to Hythe, to Folkstone, to Dover,

to Sandwich, and ever they took all the ships which they found,

which could be of any service, and hostages, all as they

proceeded; and went then to London.))

A.D. 1053. About this time was the great wind, on the mass-night

of St. Thomas; which did much harm everywhere. And all the

midwinter also was much wind. It was this year resolved to slay

Rees, the Welsh king's brother, because he did harm; and they

brought his head to Gloucester on the eve of Twelfth-day. In

this same year, before Allhallowmas, died Wulfsy, Bishop of

Lichfield; and Godwin, Abbot of Winchcomb; and Aylward, Abbot of

Glastonbury; all within one month. And Leofwine, Abbot of

Coventry, took to the bishopric at Lichfield; Bishop Aldred to

the abbacy at Winchcomb; and Aylnoth took to the abbacy at

Glastonbury. The same year died Elfric, brother of Odda, at

Deerhurst; and his body resteth at Pershore. In this year was

the king at Winchester, at Easter; and Earl Godwin with him, and

Earl Harold his son, and Tosty. On the day after Easter sat he

with the king at table; when he suddenly sunk beneath against the

foot-rail, deprived of speech and of all his strength. He was

brought into the king's chamber; and they supposed that it would

pass over: but it was not so. He continued thus speechless and

helpless till the Thursday; when he resigned his life, on the

seventeenth before the calends of May; and he was buried at

Winchester in the old minster. Earl Harold, his son, took to the

earldom that his father had before, and to all that his father

possessed; whilst Earl Elgar took to the earldom that Harold had

before. The Welshmen this year slew a great many of the warders

of the English people at Westbury. This year there was no

archbishop in this land: but Bishop Stigand held the see of

Canterbury at Christ church, and Kinsey that of York. Leofwine

and Wulfwy went over sea, and had themselves consecrated bishops

there. Wulfwy took to the bishopric which Ulf had whilst he was

living and in exile.

((A.D. 1053. This year was the great wind on Thomas's-mass-

night, and also the whole midwinter there was much wind; and it

was decreed that Rees, the Welsh king's brother, should be slain,

because he had done harm; and his head was brought to Gloucester

on Twelfth-day eve. And the same year, before All Hallows-mass,

died Wulfsy, Bishop of Lichfield, and Godwin, Abbot of Winchcomb,

and Egelward, Abbot of Clastonbury, all within one month, and

Leofwine succeeded to the Bishopric of Lichfield, and Bishop

Aidred [Of Worcester] took the abbacy at Winchcomb, and Egelnoth

succeeded to the abbacy at Glastonbury. And the same year died

Elfric, Odda's brother at Deorhurst; and his body resteth at

Pershore. And the same year died Godwin the earl; and he fell

ill as he sat with the king at Winchester. And Harold his son

succeeded to the earldom which his father before held; and Elgar,

the earl, succeeded to the earldom which Harold before held.))

((A.D. 1053. In this year died Godwin, the earl, on the

seventeenth before the kalends of May, and he is buried at

Winchester, in the Old-minster; and Harold, the earl, his son,

succeeded to the earldom, and to all that which his father had

held: and Elgar, the earl, succeeded to the earldom which Harold

before held.))

A.D. 1054. This year died Leo the holy pope, at Rome: and Victor

was chosen pope in his stead. And in this year was so great loss

of cattle as was not remembered for many winters before. This

year went Earl Siward with a large army against Scotland,

consisting both of marines and landforces; and engaging with the

Scots, he put to flight the King Macbeth; slew all the best in

the land; and led thence much spoil, such as no man before

obtained. Many fell also on his side, both Danish and English;

even his own son, Osborn, and his sister's son, Sihward: and many

of his house-carls, and also of the king's, were there slain that

day, which was that of the Seven Sleepers. This same year went

Bishop Aldred south over sea into Saxony, to Cologne, on the

king's errand; where he was entertained with great respect by the

emperor, abode there well-nigh a year, and received presents not

only from the court, but from the Bishop of Cologne and the

emperor. He commissioned Bishop Leofwine to consecrate the

minster at Evesham; and it was consecrated in the same year, on

the sixth before the ides of October. This year also died Osgod

Clapa suddenly in his bed, as he lay at rest.

((A.D. 1054. This year went Siward the earl with a great army

into Scotland, both with a ship-force and with a landforce, and

fought against the Scots, and put to flight King Macbeth, and

slew all who were the chief men in the land, and led thence much

booty, such as no man before had obtained. But his son Osborn,

and his sister's son Siward, and some of his house-carls, and

also of the king's, were there slain, on the day of the Seven

Sleepers. The same year went Bishop Aldred to Cologne, over sea,

on the king's errand; and he was there received with much worship

by the emperor [Henry III], and there he dwelt well nigh a year;

and either gave him entertainment, both the Bishop of Cologne and

the emperor. And he gave leave to Bishop Leofwine [Of Lichfield]

to consecrate the minster at Evesham on the sixth before the ides

of October. In this year died Osgod suddenly in his bed. And

this year died St. Leo the pope; and Victor was chosen pope in

his stead.))

A.D. 1055. This year died Earl Siward at York; and his body lies

within the minster at Galmanho, (76) which he had himself ordered

to be built and consecrated, in the name of God and St. O1ave, to

the honour of God and to all his saints. Archbishop Kinsey

fetched his pall from Pope Victor. Then, within a little time

after, a general council was summoned in London, seven nights

before mid-Lent; at which Earl Elgar, son of Earl Leofric, was

outlawed almost without any guilt; because it was said against

him that he was the betrayer of the king and of all the people of

the land. And he was arraigned thereof before all that were

there assembled, though the crime laid to his charge was

unintentional. The king, however, gave the earldom, which Earl

Siward formerly had, to Tosty, son of Earl Godwin. Whereupon

Earl Elgar sought Griffin's territory in North-Wales; whence he

went to Ireland, and there gave him a fleet of eighteen ships,

besides his own; and then returned to Wales to King Griffin with

the armament, who received him on terms of amity. And they

gathered a great force with the Irishmen and the Welsh: and Earl

Ralph collected a great army against them at the town of

Hereford; where they met; but ere there was a spear thrown the

English people fled, because they were on horses. The enemy then

made a great slaughter there -- about four hundred or five

hundred men; they on the other side none. They went then to the

town, and burned it utterly; and the large minster (77) also

which the worthy Bishop Athelstan had caused to be built, that

they plundered and bereft of relic and of reef, and of all things

whatever; and the people they slew, and led some away. Then an

army from all parts of England was gathered very nigh; (78) and

they came to Gloucester: whence they sallied not far out against

the Welsh, and there lay some time. And Earl Harold caused the

dike to be dug about the town the while. Meantime men began to

speak of peace; and Earl Harold and those who were with him came

to Bilsley, where amity and friendship were established between

them. The sentence of outlawry against Earl Elgar was reversed;

and they gave him all that was taken from him before. The fleet

returned to Chester, and there awaited their pay, which Elgar

promised them. The slaughter was on the ninth before the calends

of November. In the same year died Tremerig, the Welsh bishop,

soon after the plundering; who was Bishop Athelstan's substitute,

after he became infirm.

((A.D. 1055. In this year died Siward the earl at York, and he

lies at Galmanho, in the minster which himself caused to be

built, and consecrated in God's and Olave's name. And Tosty

succeeded to the earldom which he had held. And Archbishop

Kynsey [Of York], fetched his pall from Pope Victor. And soon

thereafter was outlawed Elgar the earl, son of Leofric the earl,

well-nigh without guilt. But he went to Ireland and to Wales,

and procured himself there a great force, and so went to

Hereford: but there came against him Ralph the earl, with a large

army, and with a slight conflict he put them to flight, and much

people slew in the flight: and they went then into Hereford-port,

and that they ravaged, and burned the great minster which Bishop

Athelstan had built, and slew the priests within the minster, and

many in addition thereto, and took all the treasures therein, and

carried them away with them. And when they had done the utmost

evil, this counsel was counselled: that Elgar the earl should be

inlawed, and be given his earldom, and all that had been taken

from him. This ravaging happened on the 9th before the Kalends

of November. In the same year died Tremerin the Welsh bishop [Of

St. David's] soon after that ravaging: and he was Bishop

Athelstan's coadjutor from the time that he had become infirm.))

((A.D. 1055. In this year died Siward the earl: and then was

summoned a general council, seven days before Mid-lent; and they

outlawed Elgar the earl, because it was cast upon him that he was

a traitor to the king and to all the people of the land. And he

made a confession of it before all the men who were there

gathered; though the word escaped him unintentionally. And the

king gave the earldom to Tosty, son of Earl Godwin, which Siward

the earl before held. And Elgar the earl sought Griffin's

protection in North-Wales. And in this year Griffin and Elgar

burned St. Ethelbert's minster, and all the town of Hereford.))

A.D. 1056. This year Bishop Egelric resigned his bishopric at

Durham, and retired to Peterborough minster; and his brother

Egelwine succeeded him. The worthy Bishop Athelstan died on the

fourth before the ides of February; and his body lies at

Hereford. To him succeeded Leofgar, who was Earl Harold's mass-

priest. He wore his knapsack in his priesthood, until he was a

bishop. He abandoned his chrism and his rood -- his ghostly

weapons -- and took to his spear and to his sword, after his

bishophood; and so marched to the field against Griffin the Welsh

king. (79) But he was there slain, and his priests with him, and

Elnoth the sheriff, and many other good men with them; and the

rest fled. This was eight nights before midsummer. Difficult is

it to relate all the vexation and the journeying, the marching

and the fatigue, the fall of men, and of horses also, which the

whole army of the English suffered, until Earl Leofric, and Earl

Harold, and Bishop Eldred, came together and made peace between

them; so that Griffin swore oaths, that he would be a firm and

faithful viceroy to King Edward. Then Bishop Eldred took to the

bishopric which Leofgar had before eleven weeks and four days.

The same year died Cona the emperor; and Earl Odda, whose body

lies at Pershore, and who was admitted a monk before his end;

which was on the second before the calends of September; a good

man and virtuous and truly noble.

A.D. 1057. This year came Edward Etheling, son of King Edmund,

to this land, and soon after died. His body is buried within St.

Paul's minster at London. He was brother's son to King Edward.

King Edmund was called Ironside for his valour. This etheling

King Knute had sent into Hungary, to betray him; but he there

grew in favour with good men, as God granted him, and it well

became him; so that he obtained the emperor's cousin in marriage,

and by her had a fair offspring. Her name was Agatha. We know

not for what reason it was done, that he should see his relation,

King Edward. Alas! that was a rueful time, and injurious to all

this nation -- that he ended his life so soon after he came to

England, to the misfortune of this miserable people. The same

year died Earl Leofric, on the second before the calends of

October; who was very wise before God, and also before the world;

and who benefited all this nation. (80) He lies at Coventry

(81): and his son Elgar took to his territory. This year died

Earl Ralph, on the twelfth before the calends of January; and

lies at Peterborough. Also died Bishop Heca, in Sussex; and

Egelric was elevated to his see. This year also died Pope

Victor; and Stephen was chosen pope, who was Abbot of Monut

Cassino.

((A.D. 1057. In this year Edward Etheling, King Edmund's son,

came hither to land, and soon after died- and his body is buried

within St. Paul's minster at London. And Pope Victor died, and

Stephen [IX.] was chosen pope: he was Abbot of Mont-Cassino. And

Leofric the earl died, and Elgar his son succeeded to the earldom

which the father before held.))

A.D. 1058. This year was Earl Elgar banished: but he soon came

in again by force, through Griffin's assistance: and a naval

armament came from Norway. It is tedious to tell how it all fell

out. In this same year Bishop Aldred consecrated the minster

church at Gloucester, which he himself had raised (82) to the

honour of God and St. Peter; and then went to Jerusalem (83) with

such dignity as no other man did before him, and betook himself

there to God. A worthy gift he also offered to our Lord's

sepulchre; which was a golden chalice of the value of five marks,

of very wonderful workmanship. In the same year died Pope

Stephen; and Benedict was appointed pope. He sent hither the

pall to Bishop Stigand; who as archbishop consecrated Egelric a

monk at Christ church, Bishop of Sussex; and Abbot Siward Bishop

of Rochester.

((A.D. 1058. This year died Pope Stephen, and Benedict was

consecrated pope: the same sent hither to land a pall to

Archbishop Stigand. And in this year died Heca, Bishop of

Sussex; and Archbishop Stigand ordained Algeric, a monk at

Christchurch, Bishop of Sussex, and Abbot Siward Bishop of

Rochester.))

A.D. 1059. This year was Nicholas chosen pope, who had been

Bishop of Florence; and Benedict was expelled, who was pope

before. This year also was consecrated the steeple (84) at

Peterborough, on the sixteenth before the calends of November.

A.D. 1060. This year was a great earthquake on the Translation

of St. Martin, and King Henry died in France. Kinsey, Archbishop

of York, died on the eleventh before the calends of January; and

he lies at Peterborough. Bishop Aldred succeeded to the see, and

Walter to that of Herefordshire. Dudoc also died, who was Bishop

of Somersetshire; and Gisa the priest was appointed in his stead.

A.D. 1061. This year went Bishop Aldred to Rome after his pall;

which he received at the hands of Pope Nicholas. Earl Tosty and

his wife also went to Rome; and the bishop and the earl met with

great difficulty as they returned home. In the same year died

Bishop Godwin at St. Martin's, (85) on the seventh before the

ides of March; and in the self-same year died Wulfric, Abbot of

St. Augustine's, in the Easterweek, on the fourteenth before the

calends of May. Pope Nicholas also died; and Alexander was

chosen pope, who was Bishop of Lucca. When word came to the king

that the Abbot Wulfric was dead, then chose he Ethelsy, a monk of

the old minster, to succeed; who followed Archbishop Stigand, and

was consecrated abbot at Windsor on St. Augustine s mass-day.

((A.D. 1061. In this year died Dudoc, Bishop of Somerset, and

Giso succeeded. And in the same year died Godwin, Bishop of St.

Martin's, on the seventh before the ides of March. And in the

self-same year died Wulfric, Abbot of St. Augustine's, within

the Easter week, on the fourteenth before the kalends of May.

When word came to the king that Abbot Wulfric was departed, then

chose he Ethelsy the monk thereto, from the Old-Minster, who then

followed Archbishop Stigand, and was consecrated abbot at

Windsor, on St. Augustine's mass-day.))

A.D. 1063. This year went Earl Harold, after mid-winter, from

Gloucester to Rhyddlan; which belonged to Griffin: and that

habitation he burned, with his ships and all the rigging

belonging thereto; and put him to flight. Then in the gang-days

went Harold with his ships from Bristol about Wales; where he

made a truce with the people, and they gave him hostages. Tosty

meanwhile advanced with a land-force against them, and plundered

the land. But in the harvest of the same year was King Griffin

slain, on the nones of August, by his own men, through the war

that he waged with Earl Harold. He was king over all the Welsh

nation. And his head was brought to Earl Harold; who sent it to

the king, with his ship's head, and the rigging therewith. King

Edward committed the land to his two brothers, Blethgent and

Rigwatle; who swore oaths, and gave hostages to the king and to

the earl, that they would be faithful to him in all things, ready

to aid him everywhere by water and land, and would pay him such

tribute from the land as was paid long before to other kings.

((A.D. 1063. This year went Harold the earl, and his brother

Tosty the earl, as well with a land-force as a shipforce, into

Wales, and they subdued the land; and the people delivered

hostages to them, and submitted; and went afterwards and slew

their King Griffin, and brought to Harold his head: and he

appointed another king thereto.))

A.D. 1065. This year, before Lammas, ordered Earl Harold his men

to build at Portskeweth in Wales. But when he had begun, and

collected many materials, and thought to have King Edward there

for the purpose of hunting, even when it was all ready, came

Caradoc, son of Griffin, with all the gang that he could get, and

slew almost all that were building there; and they seized the

materials that were there got ready. Wist we not who first

advised the wicked deed. This was done on the mass-day of St.

Bartholomew. Soon after this all the thanes in Yorkshire and in

Northumberland gathered themselves together at York, and outlawed

their Earl Tosty; slaying all the men of his clan that they could

reach, both Danish and English; and took all his weapons in York,

with gold and silver, and all his money that they could anywhere

there find. They then sent after Morkar, son of Earl Elgar, and

chose him for their earl. He went south with all the shire, and

with Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire and Lincolnshire, till he

came to Northampton; where his brother Edwin came to meet him

with the men that were in his earldom. Many Britons also came

with him. Harold also there met them; on whom they imposed an

errand to King Edward, sending also messengers with him, and

requesting that they might have Morcar for their earl. This the

king granted; and sent back Harold to them, to Northampton, on

the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude; and announced to them the

same, and confirmed it by hand, and renewed there the laws of

Knute. But the Northern men did much harm about Northampton,

whilst he went on their errand: either that they slew men, and

burned houses and corn; or took all the cattle that they could

come at; which amounted to many thousands. Many hundred men also

they took, and led northward with them; so that not only that

shire, but others near it were the worse for many winters. Then

Earl Tosty and his wife, and all they who acted with him, went

south over sea with him to Earl Baldwin; who received them all:

and they were there all the winter. About midwinter King Edward

came to Westminster, and had the minster there consecrated, which

he had himself built to the honour of God, and St. Peter, and all

God's saints. This church-hallowing was on Childermas-day. He

died on the eve of twelfth-day; and he was buried on twelfth-day

in the same minster; as it is hereafter said.

 Here Edward king, (86)

 of Angles lord,

 sent his stedfast

 soul to Christ.

 In the kingdom of God

 a holy spirit!

 He in the world here

 abode awhile,

 in the kingly throng

 of council sage.

 Four and twenty

 winters wielding

 the sceptre freely,

 wealth he dispensed.

 In the tide of health,

 the youthful monarch,

 offspring of Ethelred!

 ruled well his subjects;

 the Welsh and the Scots,

 and the Britons also,

 Angles and Saxons

 relations of old.

 So apprehend

 the first in rank,

 that to Edward all

 the noble king

 were firmly held

 high-seated men.

 Blithe-minded aye

 was the harmless king;

 though he long ere,

 of land bereft,

 abode in exile

 wide on the earth;

 when Knute o'ercame

 the kin of Ethelred,

 and the Danes wielded

 the dear kingdom

 of Engle-land.

 Eight and twenty

 winters' rounds

 they wealth dispensed.

 Then came forth

 free in his chambers,

 in royal array,

 good, pure, and mild,

 Edward the noble;

 by his country defended --

 by land and people.

 Until suddenly came

 the bitter Death

 and this king so dear

 snatched from the earth.

 Angels carried

 his soul sincere

 into the light of heaven.

 But the prudent king

 had settled the realm

 on high-born men --

 on Harold himself,

 the noble earl;

 who in every season

 faithfully heard

 and obeyed his lord,

 in word and deed;

 nor gave to any

 what might be wanted

 by the nation's king.

This year also was Earl Harold hallowed to king; but he enjoyed

little tranquillity therein the while that he wielded the

kingdom.

((A.D. 1065. And the man-slaying was on St. Bartholomew's

mass-day. And then, after Michael's-mass, all the thanes in

Yorkshire went to York, and there slew all Earl Tosty's household

servants whom they might hear of, and took his treasures: and

Tosty was then at Britford with the king. And then, very soon

thereafter, was a great council at Northampton; and then at

Oxford on the day of Simon and Jude. And there was Harold the

earl, and would work their reconciliation if he might, but he

could not: but all his earldom him unanimously forsook and

outlawed, and all who with him lawlessness upheld, because he

robbed God first, and all those bereaved over whom he had power

of life and of land. And they then took to themselves Morkar for

earl; and Tosty went then over sea, and his wife with him, to

Baldwin's land, and they took up their winter residence at St.

Omer's.))

A.D. 1066. This year came King Harold from York to Westminster,

on the Easter succeeding the midwinter when the king (Edward)

died. Easter was then on the sixteenth day before the calends of

May. Then was over all England such a token seen as no man ever

saw before. Some men said that it was the comet-star, which

others denominate the long-hair'd star. It appeared first on the

eve called "Litania major", that is, on the eighth before the

calends off May; and so shone all the week. Soon after this came

in Earl Tosty from beyond sea into the Isle of Wight, with as

large a fleet as he could get; and he was there supplied with

money and provisions. Thence he proceeded, and committed

outrages everywhere by the sea-coast where he could land, until

he came to Sandwich. When it was told King Harold, who was in

London, that his brother Tosty was come to Sandwich, he gathered

so large a force, naval and military, as no king before collected

in this land; for it was credibly reported that Earl William from

Normandy, King Edward's cousin, would come hither and gain this

land; just as it afterwards happened. When Tosty understood that

King Harold was on the way to Sandwich, he departed thence, and

took some of the boatmen with him, willing and unwilling, and

went north into the Humber with sixty skips; whence he plundered

in Lindsey, and there slew many good men. When the Earls Edwin

and Morkar understood that, they came hither, and drove him from

the land. And the boatmen forsook him. Then he went to Scotland

with twelve smacks; and the king of the Scots entertained him,

and aided him with provisions; and he abode there all the summer.

There met him Harold, King of Norway, with three hundred ships.

And Tosty submitted to him, and became his man. (87) Then came

King Harold (88) to Sandwich, where he awaited his fleet; for it

was long ere it could be collected: but when it was assembled, he

went into the Isle of Wight, and there lay all the summer and the

autumn. There was also a land-force every where by the sea,

though it availed nought in the end. It was now the nativity of

St. Mary, when the provisioning of the men began; and no man

could keep them there any longer. They therefore had leave to go

home: and the king rode up, and the ships were driven to London;

but many perished ere they came thither. When the ships were

come home, then came Harald, King of Norway, north into the Tine,

unawares, with a very great sea-force -- no small one; that might

be, with three hundred ships or more; and Earl Tosty came to him

with all those that he had got; just as they had before said: and

they both then went up with all the fleet along the Ouse toward

York. (89) When it was told King Harold in the south, after he

had come from the ships, that Harald, King of Norway, and Earl

Tosty were come up near York, then went he northward by day and

night, as soon as he could collect his army. But, ere King

Harold could come thither, the Earls Edwin and Morkar had

gathered from their earldoms as great a force as they could get,

and fought with the enemy. (90) They made a great slaughter too;

but there was a good number of the English people slain, and

drowned, and put to flight: and the Northmen had possession of

the field of battle. It was then told Harold, king of the

English, that this had thus happened. And this fight was on the

eve of St. Matthew the apostle, which was Wednesday. Then after

the fight went Harold, King of Norway, and Earl Tosty into York

with as many followers as they thought fit; and having procured

hostages and provisions from the city, they proceeded to their

ships, and proclaimed full friendship, on condition that all

would go southward with them, and gain this land. In the midst

of this came Harold, king of the English, with all his army, on

the Sunday, to Tadcaster; where he collected his fleet. Thence

he proceeded on Monday throughout York. But Harald, King of

Norway, and Earl Tosty, with their forces, were gone from their

ships beyond York to Stanfordbridge; for that it was given them

to understand, that hostages would be brought to them there from

all the shire. Thither came Harold, king of the English,

unawares against them beyond the bridge; and they closed together

there, and continued long in the day fighting very severely.

There was slain Harald the Fair-hair'd, King of Norway, and Earl

Tosty, and a multitude of people with them, both of Normans and

English; (91) and the Normans that were left fled from the

English, who slew them hotly behind; until some came to their

ships, some were drowned, some burned to death, and thus

variously destroyed; so that there was little left: and the

English gained possession of the field. But there was one of the

Norwegians who withstood the English folk, so that they could not

pass over the bridge, nor complete the victory. An Englishman

aimed at him with a javelin, but it availed nothing. Then came

another under the bridge, who pierced him terribly inwards under

the coat of mail. And Harold, king of the English, then came

over the bridge, followed by his army; and there they made a

great slaughter, both of the Norwegians and of the Flemings. But

Harold let the king's son, Edmund, go home to Norway with all the

ships. He also gave quarter to Olave, the Norwegian king's son,

and to their bishop, and to the earl of the Orkneys, and to all

those that were left in the ships; who then went up to our king,

and took oaths that they would ever maintain faith and friendship

unto this land. Whereupon the King let them go home with twenty-

four ships. These two general battles were fought within five

nights. Meantime Earl William came up from Normandy into

Pevensey on the eve of St. Michael's mass; and soon after his

landing was effected, they constructed a castle at the port of

Hastings. This was then told to King Harold; and he gathered a

large force, and came to meet him at the estuary of Appledore.

William, however, came against him unawares, ere his army was

collected; but the king, nevertheless, very hardly encountered

him with the men that would support him: and there was a great

slaughter made on either side. There was slain King Harold, and

Leofwin his brother, and Earl Girth his brother, with many good

men: and the Frenchmen gained the field of battle, as God granted

them for the sins of the nation. Archbishop Aldred and the

corporation of London were then desirous of having child Edgar to

king, as he was quite natural to them; and Edwin and Morkar

promised them that they would fight with them. But the more

prompt the business should ever be, so was it from day to day the

later and worse; as in the end it all fared. This battle was

fought on the day of Pope Calixtus: and Earl William returned to

Hastings, and waited there to know whether the people would

submit to him. But when he found that they would not come to

him, he went up with all his force that was left and that came

since to him from over sea, and ravaged all the country that he

overran, until he came to Berkhampstead; where Archbishop Aldred

came to meet him, with child Edgar, and Earls Edwin and Morkar,

and all the best men from London; who submitted then for need,

when the most harm was done. It was very ill-advised that they

did not so before, seeing that God would not better things for

our sins. And they gave him hostages and took oaths: and he

promised them that he would be a faithful lord to them; though in

the midst of this they plundered wherever they went. Then on

midwinter's day Archbishop Aldred hallowed him to king at

Westminster, and gave him possession with the books of Christ,

and also swore him, ere that he would set the crown on his head,

that he would so well govern this nation as any before him best

did, if they would be faithful to him. Neverrhetess he laid very

heavy tribute on men, and in Lent went over sea to Normandy,

taking with him Archbishop Stigand, and Abbot Aylnoth of

Glastonbury, and the child Edgar, and the Earls Edwin, Morkar,

and Waltheof, and many other good men of England. Bishop Odo and

Earl William lived here afterwards, and wrought castles widely

through this country, and harassed the miserable people; and ever

since has evil increased very much. May the end be good, when

God will! In that same expedition (92) was Leofric, Abbot of

Peterborough; who sickened there, and came home, and died soon

after, on the night of Allhallow-mass. God honour his soul! In

his day was all bliss and all good at Peterborough. He was

beloved by all; so that the king gave to St. Peter and him the

abbey at Burton, and that at Coventry, which the Earl Leofric,

who was his uncle, had formerly made; with that of Croyland, and

that of Thorney. He did so much good to the minster of

Peterborough, in gold, and in silver, and in shroud, and in land,

as no other ever did before him, nor any one after him. But now

was Gilden-borough become a wretched borough. The monks then

chose for abbot Provost Brand, because he was a very good man,

and very wise; and sent him to Edgar Etheling, for that the

land-folk supposed that he should be king: and the etheling

received him gladly. When King William heard say that, he was

very wroth, and said that the abbot had renounced him: but good

men went between them, and reconciled them; because the abbot was

a good man. He gave the king forty marks of gold for his

reconciliation; and he lived but a little while after -- only

three years. Afterwards came all wretchedness and all evil to

the minster. God have mercy on it!

((A.D. 1066. This year died King Edward, and Harold the earl

succeeded to the kingdom, and held it forty weeks and one day.

And this year came William, and won England. And in this year

Christ-Church [Canterbury] was burned. And this year appeared a

comet on the fourteenth before the kalends of May.))

((A.D. 1066. ...And then he [Tosty] went thence, and did harm

everywhere by the sea-coast where he could land, as far as

Sandwich. Then was it made known to King Harold, who was in

London, that Tosty his brother was come to Sandwich. Then

gathered he so great a ship-force, and also a land force, as no

king here in the land had before gathered, because it had been

soothly said unto him, that William the earl from Normandy, King

Edward's kinsman, would come hither and subdue this land: all as

it afterwards happened. When Tosty learned that King Harold was

on his way to Sandwich, then went he from Sandwich, and took some

of the boatmen with him, some willingly and some unwillingly; and

went then north into Humber, and there ravaged in Lindsey, and

there slew many good men. When Edwin the earl and Morcar the

earl understood that, then came they thither, and drove him out

of the land. And he went then to Scotland: and the king of Scots

protected him, and assisted him with provisions; and he there

abode all the summer. Then came King Harold to Sandwich, and

there awaited his fleet, because it was long before it could be

gathered together. And when his fleet was gathered together,

then went he into the Isle of Wight, and there lay all the summer

and the harvest; and a land-force was kept everywhere by the sea,

though in the end it was of no benefit. When it was the Nativity

of St. Mary, then were the men's provisions gone, and no man

could any longer keep them there. Then were the men allowed to

go home, and the king rode up, and the ships were dispatched to

London; and many perished before they came thither. When the

ships had reached home, then came King Harald from Norway, north

into Tyne, and unawares, with a very large ship-force, and no

small one; that might be, or more. And Tosty the earl came to

him with all that he had gotten, all as they had before agreed;

and then they went both, with all the fleet, along the Ouse, up

towards York. Then was it made known to King Harold in the

south, as he was come from on ship-board, that Harald King of

Norway and Tosty the earl were landed near York. Then went he

northward, day and night, as quickly as he could gather his

forces. Then, before that King Harold could come thither, then

gathered Edwin the earl and Morcar the earl from their earldom

as great a force as they could get together; and they fought

against the army, and made great slaughter: and there was much of

the English people slain, and drowned, and driven away in flight;

and the Northmen had possession of the place of carnage. And

this fight was on the vigil of St. Matthew the apostle, and it

was Wednesday. And then, after the fight, went Harald, King of

Norway, and Tosty the earl, into York, with as much people as

seemed meet to them. And they delivered hostages to them from

the city, and also assisted them with provisions; and so they

went thence to their ships, and they agreed upon a full peace, so

that they should all go with him south, and this land subdue.

Then, during this, came Harold, king of the Angles, with all his

forces, on the Sunday, to Tadcaster, and there drew up his force,

and went then on Monday throughout York; and Harald, King of

Norway, and Tosty the earl, and their forces, were gone from

their ships beyond York to Stanfordbridge, because it had been

promised them for a certainty, that there, from all the shire,

hostages should be brought to meet them. Then came Harold, king

of the English, against them, unawares, beyond the bridge, and

they there joined battle, and very strenuously, for a long time

of the day, continued fighting: and there was Harald, King of

Norway, and Tosty the earl slain, and numberless of the people

with them, as well of the Northmen as of the English: and the

Northmen fled from the English. Then was there one of the

Norwegians who withstood the English people, so that they might

not pass over the bridge, nor obtain the victory. Then an

Englishman aimed at him with a javelin, but availed nothing; and

then came another under the bridge, and pierced him terribly

inwards under the coat of mail. Then came Harold, king of the

English, over the bridge, and his forces onward with him, and

there made great slaughter, as well of Norwegians as of Flemings.

And the King's son, Edmund, Harold let go home to Norway, with

all the ships.))

((A.D. 1066. In this year was consecrated the minster at

Westminster, on Childer-mass-day. And King Edward died on the

eve of Twelfth-day; and he was buried on Twelfth-day within the

newly consecrated church at Westminster. And Harold the earl

succeeded to the kingdom of England, even as the king had granted

it to him, and men also had chosen him thereto; and he was

crowned as king on Twelfth-day. And that same year that he

became king, he went out with a fleet against William [Earl of

Normandy]; and the while, came Tosty the earl into Humber with

sixty ships. Edwin the earl came with a land-force and drove him

out; and the boatmen forsook him. And he went to Scotland with

twelve vessels; and Harald, the King of Norway, met him with

three hundred ships, and Tosty submitted to him; and they both

went into Humber, until they came to York. And Morcar the earl,

and Edwin the earl, fought against them; and the king of the

Norwegians had the victory. And it was made known to King Harold

how it there was done, and had happened; and he came there with a

great army of English men, and met him at Stanfordbridge, and

slew him and the earl Tosty, and boldly overcame all the army.

And the while, William the earl landed at Hastings, on St.

Michael's-day: and Harold came from the north, and fought against

him before all his army had come up: and there he fell, and his

two brothers, Girth and Leofwin; and William subdued this land.

And he came to Westminster, and Archbishop Aldred consecrated him

king, and men paid him tribute, delivered him hostages, and

afterwards bought their land. And then was Leofric, Abbot of

Peterborough, in that same expedition; and there he sickened, and

came home, and was dead soon thereafter, on All-hallows-mass-

night; God be merciful to his soul! In his day was all bliss and

all good in Peterborough; and he was dear to all people, so that

the king gave to St. Peter and to him the abbacy at Burton, and

that of Coventry, which Leofric the earl, who was his uncle,

before had made, and that of Crowland, and that of Thorney. And

he conferred so much of good upon the minster of Peterborough, in

gold, and in silver, and in vestments, and in land, as never any

other did before him, nor any after him. After, Golden-borough

became a wretched borough. Then chose the monks for abbot Brand

the provost, by reason that he was a very good man, and very

wise, and sent him then to Edgar the etheling, by reason that the

people of the land supposed that he should become king: and the

etheling granted it him then gladly. When King William heard say

that, then was he very wroth, and said that the abbot had

despised him. Then went good men between them, and reconciled

them, by reason that the abbot was a good man. Then gave he the

king forty marks of gold for a reconciliation; and then

thereafter, lived he a little while, but three years. After that

came every tribulation and every evil to the minster. God have

mercy on it!))

A.D. 1067. This year came the king back again to England on St.

Nicholas's day; and the same day was burned the church of Christ

at Canterbury. Bishop Wulfwy also died, and is buried at his see

in Dorchester. The child Edric and the Britons were unsettled

this year, and fought with the castlemen at Hereford, and did

them much harm. The king this year imposed a heavy guild on the

wretched people; but, notwithstanding, let his men always plunder

all the country that they went over; and then he marched to

Devonshire, and beset the city of Exeter eighteen days. There

were many of his army slain; out he had promised them well, and

performed ill; and the citizens surrendered the city because the

thanes had betrayed them. This summer the child Edgar departed,

with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, Margaret and

Christina, and Merle-Sweyne, and many good men with them; and

came to Scotland under the protection of King Malcolm, who

entertained them all. Then began King Malcolm to yearn after the

child's sister, Margaret, to wife; but he and all his men long

refused; and she also herself was averse, and said that she would

neither have him nor any one else, if the Supreme Power would

grant, that she in her maidenhood might please the mighty Lord

with a carnal heart, in this short life, in pure continence. The

king, however, earnestly urged her brother, until he answered

Yea. And indeed he durst not otherwise; for they were come into

his kingdom. So that then it was fulfilled, as God had long ere

foreshowed; and else it could not be; as he himself saith in his

gospel: that "not even a sparrow on the ground may fall, without

his foreshowing." The prescient Creator wist long before what he

of her would have done; for that she should increase the glory of

God in this land, lead the king aright from the path of error,

bend him and his people together to a better way, and suppress

the bad customs which the nation formerly followed: all which she

afterwards did. The king therefore received her, though it was

against her will, and was pleased with her manners, and thanked

God, who in his might had given him such a match. He wisely

bethought himself, as he was a prudent man, and turned himself to

God, and renounced all impurity; accordingly, as the apostle

Paul, the teacher of all the gentries, saith: "Salvabitur vir

infidelis per mulierem fidelem; sic et mulier infidelis per virum

fidelem," etc.: that is in our language, "Full oft the

unbelieving husband is sanctified and healed through the

believing wife, and so belike the wife through the believing

husband." This queen aforesaid performed afterwards many useful

deeds in this land to the glory of God, and also in her royal

estate she well conducted herself, as her nature was. Of a

faithful and noble kin was she sprung. Her father was Edward

Etheling, son of King Edmund. Edmund was the son of Ethelred;

Ethelred the son of Edgar; Edgar the son of Edred; and so forth

in that royal line: and her maternal kindred goeth to the Emperor

Henry, who had the sovereignty over Rome. This year went out

Githa, Harold's mother, and the wives of many good men with her,

to the Flat-Holm, and there abode some time; and so departed

thence over sea to St. Omer's. This Easter came the king to

Winchester; and Easter was then on the tenth before the calends

of April. Soon after this came the Lady Matilda hither to this

land; and Archbishop Eldred hallowed her to queen at Westminster

on Whit Sunday. Then it was told the king, that the people in

the North had gathered themselves together, and would stand

against him if he came. Whereupon he went to Nottingham, and

wrought there a castle; and so advanced to York, and there

wrought two castles; and the same at Lincoln, and everywhere in

that quarter. Then Earl Gospatric and the best men went into

Scotland. Amidst this came one of Harold's sons from Ireland

with a naval force into the mouth of the Avon unawares, and

plundered soon over all that quarter; whence they went to

Bristol, and would have stormed the town; but the people bravely

withstood them. When they could gain nothing from the town, they

went to their ships with the booty which they had acquired by

plunder; and then they advanced upon Somersetshire, and there

went up; and Ednoth, master of the horse, fought with them; but

he was there slain, and many good men on either side; and those

that were left departed thence.

A.D. 1068. This year King William gave Earl Robert the earldom

over Northumberland; but the landsmen attacked him in the town of

Durham, and slew him, and nine hundred men with him. Soon

afterwards Edgar Etheling came with all the Northumbrians to

York; and the townsmen made a treaty with him: but King William

came from the South unawares on them with a large army, and put

them to flight, and slew on the spot those who could not escape;

which were many hundred men; and plundered the town. St. Peter's

minster he made a profanation, and all other places also he

despoiled and trampled upon; and the etheling went back again to

Scotland. After this came Harold's sons from Ireland, about

midsummer, with sixty-four ships into the mouth of the Taft,

where they unwarily landed: and Earl Breon came unawares against

them with a large army, and fought with them, and slew there all

the best men that were in the fleet; and the others, being small

forces, escaped to the ships: and Harold's sons went back to

Ireland again.

A.D. 1069. This year died Aldred, Archbishop of York; and he is

there buried, at his see. He died on the day of Protus and

Hyacinthus, having held the see with much dignity ten years

wanting only fifteen weeks. Soon after this came from Denmark

three of the sons of King Sweyne with two hundred and forty

ships, together with Earl Esborn and Earl Thurkill, into the

Humber; where they were met by the child Edgar, and Earl

Waltheof, and Merle-Sweyne, and Earl Gospatric with the

Northumbrians, and all the landsmen; riding and marching full

merrily with an immense army: and so all unanimously advanced to

York; where they stormed and demolished the castle, and won

innumerable treasures therein; slew there many hundreds of

Frenchmen, and led many with them to the ships; but, ere that the

shipmen came thither, the Frenchmen had burned the city, and also

the holy minster of St. Peter had they entirely plundered, and

destroyed with fire. When the king heard this, then went he

northward with all the force that he could collect, despoiling

and laying waste the shire withal; whilst the fleet lay all the

winter in the Humber, where the king could not come at them. The

king was in York on Christmas Day, and so all the winter on land,

and came to Winchester at Easter. Bishop Egelric, who was at

Peterborough, was this year betrayed, and led to Westminster; and

his brother Egelwine was outlawed. This year also died Brand,

Abbot of Peterborough, on the fifth before the calends of

December.

**ENDNOTES:**

(70) i.e. Earl Godwin and his crew.

(71) i.e. from the Isle of Portland; where Godwin had landed

 after the plunder of the Isle of Wight.

(72) i.e. Dungeness; where they collected all the ships stationed

 in the great bay formed by the ports of Romney, Hithe, and

 Folkstone.

(73) i.e. Godwin and his son Harold.

(74) i.e. the tide of the river.

(75) Godwin's earldom consisted of Wessex, Sussex, and Kent:

 Sweyn's of Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset, and

 Berkshire: and Harold's of Essex, East-Anglia, Huntingdon,

 and Cambridgeshire.

(76) The church, dedicated to St. Olave, was given by Alan Earl

 of Richmond, about thirty-three years afterwards, to the

 first abbot of St. Mary's in York, to assist him in the

 construction of the new abbey. It appears from a MS. quoted

 by Leland, that Bootham-bar was formerly called "Galman-

 hithe", not Galmanlith, as printed by Tanner and others.

(77) Called St. Ethelbert's minster; because the relics of the

 holy King Ethelbert were there deposited and preserved.

(78) The place where this army was assembled, though said to be

 very nigh to Hereford, was only so with reference to the

 great distance from which some part of the forces came; as

 they were gathered from all England. They met, I

 conjecture, on the memorable spot called "Harold's Cross",

 near Cheltenham, and thence proceeded, as here stated, to

 Gloucester.

(79) This was no uncommon thing among the Saxon clergy, bishops

 and all. The tone of elevated diction in which the writer

 describes the military enterprise of Leofgar and his

 companions, testifies his admiration.

(80) See more concerning him in Florence of Worcester. His lady,

 Godiva, is better known at Coventry. See her story at large

 in Bromton and Matthew of Westminster.

(81) He died at his villa at Bromleage (Bromley in

 Staffordshire). -- Flor.

(82) He built a new church from the foundation, on a larger plan.

 The monastery existed from the earliest times.

(83) Florence of Worcester says, that he went through Hungary to

 Jerusalem.

(84) This must not be confounded with a spire-steeple. The

 expression was used to denote a tower, long before spires

 were invented.

(85) Lye interprets it erroneously the "festival" of St. Martin.

 -- "ad S. Martini festum:" whereas the expression relates to

 the place, not to the time of his death, which is mentioned

 immediately afterwards.

(86) This threnodia on the death of Edward the Confessor will be

 found to correspond, both in metre and expression, with the

 poetical paraphrase of Genesis ascribed to Caedmon.

(87) These facts, though stated in one MS. only, prove the early

 cooperation of Tosty with the King of Norway. It is

 remarkable that this statement is confirmed by Snorre, who

 says that Tosty was with Harald, the King of Norway, in all

 these expeditions. Vid "Antiq. Celto-Scand." p. 204.

(88) i.e. Harold, King of England; "our" king, as we find him

 Afterwards called in B iv., to distinguish him from Harald,

 King of Norway.

(89) Not only the twelve smacks with which he went into Scotland

 during the summer, as before stated, but an accession of

 force from all quarters.

(90) On the north bank of the Ouse, according to Florence of

 Worcester; the enemy having landed at Richale (now

 "Riccal"). Simeon of Durham names the spot "Apud Fulford,"

 i.e. Fulford-water, south of the city of York.

(91) It is scarcely necessary to observe that the term "English"

 begins about this time to be substituted for "Angles"; and

 that the Normans are not merely the Norwegians, but the

 Danes and other adventurers from the north, joined with the

 forces of France and Flanders; who, we shall presently see,

 overwhelmed by their numbers the expiring, liberties of

 England. The Franks begin also to assume the name of

 Frencyscan or "Frenchmen".

(92) i.e. in the expedition against the usurper William.



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