



The Escorial Portrait of Queen Margaret and Malcolm III.
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PREFACE.

The accompanying narrative of the Life of Queen Margaret will be interesting to all students of history as being a subject which seldom attracts the attention of the historian. The Life of Queen Margaret was a wonderful life during the twenty-three years she was Queen of Scotland; but the records of it are meagre and disappointing. We are not altogether surprised at this, as in that primitive age, the eleventh century, both King and people were unable to read or write. These offices were performed by the Monks, until civilization was more developed; but in the meantime Queen Margaret's life and administration have, in the eyes of posterity, greatly suffered for want of material. It is evident that the Queen's was a saintly life, full of benevolent and good deeds, while her knowledge of the Scriptures was conspicuous in many of her administrative acts.

The influence of her example on the people of that turbulent time cannot be overestimated, while she was undoubtedly a great power for good at a dark period of Scottish History. Although superstition was then rampant, we have no record and no incident connecting Queen Margaret with it. We cannot however deny that she had

great trouble throughout the whole course of her life. From the day she left Hungary until she married King Malcolm III she had nothing but trials to endure, these being accentuated by the arbitrary conduct of William the Conqueror. Her married life was full of care, anxiety and responsibility, culminating in the tragic death of her husband, and her eldest son, at the Siege of Alnwick Castle. She bestowed great care on the training of her children, and to that care may be said is due the enlightened administrative policy of her three sons, who afterwards succeeded her on the throne. The treatment of her remains after her canonization in 1250 is a subject that cannot be approached without vexation and dismay. The details I have given in Chapter VIII, so far as these can be found recorded or are accessible; but the sum of the whole matter is, that they have gone to the Escorial and cannot now be identified.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED.

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FREEMAN NORMAN CONQUEST.
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MILLER AND TURNER, ANGLO-SAXONS.
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ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Kalendar of Anglo-Saxon Kings. Introduction. Reign of Alfred the Great. Battle of Ethandune, 873 A.D. The Black Rood of Scotland. Peace of Wedmore. Diversion of the River Lea. Death and character of Alfred. Reign of Edward the Elder. Battle of Wodensfield. Wales submits to Edward. Death of Edward. Reign of Ethelstan. His Coronation Oath. Ravages Scotland. Romance of his two sisters. Battle of Brunanburg and Victory of Ethelstan. Assassinate his brother. Establishes two Mints. His death and character. Reign of Edmund the Magnificent. His assassination on St. Augustine's Day. Reign of Eadred. Defeats Eric and the rebels in Northumbria. His death at age 30. Reign of Eadwig. Scene in Banqueting Hall. Eadwig, Dunstan, and Odo, the Archbishop. King and Queen murdered.

CHAPTER II.

Reign of Eadgar. Dunstan made Archbishop. Dunstan rules the King. King carries off a lady from the Nunnery. Loses his crown for seven years. Marries Elfrida, one of the Devonshire family, under very remarkable circumstances. Finds several monasteries. Dunstan's vision. Dunstan and the Devil. The cruise of the eight Kings on the Dee. Death and character of Eadgar. St. Dunstan and the Holy Angels at Eadgar's birth. Reign of Edward the Martyr. Assassination by the Queen-mother Elfrida. Sparkling incident of St. Dunstan. Satan appears to Dunstan in a vision. Reign of Ethelred II. The Coronation Service reproduced. Ethelred and the Danes and Norwegians. Meetings of the Witan at Calne, Woodstock, and London. Siege of Rochester. Ethelred's Family. Massacre of the Danes in England by Ethelred. Incursions of the Danes. Battle of Ringmore. Siege of Canterbury, and murder of the Archbishop. Danes attack London. Ethelred gives up the crown, and goes to Normandy. Ethelred recalled. He and his son, Edmund Ironside, fight the Danes successfully. Death of Ethelred. His character by Freeman.

CHAPTER III.

Reign of Edmund Ironside. Battle of Searsden and Edmund's victory. Brentford engagement. Battle of Esandune. Battle of Ashingdon, and defeat of Edmund. Treaty of Olney and division of territory. Assassination of Edmund by Edric. Prince Edward, Queen Margaret's father. His career and death. Reign of Canute, Prince of Denmark. Siege of London. Banishment of Edmund's children. Canute marries Queen Emma. Assassination of Edric. Canute becomes a Christian. Seizes Archbishop Elfeah's body and inters it. Pilgrimage to Rome. Letter to his subjects. Death of Canute. Reign of Harold and Hardicanute. The Witan appoints Harold, King. He crowns himself, the Archbishop having refused. The Guildford massacre of Normans. Murder of Alfred, Ethelred's son, by Harold. Death of Harold. Reign of Hardicanute. Disentombs and decapitates Harold's body. His banqueting table. His death.

CHAPTER IV.

Reign of Edward the Confessor; his Genealogy; his Marriage. Defeats Magnus, King of Norway. Seizure of Queen Emma's property. Siward and Macbeth Engagement. Siward's victory. The Conqueror's parents. Harold and Edward Incident. Recalls his nephew Prince Edward from Hungary. Foundation by Edward of Westminster Abbey. Death of the Confessor. Canonization. Reign of Harold, last Saxon King; his Coronation. His quarrel with the Conqueror. Battle of Hastings and Death of Harold. Eadgar nominally chosen King. General Revolt. Norman Garrison at York slain. Robert Comyn and his troops slain. Defeat of the Rebels. Death of William the Conqueror.

CHAPTER V.

Kalendar of the Kings of Hungary. Close of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchy. Queen Margaret's Ancestors. Arrival of the Princess Margaret. Her character. Malcolm III., birth and genealogy. At the Confessor's Court. Margaret's family exiled from England. Arrive at St. Margaret's Hope. Malcolm escorts them to his residence in the Tower. Queen Margaret's Stone. King Malcolm's Tower. Ruins of ancient Palace. The Cave Oratory. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* account of the exiles. Marriage of the Princess Margaret. Foundation of Holy Trinity Chapel. The Queen's influence in Scotland. Royal Needlework Society. Royal Table gold and silver plate. The Black Rood. Court etiquette.

CHAPTER VI.

Foundation Charter, Dunfermline Abbey. Kalendar of the Abbots. The Church and Clerical Councils. Reforms debated. Review of the Queen, by Dr. Skene. Meetings of Clerical Council. Guest Houses erected by the Queen at Queensferry. Her treatment of the poor. Ransoms the prisoners and captives. Malcolm and Gospatric. Malcolm invades Cumberland, 1072. Symeon of Durham and the miracle. Queen's household administration. Her State duties. The Royal children. King's devotion to the Queen. Malcolm and Rufus quarrel. Foundation of Durham. Malcolm besieges Alnwick Castle. Death of Malcolm and Prince Edward. Their interment. The Queen's pious and beautiful character. Her copy of the Four Gospels. Its immersion in the river.

CHAPTER VII.

Prince Edward's remains in 1849. Character of Malcolm. Eadgar chosen King of Scotland. Turgot appointed Bishop of St. Andrews. St. Cuthbert Convent agreement. Queen's last instructions to Turgot. Death and character of Queen Margaret. Queen Margaret's sons. Black Rood of Scotland. Marriage of Princess Matilda. Letter: Turgot to Queen Matilda. Matilda and Princess Christian. Eadgar and Donald Bane. Silver Shrine, Holy Trinity Church, Dunfermline. The Queen and Pope Innocent IV. Translation of the Queen's head to Edinburgh Castle and Antwerp. King Alexander III. and Archbishop Burnham. Canonization of the Queen.

CHAPTER VIII.

Papebroch's itinerary of the Queen's head. George Conn's narrative. Correspondence with the Escorial Authorities as to the relics of King Malcolm and Queen Margaret, 1852. Bull of Pope Innocent IV. Register of Dunfermline. Queen Margaret on Papal Roll as St. Margaret. The great ceremony and procession after the Canonization in 1250, when her body was disinterred and deposited in the Lady Aisle. Fordun's narrative of this event. Retrospect of the Queen's life. Destruction of her tomb. St. Margaret's shrine. St. Margaret's relics and her hair. Translation of Queen Margaret in metre, by Wynthoun. Her Festivals. Her burial place. The Edinburgh Convent proposal. Closing review of Queen Margaret's life.

CHAPTER IX.

The Black Rood of Scotland—Historical Narrative. Treaty of Northampton, 1328. Holyrood Foundation Charter.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

i.	THE ESCURIAL PORTRAIT OF QUEEN MARGARET AND MALCOLM III.	<i>Frontispiece</i>
ii.	ALFRED THE GREAT	6
iii.	S. AUGUSTINE BEFORE KING ETHELBERT ..	13
iv.	EADWIG AND ELGIVA	30
v.	ST. DUNSTAN, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY..	38
vi.	TREACHERY OF QUEEN ELFRIDA	41
vii.	CANUTE, PRINCE OF DENMARK, ANGLO-SAXON KING	68
viii.	WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR	92
ix.	QUEEN MARGARET	98
x.	TURGOT	113
xi.	DUNFERMLINE ABBEY	122
xii.	FRATER OR DINING HALL, DUNFERMLINE MONASTERY, 1070 A.D... ..	123
xiii.	QUEEN MARGARET EXPLAINING THE SCRIPTURES TO HER HUSBAND, KING MALCOLM III. ..	131
xiv.	ST. LUKE THE EVANGELIST WRITING HIS EPISTLE	146
xv.	HENRY I., KING OF ENGLAND	166
xvi.	QUEEN MATILDA	170
xvii.	THE RELIQUARY IN ST. MARGARET'S CONVENT, EDINBURGH, CONTAINING THE RELICS OF QUEEN MARGARET	185
xviii.	PHILIP II., KING OF SPAIN	188

KALENDAR OF ANGLO-SAXON KINGS,
PRIOR TO THE PRINCESS MARGARET.

NAME.	PERIOD OF REIGN.
Alfred the Great, son of Ethelwulf	871— 901
Edward the Elder, son of Alfred	901— 924
Ethelstan, son of Edward	925— 940
Edmund the Magnificent, son of Edward ..	940— 946
Eadred, son of Edward	946— 955
Eadwig, son of Edmund	955— 959
Eadgar the Peaceful, son of Edmund	959— 975
Edward the Martyr, son of Eadgar	975— 978
Ethelred II., son of Eadgar	978—1016
Edmund Ironside, son of Ethelred	1016—
Edward, Princess Margaret's father, son of Edmund .. ..	..
Canute, Prince of Denmark	1016—1035
Harold and Hardicanute, sons of Canute ..	1035—1042
Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred..	1042—1066
Harold, brother-in-law of Edward	1066—

CHAPTER I.—CONTENTS.

Kalendar of Anglo-Saxon Kings. Introduction. Reign of Alfred the Great. Battle of Ethandune, 873 A.D. The Black Rood of Scotland. Peace of Wedmore. Diversion of the River Lea. Death and character of Alfred. Reign of Edward the Elder. Battle of Wodensfield. Wales submits to Edward. Death of Edward. Reign of Ethelstan. His Coronation Oath. Ravages Scotland. Romance of his two sisters. Battle of Brunanburg and Victory of Ethelstan. Assassinate his brother. Establishes two Mints. His death and character. Reign of Edmund the Magnificent. His assassination on St. Augustine's Day. Reign of Eadred. Defeats Eric and the rebels in Northumbria. His death at age 30. Reign of Eadwig. Scene in Banqueting Hall. Eadwig, Dunstan, and Odo, the Archbishop. King and Queen murdered.



LIFE OF QUEEN MARGARET.

THE Anglo-Saxon Monarchy with which the Princess Margaret was connected came into existence in the sixth century, sometime before the arrival of Augustine, and long before the first contingent of Danes landed on the shores of England.

The Saxons derived their name from their favourite weapon, the Saex or Long Knife. They were a fierce and hardy race, large and strong, yellow-haired, blue-eyed and ruddy, and could handle with equal expertness the battle and the oar.¹

It is not, however, until the ninth century when a connected record of Saxon history really begins. After the reign of various petty kings, we have in the middle of the ninth century the advent of Ethelwulf to the Throne: and the narrative of his bold and warlike deeds. This monarch had five sons, four of whom became Anglo-Saxon Kings, viz: Ethelbald, Ethelberht, Ethelred and Alfred the

¹ Mackenzie, *Hist. of Scot.*

Great. The youngest was destined to make his mark on the history of his time and on the history of the world. Few men either before or since had the remarkable talents of Alfred the Great, or so illustrious or distinguished a career. His scholarship, his literary translations, his administrative talents and decision of character, his active superintendence of his kingdom, enabled him to do a vast deal towards the development of civilisation at that early period, and so to speak, to extract light from darkness. Historians are agreed that for the civilisation, welfare, and general prosperity of his kingdom, Alfred did more than any ruler before or after him, and it is a curious fact, that while he had three brothers who sat on the Throne in succession, his own son and successor, Edward the Elder, had three sons who also became Anglo-Saxon Kings, some of them showing a bright record.

It will be seen from the accompanying Kalendar that the Princess Margaret, afterwards Queen of Scotland, was closely allied with the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, and was in point of fact a direct descendant of the earliest notable King, Alfred the Great. While some of the wives of her predecessors the Saxon kings were bold, unscrupulous and wanting in principle, the Princess Margaret inherited none of these qualities,

but comes on the stage a high-principled lady, fully equipped for her eminent position, and manifesting in all her actions a spirit of piety and Christian charity. It must not be forgotten that while her noble ancestor, Alfred the Great, had three brothers who held the sceptre Queen, Margaret also had three sons who became in succession Kings of Scotland, and whose administrative record has an honoured place in Scottish history.

In order to fully grasp the life and character and administration of Queen Margaret, it will be necessary to give a brief condensed outline of the official life and reign of her royal predecessors, beginning with Alfred, the most distinguished and accomplished of the Anglo-Saxon kings, but before doing so we shall refer to some of the more prominent of the ecclesiastical customs of the Saxons. On solemn Festivals, before and during the reign of Queen Margaret, the clergy in attendance dressed in their richest apparel ; the altar with its furniture presented a gorgeous appearance, the sanctuary, or space within the chancel, being illuminated with a profusion of lamps and wax lights. The air was perfumed with clouds of incense ; to the voices of a numerous choir was added the harmony of the organ and other musical instruments. No labour, cost, or ingenuity, was

spared to attest by outward magnificence the deep feelings of awe and devotion by which the Anglo-Saxon Christians were taught to contemplate the celebration of the most sacred mysteries.²

It is of importance to know that it was the custom in the first age of Christianity to offer sacrifice on the tombs of the Martyrs. It became a general rule to require relics of the Saints for the rite of consecration ; and the Bishops of Churches multiplied and were often compelled to content themselves with a handful of dust from the tomb, or a small portion of the relics, or some memorial of the Saint, in lieu of the entire body. When such relics had been prepared they were brought in procession to the Church after the preceding benediction. At the porch the Bishop stopped, announced to the people the name of the Saint in whose honour the Church would be dedicated, and ordered the Charters of Endowment to be read. In a chest of oak or stone he deposited three portions of the Eucharist, together with the relics. The slab was then placed over it, and he pronounced the benediction.

Among the duties incumbent on the Parish Priest, the first was to instruct his flock in the

²Lingard.

St. Wilfred ordered the four Gospels to be written with letters of gold on a purple ground, and presented them to the Church of Ripon in a casket of gold, in which was encased a number of precious stones.

doctrines and duties of Christianity, and to extirpate from amongst them the lurking remains of Paganism, such as their reverence for the fountains, oaks, and rocks, at which their ancestors had worshipped; their belief in the supernatural effects of spells and incantations, and their recourse to men who pretended to practise the art of magic. He was ordered to explain to his parishioners the Ten Commandments, and to see that all could repeat and understand the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. It was the usual custom on the night which ushered in the New Year to dress themselves in the skins of sheep, calves, and deer, with the heads of the same animals, and pass the night in merriment.

REIGN OF ALFRED THE GREAT,
871-901 A.D.

ALFRED, fourth son of King Ethelwulf, was born at Wantage, Berks, in 849. In his boyhood he was fond of the company of minstrels, listened with eagerness to their chants, and recited to the delight of his parents such fragments of their songs as he could remember. One day his mother, holding in her hand a MS. of the native poetry, and pointing to the ornamental initial letters, said to her sons: "This I will give to the first among you who shall learn it by heart." Alfred snatched it from her, ran to his tutor, and by his industry won the prize. At twenty-two years of age young Alfred ascended the Throne in succession to his brother Ethelred. He could then read his Prayer Book without aid, but other books were read to him by his chaplains. Alfred became a great scholar, and translated such works as those of Boethius, Bede, and Orosius, the Spanish historian. He also became a great warrior, legislator, and statesman, and the record of his life is probably the most interesting of the Saxon kings. His time, for instance, was equally divided: one third for rest and retirement and partaking of



298. Alfred the Great.

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food ; one third to the affairs of the kingdom ; and one third to study and religious duties. It was in this latter division that Asser, his biographer, and Grimbold, Abbot of Winchester, read and translated while he listened and put down in a little note-book such thoughts as made the greatest impression on his mind. Alfred had no chronometer to measure the hours, only the sun and shade by which he could mete out time. He had wax candles made twelve inches in length, each marked at equal distances ; six of them used in succession lasted out the twenty-four hours. For protection the candles were enclosed in thin white transparent horn. Thus he measured time, for he considered his life as a trust held for the benefit of the people. When he was dissatisfied with decisions of Officers of Justice he would himself go to the tribunal, and according to his own judgment, decide the case. When a man was condemned to death without the consent of the jury, which was unusual, the Judge was hanged by Alfred's order. In the administration of the kingdom Elders were appointed over every hundred persons, and were answerable for the conduct of those who belonged to them.

King Alfred introduced the Decalogue into his laws, and adapted the Mosaic Code to the habits of his time, so as to render it as effective among

the Anglo-Saxons as it had been under the Israelites. The Witenagemot or National Council sanctioned Alfred's legislation. It is agreed by historians that King Alfred would have taken the lead in any age as Commander of an Army; have risen to the dignity of a Chancellor or of a Prime Minister.³

But for him England would have been a desert, and never have recovered from the distracted fires and ravages of the Danes. The Danes had no footing in his kingdom during his whole career, as in every engagement he defeated them. Probably his greatest military achievement was the Battle of Ethandune, Wiltshire, fought in 878. King Alfred led his own troops and the Northmen were totally defeated. The same year Alfred fought another engagement with the Danes, under Guthrum, at Edington, Wiltshire, and defeated them. By the Peace of Wedmore the Danish King in England had to receive Baptism and acknowledge the supremacy of Alfred, who retained the country south of the Thames, and Mercia, while ceding East Anglia to the Danes. By this Treaty Alfred retained no more than Wessex with its dependencies, Sussex and Kent, and the western half of Mercia. The remainder of England, as far north as the Tees, was sur-

³Miller, *Anglo-Saxons*.

rendered to the Danes. Alfred wrung from Guthrum a fresh Treaty by which the Danes surrendered London and surrounding district, and he appointed his son-in-law, Ethelred, to govern Mercia as an Ealdorman under himself.

In 883 the Anglo-Saxon troops under Alfred went up the Scheldt to Conde and there remained one year. A remarkable incident occurred. Marinus, the Pope, sent King Alfred, *Lignum Domini* of Christ's Cross, a piece of the true Cross.⁴

This relic was evidently very carefully preserved and venerated. It had been in the Papal Archives since the death of the Empress Helena. In the Anglo-Saxon Archives at Winchester, the Capital, it was carefully treasured until it was brought to Scotland by the Princess Margaret in 1069. She held it in her hands shortly before her death in 1093, and it afterwards became famous as the Black Rood of Scotland, domiciled at Holyrood. In the concluding chapter of this volume will be found a short history of the Black Rood.

In 884 King Alfred sent a fleet against the Danes of East Anglia, and in 886 he fortified London. About the same time Northumbria made submission to him, and Alfred became overlord of England. He put London under

⁴*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

the charge of Ethelred, Ealdorman (Governor) of Mercia. Shortly after this Alfred, who was determined to expel the Danes from his dominions, made a vigorous and unexpected attack upon them. He diverted the water of the river Lea (Hertfordshire), where the Danes were anchored, into three channels, and the Danish ships were left high and dry : and of their abandoned ships the Londoners broke up some and carried the strongest and best to London. During the reign of Alfred, and for long after, London held out against the Danes.

It is not among the least admirable circumstances of King Alfred that he withstood the fiercest hostilities that ever distressed a nation, cultivated literature, discharged his public duties, and executed all his schemes for the improvement of his people amid a perpetual agony so distressing that it would have disabled a common man for the least exertion.⁵

To the very last King Alfred continued to prosecute his plans for the improvement of his shipping and the defence and education of his kingdom. His reputation increased with his life. All classes of the people sought his friendship, and none in vain. He gave land and money to those who desired such. His subjects experienced that

⁵Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*.

loving vigilance and protection with which King Alfred defended himself and those attached to him.

After a life of unqualified usefulness, King Alfred died on 26th October, 901 A.D., in the fifty-second year of his age, and was interred in Hyde Abbey, Winchester, which was founded by him. His remains were in the twelfth century removed by Henry I. to the new Abbey of Hyde, and placed under the High Altar there. The building was unfortunately destroyed at the Reformation, but has again been rebuilt as the third Abbey. By the death of Alfred, the Monastic Order lost a powerful and zealous protector. During the reign of his immediate successors some futile attempts were made to restore it to its former celebrity: and the origin of several monasteries is referred by historians to this doubtful period.

King Alfred is a singular instance of a prince who has become a hero of romance, but to whose character romance has done no more than justice; and who appears in exactly the same light in history and in fable. No other name on record has so thoroughly united the virtues both of the ruler and of the private man. In no other man were so many virtues disfigured by so little envy. A saint without superstition; a scholar without

ostentation ; a warrior whose wars were fought in defence of his country ; a conqueror whose laurels were never stained by cruelty ; a prince never cast down by adversity, nor lifted up to insolence in the hour of triumph ; there is no other name in history to compare with his.⁶

The land in Alfred's time was steeped in ignorance. The monasteries had been the schools of learning, and many of them had been sacked by the Danes, their books burned, their inmates scattered, whilst others were deserted, ceasing to receive new inmates, because the first duty of Englishmen had been to defend their homes rather than devote themselves to a life of piety. Other men have been greater warriors or legislators or scholars than Alfred ; but no man has ever combined in his own person so much excellence in war, in legislation, and in scholarship. He set himself to be the teacher of those who could speak nothing but their native tongue. He translated Latin books for them with the object of imparting knowledge. When he knew anything that was not in the books, but which he thought it good for Englishmen to read, he added it to his translation. No other king ever showed forth so well in his own person the truth

⁶Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*.

of the saying "He that would be the first among you let him be the servant of all."⁷

⁷Rawson Gardiner.

The Princess Bertha, daughter of Charibert, King of the Franks, married in 584 Ethelbert, Anglo-Saxon King of Kent. She came to England accompanied by Lindhard, Bishop of Senlis, and, being a Christian, devoted her life to the introduction of Christianity at Canterbury. Pope Gregory the Great sent the Abbot Augustine, accompanied by forty monks, to England, and they landed on the Isle of Thanet in 596, when Ethelbert received them sitting in the open-air. The monks entered Canterbury bearing before them a silver cross, with a picture of our Saviour, and singing their litany. By the intercession of Queen Bertha, who was a Christian, Augustine was permitted to preach the Gospel. A year passed before Ethelbert yielded, and though after his conversion thousands of Kentish men crowded to baptism, it was a year before he urged the under Kings and people of East Anglia to adopt the new creed. Ethelbert, on his conversion, destroyed Pagan temples, erected churches, and it is said compiled the first Saxon Code of Laws.

EDWARD THE ELDER, 901-924 A.D.

ON the death of King Alfred in 901, his son, known as Edward the Elder, succeeded him as King of Wessex by the unanimous voice of the Witenagemot or National Council. The whole life of this monarch after he ascended the throne was one perpetual fight with the Danes. He was aided by his brother-in-law, Ethelred, and after Ethelred's death, by his sister, Ethelred's widow, Ethelfreda. She displayed the character of her father, joined the army, and often at the head of it led the troops against the Danes and defeated them. Step by step the brother and sister won their way, not contenting themselves with victory in the open country, but securing each district as they advanced by the erection of fortifications.

Edward, though a vigorous and active ruler, clung to his father's policy of rest. It was not until 910 that a rising of the Danes on his northern frontier, and an attack of a pirate fleet on the southern coast, forced him to re-open the war. With his sister, Ethelfreda, who was in 912 left sole ruler of Mercia, by the death of the Ealdorman, Ethelred, he undertook the systematic

reduction of the Danelaw. While he bridled East Anglia by the seizure of southern Essex, and the erection of the forts of Hereford and Witham, the fame of Mercia was safe in the hands of its lady ruler. Ethelfreda girded her strength for the conquest of the five burghs, Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln, Leicester, Stamford, the rude Danish Confederacy which had taken the place of the eastern half of the older Mercian kingdom. Each of the burghs seems to have been ruled by its Earl with his separate "host"; within each twelve lawmen administered Danish law, while a Common Justice Court existed for the whole confederacy.

In her attack upon this powerful league, Ethelfreda abandoned the old strategy of battle and raid for that of siege and fortress building. Advancing along the line of the Trent, she fortified Tamworth and Stafford, on its head waters, then turning southward secured the valley of the Avon by a fort at Warwick.

With the lines of the great rivers alike secure, and the approaches to Wales on either side of Arden in her hands, she in 917 closed on Derby. The raids of the Danes of Middle England failed to draw the lady of Mercia from her prey; and Derby was hardly her own, when, turning southward, she forced the surrender of Leicester.

Ethelfreda died in the midst of her triumphs, and Edward at once annexed Mercia to Wessex. The brilliancy of her exploits had already been matched by his own successes, as he closed in on the district of the five burghs from the south. Edward advanced cautiously to an attack on Northumbria. He had already seized Manchester, and was preparing to complete his conquests when the whole of the North suddenly laid itself at his feet.

Edward, after his sister's death, took into his own hands the government of Mercia, and from that time all southern and central England was under him.

Edward, in 910, led his army against the Danes, when a great battle took place at Wodensfield, and the Danes defeated. The victory established the superiority of Edward over his dangerous neighbours and checked the progress of their power. In his reign the Danes possessed the north of England from the Humber to the Tweed. It is recorded that Edward during his reign erected fortifications all over the kingdom, and presumably may be ranked amongst the founders of the English monarchy. He executed with judicious vigour the military plans of his father, and not only secured the Anglo-Saxons from Danish sovereignty, but even prepared the way

for the destruction of the Anglo-Danish power, which his descendants achieved. Edward, we are informed, placed the Danish on the same footing as his English subjects with respect to the payment of the tithe, ordaining defaulters to be fined.

Not merely Northumbria, but the Scots and the Britons of Strathclyde, chose him to be father and lord. The submission had probably been brought about by the pressure of mutual feuds, which was practically valueless, as within a year after Edward's death the North was again on fire. Ethelstan, Alfred's golden-haired grandson, whom the King had girded, as a child, with a sword set in a golden scabbard and a gem-studded belt, incorporated Northumbria with his dominions; then, turning westward, broke a league which had been formed between the North Welsh and the Scots, forced them to pay annual tribute, march in his armies, and attend his Councils. The Welsh of Cornwall were reduced to a like vassalage.⁸

The submission of Scotland and Strathclyde to Edward is the most distinctive feature of his reign. It was something which surpassed the greatest exploits of his predecessors. The Scots had recognised a precarious supremacy in the old

⁸J. R. Green, *History*.

Northumbrian kings. But this submission to Wessex was wholly new ; the days were long past when they had bowed to an overlord at York ; and they had never before bowed to an overlord at Winchester.⁹

In 922 the Welsh Kings acknowledged Edward's supremacy. Edward the Elder, who died in 924, was twice married. By his first marriage he had two sons, Ethelred and Edwin, and six daughters. By his second marriage he had two sons, Edmund and Eadred (who became kings), and three daughters. He had one natural son Ethelstan, to whom he left the crown. Ethelward, eldest son of Edward, died immediately after his father.

⁹ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*.

ETHELSTAN, 925-940.

ETHELSTAN was the grandson of King Alfred, and succeeded to the Saxon crown at thirty years of age, by consent of the Witenagemot or National Council, and was crowned at Kingston. The coronation oath of Ethelstan has been preserved, and is in the following terms: "I, Ethelstan, King, with the consent of Wulfhelm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and my other bishops, make known to my Reeves at each burgh, and beseech you in God's name, and by all His saints, and also by my friendship, that ye render the tithes both of live stock and of the year's early fruits, so that they may be most rightly melted, or held or weighed out; and let the bishops do the like for their own poor and my ealdormen and my reeves the same." Among the Anglo-Saxons there was no diversity of religious sects. But one religion was known. The church of each parishioner was the church of all his neighbours; all professed the same creed; all practised the same worship; and the law provided that when all shared in the benefit, all ought to share the burthen.¹⁰

¹⁰Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*.

Ethelfreda and her husband, Ethelred, superintended Ethelstan's education when a youth. Ethelstan, on account of the violation of a treaty by Constantine, King of Scots, ravaged the Scots' dominions, carrying his army amongst the Picts and Scots, and his fleet as far north as Caithness. Ethelstan was determined to root out the unbelieving Danes and the faithless nation of Scots. As nobody opposed him, he advanced everywhere through the country and raided it at his pleasure.¹¹

In 932 Editha was residing at her brother Ethelstan's court, when German Ambassadors arrived to request her in marriage with Otho, the Emperor's son. Editha consented, and a magnificent escort conducted her to her royal lover. Her sister Adiva went with her that Otho might be more honoured, and might take his choice. Editha was preferred, however, but Adiva was soon after married to a prince near the Alps, who was one of the Emperor's court. After this Harald of Norway sent to Ethelstan his son, Haco, to be educated and to learn the customs of the English nation. This young prince remained at Ethelstan's court till the death of his father, when Ethelstan equipped a fleet to take him to Norway. Ethelstan had now nurtured and edu-

¹¹*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

cated three European kings, viz. : Louis of France, Haco of Norway, and Alan of Bretagne.

In 937, in the reign of Ethelstan, took place the great battle of Brunanburg. The site, according to some historians, is unknown, but by Pinkerton is supposed to have been on the banks of the Humber, a river that separates the counties of York and Lincoln. The object of the battle was to wrest Northumbria from its allegiance to Ethelstan. Ethelstan and his brother, Edmund, had the assistance of the Vikings and pagan rovers of the German Ocean, also the Angles of Mercia, the Saxons of Wessex, and the Christian descendants of the Guthrum Danes. After the failure of a night attack skilfully planned by Olaf Sitricson, who is said to have visited the camp of Ethelstan in the disguise of a wandering harper, the rival forces met at Brunanburg. Constantine II., who commanded the Picts and Scots, opposed Ethelstan, and was assisted by Olaf, King of Ireland. Constantine's son-in-law, the Norwegian Prince of the Hebrides, the King of Cumbria, and various petty Norwegian and Danish knights from Ireland. It is said there was great loss of life among the Danes, Picts and Scots. Constantine made his escape, but he had to mourn the loss of his son, who was slain. The battle lasted from sunrise to sunset, and was a great victory for

Ethelstan and his brother, Edmund, as Northumbria and Wales fell into their power as the result. The victory made Ethelstan monarch of England, for not only had he subjugated the Danes in East Anglia and Northumbria, but Wales also had to acknowledge his authority and pay an annual tribute of 300 pounds of silver, 100 pounds of wool, and 5,000 cows. It is also said that Olaf, King of Norway, came to this battle with a fleet of 615 vessels. Ethelstan had now no competitors, being monarch of England and nominal lord of Wales. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* informs us that there were slain at this battle five young kings and seven Norwegian earls, and that greater slaughter was never made in this island by the sword's edge. Ethelstan and Edmund won lifelong glory at this engagement. They clove the shield wall, hewed the war lindens with hammered blades. The victory raised Ethelstan to a venerated dignity in the eyes of Europe, and he received many proofs of the respect with which foreigners regarded him. Great rulers on the Continent sought his alliance. The empire of Charles the Great had broken up. One of Ethelstan's sisters was given to Charles the Simple, king of the Western Franks, another to Hugh, the great Duke of the French and Lord of Paris, though nominally the vassal of the King,

but equal in power to his Lord, and whose son was afterwards the first king of modern France. A third sister was given to Otto, son of Henry, king of the Eastern Franks, from whom in due time sprang a new line of emperors.¹²

The Norwegians deserted Eric, Haco's brother, who was king, and elected Haco in his place. Ethelstan in the midst of his greatness was kind to the poor, and in his administration it is said no one more legally or learnedly conducted a government. He appears to have been as amiable as he was great. His people loved him for his bravery and humility, but his enemies felt his wrath.¹³

Ethelstan was a boy of six years old at the death of King Alfred. Alfred had invested him prematurely with the dignity of knighthood, and given him a purple vestment and jewelled belt, and a Saxon sword with a golden sheath.¹⁴

On Ethelstan's accession to the crown his brother, Edwin, was charged with opposing him, but Edwin repudiated the charge and denied all knowledge of it. Ethelstan, not being satisfied, ordered Edwin, with one attendant, to be put to sea in a shattered boat without oars. Both were

¹²Rawson Gardiner.

¹³Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*.

¹⁴*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

drowned, and Ethelstan, it is recorded, mourned Edwin's death for some years.

The kings of the Continent sought Ethelstan's friendship, and England began to assume a majestic part among the other nations of the West. Among the Anglo-Saxons it excited such rejoicings that not only their poets aspired to commemorate it, but the songs were so popular that one of them was inserted in the *Saxon Chronicle* as the best memorial of the event.¹⁵

During the troubles in France in Ethelstan's reign, Charles the Simple was dethroned, and his Queen, Elgiva, with her son Louis, came over to Ethelstan's court for protection. In 936 a petition from the States of France was presented to Ethelstan desiring him to allow their young king to return home. Ethelstan had the honour of receiving this address, of expressing his joy at the event, and his anxiety for the safety of the young prince on his departure to France. Prince Louis safely arrived in France and procured the alliance of Ethelstan, who promised to send a fleet or naval force, if necessary, to his assistance. When Otho passed the Rhine in 939 Prince Louis claimed Ethelstan's assistance, and an Anglo-Saxon fleet immediately sailed for his support and protected his maritime cities.

¹⁵Turner.

Ethelstan set up two mints, one at London and one at Canterbury. To London he assigned eight coiners and to Canterbury seven. There is in the Cotton Library (British Museum) a beautiful MS. copy of the Gospels in Latin, which was presented by Otho, Prince of Germany, and his sister, to Ethelstan, on which the Anglo-Saxon kings are said to have sworn afterwards when they took the Coronation Oath.

Ethelstan, who had a life of restless activity, died in 940, and having no children, was succeeded by his brother Edmund. Edmund, on the occasion, collected an army and hastened to Scotland. On the way he turned aside to the Oratory of St. Cuthbert, knelt before the shrine and offered up prayer, commending himself and his men to God and the Holy Confessor.¹⁶

¹⁶*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

EDMUND THE MAGNIFICENT,
940-946.

EDMUND was called to the throne at eighteen years of age. He was the brother of Ethelstan, and had distinguished himself at the battle of Brunanburg. Olaf, the Northumbrian Prince who fought at that engagement against Ethelstan renewed his competition with Edmund, and on more than one occasion defeated him. A peace was afterwards arranged between them, one of the conditions being that the survivor of the two was to be monarch of the whole. Olaf died first, and Edmund thereupon harried Cumbria, took possession of Northumbria, and ceded Cumbria to Malcolm, King of Scots, conditionally, that he be faithful to Edmund both by sea and land. Although Edmund's reign is among the briefest of the Saxon kings, and lasted only five years, it offers material for meditation.¹⁷

One of the cruellest acts of his reign was the causing the eyes of the two sons of Dunmail to be put out. Edmund's policy was to conciliate the Scots rather than attempt to conquer them.

Edmund was assassinated in the twenty-third year of his age, but there are more versions than

¹⁷ Miller.

one recorded of his death. He attended the Feast of St. Augustine's Day at Pucklechurch (Gloucester)—some writers say Canterbury—when a bandit named Leofa, whose term of imprisonment had expired, attempted to strike the King's cup-bearer. The King sprang from his seat, seized the bandit by the hair, and dragged him out of the chamber, but in the struggle the King was stabbed mortally by the bandit. The other version is that discord arose among the guests at table, and in the midst of it the King rose to appease the tumult, when he was stabbed by a bandit who had a secreted dagger.

Edmund, who was married—but we can trace no issue,—maintained the political and military reputation of his house. The Danes were reduced by him to submission, and he made an alliance with the Scots and received their aid by ceding to them Cumbria.

EADRED, 946-955.

EADRED was the third son of Edward the Elder by his second marriage, and at twenty-one years of age succeeded his brother, Edmund, on the Anglo-Saxon throne. This young King was of a sickly constitution, but he possessed the bravery and courage of his grandfather, Alfred. It was in this reign that the notable Dunstan, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, came on the scene. Dunstan was a man of strong intellectual abilities, but historians are not agreed as to whether the influence of his life was for good or evil. The incorporation of Northumbria as part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom was the most notable event of the reign of Eadred. Eric, the displaced King of Norway, was by Ethelstan elected ruler of Northumbria, but in the reign of Eadred he gave trouble. Eadred assembled his forces and marched into Northumbria, when a good deal of raiding and skirmishing ensued. At a pitched battle, fought valiantly and vigorously on both sides, Eadred's rearguard was cut to pieces. The King enraged at this, resumed the battle with great fury, when the enemy gave way and the Northumbrians appeased them with pecuniary gifts.

At this engagement Eric and five Danish sea kings were slain, and Eadred is recorded to have carried off captive many of the Danish chiefs. The indisposition of the young King became chronic and lasted all his reign. By a gradual wasting it produced his death in 955 when he had reached the age of thirty years.

EADWIG, 955-959.

EADWIG was the eldest son of Edmund, and was sixteen years of age when he ascended the throne. Although young, he had married a beautiful and accomplished young lady of his own age, who is said to have been too closely related to him to please the church dignitaries. It was then that the Benedictine Monks were introduced into England. Eadwig married Elfgifa or Elgiva, a descendant of Alfred the Great; her mother was Ethelgifa. On one occasion Eadwig retired early from a banqueting hall to escape the revel of a Saxon feast, and joined his wife in the adjoining room, throwing off his crown. Dunstan and Archbishop Odo entered the chamber rudely and unannounced, and requested the young King to return to the feast. The King refused, and Dunstan immediately dragged him from his seat, forcing the crown on his head. The Queen rebuked Dunstan for his insolence, when Dunstan insulted her, and likened her to Jezebel, Ahab's wife. For this conduct Dunstan was by the King deprived of all the offices he held, his wealth confiscated, and himself sent into temporary banishment beyond sea. Dunstan was released on the



55. Eadwig and Elgiva.

THE
MUSEUM
OF
THE
CITY OF
NEW YORK
AND
THE
HUNTERIAN SOCIETY

death of the King, and afterwards created Archbishop of Canterbury. It is recorded that Odo, the Archbishop, brought about the separation of the King and Queen on the ground of their relationship.¹⁸

He then sent a party of soldiers to seize the Queen, to drag her like a criminal from her palace, branded her face with a hot iron, and sent her to Ireland. The unfortunate lady was eventually murdered by the Odo faction, after her return to England. Her husband, the King, was at the same time assassinated, anno 959.

A different account of this remarkable event is given by Lingard, the historian, but we have no explanation as to how he and the Anglo-Saxon historians differ so widely ; the reader will exercise his own judgment. On the day of his coronation, when he was seated at table after dinner with the nobility and clergy, Eadwig abruptly left the company to keep an appointment with a lady favourite who, with her daughter, awaited his company in an adjoining apartment. The share that Dunstan bore in this transaction has been magnified into an attempt to subdue the spirit of Eadwig, and a daring insult to the royal authority. Let the reader revert to the manners of the age and he will not be surprised if the Witan resented

¹⁸ Cousini.

the attempted departure of the King, and their messengers treated with little ceremony the ladies who had drawn him away. The affront sank deeply into the mind of Eadwig, and Dunstan, realising that he had offended, withdrew for a time from the Court.

Eadwig, who left no issue, was an amiable prince, whose conduct gave promise of an honourable reign. The unfortunate prince made the enmity of the ecclesiastical powers an object of terror. It exhibited the precedent of a king insulted, injured, persecuted, and dethroned by the agency or effects of sacerdotal enmity.¹⁹

¹⁹ Turner.

CHAPTER II.

CONTENTS.

Reign of Eadgar. Dunstan made Archbishop. Dunstan rules the King. King carries off a lady from the Nunnery. Loses his crown for seven years. Marries Elfrida, one of the Devonshire family, under very remarkable circumstances. Finds several Monasteries. Dunstan's vision. Dunstan and the Devil. The cruise of the eight Kings on the Dee. Death and character of Edgar. St. Dunstan and the Holy Angels at Edgar's birth. Reign of Edward the Martyr. Assassination by the Queen-mother Elfrida. Sparkling incident of St. Dunstan. Satan appears to Dunstan in a vision. Reign of Ethelred II. The Coronation Service reproduced. Ethelred and the Danes and Norwegians. Meetings of the Witan at Calne, Woodstock, and London. Siege of Rochester. Ethelred's family. Massacre of the Danes in England by Ethelred. Incursions of the Danes. Battle of Ringmore. Siege of Canterbury, and murder of the Archbishop. Danes attack London. Ethelred gives up the crown, and goes to Normandy. Ethelred recalled. He and his son, Edmund Ironside, fight the Danes successfully. Death of Ethelred. His character by Freeman.

EADGAR, 959-975.

EADGAR ascended the throne at sixteen years of age, on the death of his brother. Dunstan, notwithstanding his alleged brutal conduct to Eadwig, was in 960, as already stated, appointed by King Eadgar Archbishop of Canterbury. The King allowed himself to be absolutely in the hands of Dunstan, who at best was a dictatorial primate. Eadgar, it is said, invariably carried out Dunstan's wishes, whether good or evil.

At his birth St. Dunstan heard the holy Angels rejoicing in Heaven and singing with great joy : " Let there be peace ; let there be joy in the Church of the English as long as this new-born child shall hold his kingdom and Dunstan run the course of this mortal life."

In 957, before he ascended the throne, Eadgar was nominal ruler of Northumbria and Mercia, and on his brother's death, two years afterwards, was chosen King of Wessex. While his first Queen was still living, Eadgar carried off a beautiful young lady of noble birth called Wulfreda, from the Nunnery of Wilton, where she was receiving her education. For doing so, Dunstan compelled him to lay aside his crown for seven

years, fast occasionally, pay a fine to the Nunnery, expel all married clergy, and fill up their places with monks. Whether this sentence was carried out, we are not informed. It is recorded that Eadgar, having heard of the beauty of Elfrida, daughter of the Earl of Devonshire, despatched Ethelwold, one of his nobles, to the Castle of her father, in order to see the lady, and confirm the report of her beauty. Ethelwold saw her, fell in love with her, offered her his hand, which was accepted, and they were married. He reported to the King unfavourably of her beauty, and by doing so obtained the King's consent to the marriage. She was a lady, it is said, of great wealth. The King soon heard of the trick that had been played upon him, and he resolved to pay the lady a visit himself. Ethelwold preceded the King so as to advise his young wife to disguise her beauty by wearing homely attire, or to suffer another to personate her until the King's departure. Elfrida, instead of doing this, rebuked her husband sharply for having stepped in and prevented her ascending the throne; and for having himself snatched up that beauty which might have raised her to the rank of queen. On the day of the King's arrival Elfrida decorated herself specially in order to captivate him. Startled by trumpets which announced the coming of his Majesty, she

rose from her seat with a proud step, and a kindling eye, glancing contemptuously at her husband as she passed him, hurrying eagerly to the gate to be foremost in welcoming the King. The King, it is recorded, was charmed with the lady and fell in love with her. Ethelwold, who must be got out of the way, was found dead shortly afterwards in a neighbouring wood, supposed to have been assassinated by Royal Warrant. The King then married Elfrida, his first wife being now dead.

Eadgar was fond of pomp and display, and in spring annually he rode with a brilliant escort through his kingdom, accompanied by Archbishop Dunstan and the nobles of the Court, when he examined into the conduct of the rulers he had appointed over the provinces, and vigorously enforced obedience to the laws. The tax which King Ethelstan imposed on the Welsh after the battle of Brunanburg, Eadgar commuted into an annual tribute of 300 wolves' heads, and by this wise measure the kingdom was well cleared of this formidable animal, so much so that in the fourth year 300 heads could not be made up. Three centuries later, or in the reign of Edward I., wolves again became so plentiful that an order was issued for their extinction in certain English counties. The Saxons called Janu-

ary, Wolf Month, because in that month they were more in danger of being devoured by wolves than in any other month of the year.

At a public Synod convened to propagate the Benedictine Revolution, Eadgar delivered a speech for the party he espoused. He took such pride in the Benedictine scheme, that in 964 he boasted of having founded forty-seven monasteries while his intention was to found fifty.

He talked proudly in one of the Charters that he had subdued all the islands of the ocean, with their ferocious kings, as far as Norway, and the greater part of Ireland, including Dublin. To complete the subjugation of Northumbria, he convened the Barons and divided the province into two counties, the Tees being the line of separation. Eadgar strengthened the work of his predecessors by a reign of strong and orderly government, by holding himself in constant readiness for war during a time of unusual peace.¹

Dunstan on one occasion declared to Eadgar that he saw in a vision his own mother married to the Saviour of the Christian world, with every nuptial pomp. Amid the singing a heavenly youth asked Dunstan why he did not join in the rejoicings of so great a marriage for his mother ; and on his mentioning his ignorance, taught him

¹ Freeman.

a song. Dunstan promulgated this by summoning a monk to attend him on his pretended waking, who from his dictation committed the song to writing. The monks were commanded in the morning to sing it while Dunstan shouted his protestation of the truth of the vision.² The mother so married was Dunstan's Church in its new reformation.

A curious legendary tale is told by an Anglo-Saxon historian about Archbishop Dunstan. One night his neighbours were alarmed by the most terrific howlings which seemed to issue from his abode. In the morning they inquired the cause and asked for explanation. He told them that the Devil had intruded his head into his window to tempt him while he was heating his metals, that he had seized him by the nose with the red hot tongs, and that the noise was Satan roaring at the pain. The simple people are said to have venerated Dunstan for this clever exploit.

On 11th May, 972, in the thirteenth year of his reign, Eadgar was anointed King by the English at Bath. He was then about thirty years of age.³ There is some obscurity about this entry which is not explained. Immediately afterwards he sailed with a huge fleet round North Britain,

² Turner.

³ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.



852. St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury.

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and on his way anchored at Chester. Eight kings, his vassals, met him, viz.: Kenneth II., King of Scots, and seven others, all of whom undertook to help him both by land and sea. The King, in the course of this cruise, took a boat and sailed down the river Dee, King Eadgar steering the helm, and having his escort of eight kings on board. Many earls and nobles accompanied them in similar craft. Elfsi, bishop of Lindisfarne, and two earls, conducted Kenneth, King of Scots, to Eadgar, and when Kenneth had done homage, Eadgar gave him Lothian to add to his dominions; Kenneth also received many gifts, e.g., 100 ounces of purest gold, many silk robes, ornaments and rings with precious stones.⁴ Eadgar was a strong and peaceful king, and had both Angles and Scots either in subjection or wholly at his will.⁵

Eadgar is said to have stationed three fleets of 1,200 ships each on the east, west, and south coasts of the island for the defence of the kingdom. The person of Eadgar was small and slender, and Kenneth, King of Scots, remarked that it was wonderful that so many provinces should obey a

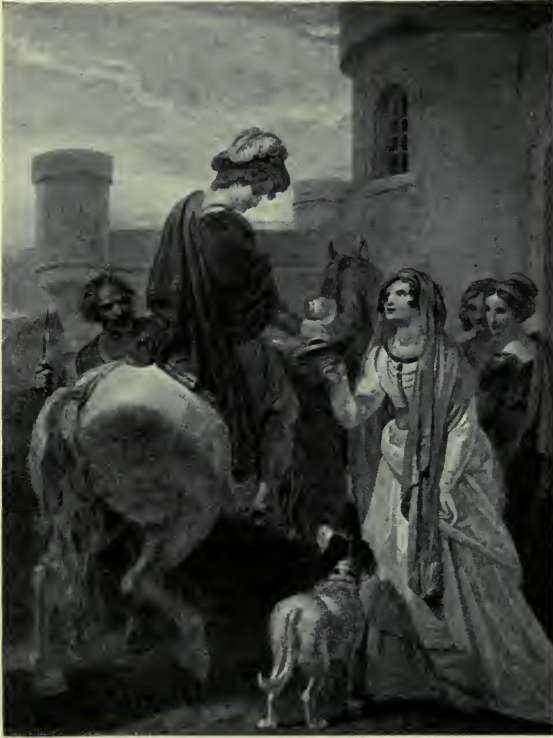
⁴ *The primo Saxonum Adventu.*

⁵ Pinkerton, the historian, informs us that the story of the eight Kings on the Dee is a mere monkish legend, borrowed from some old romance. He says it is clear, from the *Saxon Chronicle*, that six petty kings met Eadgar to make an alliance, but not to pay homage.

man so insignificant. These words were carried to the King, who thereupon led Kenneth apart into a wood and bade him take one of two swords which he produced, saying, "Our arms shall decide which ought to obey the other." Kenneth recollected his hasty remark, and apologised for it as a joke.

Eadgar, who was a great-great-grandson of Alfred, was twice married. By his first wife, Elfleda the Fair, he had issue : Edward his successor, and a daughter who became a nun. By his second wife, Elfrida, he had two sons, Edmund, who predeceased his father, and Ethelred, who succeeded his brother on the throne. Eadgar's reign is said to have been one of the most renowned of all the Saxon kings. He died at the early age of thirty-two. His youngest son reigned only to show that one of weak reign is sufficient to ruin even a brave and a great people.

THE
TREACHERY
OF
QUEEN
ELFRIDA



56. Treachery of Queen Elfrida.

EDWARD THE MARTYR, 975-978.

EDWARD was a boy of thirteen years when he ascended the throne in succession to his father, Eadgar, but Elfrida, the Queen-mother, claimed the crown for her son, Ethelred, a child of six years old. Edward, however, was crowned and anointed by Archbishop Dunstan, in presence of the other Bishops of the realm. Dunstan opposed the coronation of Ethelred the younger son. So bitter was the feeling of opposition to Edward, that the Governor of Mercia, Elfer, defied the Primate, sacked all the monasteries, in his province, of the Benedictine Monks, and levelled many of the buildings to the ground. Edward was out one day hunting near Wareham (Dorset), when he rode up to Corfe Castle, where the Queen-mother, Elfrida, and her son, Ethelred, resided, and without alighting from his horse had a brief interview with Elfrida at the gate. He was quite ignorant of there being a conspiracy against him championed by her. She asked him to dismount, but he declined, and having desired to see his brother, Ethelred, he called for a cup of wine, which was brought. Just as he raised it to his lips one of Elfrida's attendants stepped behind

him and stabbed him in the back. Dropping the cup from his hand, he put spurs to his horse and fled. He soon fainted through loss of blood and fell from his saddle, but the affrighted horse still galloped forward, dragging the body of the King over a rugged road, as he still hung with his foot suspended from the stirrup. When discovered by his attendants, he was dead. No worse deed, it is said, had been committed by the people of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom since they first came to the land of Britain. This unfortunate young prince, who was unmarried, reigned only four years. Elfrida, the Queen-mother, was evidently a violent and vindictive woman, destitute of feelings, for she was concerned with more than one conspiracy ending in murder, as for instance, the assassination of the Abbot of Ely, which she was a party to. It is said, says the historian (Miller), that Ethelred wept bitterly at the death of his brother, Edward, and because he did so, his mother beat him with a torch or wax candle until he became unconscious.

The body of the young King, Edward, was reverently interred at Wareham, but was afterwards removed by Archbishop Dunstan and cremated at Shaftesbury. Ethelred at ten years of age succeeded to the crown, shortly after the assassination of his brother Edward in 978.

In the tenth century Archbishop Dunstan was a great power for good or evil in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. He committed many an error of judgment, sometimes upset the crown, frequently exercised his powers against the constituted authority, frequently crowned the King with or without the consent of the National Council. The Saxon kings in his time were crowned at an early age, and this enabled Dunstan, who was a strong man mentally and physically, to control the royal authority. Though he had crowned Edward the Martyr, he could not recover the alienated minds of the nobility. He then attempted to govern them by superstition. He had forcibly expelled the clergy, who had been reinstated, but at Eadgar's death they had endeavoured to restore themselves. Elfer, Governor of Mercia, pulled down all the monasteries which had been built in that province. To appease these discontents a Synod was convened at Winchester in 975, when a sparkling incident occurred. While opinions were forming, and the audience expected Dunstan's answer to a peculiar appeal which had been made to him, the Crucifix on the wall became vocal. It commended the former proceedings; it forbade a change; "What wish ye more?" exclaimed Dunstan, "the Divine Voice determines the affair," and the meeting adjourned.

A Council of Nobles was summoned at Calne. The King was absent on account of his age. While the senators were reproaching Dunstan, he gave a short reply, closing with the words: "I confess I am unwilling that you should conquer; I commit the cause of the Church to the decision of Christ." At these words the floor and its beams and rafters gave way and precipitated the company with the ruins to the earth below. The seat of Dunstan only was unmoved; many of the nobility were killed on the spot. The others were hurt by wounds which kept them long confined. On another occasion he elected Elphegm, the Bishop of Winchester, in spite of the clergy, and boldly declared that St. Andrew had appeared to him and commanded him to consecrate Elphegm to the vacant See.⁶

Bridferth, an authority of that period, declares that he was personally acquainted with Archbishop Dunstan. He says that as Dunstan was one night in the cloisters Satan came to him in the shaggy form of a bear; being driven away, he returned in the form of a dog; again expelled, he came back as a viper; and being forced out, he burst in once more as a furious wolf. This tale is followed by another that Dunstan once fell asleep from fatigue before the altar of St. George.

⁶ Turner.

The Devil came to him like a rugged bear, and, placing his paws on each shoulder, opened his jaws to devour him; when Dunstan fortunately awoke, shook him off, struck at him with his staff, and by chanting the 68th Psalm drove him away. After this a great stone was hurled at Dunstan, which carried away his cap, and this he ascribed to Satan.⁷

⁷*Notes on Dunstan, Turner's Anglo-Saxons.*

ETHELRED II., 978-1016.

ETHELRED, born in 969, was the youngest son of Eadgar, who died in 975; and in 979 Ethelred succeeded his uterine brother, Edward the Martyr, who was assassinated by Elfrida, his step-mother, in order that her own son, Ethelred, might ascend the throne. Ethelred was crowned at Kingston in 979 by Archbishop Dunstan when a boy of eleven years, and the programme of the Coronation Ceremony has been preserved. Considering its great age, this document is full of interest. It is from a Latin MS. in the Cotton Library (British Museum), and is as follows: "Two Bishops, with the Witan (National Council) shall lead the King, to the Church, and the Clergy, with the Bishops, shall sing the anthem, "Firmatur Manus Tua," and the "Gloria Patri." When the King arrives at the Church he shall prostrate himself before the altar, and the "Te Deum" shall be chanted. When this is finished the King shall be raised from the ground, and having been chosen by the Bishops and people, shall before God and all the people promise that he will observe these rules." Then follows the Coronation Oath: "In the Name of Christ I promise three things to the Christian

people my subjects, viz., that the Church of God and all the Christian people shall always preserve true peace under our auspices ; that I will forbid rapacity and all indignities to every condition ; that I will commend equity and mercy in all judgments : that to you and to me the generous and merciful God may extend his mercy."

Here three Bishops separately repeat three prayers.

The King is then anointed with oil, and this anthem sung : "And Zadok the Priest and Nathan the Prophet anointed Solomon, King in Zion," and approaching him they said, " May the King live for ever." After two prayers the Sword is given to the King with this invocation : " God, Who governs all things in Heaven and in Earth, by Thy Providence be propitious to our most Christian King, that all the strength of his enemies may be broken by the virtue of the spiritual sword, and that combating for him they may be utterly destroyed."

The King shall be crowned with these words : " May God crown thee with the Crown of Glory and with the honour of justice and the labour of fortitude ; that by the virtue of our benevolence and by a right faith and the fruit of good works, thou mayest attain to the Crown of the Everlasting Kingdom, through His bounty Whose

Kingdom endureth for ever." Then follows a short prayer.

The Sceptre is here given with these words : " Take the illustrious Sceptre of the Royal Power, the rod of thy dominion, the rod of justice, by which mayest thou govern thy self-will, and the Holy Church, and Christian people committed by the Lord to thee. Mayest thou with regal virtue defend us from the wicked, correct the bad, and punish the oppressor ; and that they may hold the right way, direct them with thine aid, so that from the temporal Kingdom thou mayest attain to that which is eternal, by His aid Whose endless Dominion will remain through every age." Then follows a short prayer.

The Rod is then given with these words : "Take the rod of justice and equity, by which thou mayest understand how to soothe the pious, and terrify the bad ; teach the way to the erring ; stretch out thine hand to the faltering ; abase the proud ; exalt the humble, that Christ our Lord may open to thee the door ; who says of Himself, ' I am the Door ; if any enter through Me he shall be saved ; ' and He also is the King of David and the Sceptre of the House of Israel, Who opens and none can shut ; Who shuts and none can open, may He be thy helper. He also bringeth the bound in from the prison house and

those sitting in darkness and the shadow of death ; that in all things thou mayest deserve to follow Him, as when David sang, ' Thy Throne, O God, endureth for ever, the sceptre of Thy Kingdom is a right sceptre ; Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows ' ”

Benediction follows, after which the designation and state of the Kingdom : “ Stand and retain now the state which thou hast hitherto held by paternal succession with hereditary rights delegated to thee by the authority of Almighty God and our present delivery ; that is of all Bishops and other servants of God ; and insomuch as thou hast beheld the Clergy near the sacred altar, so much must thou remember to pay them the honour due in suitable places, so may the mediation of God and men confirm thee, the mediation of the Clergy and the common people, on the Throne of this Kingdom.”

Prayer and benediction closes the ceremony.

The Archbishop accompanied this ceremony with the following denunciation : “ Even by the death of thy brother thou didst aspire to the Kingdom, hear the decree of Heaven. The sins of thy wicked mother and of her accomplices shall rest upon thy head ; and such evils shall fall upon

the English as they have never yet suffered from the days when they first came into the Isle of Britain even until the present time." This was Archbishop Dunstan's expression of disapproval of the conduct of Elfrida, Ethelred's mother, in murdering the late king.

In 992 Ethelred and the Witan (National Council) gathered together a fleet at London which was placed under the command of two Bishops, two Lay Chiefs, and others. The Danes, it is said, were defeated with great slaughter. During the reign of Ethelred, London became the object of special and favourable legislation. The incursions of the Danes were at that period perpetual, and filled the Saxons with terror and dismay. In 994 the Kings of Norway and Denmark incorporated their armies into a great expedition to invade the territories of Ethelred. At the head of a fleet of ninety-four ships the two kings sailed up the Thames and laid siege to London, but the invasion was unsuccessful, chiefly by the valour of the Londoners. In other parts of the kingdom the two kings, meeting no resistance, pillaged, burned, and murdered, without regard to age or sex. These incursions were carried on in Essex, Kent, and Sussex, and Ethelred, who was not a valiant man, appears to have done nothing to put a stop to them, but merely adopted

the expedient of buying them off with a large sum of money, which the Danes greedily accepted. In 997 and 998 meetings of the Witan were held at Calne, Woodstock, and London, when a code of laws was drawn up and sanctioned, for the English portion of the kingdom.

In 999 took place the siege of Rochester by the Danes. The weakness and indecision of Ethelred at this period have been severely criticised by historians. He became involved in a dispute with Richard, Duke of Normandy, which led to serious consequences. Some time after he married the Lady Emma, sister of Richard, and by this his second marriage, he had issue, Edward, afterwards Edward the Confessor, so called because of his piety. By his first marriage he had six sons and three daughters; one of these sons was Edmund Ironside. On account of the incursions and disturbances of the Danes, Ethelred soon after his marriage, viz., on St. Brice's day, gave order for the massacre of the Danes within his dominions or subject to his power. It is said that Ethelred had got notice that the Danes in England were plotting to kill him, and the Witan, and seize the kingdom. Letters were sent secretly by the King to every city and town in his realm commanding the Saxon people to rise on the same day and same hour to slaughter the Danes. This turned out to

be a most inhuman massacre, for the Danish women and children were murdered without reserve. The massacre was occasioned by the persistent invasion of the Danes, their ravages of Saxon territory, and their exaction of large sums of money to secure their forbearance. Ethelred repeatedly, for the sake of peace, paid what might be called impossible sums out of his Exchequer. This massacre not only brought down upon him the fury of the Danes, but it raised division and discord among his own people. Some time afterwards, or in the spring of 1003, Swaine, King of Denmark, with a large complement of troops, set sail from Denmark and landed on the shores of England. When they landed they unfurled a mysterious flag of white silk, in the centre of which was embroidered a black raven with open beak, and outstretched wings, as if in the act of seizing upon its prey. This banner, it is said, was the work of Swaine's three sisters, done in one night, while they accompanied the work with magic songs and wild gestures. The county of Wilts was at this date ravaged, all horses seized for cavalry purposes, and savagely, it is said, did Swaine avenge the massacre of his countrymen. From this time the Danish invasion became more constant and systematic, and Swaine with a naval force attacked Exeter, stormed and plundered it,

broke down the walls, and left the city defenceless. He continued his raids in the Saxon kingdom up to 1005, when he returned to Denmark. The following year the Danes resumed hostilities as warlike as ever. The Witan met and agreed to provide £36,000 to induce the Danes to stop these incursions, rather than fight. This was accepted, but was evidently a temporary cessation, as when the Danes had spent the money they returned for more. Ethelred appealed to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Normandy, for assistance, but it was not forthcoming. Ethelred's fleet then appeared at Sandwich, but on account of treason amongst his followers it was eventually broken up and partly lost.

The Danish and Saxon fleets met at Canterbury in 1009, but the Danes were bought off for £3,000. In 1010 the Danes resumed hostilities and fought the battle of Ringmore, when the Saxons were defeated. In 1013 the Witan met to consider the Danish invasion, when it was agreed to buy them up as before, but this time the Danes demanded £46,000, which was ultimately paid them. Notwithstanding all this the Danes, under Swaine, resumed their raiding incursions, and attacked and took Canterbury, and made Elfeah, the Archbishop, prisoner. The Danes took 800 captives, and unfortunately 7,000 men,

besides women and children; thirty-six monks perished in this sack of Canterbury. The Archbishop attempted to speak, but a stroke from a battle-axe compelled him to be silent. His life had been spared by the avarice of the Danes, and his ransom fixed at 3,000 pounds of silver. In default, he was put in prison for seven months, and then slain by the army. Because of these incursions of the Danes, Ethelred's territories were restricted and he became king only of a portion of Saxon territory. Every day the people began to secede from him and put themselves under the sovereignty of the King of Denmark. To the very last London remained true to Ethelred till he fled from the kingdom.

Towards the close of 1013 Swaine marched upon London. There he encountered a valiant resistance, while many of his own men were drowned in the Thames. For the fourth time in Ethelred's reign the Danes were beaten back from the walls of London. Swaine retired, and went with his troops to Bath, and there the nobles and thanes submitted to him and gave hostages. According to the historian,⁸ this was in obedience to an act of the Witan of Wessex, deposing Ethelred and raising Swaine to the throne. London thereupon submitted, and the King being

⁸ Freeman.

deposed, he went with the fleet to Greenwich. During his defence of London against the Danes, Ethelred, according to his own words, was by the treachery of his generals deserted and betrayed, and he took refuge in the Isle of Wight. Queen Emma went over to Normandy to her brother, along with her children, Edward and Alfred, the Abbot of Peterborough, and the Bishop of London, tutor to her sons ; this was early in 1014. In January 1014, Ethelred followed her, having escaped from the jurisdiction of Swaine, who was now King of the realm, but Swaine died six weeks after Ethelred escaped. Swaine's eldest son, Harald, was called to the Danish throne, and the crews of the Danish fleet in the Thames assumed the right of disposing of the Saxon crown : they chose Canute to be king in succession to Swaine, his father. The Saxons would not, however, recognise Canute, whereupon the Witan met and agreed on Ethelred. Ethelred was recalled, and the Witan resolved that in the interests of Ethelred all Danish kings should from henceforth be outlawed. Ethelred returned in Lent and got a hearty reception, but it is recorded that London held out for Swaine. In these circumstances the Witan in 1015 assembled at Oxford, when two Danish chiefs, Sigferth and Mirkero, were present. These chiefs were invited by Edric the traitor to

his own quarters, where he treacherously slew them at a banquet. Ethelred, if he had not ordered the villainy, at any rate made himself accessory after the fact. He confiscated the property of the chiefs, and ordered the widow of Sigferth to be sent prisoner to Malmesbury. Edmund Atheling (Ironside), son of Ethelred by his first marriage, fell in love with the widow, followed her to her retreat, and it is said married her against the will of her father.

The same year Canute returned from Denmark with a large, powerful, and expensive fleet and a naval force, including the flower of the Danish nobility. To meet this emergency Edmund and Edric each raised troops, but afterwards disbanded them. Ethelred at this crisis was in London. Edmund again raised troops, and his father, Ethelred, joined him. The two divisions had hardly joined when the King discovered, or professed to discover, treacherous plots against his person. This he made an excuse for disbanding the army and returning to London. Canute lived at Gainsborough, and Ethelred assembled his troops and attacked him there. Canute was defeated, and he at once steered his ships northwards to Sandwich. He put on shore the hostages that had been given to his father, from England, subjecting them to various mutila-

tions of the hands, ears, noses, etc., and then returned to Denmark.

Ethelred died in London on St. George's Day, 23rd April, 1016. Of his wife, Queen Emma, the historian says: "Her beauty and accomplishments have been highly extolled, but her long connection with England as the wife of two kings, Ethelred and Canute, and the mother of two others, brought with it nothing but present evil. This marriage led to the overthrow of the Saxon kingdom and to the Norman Conquest of England. With it began the settlement of Normans in England, their admission to English offices and estates, and their general influence in English affairs."

According to Freeman, Ethelred was a bad man and a bad king. He stands alone in presenting the wretched spectacle of a long reign of utter misgovernment, unredeemed by any of those personal excellences which have sometimes caused public errors and crimes to be forgotten. Personal beauty, and a certain elegance of manners, qualities consistent with any amount of vice and folly, are the highest merits attributed to a prince who has received no other surname than that of "Unready." His reign of thirty-eight years displays little but the neglect of every kingly duty, little but weakness, impolicy, cowardice; blind

trust in unworthy favourites, and even in detested traitors, acts of injustice and cruelty, some of which are laid to the charge of the King himself ; while others, if he did not himself order, he at least did nothing to hinder or punish.

We do not endorse this opinion of the learned historian.

Edward and Alfred, sons of Ethelred by Queen Emma, remained in Normandy, and there Queen Emma, after Ethelred's death, married Canute, the Danish king. Ethelred's two eldest sons being dead, the third son, Edmund Atheling, better known as Edmund Ironside, was the same year called to the throne by a section of the people, and was accepted as lawful king in place of his father. He is said to have been a vigorous, daring, and determined man, with a good knowledge of military tactics, and during the short period of his reign was strongly supported by the people.

CHAPTER III.

CONTENTS.

Reign of Edmund Ironside. Battle of Searsden and Edmund's victory. Brentford engagement. Battle of Esandune. Battle of Ashingdon, and defeat of Edmund. Treaty of Olney and division of territory. Assassination of Edmund by Edric. Prince Edward, Queen Margaret's father. His career and death. Reign of Canute, Prince of Denmark. Siege of London. Banishment of Edmund's children. Canute marries Queen Emma. Assassination of Edric. Canute becomes a Christian. Seizes Archbishop Elfeah's body and interrs it. Pilgrimage to Rome. Letter to his subjects. Death of Canute. Reign of Harold and Hardicanute. The Witan appoints Harold, King. He crowns himself, the Archbishop having refused. The Guildford massacre of Normans. Murder of Alfred, Ethelred's son, by Harold. Death of Harold. Reign of Hardicanute. Disentombs and decapitates Harold's body. His banqueting table. His death.

EDMUND IRONSIDE, 1016 A.D.

EDMUND, sometimes called Edmund Ironside, was the son of Ethelred, and when the latter fled in 1014 to Normandy the Londoners elected Edmund as their king. Edmund distinguished himself by his unmitigated opposition to the Danes. With them he had no sympathy whatever. The Witenagemot, or National Council, declined to acknowledge him as king, and gave their allegiance to Canute the Dane. This involved war for the fifth time between both parties.

In 1016 the battle of Searsden was fought between Edmund and Canute. The first day both sides fought with unwearied courage, until fatigue compelled them to separate. Next morning the struggle was renewed. Edmund forced his way to Canute and struck at him vigorously with his sword. Canute's shield saved him from the blow, but it was given with such strength that it split the shield, and cut the horse's neck. Danish soldiers then rushed upon Edmund, and after he had slain many of them he was obliged to retire; Canute was slightly wounded. At the close of the second days' fighting, victory declared for neither; and Canute during the night left the field with his

troops and made for London. Edmund followed him and raised the siege. An engagement between the rivals took place at Brentford, near London, and again victory declared for neither.

King Edmund, eager for a decisive victory, assembled his troops at Esandune, North Essex. Canute's troops came gradually forward. Edmund made a general and impetuous attack, and his vigour and skill secured a temporary victory. A detachment of Edmund's troops fought vigorously among surrounding enemies and were all cut down save a single man. It is said that in this determined struggle the flower of the English nobility perished. Edmund then retired to Gloucester to reinforce his troops, when he challenged Canute to settle the quarrel by single combat. It was a pity, he said, that so many lives should be sacrificed to satisfy ambition. Canute declined the challenge because he was a man of small stature, while Edmund was a stalwart, handsome man, and he had no chance against him.

A great struggle took place between them for the possession of London, the engagement taking place at Ashingdon, near the metropolis. In this battle Edmund Ironside was unfortunately defeated. The number of the slain is not recorded, but it is said to have been a very determined

battle. A treaty was made between parties at the Isle of Olney in 1016, the Saxon Commissioners approaching the island from one side of the river, the Danish from the other. By this treaty all quarrels between Danes and Anglo-Saxons were compromised. Canute took the northern division of the Saxon kingdom, and Edmund the southern; London, Wessex, Essex, and East Anglia were given to Edmund; all outside of these to Canute.

Edmund Ironside in 1016 had collected four armies and had fought five pitched battles; had been victorious in four of these, and had not been decidedly beaten in any.⁹ He was not destined to hold the sceptre long, for shortly after the Treaty of Olney he was treacherously murdered by Edric, his uterine traitor brother, a notable traitor. Canute thereupon became sole King, and one of his first acts was to send Edmund Ironside's two young sons, Edmund and Edward, permanently out of the kingdom. They were sent by Canute's order to the King of Sweden in 1017, and by that King they were sent to the Court of Stephen, King of Hungary. One of these children, Edward, as he grew up, married the kinswoman of the Emperor of Germany, the Princess Agatha, who was related to the Queen of Hungary, and the issue of that marriage was Edward the Atheling,

⁹ Freeman.

Margaret, and Christian. Edward's brother, Edmund, died in Hungary. Margaret became in after years, the wife of Malcolm, King of Scots. The year of Edward's marriage is not recorded, but the Princess Margaret is believed to have been born in 1046. It is said that greatly did England rejoice when Edward and Agatha and their children, Eadgar, Margaret, and Christian, arrived, in England in 1066-67.

PRINCE EDWARD, QUEEN MARGARET'S FATHER.

THE romantic marriage of Edmund Ironside with Ealdgyth, widow of Sigferth, the Danish chief, had given him two sons, Edmund and Edward, who were mere babes at the death of their father, and from the date of his marriage would seem to have been twins. These children, as just stated, were sent to Sweden in 1017, immediately after their father's death, by Canute, who succeeded Edmund Ironside, and this was done in order to root out the old dynasty of Anglo-Saxon kings. Olaf, Canute's half brother, was King of Sweden, and he was ordered by Canute to destroy the children, but he refused to do so, and sent them for protection to Stephen, King of Hungary. At Stephen's Court they were generously treated during the long period they remained in Hungary. Edmund, the eldest brother, died there when he was a youth, but we have no particulars of his death recorded. Edward remained at that Court till he was forty-nine years of age, when he was recalled to England by his uncle, Edward the Confessor. Stephen, King of Hungary, had an unprecedentedly long reign of sixty-nine years, and died in 1038. His wife was a sister of Henry II. of Germany.

Edward Atheling, born in 1016, had, it is recorded, through the influence of Gisela, Queen of Hungary, wife of King Stephen, and sister of Henry II., received in marriage, as already stated, the Princess Agatha, niece of the Hungarian Queen. This marriage would seem to show that, in Hungary, Edward was acknowledged as a prince, and one who might some day succeed to the Anglo-Saxon throne. In default of any member of the Royal House brought up and dwelling in England, it was determined to recall Edward Atheling, with his wife and family. Besides his son, Eadgar, he had two daughters, Margaret and Christian. Eadgar lived to be the sport of fortune; a king twice chosen but never crowned, a rival whom the Conqueror scorned to fear, or to hurt, the friend and pensioner of successive usurpers of his own crown. Margaret won a worthier fame. She obtained the honours alike of Royalty and a Saint's life. She became one of the brightest patterns of every virtue in her own time; and she became the source through which the blood and the right of the Imperial House of Wessex, has passed to the Angevin, the Scottish and the German sovereigns of England.¹⁰

In 1057, at the age of forty-nine, Edward came for the first time to his native country; and he

¹⁰ Palgrave.

came in a character as nearly approaching to that of heir-presumptive to the Anglo-Saxon crown, as the laws of our Elective Monarchy allow. He came with his wife and children of foreign birth. He was himself not less foreign in speech and habits than the Norman family of the King. The succession of Edward would have had one great advantage. It was hardly possible that the claims of the Conqueror could be successfully placed against him. Inferior as Edward doubtless was to Harold, the last Saxon king, in every personal qualification, his succession could never have given the Conqueror the opportunities which were afterwards given him by the accession of Harold. Edward could not have been held up as a usurper, a perjurer, a man faithless to his Lord, nor had he been the opponent, could the superstitions of the time have been appealed to, to avenge the fancied insults offered to the relics of the Norman Saints. The son of Edmund Ironside, the last grown man of the Royal House, must, whatever were his personal qualities, have drawn to himself an interest which was not wholly sentimental. Edward then came to England, but he never saw his uncle the King. He lived to become the source through which the old kingly blood of Wessex found its way into the veins of the late rulers of England and Scotland. Edward died

in London soon after his arrival, and was interred in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was sick when he landed in England, and this mysterious sickness, which it is said caused his death, also hindered his presentation to his uncle, Edward the Confessor.

CANUTE, PRINCE OF DENMARK,

1016—1035.

CANUTE, who was born in 994, was the son of Swaine, King of Denmark. At Swaine's death in 1014, Harold, his eldest son, succeeded him. Swaine died in England in the midst of the Civil War, at that period raging between Danes and Anglo-Saxons. Canute had the good fortune to be a Danish as well as an Anglo-Saxon king, and his history is rather remarkable. He became Anglo-Saxon king, London excepted, in 1016, and he and Edmund Ironside afterwards, had a great struggle for the possession of London. The Witenagemot, or National Council, objected to Canute being king, and sent for Ethelred to accept the Crown. Canute, on hearing of this important move, went back to Denmark, first mutilating the hands, ears, and noses, of his English hostages, a proceeding which branded him a barbarian. In the following year he returned to England with a considerable body of troops, and after vigorous fighting, made himself master of Wessex. Canute fought several engagements with Edmund Ironside, and these two warriors, with the view of coming to a mutual understanding, met at the



327. Canute, Prince of Denmark.
Anglo-Saxon King.

TO THE
MAGAZINE

Isle of Olney as already stated, and concluded an agreement whereby Canute took the northern and Edmund the southern division of the kingdom. On account of the assassination of Edmund that same year by Edric the traitor, a follower of Canute, the Olney Treaty lapsed, and Canute became sole king of the Anglo-Saxons.

After the battle of Esandune between Edmund and Canute, as described in the previous chapter, Canute laid siege to London by land and water, but was unable to get his ships past London Bridge or Southwark. He therefore cut a circular track through the swamp round Southwark, and, dragging his ships through it, was able to attack the city and bridge on both sides, and so prevent anyone from entering or leaving. But the Londoners would not surrender, and London only fell into Canute's hands peaceably, after the death of Edmund Ironside.

One of Canute's first acts was to banish from the country all who were related to Ethelred or Edmund ; and those who had taken part in maintaining the Saxon monarchy he put to death. The late King Edmund had two children, Edmund and Edward, and Canute was to be their guardian by consent of the State, but they were sent to Hungary as already stated. Edward and Alfred, the remaining sons of Ethelred, were still safe at

the Court of their uncle Richard, Duke of Normandy, with their mother, Queen Emma. Canute had married Queen Emma, and she, it is said, disowned for ever her Saxon offspring after this marriage. Edric the traitor had joined the troops of Canute, and at King Edmund's assassination desired promotion of the King for having removed his rival. The interview took place in London in Canute's residence overlooking the Thames; Edric to Canute: "I first deserted Edmund to benefit you, and for you I killed him." Canute: "'Tis fit then you should die, for your treason to God and me; you killed your own Lord, him whom by treaty and friendship was my brother; your blood be upon your own head for murdering the Lord's Anointed, your own lips bear witness against you." Canute thereupon gave a signal to Eric, a Norwegian prince, who was present, and he killed Edric with one blow of his battle-axe, and threw his body out of the window into the Thames.

After Edmund's death, Canute, in 1018, levied a heavy danegeld (Danish tax), with which he paid off his Danish troops, retaining only the crews of forty ships. The kingdom he divided into four earldoms—Northumbria, Mercia, Wessex and East Anglia. Canute strove to govern England according to English ideas, and he restored

the equal rights that had prevailed in Eadgar's time, and gradually replaced the Danish earls with native Englishmen. After his marriage to Queen Emma he became a changed man, giving much of his time and means to monastic institutions and churches.

Canute became a Christian, and rebuilt many of the monasteries his father had burned, and he erected a monument to Elfeah, the murdered Archbishop of Canterbury. Not content with honouring the late Archbishop with a monument, he resolved that the body should be removed to Canterbury Cathedral, which had witnessed the services of the Primate, so he demanded the body of the Bishop from the inhabitants of London, who had purchased it from the Danes and interred it, probably in Westminster. The Londoners refused the request, when Canute placed himself at the head of his troops, carried it off by force, between two long lines of soldiers, drawn up on either side of the street which led from the church to the Thames, and had the body of the Archbishop borne to the warship which stood ready to receive it. The historian¹¹ adds : "There is something of magnificence in such an act of barbarous veneration as this, which was accomplished without injury or bloodshed ; the dragon-headed ship,

¹¹ Miller.

and the Danes, went slowly down the river, freighted with the King, and the coffin of the murdered Archbishop."

Canute made a pilgrimage to Rome in 1027 (some writers say 1031), to visit the tombs of the Saints, accompanied by a large escort. On every altar he with his own hands placed rich gifts, and knelt down reverently before the shrines. It is said he purchased the arm of St. Augustine for 100 talents of gold and 100 talents of silver, and afterwards presented it to the Church of Coventry. He then wrote and despatched a long letter to England, expressing in appreciative terms his visit to Rome and what he had seen and done there, e.g., "I have vowed to God to lead a right life in all things; to rule justly and piously my realms and subjects, and to administer just judgment to all. If heretofore I have done aught beyond what was just, through headiness or negligence of youth, I am ready, with God's help, to amend it utterly. None in my dominions is to do wrong to rich or poor as they would value my friendship and their own well-being. I have no need that money be heaped together for me by unjust demands. I have sent this letter before me, that all the people of my realm may rejoice in my well-being, for as you yourselves know, never have I spared nor will I spare to spend myself

and my toil, in what is needful and good for my people.”

Canute died at Shaftesbury in 1035, and was interred at Winchester. The death of his brother Harold, in 1018, gave him the crown of Denmark, and of Olaf in 1020, the crown of Norway.

By his first wife he had issue Harold, afterwards King ; by Queen Emma he had one son, Hardicanute, to whom was given the province of Wessex. At Harold's death in 1040 Hardicanute became Saxon King, but his reign lasted only two years, and he died unmarried.

HAROLD AND HARDICANUTE, 1035—1042.

HAROLD was a son of Canute by a first marriage, and Hardicanute was a son by a second marriage (Queen Emma). At Canute's death the Anglo-Saxon kingdom was split up by the dissensions of two rival factions. The West Saxons chose Hardicanute for their King, while the Saxons of the North and Centre chose Harold. A great meeting of the Witan took place at Oxford to consider the situation, when Harold was appointed by them to the province north of the Thames, and Hardicanute appointed to Wessex. The latter was in Denmark at this crisis. In his absence Queen Emma and Earl Godwin ruled in the south, and held their Court at Winchester. Harold had London for his capital, and was acknowledged King of England, but the Archbishop of Canterbury refused to crown him, on the ground that Ethelred's children were still alive. The bishops were forbidden to administer the benediction; and placing the crown and sceptre on the altar, left Harold to crown, anoint, and bless himself, as best he could. Harold crowned himself without the bishops, despised their blessings, and in place of attending church, sallied out with his

hounds during the hours of Divine Service, and was so swift a rider that he got the name of "Hare-foot." He defied the bishops in Christendom, sounded his hunting horn while the holy anthem was chanted, and all this because the Archbishop refused to crown him. Ethelred's two sons, Edmund and Alfred, were in Normandy. Alfred, the youngest, by invitation sailed for England with a troop of 700 Norman soldiers. On arrival he was met by Earl Godwin, who swore fealty to him, and promised to bring him safely to his mother, Queen Emma. Alfred and his men lodged in Guildford the first night. At midnight they were surprised while asleep by a company of armed men, who killed a lot of them, while next morning the gallant Normans who had accompanied Alfred were all led to execution in tens, one out of every ten being left alive. Whether Harold, or Earl Godwin, was the cause of this cold-blooded massacre is not known.

Alfred was carried captive to London, where, after having endured the insults and reproaches of Harold, was taken to Ely to be tried by a mock court-martial of Danish judges, who sentenced him to lose his eyes. This barbarous sentence was carried out, and the unfortunate young prince died in a few days thereafter, and was interred in the aisle of Ely Cathedral. After his death, his

mother, Queen Emma, was banished from England. She sent messengers to Denmark to her son, Hardicanute, to avenge the death of his brother Alfred.

Harold's reign was short, and terminated with his death in 1040, when he was interred in Westminster. Hardicanute then came over from Denmark and succeeded to the crown. One of his first acts was the disinterment of the body of Harold, for the murder of Alfred, which he ordered to be decapitated and thrown into the Thames. It was afterwards taken out of the river by a Danish fisherman and interred in a London cemetery. The two brief years of Hardicanute's reign were to a great extent passed in feasting and drinking. His banqueting table was spread out four times a day, and the carousals carried far into the night. To keep up all this, constant supplies of money were wanted, and taxes were regularly levied and collected by the Danes. Hardicanute brought with him a Danish fleet, and with his sailors and his home earls he ruled England as a conquered land. He raised a danegeld (Danish tax) to satisfy his men, and sent his home earls to force the people to pay the heavy tax.¹²

Hardicanute was a merry, thoughtless king. He invited his uterine brother, Edward, son of

¹² Rawson Gardiner.

Ethelred, over to England, and gave him and his Norman followers a warm welcome ; leaving his mother, Queen Emma, and Earl Godwin to manage the kingdom as they pleased. He died as he had lived, a hard drinker, with the wine cup in his hand.¹³ His death, which took place on a feast day at Lambeth, was really the result of fast living.

¹³ Miller.

CHAPTER IV.

CONTENTS.

Reign of Edward ; his Genealogy ; his Marriage. Defeats Magnus, King of Norway. Seizure of Queen Emma's property. Siward and Macbeth Engagement. Siward's victory. The Conqueror's parents. Harold and Edward Incident. Recalls his nephew Prince Edward from Hungary. Foundation by Edward of Westminster Abbey. Death of the Confessor. Canonization. Reign of Harold, last Saxon King ; his Coronation. His quarrel with the Conqueror. Battle of Hastings and Death of Harold. Eadgar nominally chosen King. General Revolt. Norman Garrison at York slain. Robert Comyn and his troops slain. Defeat of the Rebels. Death of William the Conqueror.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042—1066.

EDWARD, who was born in 1011, was the eldest son of Ethelred and Emma, and the uterine brother of Harold and Hardicanute. He had been thirty years in Normandy when he was, in 1041, invited by Hardicanute to come over to England. On Hardicanute's death in 1042 he succeeded to the Anglo-Saxon crown. His reign, which lasted twenty-four years, was a hopeless struggle between Normans, Danes, and the National Party. Edward was crowned on Easter Day, April 3rd, 1043, at Winchester, by the Archbishop (Eadsige), assisted by the Bishop of York, and the other prelates of England, but it is recorded that the Saxons, led by Earl Godwin, placed the crown on his head. Edward was a handsome man of average height, his face full and rosy, his hair and beard white as snow. He was by birth an Englishman, but he was the son of a Norman mother, and had been taken to Normandy in his childhood; Normandy was ever the land of his affection. With the habits, feelings and language of the people over whom he ruled, he is said to have had no sympathy whatever. His heart was French, and his delight was to

surround himself with those who came from Normandy, to enrich them with English estates, and to invest them with the highest civil offices of his kingdom.¹ In short, he brought with him foreign habits, foreign manners, and he spoke Norman French.

Edward married the lady Eadgyth, or Editha, eldest daughter of Earl Godwin, of Normandy. This lady was no less highly gifted among women than her brother Harold was among men. She was a lady of high intellectual attainments, beautiful, meek, modest, faithful, and virtuous.² She was lovely in person and adorned with every female accomplishment, and with learning and refinement unusual for her age. In point of piety and liberality, she is said to have been a fitting helpmeet to the Confessor. She became infected to a certain degree with her husband's love of foreigners, and the doubtful honour of having her name extolled by Norman flatterers as one whose heart was rather Norman than English.

During the second year of Edward's reign he was menaced with an invasion from Magnus, King of Norway, who sent letters to England demanding the crown of Edward, to which Edward replied by mustering a large fleet at Sand-

¹ Freeman.

² Miller.

wich, and declaring himself ready to oppose his landing. Among those who came over to pay their court to Edward was Eustace, Count of Boulogne, Edward's brother-in-law, he having married Edward's sister. Eustace had an escort of foreigners, who were hospitably entertained by Edward. Edward was popular with Danes, Saxons, and Normans. In 1043 a meeting of the Witan, or National Council, took place at Gloucester, when evidently the subject under discussion was Queen Emma and her wealth. The result of the deliberations was that the King in person, accompanied by his three great earls, rode from Gloucester to Winchester, came unawares upon the lady, occupied her lands, and seized all that she had in gold, silver, jewels, and precious stones. They left her, however, enough for her maintenance. Some time after this, William, Duke of Normandy (the Conqueror), came over with a large escort on a visit to Edward, but whether at Edward's invitation or at the suggestion of his countrymen to see how the land lay, is not known. His escort included many nobles and knights, and all were received with great courtesy by Edward, who entertained them for some time. The Duke was escorted to Edward's various cities and royal castles, and he was loaded with presents when he returned to Normandy. This visit introduced

him to many of the English chiefs, and began the formation of that interest which so powerfully assisted him in afterwards acquiring the crown.

We are informed from an authentic source³ that on 27th July, 1054, the whole force of the Northumbrian provinces collected around the banner of Siward, the Danish Earl, and attacked Macbeth on the Day of the Seven Sleepers. 1,500 of the Anglo-Danes fell in the contest; but Siward gained the day, slew 3,000 of the enemy, the Normans amongst the number, and carried off a booty unprecedented in modern warfare. It is said that this victory may have reinstated Malcolm on the Scottish throne. The espousal of his cause by Edward the Confessor, and the directions given by the saintly king to Siward to restore the heir of Duncan to his kingdom, only appears in the pages of Anglo-Norman writers.

William the Conqueror was the natural son of Robert, Duke of Normandy (Robert the Devil), and his mother was the daughter of a tanner at Falaise. She was one day washing at a brook when Robert's eye alighted upon her as he was returning from the hunting. Pleased with her beauty, he sent one of his knights to make proposals to her father offering to make her his wife (he was already married). The father, dreading

³ *Scotland under her Early Kings.*

that she might be carried off by force, reluctantly consented. Robert became greatly attached to this lady, and the child she bore him, who was brought up as if he had been a lawful son of the Duke, became in after years William the Conqueror. When the child was seven years old, he was by his father made Duke of Normandy; immediately after which his father went on a pilgrimage to Rome, but did not live to return. On the day when William first sprang into the saddle without assistance, those around him made it a day of rejoicing. He soon evinced a love for horses and military array, and while yet young made war against his neighbours of Anjou and Brittany; wherever he moved he was met by Normans and saluted as if he had been King of England. The chief offices in the kingdom were in the hands of Normans or French favourites. Edward the Confessor was a weak-minded, vacillating prince, not very capable of directing the administration at such a turbulent period when civil war was perpetual. Harold, eldest son of Earl Godwin, succeeded his father, in the government of the Saxons south of the Thames. This had Edward's approval.

When Harold returned to England he presented himself before King Edward, and made him acquainted with all that had occurred between

William and himself in Normandy. Edward said: "Did I not forewarn thee that I knew this William, and that thy journey would bring great evils both upon thyself and upon thy nation. Heaven grant that it happen not in my time."

It is evident from these words that Edward had no wish that William of Normandy should be his successor. About this time Edward sent over to Hungary for his nephew, the son of Edmund Ironside, a young man now in the prime of life, as Ironside died in 1016. It would be about 1057 when his nephew arrived in England. It appears to have been the intention of Edward the Confessor to appoint or nominate his nephew to be his successor on the Anglo-Saxon throne, but unfortunately Prince Edward died unexpectedly, soon after his arrival in England. Whether the Prince was poisoned, assassinated, or died a natural death, is not known. There is nothing recorded on the subject. The unfortunate prince was the father of the Princess Margaret, afterwards Queen of Scotland.

In spite of Edward's friendly warning, Harold resolved to visit William of Normandy, and with his hawk on his wrist and his hounds playing at his heels, hunting and hawking on the way till he arrived at Bosham, in Sussex, where he embarked with his escort to visit the Duke of Normandy

and bring back his brother and nephew. It is recorded⁴ that Edward, after the return of Harold, his brother-in-law, never held up his head again nor uttered another cheerful word, and that shortly before his death in vain did the priests pray for him.

A review of the official career of Edward the Confessor would be incomplete without reference to the great work of his life—the foundation of Westminster. In a historical work of our own time⁵ we are informed that Edward barely lived to complete this great work. He deemed himself set upon the throne not to secure the welfare or independence of his kingdom, but to build a church, and endow a monastery, in honour of St. Peter. It was no small work to rear that stately Minster which has ever since been the crowning place of our kings, and which for so many ages was their place of burial. It was no small work to call into being that mighty Abbey whose Chapter House plays so great a part in the growth of the freedom of England. The Church of St. Peter at Westminster, the noble work of Edward's life, has proved more than a rival of Canterbury, York, Winchester, and Glastonbury.

⁴ Miller.

⁵ Freeman.

In Edward we can discern no signs of the higher aspirations of a sovereign ; a monk rather than a king, he seems never to have risen beyond a monk's selfish anxiety for the welfare of his own soul. Edward's devotion to the Apostle Peter, led to a devotion to his supposed successor, and to that frequent intercourse with the Roman See which is a marked characteristic of his reign. There seems no reason to doubt that Edward resolved on a pilgrimage to Rome, that the Witan, or National Council, dissuaded him from leaving the kingdom ; that Pope Leo dispensed with his vow, and imposed on him, instead of a personal visit to the tomb of St. Peter, the duty of founding or enlarging a monastery in his honour within his own kingdom, at Westminster the foundation itself, the establishment and endowment of the Monastic Society. No doubt the building of the refectory, the dormitory and the other buildings needed for their personal use, had all been completed at least four years before the Minster itself was ready for consecration. Pope Leo required Edward either to found a new, or enlarge an old monastery in honour of St. Peter. Edward chose the latter course. A little distance from the western gate of London there was once the Thorny Island, so called from the dense bushes and thickets which covered it. There stood a

monastery whose origin was in the earliest days of English Christianity. There the first Christian king of the East Saxons had begun a foundation in honour of St. Peter, to balance as it were the great Minster of St. Paul's within the city. The Church of St. Peter, from its position towards St. Paul's, obtained the name of Westminster. But for some centuries its reputation was inferior to its eastern rival, St. Paul's. Edward's idea was to make Westminster the centre of the strongest national feelings of religion and loyalty; and he has had his reward. His Minster still stands rebuilt partly by a more illustrious bearer of his own name, in such a guise as to make it the noblest of the noble churches of England. There a long succession of kings have received the crown; the walls which beheld their crowning beheld also their burial.

The Church of Westminster as built by Edward has wholly given way to the conception of later architects, who sought to do fresh honour to the Saint by making his own work give way to theirs. If the original Westminster had lasted to our time we should have preserved its genuine features precisely as they came from the hands of the first builders. The Church of Edward was therefore destroyed by his own worshippers in his own honour.

Henry III. began that magnificent temple which after so many ages remain unfinished. Of the domestic buildings of the Abbey as raised by Edward, large portions have been spared. The solid passages and sub-structures built in the massive style of the time remain almost perfect, and considerable traces still exist of the refectory and dormitory ; but the Church itself, the central building of all, gradually gave way to the superb structure with which we are all familiar. Nothing is left of Edward's Minster save a few bases of pillars, and other fragments brought to light, in various excavations and alterations of the present fabric.

Edward carefully introduced all Norman improvements into his new Minster. He built his Church in the newest style of the day, and it remained the great object of English imitation deep into the twelfth century. Edward's was a Norman Minster, of vast size, the increase of size being one main distinction between the new Norman style and the older English. Its dimensions no doubt far surpassed those of any Church then standing in England. Over the choir rose in Norman fashion the central tower, surrounded at its angles by smaller turrets and crowned by a cupola of wood and lead. The transepts projected north and south ; to the west stretched the

long nave with its two ranges of aisles resting on tall columnar piers. Two smaller towers for the reception of the bells were designed on the finish of the building to the west. The building of the Church seems to have been wholly Edward's own personal work. After fourteen years from the receipt of the Papal Dispensation, the building was finished from the apse to the western front. At the mid-winter Festival of 1065 the new Minster of St. Peter stood ready for its hallowing. On the Festival of the Nativity and two following days, Edward wore his crown in public. The exertion was too much for him. The fourth day, the Feast of the Holy Innocents, had been appointed for the great ceremony, but Edward was no longer able to take part in the rite which he had so long looked forward to as the crowning act of his life. He was represented in that day's solemnity by the Queen, the lady Editha. Edward's work on earth was now over. The Church was finished, and it was soon to be the scene of rites still more solemn and memorable. Before the Christmas Festival was over, Edward the Confessor, on 5th January, 1066, was gathered to his fathers, and was interred in Westminster Abbey.

Edward, who was married to the Lady Editha, daughter of Earl Godwin, had no family, and

Harold, his brother-in-law, succeeded him, and was crowned immediately after his death. Harold fell at the battle of Hastings that same year, when William the Conqueror, shortly after the Norman Conquest, proclaimed himself as King William I.

Edward the Confessor was canonized in 1101. It is said that Malcolm III., deprived of his father's protection in early youth, grew to manhood under the Confessor's protection. At the Confessor's Court he consorted with knights and others sitting at the King's table. It was at this Court that he first met the Princess Margaret.⁶

⁶ Palgrave's *Anglo-Saxons*.

HAROLD, LAST SAXON KING, 1066.

EDWARD the Confessor was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Harold, who ascended the Anglo-Saxon throne, and was crowned by Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury. The death of Edward the Atheling, Princess Margaret's father, enabled Harold to accept the crown. For some time Harold had been the Confessor's lieutenant or right-hand man. Harold's visit to William of Normandy was probably in 1064. What led up to the battle of Hastings, the death of Harold, and the extinction of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy will be so far understood from the following:— After Harold's coronation Duke William sent him this message: "William, Duke of Normandy, reminds thee of the oath which thou didst swear to him by mouth and by hand on the good and holy Cross." Harold replied: "It is true that I swore such an oath to Duke William, but I swore it under compulsion; I promised that which did not belong to me, and which I could not perform; for my Royalty is not mine, and I cannot divest myself of it without the consent of my country; nor without the consent of the country can I marry a foreign wife (Duke William's daughter).

As to my sister whom the Duke claims to marry to one of his chiefs, she died this year ; would he have him send him her body?" All concessions after this were at an end. William swore a solemn oath and vowed by the glory of God, that within a year he would appear in person and demand his rights. This was followed by William's invasion of England, the Norman Invasion, which culminated in the battle of Hastings.

At this battle Harold had distinguished himself by his bravery and firmness throughout the day, placed himself in the most dangerous positions, and by his personal exertions set an example of valour and vigilance to his soldiers. The night before the battle was spent by the English in festivity, by the Normans in devotion. From 9 a.m. of 14th October, 1066, the English fought with the most stubborn courage till nightfall, when the pretended flight of the Normans was an ingenious manoeuvre, but it drew the enemy from their impregnable position and gave the Normans the victory. As the sun went down, an arrow pierced Harold's right eye. He fell between the royal ensigns, and the battle closed with a dreadful *melée* over his dead body.⁷ The Conqueror pitched his tent on the spot where Harold fell, and sat down to eat his dinner among the dead. The dead

⁷ J. R. Green's *Short History*.



William the Conqueror.

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MUSEUM
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body of Harold is said to have lain some time on the battle-field before anyone ventured to claim it, but at last his mother ventured forth and craved permission to bury it. It is said that she offered the Conqueror the weight of the body in gold, but he refused the request, saying: "He shall have no other sepulchre than the sand on the sea-shore." Two monks from Waltham Abbey (founded by Harold) obtained permission to inter the body there; but they had difficulty in identifying it on the battle-field. It was at last identified and interred in Waltham Abbey.

Harold's two brothers also fell at this battle, and the House of Godwin became extinct. During the day the Conqueror had three horses killed under him, and though he escaped without a wound, his helmet bore the dint of a heavy blow from a battle-axe.

Eadgar, Queen Margaret's brother, was now the only male representative of the royal line, and he was chosen king, but in the circumstances it was merely nominal, as everything had to give way to the Conqueror. Eadgar headed the deputation who came to offer the crown to the Conqueror, and it was at once accepted. London was secured by the erection of a fortress which afterwards became a vast building, and is now the Tower of London. In 1068 the Conqueror who had gone

to Normandy, returned to England to find that serious trouble and a general revolt had broken out. The King of Denmark disputed the Conqueror's rights (now King William I.) over England, and he sent a fleet to the Humber. He was, however, bought up by the English King. Eadgar with a band of exiles who had taken refuge in Scotland, championed the Northumbrian revolt, which spread over the entire North West Counties, and as far north as York.

In September, 1069, the arrival of 240 ships in the Humber under the command of Osbern, the Danish King's brother, induced Eadgar, in the following autumn, to make an effort to free their native country from the Norman yoke, even at the cost of delivering it to the Danes. The united forces marching upon York, stormed the two Norman castles there and put the garrison of 3,000 to the sword. Eadgar and his followers then retired beyond the Tyne. The Conqueror, when he heard of the disaster at York, swore he would exact vengeance, and he fulfilled his oath.⁸ The Conqueror immediately despatched Robert Comyn with a contingent of soldiers to preserve order in Northumbria, but Comyn was surprised and slain at Durham, and of his 700 men only one escaped. The victors then marched on York, taking with

⁸ Robertson, *Early Kings*.

them Eadgar, who had just joined them from Scotland. They were defeated by the sudden arrival of the Conqueror. King William was well aware of the secret disaffection prevailing, and his vengeance was never forgotten. He lost no opportunity of crushing the men whom he thought dangerous. It was to avoid, the historian says, some such ebullition of the Conqueror's wrath, that in the summer of 1068 Eadgar and his family deemed it expedient to cross the Border into Scotland. It was three years afterwards when King William entered Scotland, and when Malcolm III. appeared in the English camp and swore fealty to him. In 1087 King William rode down the steep street of Nantes, which town he had set fire to, when his horse stumbled among the embers, and he was thrown heavily from his saddle and seriously hurt. He was carried to Rouen, the nearest town, and carefully treated by the best medical skill of that age, but it was in vain, and he died shortly after.

CHAPTER V.

CONTENTS.

Kalendar of the Kings of Hungary. Close of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchy. Queen Margaret's Ancestors. Arrival of the Princess Margaret. Her character. Malcolm III., birth and genealogy. At the Confessor's Court. Margaret's family exiled from England. Arrive at St. Margaret's Hope. Malcolm escorts them to his residence in the Tower. Queen Margaret's Stone. King Malcolm's Tower. Ruins of ancient Palace. The Cave Oratory. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* account of the exiles. Marriage of the Princess Margaret. Foundation of Holy Trinity Chapel. The Queen's influence in Scotland. Royal Needlework Society. Royal Table gold and silver plate. The Black Rood. Court etiquette.

KALENDAR OF THE KINGS OF HUNGARY (PRINCESS MARGARET PERIOD.)

NAME.	PERIOD OF REIGN.
Stephen	1000—1038
Peter I.	1038—1041
Aba Sama	1041—1044
Peter II.	1044—1047
Andrew	1047—1061
Bela I.	1061—1062
Solomon	1062—1074
Gayza	1074

PRINCESS MARGARET, QUEEN OF
SCOTLAND, 1070-1093.

IN presenting a brief outline of the Princess Margaret's career we enter upon the civil and political life of the eleventh century, a period of constant and interminable warfare. The Princess Margaret was essentially an Anglo-Saxon princess, a child of the blood royal, born so to speak in the purple, and endowed with faculties in advance of her time. The first twenty years of her life we know little or nothing about except that that time was spent at the Court of Hungary, a kingdom at that period more prominent in European politics than it is now. The Princess Margaret's life, as known to us, began with her marriage in 1070 to Malcolm III., King of Scots, when she was twenty-four years of age; at which period she became Queen of the ancient kingdom of Scotland. From her arrival in England in 1066 until her death in 1093, a period of twenty-seven years, it is proper to say it is for that period that we have meagre details of her life recorded. Her life by Turgot, her confessor, is really the only *bona fide* life we possess; the narratives of more recent writers being founded upon it. Turgot's life is disap-



(Photo. Wilson, Aberdeen.)

Queen Margaret

pointing from its brevity, being merely a general complimentary, and rather unconnected narrative, of the Queen's official life, with very rarely any attempt at details. Such details, had we possessed them, would have been valued and appreciated by posterity. A translation of Turgot's work has been published by Mr. Forbes Leith, a writer who has found the task congenial, while his text evinces all manner of sympathy and appreciation.

A narrative of Margaret's life, as Queen of Scotland, would be unintelligible without a review of the official career and administration of her more immediate ancestors, the Anglo-Saxon kings, beginning with that of her great ancestor, Alfred the Great. This we have given in the first half of this volume. Margaret lived at a notable period of English history. She saw the extinction of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy after five centuries of existence, and she witnessed that astounding event in European history, the victory of William the Conqueror at the battle of Hastings, fought on the field of Senlac, and the achievement of the Norman Conquest. In both these great events she was deeply interested. Her father, Edward, was the last but one of the line of Anglo-Saxon kings, though he never ascended the throne, because of a fatal illness, and his place was taken by Harold, brother-in-law of Edward the Confessor.

Harold fell at the battle of Hastings fighting against the Conqueror.

After the Norman Conquest, the Princess Margaret's brother, Eadgar Atheling, was the nearest heir to the throne, but that monarchy having come to an end, Eadgar, who was not at all a popular man, evidently went over to Normandy and probably joined the Conqueror. The Saxon monarchy has a history full of sparkling interest, a history of continuous warfare with the Danes, Vikings, Sea-kings, and others, but a history destitute, to a great extent, of political or ecclesiastical development. These were the days when "might was right," and before constitutional laws were established, or attempted to be put in force.

The Princess Margaret's great ancestor, King Alfred, was a man of outstanding ability, fond of literature and books, and as a soldier in the field, brave and courageous. Under him the Saxon monarchy became a great power. Her last ancestor who sat on the throne was her grand-uncle, Edward the Confessor. He was not a fighting man, but a pious monarch, who devoted his time to deeds of charity, and grants to monasteries and religious houses. The great work of his life was his foundation of Westminster Abbey, a vast undertaking, and one that has immortalised him in the eyes of the world.

It does not appear that the Princess Margaret spent much of her time at the Court of her uncle. She arrived in England in the autumn of 1066, and from that date to her marriage in 1070 would be the period available, but we are not informed what portion of that time was spent in England, and what in Scotland. Historians are not agreed as to whether her marriage took place in 1069 or 1070, but the balance of evidence is evidently in favour of 1070. She was a pious woman, of strict integrity and good principle, and doubtless was greatly influenced in these qualities at the Court of the Confessor, a court that was notable for integrity and purity. She had also, we may take it, excellent training and experience at the Hungarian Court until she was twenty years of age. It was one of her favourite recreations, during her married life, to discuss ecclesiastical questions with the clergy. These debates, according to her biographer, were conducted by her with great enthusiasm and mental vigour. So far as may be understood, the clergy usually concurred with her views, and altered their programme to meet her scholarly expositions.

King Malcolm was a great personality in his day, a notable warrior, intrepid and courageous, a man who feared nothing. He was probably born about 1030, as he was a child when King Duncan was, in

1040, slain by Macbeth. Although it is recorded that he could neither read nor write, it is very probable that that indicates the educational state of the ancient kingdom at that early period in Scottish history. Pinkerton, the historian, says: "Malcolm III. is commonly reputed the son of Duncan, King of Scotland, but there is room to suspect that he was his grandson. When Duncan, King of Scotland, was slain, Duncan, King of Cumbria, his son, was unmolested by Macbeth. Malcolm III. was evidently son of Duncan, King of Cumbria, son of Duncan, King of Scotland." There seems no reason to doubt what this historian has said respecting the genealogy of King Malcolm.

The Princess Margaret, who was grand-daughter of Edmund Ironside, Anglo-Saxon king, and grand-niece of Edward the Confessor, was the daughter of Edward Atheling, son of Ironside. Her father when a child, was, by Canute the Dane, exiled from England, because he was of the royal blood, and might when grown up drive Canute from the throne.

Edward found an asylum at the Court of Stephen, King of Hungary, and spent his life there till he was forty-nine years of age. In addition to being named Edward Atheling, he was also called *Outer Mer*, because the chief part of his life was spent beyond sea, in Hungary. When

he reached manhood he won the affections and married the Princess Agatha, niece of Henry II., Emperor of Germany, and of the Queen of Hungary. Of this marriage were born Eadgar and the Princesses Margaret and Christian. The Princess Margaret was born in 1046 at Alb Castle, the residence of the kings of Hungary. She became a great favourite at that Court, and her life there was doubtless full of incident, but unfortunately no record has come down to us. When she had reached the age of twenty years her father was recalled to England by Edward the Confessor, his uncle, in order that he might succeed him on the Anglo-Saxon throne. At this point the history of Edward Atheling is full of mystery. When he landed on the shores of England in 1066 it is said he was in such a state of weakness that he was unable to proceed to his uncle's residence. He died in London the same year without having seen the King. This is the story as given by historians of Saxon history, and had full details been recorded the narrative would have been unchallengeable, but its Spartan brevity suggests that the death of Edward did not occur in the manner thus related, and that as yet we have not been informed of the actual cause which brought about the sudden and unexpected death of this estimable young prince. The

rest of the family, it is said, were received with honour and affection by King Edward and his Court.

Malcolm Canmore was at that period also at the Court of Edward the Confessor, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he then became attracted by the Princess Margaret's many graces of mind and person. Some time after the battle of Hastings, William the Conqueror commanded Eadgar Atheling, Princess Margaret's brother, to leave England along with his mother and sisters. On receiving this order they resolved to return to Hungary, accompanied by an escort of Northumbrian nobles. The little fleet in which they sailed, instead of making for Hungary, was driven out of its course by adverse winds, and they made for Wearmouth on the Durham coast. They were, however, by the violence of the storm unable to anchor there, and they made for the Firth of Forth. They disembarked at what is now called St. Margaret's Hope, where it is recorded King Malcolm received them, escorted them to his residence in the Tower, situated in the forest adjoining Dunfermline, giving them a cordial welcome to the Scottish Court, and inviting them to remain as long as they chose. The nobles who accompanied them were English Thanes, all of whom were landowners it is said

under King Malcolm, and whose descendants subsequently appear high in the roll of Scotland's territorial aristocracy. The date of this incident is believed to be 1067. Another account says: "In the confusion then going on Malcolm had marched on Cumberland and had despatched home a portion of his soldiers laden with plunder. On his arrival at Wearmouth he found a vessel in the harbour with Eadgar on board, who, with his mother and sisters and some Northumbrian nobles, was awaiting a favourable wind in order to proceed. Malcolm hastened to assure the exiles of a welcome reception at his own Court ; and his offer of an asylum was readily accepted ; and having done so he resumed his journey."¹ A modern writer, in his appreciation of the Princess Margaret, eloquently observes : "The worn traveller would mercifully be given relief from her fatigue and her load of care by a mystic sleep in the mist and shadow, of which she would be cheered with a panoramic foreshadowing of her future greatness and fame ; herself not only a Queen but a mother, of a long descent of kings and queens, ever increasing in power and lustre with the lapse of the years until their sovereignty becomes world-wide. The city in which she established her Court ever shining with

¹ Mackie.

increasing effulgence as a centre of industry and as a home of learning and of piety, achieving as the grandest of various distinctions the credit of brightening for all the land, the light of the Evangel she herself introduced; her kingdom gradually extending from Scotland throughout the whole of the land, developing with the process of the suns into the mightiest empire the world has ever seen; and herself made the object of loyal affection and veneration.”

In 1067, says the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Eadgar Atheling, seeing the affairs of the English disturbed on every side, went on board ship with his mother and sisters, and endeavoured to return to Hungary, where he had been born, but a storm arose at sea and they were compelled to go to Scotland. The Princess Margaret's marriage was to increase God's praise in the land, and to direct the King from the erring path, and bind him to a better way, and his people with him, and to suppress evil customs which formerly prevailed with that people. Then the King received her, though it was against her will, and her customs pleased him and he thanked God who had given him such a consort; and wisely bethought him since he was very prudent and turned himself to God and scorned every impurity according to what the Apostle Paul saith: “Very often the unbelieving

husband is sanctified and saved by the righteous wife ; and likewise the wife by the believing husband."

From a noble race Margaret was descended. Her father, Edward, was son of Edmund Ironside, and Ironside was son of Ethelred ; Ethelred was son of Eadgar, and Eadgar was son of Edmund the Magnificent, and this Edmund was the son of Alfred the Great ; the mother's kin goes to the Emperor Henry II. who held sway over Rome. Edward was not born in Hungary, but in England. The Princesses Margaret and Christian were inclined to a religious life, and when the King entreated Margaret to become his wife she refused to entertain the proposal because she desired to devote herself to a life of virginity in the convent. King Malcolm, however, had made up his mind and was determined to have his own way. He consulted her brother Eadgar, and though Eadgar at first gave a negative answer, he eventually consented, considering they were Malcolm's guests, and under his protection. It was a good day for Malcolm and for Scotland when the Princess Margaret was persuaded to exchange the easy self-dedication of the cloister for the harder task of doing her duty in that exalted sphere of life to which Providence had called her. No royal marriage was ever more important in its results

for the English nation. It was through her that the old kingly blood of England passed into the veins of William the Conqueror.

Whilst Margaret was in the flower of her youth she began to lead a very strict life, to love God above all things, to employ herself in the study of divine writings, and therein with joy to exercise her mind. Her understanding was keen to comprehend any matter whatever it might be: to this was joined a great tenacity of memory, enabling her to store it up, along with a graceful flow of language to express it.²

Malcolm had been ten or twelve years King of Scots when the Conqueror arrived in England. Walking from St. Margaret's Hope to Dunfermline (four miles) on her arrival, the Princess, when about half-way, rested for a little on a great block of stone. The stone is still to be seen and is called St. Margaret's Stone. The neighbouring farm takes its name from this traditional circumstance and is called St. Margaret's Stone Farm. In 1856 the stone was removed by the road surveyor to an adjoining site, in order to widen the road. King Malcolm escorted the exiles to his Tower, as just stated, and there shortly afterwards he was married to the Princess Margaret. The exiles appear to have left Scotland in 1069, and

² Turgot.

to have returned the following year, when the marriage was celebrated.

The Saxon Chronicle considers that her marriage took place by Divine appointment, for the prescient Creator knew beforehand what he would have done by her ; for she was to increase the praise of God in the land, and direct the King from the erroneous path and incline him, together with his people, to a better way, and suppress the evil habits which the nation had previously cultivated, as she afterwards did. She performed many useful deeds in the land to the glory of God ; and in regal qualities bore herself well, which to her was natural. She introduced the crucifix into her own Church at Dunfermline, and similar crucifixes she left to other Churches as marks of her piety and devotion, of which the Church of St. Andrews affords an instance where a beautiful crucifix which she erected there was long preserved.

On Thorfinn's death in 1057, probably to conciliate the Northern element in his kingdom, Malcolm had married Ingibiorg, widow of Thorfinn, by whom he had two sons, Duncan and Donald, *The Saxon Chronicle* adds: Malcolm began to yearn after Eadgar's sister Margaret to be his wife, Ingibiorg being dead, but Eadgar and his sister long refused, and she herself said that she would not have

him, nor indeed anyone, if the Heavenly clemency would grant that she in maidenhood might propitiate the mighty Lord with corporal heart in this short life in pure continence. In the male line, Malcolm represented the powerful lay abbots of Dunkeld, and inherited their influence over the ecclesiastical foundation dependent on that monastery. In the female line, he possessed the more important representation of the Scottish royal house, who had ruled for a century and a half over Scotland. His father, Duncan, had been recognised twenty years by the Welsh population of Cumbria, or Strathclyde, as their King, and by his mother he was connected with the Danes of Northumbria, and the powerful Earl Siward. Of the events of his thirty-five years' reign very few have been recorded. His death was a great misfortune to Scotland. He united in himself so many claims to the allegiance of the heterogeneous races under his rule, that a work of consolidation had been insensibly going on during his reign, while the influence of his pious and accomplished Queen, the Princess Margaret, quietly advanced their civilization. His death, and that of the Queen, arrested the progress of both until the accession of David I., when consolidation and advancing civilization were resumed.³

³ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*.

Queen Margaret's Cave Oratory is situated about 350 yards to the north-east of the Tower hill, and a little to the east of the Tower burn which flows immediately in front of it. She retired to this secluded spot daily for secret devotion ; and her husband, King Malcolm, either not knowing or doubting her real object, on one occasion it is said privately followed her, and, unobserved, looked into the cave to see how she was occupied. Perceiving her engaged in devotion he was overjoyed, and thereafter ordered the place to be suitably fitted up for her use. The Cave Oratory consists of an open apartment in the solid rock. The entrance faces the west, but there are no windows ; its dimensions are 12 feet long, 8 feet wide, 7 feet high.

Queen Margaret's visits to the Oratory were part of the routine of her daily life. Its immediate proximity to the Tower rendered it highly convenient for such retirement. Whether she always went there alone or occasionally took others with her we are not informed by her biographer.

It is unfortunate that the home of Queen Margaret at Dunfermline, with its surroundings, has suffered so much from neglect. Her royal palace is rapidly disappearing, and the boundaries of what was once the pleasure grounds and grounds attached to the palace, forming in

whole the royal demesne, are now beyond the possibility of identification, the place being covered with modern buildings.

On an eminence about seventy feet in height in Pittencrieff Glen, close to the town of Dunfermline, stood the Tower in all probability built by Malcolm. Some fragments of the walls still remain and are carefully protected by the proprietor. The Tower when entire would be fifty feet broad from north to south, and sixty from east to west ; present height of walls, eight feet. It is probable that it contained at least twenty apartments, and in the coped attic there would be room for servants, attendants, etc. From the oldest wax seals attached to charters, it appears to have been a stately building consisting of two storys, and probably attics having apartments. About 100 yards south-east of it, in the glen, are the ruins of the ancient palace, once the residence of Malcolm and Queen Margaret.

Let us hope that much more attractive to Margaret than Malcolm's claims of long descent, were his virtues of magnanimity and true chivalry. In any case his love was irresistible ; she was entirely in his hands ; the safety of the fugitive family was dependent upon him. The marriage took place on the first day after Easter, or on 5th April, 1070. It was celebrated by Fothard, Celtic





Turgot,
Queen Margaret's Confessor and Biographer.

Bishop of St. Andrews, in a small chapel attached to the Tower, traces of which may still be seen in the grounds adjoining Pittencrieff. The Princess was averse to the marriage for the reason just stated, and also because the misfortunes of her country, and of her family, had sunk deeply into her heart, inclining her to seek refuge in the cloister. This was the King's second marriage. His first wife was Ingibiorg, widow of a Danish chief, Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, and a Norwegian princess, but according to a modern writer,⁴ she died on the occasion of the birth of her first child. This child was afterwards named Duncan, and the same writer adds, that Queen Margaret's marriage was solemnised in the spring of 1069 (other historians say 1070). It was probably the spring of 1067 when she arrived at St. Margaret's Hope from England.

Mercer, a poet, alluding to it, says,

It is a sheltered safe retreat,
 For tempest driven vessels meet ;
 And ever since that day so famed,
 St. Margaret's Hope it has been named.

Turgot, the Queen's biographer, was a Saxon of good birth, who during the troubles in England was offered as a hostage to William the Conqueror, by whom he was imprisoned in the Castle of Lincoln, whence he escaped to Norway. On his return to England, he asked for admission into the monastery or abbey of Durham, where his piety and learning led to his being eventually chosen Prior. After the Princess Margaret became Queen of Scotland, she invited him to be her confessor, and he became her constant guide and adviser until the close of her life. Turgot was consecrated Bishop of St. Andrews in 1109. Lanfranc was ordained Archbishop of Canterbury in 1070, and died in 1089.

⁴ Bellesheim.

The Queen, in her maturer years, gave great attention to abuses in the state, of which their number was legion. There was the desecration of the Sabbath, and the practice of unlawful marriages, and various other matters, in which the Church in Scotland did not conform to the universal Church. The King, understanding and appreciating the necessity of reform, and falling in with the Queen's views, held councils of the chief ecclesiastics and nobles of the realm, to have these abuses debated. The Queen was present on these occasions, and full of zeal for the glory of God, stated her views at full length. The King, though not a reader, is recorded to have known familiarly Anglo-Saxon, Latin, and Gaelic.

The Queen desired him, by her exhortation and by her example, to pray to God with heartfelt groanings and tears. There was in him a sort of dread of offending one whose life was so worthy of veneration, for he saw that Christ in very deed dwelt within her ; and he hastened to obey in all things her wishes and counsels. She made him most ready to concur in works of justice, mercy, almsgiving, and other virtues.

Some time after her marriage Queen Margaret founded at Dunfermline the handsome and stately Church of the Holy Trinity to commemorate this great event in her life. She also placed there a

Cross of priceless value, bearing the figure of our Saviour, which she had caused to be covered with the purest gold and silver, studded with gems, a token of the earnestness of her faith. This was distinct from the Black Rood. Her first care was to perform her duties as a loving wife and helpmeet to the King; and both to him and to the people she performed her duties in an unexceptionable manner. She persuaded the King to be more attentive to his religious duties, and from this time he became more earnest in prayer and good works, such as mercy, justice, and benevolence.

The King and Queen were in full sympathy with each other. The Queen effected many reforms at Court, and the palace showed an example of purity and integrity to the nation. She also exercised great influence over the people; "men as well as women loved her, while they feared her, and in fearing loved her." In her presence no one dared to say or do ought that was wrong.⁵ Skilled in the use of the needle and embroidery of all kinds, the Queen devoted some of her time to adorning vestments for the Churches. In her chambers were always to be seen such tokens of her industry. The charge of these was confided to ladies of high birth, and approved conduct.

⁵ Turgot.

Queen Margaret was fond of state and show. She dressed handsomely, and increased the number of attendants on the Court, and greatly added to the parade of the King's public appearances. She caused the royal table to be served with gold and silver plate, and she encouraged the importation and use of foreign woven stuffs. It was she who first introduced the tartan, which became a national favourite. She had a favourite crucifix called the Black Rood. It was of gold, about the length of a hand; the figure of Christ upon it was of ebony, studded and inlaid with gold; a piece of the true Cross was said to be enclosed in it. (*Vide* Chapter IX.)

The Court of Scotland during Margaret's life was marked by the rare combination of much splendour and much strictness of manners. The increase of material prosperity showed itself in the abundance of rich plate, mostly of gold and silver, that now adorned the King's table. At the instance of the Queen, foreign merchants brought their wares, hitherto unknown, to Scotland: fabrics of divers colours were now purchased by the people for their dress, and new fashions in costumes made their way. Margaret herself thought it her duty to maintain in all outward form the state and dignity of the Queen of Scotland, but her life was nevertheless one of extra-

ordinary religious severity.⁶ She fasted forty days before Christmas, and the forty days of Lent.

In her manner the Queen was bright and animated, but her mirth never descended to loud laughter. She could be severe when severity was needed, but remembering the words, "Be ye angry and sin not."

The Queen almost extinguished the Culdee Church. She summoned meetings of the Culdee ministers and discussed with them questions of religious doctrine. She spoke in Saxon, and the Culdees in Gaelic, the King acting as interpreter.⁷ The historian has failed to prove that Queen Margaret extinguished the Culdee Church. That Church was in existence 150 years after Queen Margaret's death, but came to an end in the thirteenth century by the flourishing state of the Catholic hierarchy at that period.

It is of some importance to know that in all her good works the Queen was heartily supported by her husband, and the Court became the standard for good manners, good morals, and progressive civilization. The Queen was a lady of refined and gentle manners, of a retiring disposition, but firm and decisive in all her public acts, and in all matters affecting the welfare of the

⁶ Dowden, *Celtic Church*.

⁷ Mackenzie.

Court or of the nation. The maintenance of kingly dignity was one of her cardinal points. Under her direction a noble class of persons attended the King when he went abroad, and no one was suffered to injure or take anything from the poor. The nobles of the Court were instructed to dress in a manner more suited to their rank, and to enable them to do so foreign merchants introduced materials for this purpose, such as had hitherto been unknown in Scotland. It does not appear that with all this Queen Margaret was in the least degree jubilant or proud. She remained humble, despising the things of the world. She was an ascetic in an eminent degree, and, according to her biographer, trod all these earthly trappings under foot, and bade herself remember that beneath the gems of gold there was but dust and ashes. It was through her that pomp and ceremonial were first introduced at the Scottish Court, the King no longer riding out without a royal escort, nor regaling his nobility in the rude fashion of his ancestors, but astonishing them with display of gold and silver plate.⁸

In 1074 King William went over to Normandy, and Eadgar also went over. At that date Philip, King of France, wrote Eadgar to come to him and he would give him the castle of Montreuil for

⁸ *Scotland's Early Kings.*

his residence. On his departure, King Malcolm and Queen Margaret gave him and his men many gifts, also skins, decked with purple, pelisses of marten skins, and weasel and ermine skins, gold and silver vessels, etc. On the voyage evil befel them. The weather was stormy, and in a severe gale their ships burst asunder and they were compelled to return, but no one was lost.

CHAPTER VI.

CONTENTS.

Foundation Charter, Dunfermline Abbey. Kalendar of the Abbots. The Church and Clerical Councils. Reforms debated. Review of the Queen, by Dr. Skene. Meetings of Clerical Council. Guest Houses erected by the Queen at Queensferry. Her treatment of the poor. Ransoms the prisoners and captives. Malcolm and Gospatric. Malcolm invades Cumberland, 1072. Symeon of Durham and the miracle. Queen's household administration. Her State duties. The Royal children. King's devotion to the Queen. Malcolm and Rufus quarrel. Foundation of Durham. Malcolm besieges Alnwick Castle. Death of Malcolm and Prince Edward. Their interment. The Queen's pious and beautiful character. Her copy of the Four Gospels. Its immersion in the river.

DUNFERMLINE ABBEY.

SOME years after Queen Margaret's marriage, probably 1075, there was executed a Charter of Foundation of Dunfermline Abbey. The validity of this document has been questioned, but those who question it have failed to prove their case. The charter is certainly open to some objections, such as the want of the Primate's signature as a witness, but we must remember the early date when the instrument was executed. The following is a reproduction of the charter with translation by Cosmo Innes, but on its validity we offer no opinion :

In nomine sancte Trinitatis, Ego Malcolmus Dei gratia Scotorum Basileus autoritate Regia ac potestate Margarete Regini uxoris mee, Episcoporum comitum baronumque Regini mei confirmatione et testimonio clero etiam adquirescente populoque. Sciant presentis et futuri me fundasse Abbaciam in Monte infirmorum in honorem Dei omnipotentis et sancte et individue Trinitatis pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum meorum et pro salute anime Regini Margarete uxoris mee et omnium successorum meorum, concessi enim et hac carta mea confirmavi predictae Abbacie omnes terras et villas de Pardusin, Pitnaurcha, Pittecorthin, Petbachichin, Laur, Bolgin et shiram de Kirkaladant et Innerese minorem, cum tota schira de Fothriffe et Muselburge cum omnimodis suis pretinentiis tam in capillis et decimis aliisque oblacionibus

quam in omnibus aliis ad eas terras villas et schyras
 juste spectantibus ita libere sicut aliquis Rex aliquas
 elemosinas unquam dedit vel contalit ab initio mundi
 ad hunc diem testibus; Ivo, kelledeorum abbate,
 Mackduff comite, Duncano comite, araldo comite,
 Neis filio Williemi merleswain.

Apud Edinburgh.

TRANSLATION BY COSMO INNES.

In name of the Holy Trinity, I, Malcolm, by the
 grace of God King of Scots, of my Royal authority and
 power, with the confirmation and testimony of Queen
 Margaret, my wife, and of the Bishops, Earls, and
 Barons of my Kingdom; the Clergy and the people also
 acquiescing. Let all know, present and future, that I
 have founded an Abbey on the Hill of the Infirm in
 honour of God Almighty and of the Holy and undivided
 Trinity, for the safety of my own soul, and the souls of
 all my ancestors, and for the safety of the soul of Queen
 Margaret, my wife, and of all my successors; for I
 have granted, and by this my Charter confirmed, to
 the aforesaid Abbey all the lands and towns of Pardusin,
 Pitnaurha, Pittecorthin, Petbachichin, Laur, Bolgin,
 and the shire of Kirkaladant and Innerese the Lesser,
 with the whole of Forthriff and Muselburge, and all
 their pertinents; as well in Chapels, in tithes, and other
 oblations; as in all other things justly belonging to
 these lands, towns, and shires, as freely as any King
 ever granted or conveyed any gift, from the beginning
 of the world until this day. Witnesses:

Ivo, Abbot of the Culdees

Macduff, Earl

Duncan, Earl

Arnold, Earl

Neis, son of William

Marleswain.

Given at Edinburgh.



DUNFERMLINE ABBEY,
CIRCA A. D. 1670.
(From Old Sketches and Plans.)

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Frater or Dining Hall, Dunfermline Monastery, 1070 A.D

It is generally believed that the monastery of Dunfermline was founded by King Malcolm III. about the end of the eleventh century. It was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and it is assumed by several authorities that it was a Culdee establishment, and a priory till the reign of David I., who introduced thirteen monks from Canterbury, and raised the monastery to the rank of an abbey.

KALENDAR OF THE ABBOTS OF DUNFERMLINE ABBEY.

A.D.		
1126-1154	—Galfrid I. (Galfridus, Gosfrid, or Geoffry)	Died
1154-1178	—Galfrid II.	Died
1178-1198	—Archibald (Erkenbaldus, Archom- baldus)	Died
1198-1202	—Robert I. de Berwick	Deposed
1202-1223	—Patrick I.	Died
1223	—William II.	Died
1223-1238	—William II.	Died
1238-1240	—Gaufrid III.	Died
1240-1252	—Robert II. de Keldelecht.....	Resigned
1252-1256	—John I.	Died
1256-1270	—Matthew	
1270-1275	—Simon	Resigned
1275-1296	—Ralph (Radulphus de Greenlaw) (at least)	
1309-1313	—Hugh	
1316-1327	—Robert III. de Craill	
1331-1353	—Alexander I. de Ber.....	Died
	—John II. Blak	
	—John III. Stramiglow	
1363	—John IV.	
1365	—John V. of Balygirnach	
1380-1395	—John VI.	
1399-1409	—John VII. de Torry.....	
1413-1419	—William III. de St. Andrews ...	
1437-1442	—Andrew	
1445-1472	—Richard de Bothwell	
1472-1492	—Henry Crichtoun	
1483-1490	—Adam	

- 1494-1499—George I.
- 1500 —Robert IV. Blacadder
- 1502-1504—James I. Stuart Died
- 1504-1510—James II. Beton or Bethune .. Resigned
(or 1511)
- 1511-1513—Alexander II. Stuart Slain in Battle
- 1515-1516—James III. Hepburn Resigned
- 1516-1522—Andrew II. Forman Died
- 1522-1539—James II. Beton or Bethune
(again) Died
- 1539-1561—George II. Dury Died
(or later)
- 1584 —Robert V. Pitcairn..... Banished and
died
- 1585-1587—Patrick II. Gray (Master of Gray,
7th Lord of Gray) Banished
- 1587 —George III. Gordon, the 6th Earl
of Huntly Resigned

In 1593 the Abbacy was perpetually annexed to the Crown.

(These dates are, as far as possible, accurate, but are not guaranteed.)

Malcolm receiving notice that Earl Gospatric was invading and laying waste Cumberland, became furious, seeing that Gospatric had already got shelter in Scotland and thereafter returned to Cumberland. No mercy was shown to either age or sex. All who escaped were driven in crowds along the homeward route by the invaders, when multitudes of the captives perished miserably by the way. Great misery and loss of life resulted, accompanied by a famine. Scotland became their asylum and adopted home. Malcolm's invasion of Cumberland, with its accompanying disaster,

caused the Conqueror in 1072 to march north with a formidable body of cavalry, supported by a numerous fleet, with the object of exciting vengeance. At this date Eadgar was in Flanders, but he returned to Scotland in 1073.¹ Eadgar made his submission to the Conqueror by Malcolm's request, and was accepted. He was then conducted to the English frontier and from thence to Normandy, where he resigned his pretensions to the English crown, and it is said spent there the remaining years of his life.

Symeon of Durham, a monkish writer, says, under date 1079: "Malcolm, King of Scots, a man of great ferocity, and with a bestial disposition, was wont to ravage Northumbria and carry away men and women captive. On one occasion the people, hearing of his approach, fled to Hexham Church with such goods as they could carry with them, to be under the protection of the Saints who rest there. Malcolm went there, plundering those who were there. The priest admonished him not to commit such an outrage, but Malcolm despised the admonition. The priest returned to the Church and exhorted the people to invoke God's Saints, under whose protection they had fled, to protect them from the savage King of Scots. The following night, when the

¹*Saxon Chronicle.*

priest was asleep, there appeared to him an old man, venerable in face and raiment, who enquired of him the cause of all this; he replied, the violence of the enemy. The old man replied: 'Fear not, for before the dawn I will cast my net into the river and thereby the passage of the Scots will be wholly prevented,' and with these words the old man disappeared. Next morning the Tyne was so greatly risen, without flood, or rain, or violence of wind, that it could only be crossed by vessels; and so thick a mist fell that Malcolm's army divided in the darkness and got scattered. King Malcolm came with that fragment of his army which had remained with him, and said that by this miracle, and the intercession of the Saints, all means of crossing were denied him. After waiting three days the water still continued to rise, but Malcolm retreated, and thus those who fled to the Church were rescued from their perilous position by the invocation of the Saints who rest there."

Queen Margaret, early instructed in piety and general knowledge, had grown to womanhood at the Hungarian Court. It was probably there that she learned by such noble examples to be kind to the poor in their wants, both of soul and body. From her infancy she had shown that she was no common child. Endowed with so many mental

gifts, clearness of intellect, and great facility in expressing her thoughts in elegant language, her studies presented few difficulties to her, and she became one of the most accomplished princesses of her time.² She spent much time in prayer and study of the Scriptures, and in the midst of a Court led a very strict life.

In 1075 King William, having returned to England, again went to Normandy, and Eadgar returned to Scotland. In July Eadgar was received at King Malcolm's Court with much warmth and great ceremony, but he again went to Normandy, where he remained some years, and in 1090 returned to Scotland. King Malcolm, with an escort, went as far as Leeds, when King William and his troops approached them. Count Robert, King William's brother, and Eadgar, were successful in making a reconciliation between the two kings, after which Robert and Eadgar took ship and embarked for Normandy.³

Queen Margaret was the most illustrious of all the queens of Scotland; indeed, there are few more beautiful characters to be found in history. Descended from a long line of Saxon princes, and enriched by God with great mental and moral qualities, she ultimately became the consort and

²Mrs. Maxwell Scott.

³*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

councillor of one of the most conspicuous of Scottish monarchs.⁴ In the administration of her household Queen Margaret, it is recorded, so blended severity of manners with complacency, that she was equally revered and loved by all who approached her. She entertained many ladies about her person ; employed their leisure hours with the amusements of the needle ; and gave strict attention to the uprightness and decency of their conduct. Her Majesty actively encouraged industrial enterprise and taught her maids to vie with each other in sewing accomplishments. No men were admitted among them, with the exception only of such as she permitted to enter along with herself, when she paid the ladies an occasional visit. A Royal Needlework Society was in practical operation in Dunfermline eight centuries ago. The Queen, who was fond of vestments of divers colours, has been credited, as already stated, with the introduction of the tartan cloth.

The Archbishop on one occasion, in reply to a petition of the Queen, sent her Friar Goldwin and two monks, to instruct her in the proper method of conducting the service of God.

⁴ Lockhart.

The Conqueror died in 1087 at Rouen, from the effects of an accident at the burning of Nantes, and was succeeded by his son, William Rufus.

When she spoke with me about the salvation of the soul and the sweetness of the life which is eternal, every word she uttered was so filled with grace that the Holy Spirit, Who truly dwelt within her breast, evidently spoke by her lips. Of all living persons whom I know or have known, she was the most devoted to prayer and fasting by works of mercy and almsgiving.⁵

Great and beneficial was the influence she exercised over the King, who is said to have been rude and uneducated; but he was a highly capable military man, valiant and courageous, always ready to face danger. He understood Gaelic as well as Anglo-Saxon, and always acted as interpreter between Queen Margaret and the clergy. Her biographer says: "For three days would she employ the sword of the Spirit in combatting their errors; she seemed another St. Helena, out of the Scriptures convincing the Jews."

The Queen caused frequent councils to be held of the clergy and others to discuss certain practices in the Church. Probably the most important council was that which lasted three days, and in that dark age of the world's existence a very great event it was. In the discussion which took place, King Malcolm took part as assessor and interpreter, being fully prepared both to say and to

⁵ Turgot.



Queen Margaret explaining the Scriptures to her husband, King Malcolm III.
From the Original by Sir Noel Paton.

do whatever she might direct. The first point discussed was what the Queen regarded as a novel and foreign custom, viz., beginning Lent, not on Ash Wednesday, but on the following Monday. The practice, to which Queen Margaret objected was simply a survival of ancient usage at one time common in Western Christendom. Gregory the Great is generally credited with having added Ash Wednesday and the three following days to the Lenten Fast in the Church of Rome. The second point was the non-reception of the Eucharist on Easter Day. The Scottish opponents of the Queen cited the warning of St. Paul against eating and drinking unworthily. The Queen promptly replied: "Shall there be none who are sinners taste of the sacred mysteries? None, not ever the infant who is a day old, is without the stain of sin. If none ought to receive, why does Our Lord say in the Gospel, 'Unless ye shall eat the Flesh of the Son of Man and drink His Blood ye have no life in you?'" She then explained the words of St. Paul in their true sense, and the overwhelming force of her argument was admitted.

The Queen required them to explain why they refrained from taking the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on Easter Day, according to the custom of the Apostolic Church. To which they replied: "We feel we are sinners and are afraid to partake

of that Sacrament lest we eat and drink judgment to ourselves." The Queen pointed out "that if all who are sinners refused to partake, no one ought to partake, for no one is free from sin, not even the infant who has lived but a single day. And if no one ought to partake, why does the Gospel proclaim Our Lord's words, 'Unless ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man and drink His Blood ye have no life in you.' The saying of the Apostle must evidently, according to the judgment of the Fathers, be otherwise understood, for they did not esteem all sinners to be unworthy to partake of the Sacrament. He who, without confession and penitence, presumes to approach these sacred mysteries eateth and drinketh judgment to himself. But those who many days after have made confession of their sins are chastened with penance, worn with fasts, and washed from the stains of our sins with crying and tears on the day of Our Lord's Resurrection; approaching His Table in Catholic faith, partake of the Flesh and Blood of Christ, not to judgment, but to the remission of our sins, and to the salutary preparation for the enjoyment of eternal blessedness. Farther, there were those who neglect the due observance of the Lord's Day, prosecuting their worldly labour on that, as on other days, which the Queen said was unlawful. Let us keep the Lord's Day in rever-

ence, on account of Our Lord's Resurrection from the dead on that day ; let us do no servile work on that day in which, as we know, we were redeemed from the slavery of the Devil. Pope Gregory says we must cease from earthly labour on the Lord's Day, and continue instant in prayer, so that if aught has been done amiss during the six days, it may be expiated by our prayers on the day of Our Lord's Resurrection."

The third point had reference to the ritual of the Mass. Turgot tells us that in some places there were some Scots who, contrary to the usage of the whole Church, had been accustomed to celebrate Mass with some barbarous rite or other. The Queen was much scandalised, and so exerted herself, that henceforth there was not one in the kingdom who would presume to follow the objectionable practices. The last point was marriage with a step-mother, and of a woman with her deceased husband's brother. The customs which had been common in Scotland were henceforth rigidly suppressed. Turgot adds that the Queen succeeded in expelling many other abuses, but these are not specified.

It is said that she meditated without ceasing on that passage of the Apostle James : " What is our life ? It is a vapour, which appeareth for a very little, and then vanisheth away." There

is perhaps no more beautiful character recorded in history than that of Queen Margaret. For purity of motives, for her earnest desire to benefit the people among whom her lot was cast, for a deep sense of religion, and great personal piety, for the unselfish performance of whatever duty lay before her, and her entire self-abnegation, she is unsurpassed; and historians of the time all bear testimony to her exalted character.⁶

For the pilgrims to St. Andrews, the Queen built guest houses on each side of the Forth at Queensferry, and provided for their passage. She had arranged that they would find there all that was needed for the refreshment of the body. Servants were told off to see that everyone was attended to. In stormy weather the pilgrims might be detained on either shore for several days together. Boats for conveying them across were also provided, and no charge was allowed to be made.

The Queen was in the habit of visiting the anchorites (an order of hermits or recluses) who were to be found in various parts of Scotland, and entreated their prayers; but they would accept no gift of any kind.

The Queen attended in person to the wants of the sick and suffering, and in this benevolent

⁶ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*.

work the King heartily encouraged her. Every morning during Lent a certain number of poor were ranged in front of the palace, and it was the first duty of the King and Queen to wash their feet and to supply them with food and clothing. Every night the Queen rose for midnight prayer ; and the severity of the discipline to which she subjected herself laid the foundation of the disease of which she died.

In Lent she ordered that nine little orphans, utterly destitute, should be brought to her at the first hour of the day and their food duly prepared for them. While this was going on, it was the custom to bring three hundred poor people into the royal hall, and when they were seated the King and Queen entered, and served them with food and drink. When the repast was finished, the Queen went to Church and offered herself a sacrifice to God.

The Queen daily supported twenty-four poor persons throughout the year, and spent her substance in relieving the wants of those who came to her ; and her biographer adds she was at times as poor as her own poor subjects and had no desire to be rich in the world's goods. When her own means failed she would playfully take money from the King's purse ; and when he caught her in the act, he would playfully tell her

he would have her arrested for these pious thefts.

The Queen's state duties were many, but amidst so much external, official, and private duties, her heart was full of thoughts of God, and she usually spent her spare time in prayer by day and night, rising to devote hours to praise and adore her Lord in the Church, and in this she was often accompanied by the King. She would at times urge her confessor to procure for her copies of the Holy Scriptures for her own benefit, and for the comfort and instruction of those around her. While the King was occupied with affairs of state the Queen repaired to the altar, and there with long prayers, sighs and tears, offered herself a willing sacrifice. In the season of Lent she went through the whole Psalter twice, sometimes thrice, within twenty-four hours. Before the hour of public Mass she heard five or six private Masses, and after that service she retired to an ascetic meal. She eventually fell a victim to her long vigils and fastings. Abstinence ruined her constitution and brought on violent pains in her stomach which death only removed.⁷ The Queen did not abuse the influence which the opinions of her worth had merited in the councils of the King. To her the King seems to have entrusted the care

⁷ *Acta Sanctorum.*

of matters respecting religion and even the internal policy of the kingdom ; in both there was much to reform. At that period the Scottish clergy had ceased to celebrate the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. " We are sinners," said they, " and therefore we dread to communicate unworthily." The Queen reasoned with them and showed them the vanity of this superstitious excuse.⁸

When she went out of doors on foot or on horseback, crowds of poor people, orphans and others, flocked to her as they would have done to a loving mother, and none left her without being comforted. When she had distributed all that she had brought with her for the benefit of the poor, the rich who accompanied her, or her own attendants, would hand her their garments or anything else they possessed at the time, that she might give them away, for she was anxious that none should go from her in distress. But who can tell the number of English of all ranks carried captive from their own land by the violence of war and reduced to slavery, whom she restored to liberty, by paying their ransom. Spies were employed by her to go secretly through all the provinces of Scotland, and ascertain what prisoners were oppressed and treated with the greatest inhumanity.

⁸ Lord Hailes.

On being advised of this she sent speedy help, paid the ransom, and set them at liberty.

The Queen, according to her biographer, meditated constantly on the shortness of life, and on the judgments of God, and used to urge her confessor to spare no pains to point out to her her faults; and sometimes would reproach him for neglecting this rule, urging him to reprove her when necessary and to use no flattery.

The Queen was the mother of six sons and two daughters. They were instructed in virtue and integrity, and in Christian principles from their earliest years, and no pains spared on their education. It was an instruction of the Queen to their preceptor to see that they were punished when they were naughty. The royal children under such supervision were loving and peaceable with each other, and in good behaviour surpassed many who were their seniors in years, and invariably the younger paid due respect to the elder. The Queen would often speak to the children of the things of God in a manner suitable to their age, and urged them to love Him: "to fear the Lord, for they who fear Him shall lack nothing; and if you love Him, He will give you prosperity in this life, and everlasting happiness hereafter." It is recorded that this was her dearest wish for her children, and that she ceased not to pray that

their lives might be acceptable to God, and that they might be worthy to attain eternal blessedness.

Her fourth son, Alexander I., who became King of Scotland, was born in 1077. In his youth it is believed he lived in England. He was at Durham on 4th September, 1104, when the body of St. Cuthbert, interred in 688, was transferred and placed in Durham Cathedral (Abbey). Alexander held the lordship of Gowrie in Perthshire, where he built a castle, and called it after his brother Eadgar: Baledgar, now Baledgarno. He succeeded Eadgar on 8th January, 1107, and reigned seventeen years, and it is also recorded that he founded the ancient Monastery at Scone, and liberally endowed it. He also founded a religious house on St. Colme's Island. His wife was Sibylla, natural daughter of Henry I., King of England, a woman, it is said, without character, but she predeceased him in 1122. King Alexander died in 1124, probably at Stirling Castle.

While the Queen was unwearied in her devotion to her children, it was her highest aim to show herself a true mother to her subjects. She desired that the poor should ever have access to her, and when she went abroad they were encouraged to approach her. King Malcolm respected the religion of his wife, was fearful of offending her, and listened to her admonitions. Whatever she loved

or disliked, so did he. Although he could not read, he frequently turned over her Prayer Books, and kissed her favourite volume. He had them adorned with gold and precious stones, and presented them to her in token of his devotion. She usually instructed him to pass the night in fervent prayer, and her biographer adds: "I often admire the works of the Divine mercy when I saw a king so religious and such signs of deep compunction in a Laic." The Queen's efforts to promote the progress and general interest of the Church in Scotland were greatly blessed. According to Baronius, an Italian writer of the sixteenth century, the Queen having found the Church in Scotland like a wild desert, she left it at her death in so flourishing a state, that it resembled a well cultivated, beautiful garden. There was in the King a sort of dread of offending one whose life was so venerable, for he could not but perceive from her conduct that Christ dwelt within her. Nay more, he readily obeyed her wishes and prudent counsels in all things; whatever she refused, he refused also; whatever pleased her, he also loved for the love of her.⁹ Sometimes he sent for a worker in precious metals to ornament her volumes with gold and gems, and when the work was finished he would himself carry the volume

⁹ Turgot.

to the Queen. The Queen's apprehension was acute, her memory tenacious, and her diligence unwearied; hence she attained to an uncommon proficiency in what was then esteemed to be knowledge. Endowed with all the graces of utterance, she was perhaps inclined to display her learning and her eloquence more than her royal state required. "Often," says Turgot, "have I with admiration heard her speak on subtile questions of theology in presence of the most learned men of the kingdom, for the reformation of certain erroneous practices which prevailed in the Scottish Church of that day; the Queen had frequent conferences with the clergy."

Malcolm and William Rufus quarrelled, and Malcolm thereupon invaded Northumbria, and it is recorded that in his progress to Gloucester he met King William and discussed the question of the erection of Carlisle Castle. Malcolm opposed the scheme, visited Durham, and assisted in laying the foundation of the Cathedral, 11th August, 1093. He was assisted by William, Bishop, and Turgot, Prior of Durham. Malcolm was asked by King William to do homage to him, but he refused. Rufus rebuilt and fortified Carlisle against the inroads of the Scots, when Malcolm sent to him to demand the completion of the Abernethy Treaty. Rufus named Gloucester

as the place of meeting, delivered hostages for the safety of the Scottish King, and deputed Eadgar to conduct Malcolm with befitting honour to the English Court. On 24th August, 1093, Malcolm arrived at Gloucester, when he found Rufus more haughty and exacting than ever. Rufus refused to see him, and Malcolm indignantly departed from his Court. Hastily collecting an army on his return to Scotland, Malcolm again crossed the frontier before the close of the autumn of 1093, and in spite of the warnings of Queen Margaret, headed his troops in person, in order to have his revenge for the conduct of Rufus. He laid siege to Alnwick Castle, when he was killed, it is said, by treachery, and his eldest son, Edward, fell mortally wounded on the same fatal occasion, dying a few days afterwards in Jedwood Forest. The body of Malcolm was found on the battle-field by two peasants, who put it into a cart and carried it to Tynemouth, where it was interred. Twenty years afterwards it was removed by his son Alexander I. to Scotland, and Malcolm finally reposed in peace beside Queen Margaret at Dunfermline. A fabulous writer, Florence of Worcester, records this event rather differently. Malcolm, he says, met William at Gloucester on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August, 1093, in terms of appointment, in order to have peace and friend-

ship restored between them. But they separated mutually dissatisfied. William being proud, haughty, and powerful, refused to see Malcolm. The latter returned to Scotland, collected an army, and marched into Northumbria. Earl Robert de Mowbray, and Morel, his steward, entrapped Malcolm unawares, and slew him. Malcolm fell rather by treachery than by strength, being unexpectedly intercepted and slain.¹⁰

A fuller version of King Malcolm's death is given by a modern historian. King William having conquered England, sent heralds to Malcolm to say that unless he dismissed Eadgar from his realm he would proclaim war against him. Malcolm refused, and war was proclaimed. Siward, Earl of Northumberland, joined his forces to those of Malcolm. For some time hostilities continued, but King William tired of war, because of the cost of time and men, was inclined to make peace. Peace was concluded at a stone erected at Stone-muir, afterwards called King's Cross, on the boundary between the two kingdoms. William Rufus and Malcolm differing so much in disposition, it was more than probable they would not be long at peace. While the King of Scots was building chapels at great expense, Rufus was destroying monasteries and towns to enlarge the

¹⁰ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

royal forest. In vain did Malcolm sue for redress, and consequently marched on Alnwick with his troops and besieged the Castle. The keeper offered to surrender ; while off his guard waiting to receive the keys he was treacherously slain.¹¹

By the Queen's care the influence of religion was extended and the people rejoiced in the prosperity of their affairs. Nothing was firmer than her fidelity, steadier than her favour, or juster than her decision. Nothing, says her biographer, was more enduring than her patience, graver than her advice, or more pleasant than her conversation. The Queen united so much strictness with her sweetness of temper, so great pleasantness even with her severity, that all who waited upon her loved her. There was gravity even in her joy, and something stately in her anger. Her mirth never expressed itself in fits of laughter, nor did displeasure kindle into fury. Her actions were regulated by a balance of the nicest discretion, while her conversation was seasoned with wisdom ; and what she said and did showed that she was meditating upon the things of Heaven.

In Scotland the Church was led during this time to discard the peculiarities of its earlier system, and was gradually assimilated to the Church of Southern Britain. The beginning of this change

¹¹ M'Callum's *Ancient Scots*.

is ascribed to the influence of Queen Margaret. Her piety, charity, and ascetic life are celebrated with enthusiasm by Turgot, a monk of Durham, afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews. She built churches, redeemed captives, and provided hospitals for the use of pilgrims. Her husband's affection for her was unbounded, in token of it, we are told, that although himself unable to read, he used to handle her books with interest, to kiss those she loved most, and sometimes to surprise her by presenting her with one of her favourite volumes in a new and splendid binding. Under her influence the Celtic element was depressed in Scotland, while the Court took an English tone in character.¹²

¹² Robertson's *Christian Church*.

QUEEN MARGARET'S BOOK OF THE GOSPELS.

THIS beautiful little book, domiciled in the Bodleian Library, has been reproduced in facsimile, and a copy is now in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. In relating the story of the book Mr. Forbes Leith tells us: "The history of Queen Margaret's Gospel Book, its vicissitudes, and its present state, illustrate the danger which has attended the passage of this little gem across the ocean of time. It was beautifully adorned with gold and precious stones, and ornamented with the figures of the Four Evangelists. The Queen had always felt a particular attachment for this book, more so than for any other book she usually read."

On 19th May, 1250, the body of Queen Margaret was taken up from its resting-place in Dunfermline Abbey, and placed in a silver shrine, adorned with precious stones, and deposited under the High Altar of the Church. Father Leslie, who wrote in 1675, relates that her shrine continued to be the object of the greatest veneration until the time of the Reformation, when it was plundered and desecrated, but the relics were preserved. The head was brought, at Queen Mary's desire,



St. Luke the Evangelist writing his Epistle
Queen Margaret's Gospel Book (Cover Page).

to Edinburgh Castle, at the time when she took refuge there to await the birth of her son. Leslie states that several other very sacred and precious things were transported to Edinburgh Castle for protection at the same time.

With regard to the other remains of the Queen and her husband, they were sent to Spain, at the request of Philip II., who built a chapel in his palace of the Escorial, in honour of St. Margaret, for their reception. According to Alban Butler, at the end of the last century they were still in the Escorial, with this inscription on the shrine: ST. MALCOLM, KING ; ST. MARGARET, QUEEN.

Butler, who had lived at Douay, and travelled all over the continent, is silent about the Gospel Book. Nor can we find any trace of it in the list of valuable books and manuscripts removed to this country from the Scots Colleges of Paris, Douay, and Ratisbon, and we feel justified in doubting whether it was ever taken out of England. It seems more probable that many other manuscripts ornamented with gold and silver, as the jewelled Gospel Book of St. Margaret, stripped of its beautiful cover, forgotten and ignored, were tossed about during the storm of the sixteenth century.

Several years ago Mr. Falconar Madan told the story : " In a parish library in Suffolk there lay,

a little volume in MS. in shabby brown binding. On 26th July, 1887, it was offered for sale at Sotheby's as 'The Four Gospels, a MS. on vellum of the fourteenth century, illuminated in gold and colours, from the Brent Ely Library.' The marks of ownership on the MS. were Claytoun Sudlaw, John Stowe, both apparently sixteenth century men, and William, Lord Howard, who died in 1640. Eminent experts have declared that the style of writing is of the eleventh century, and that the illuminations were valuable specimens of old English work." There was also discovered on the fly-leaf of the MS., before the commencement of the text, a poem in Latin written in a hand which, according to this writer, might be as early as 1090 or so, but would strike one as somewhat later. The poet describes how this book was the property of a king and holy queen: that it was dropped into a stream and lay a long time till at last a knight discovered it. Not a mark was seen on the painted pages save on the end of two leaves.

Madan, lecturer in the University of Oxford, made known the discovery in the *Academy* of 6th August, 1887. A few days later Professor Westwood gave an artistic description of the MS., and was followed in the same journal by F. E. Warren, who discussed the liturgical impost of the Gospel Book. The account given by the

most competent authorities, of the original volume described by Turgot, is so full and satisfactory as to leave little to be said. Without, however, entering upon details of palæography and textual criticism, it may not be uninteresting to give a brief description of the MS. and the nature of its contents. The book measures 7 by $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and consists of thirty-eight leaves of vellum. The text of the MS. is written in a beautiful minuscule hand. The writing and illuminations are of the same period as the Canute Gospels in the British Museum, that is, early in the eleventh century. In the four full-page pictures of the Evangelists, seated and writing in a book, the pose of the figure, the chair, the footstool, the writing desk, and bookstand, are of the Byzantine or Greek kind, which constantly recurs in European MSS. of the early and mediaeval period, but the details are no doubt English. The Evangelists, says Westwood, are drawn with much spirit. They are engaged writing or holding their individual Gospels, and are seated on stools or cushions. Each has a plain, circular, golden nimbus. Their Gospels are either book-shaped, or in the form of a long scroll or roll. Their feet rest on footstools, most inconveniently placed, in slanting positions, and their dresses (each consisting of an inner robe, visible on the breast and over the feet), and body

covering by various colours, each being strongly relieved on the dark sides of the garment much angulated, the edges of each being relieved by bright lines of white, or by the local tints, agreeing in this respect entirely with the treatment of the dresses in such of the Canute period MSS. as have come down to us. Comparing the Gospel Book with other contemporary MSS. written in the style which has been ascribed to the time of Canute, Westwood remarks that our little MS. differs in the almost entire absence of ornamental details, while it agrees with them in the peculiar granulated appearance of the gold applied literally in the headings of each Gospel, and in the redder tint of the gold, so entirely unlike the burnished gold of the MS. illuminations of the twelfth century. This gold of a redder tint had struck the writer of this Life: "Each capital letter shone all over with the ruddy glow of gold, *capitales quaeque littera auro tota rutilabat.*"

The book, which may be described as *Selections from the Four Evangelists*, was probably brought from England when small copies of the Gospels or selections from them used in the service of the Church were not uncommon in the latter part of the Anglo-Saxon period; such as the Gospels of Wadham College, 1012-1030, and the very beautiful little Gospel Book of Bishop Ethelstan of Hereford, 1012-1056.

The discovery of this MS. adds one more to the very limited list of extant Pre-Reformation Scottish Service Books, increasing their number from twelve to thirteen. None of these, says Mr. Warren, except the *Book of Deer* and the *Evangelistarium of St. Margaret*, is earlier than the thirteenth century. We may now turn to the Latin verses inscribed in folio two of the MS. :—

Xpiste tibi semper grates persaluimus omnes. Tempore
 qui nostro nobis miracula pandis ; Hunc
 librum quidam interse invare volentes ;
 Sumpserunt midum sine tegmine nonque legatum
 Presbyter accipines point sinuamine nestis
 Flumine transmisso codex est mersus inamenem ;
 Portitor ignorat librum puntrasse profundum ;
 Sed miles quidam cerneus post multa momenta
 Tollere iam noluit librum deflumine mersum ;
 Sed titubat subito librum dum nidit perpum ;
 Credens quod codex ex toto perditus essit ;
 At tamen immittens undis corpus cummertici summo ;
 Hoc Evangelium profert degargite apertum
 O virtus clara cunctis O Gloria magna ;
 Inviolatus enim codex permansit ubique
 Exceptis foliis bonis que cernis utrusque ;
 Inquibus exundis paret contractio quidam ;
 Que testantur opus Xpisti procode sancto ;
 Hoc opus ut nobis mains mirabile constit
 Dimedio libri pannum lini abtalit unda ;
 Saluate semper sint rex reginque sancta ;
 Quorum codex erat nuper saluatus abandis
 Gloria magna Deo librum qui saluat sundem.

The poet, after thanking Christ for displaying miracles to us in our own days, describes how this

very volume without its case and not bound had been carried by a priest in the folds of his robe to a trysting-place, in order that a solemn oath might be taken upon it. Unfortunately it had been dropped, without the priest observing it, into a river and given up for lost. A knight of the party discovered the book and perceived it to be open. To everyone's surprise, the beautiful volume was quite uninjured, except two leaves at each end. May the king and holy queen be saved for ever whose book was but now saved from the waves.

Here we have a story almost identical with that related by Turgot, with some variant but discrepant details. The lines must have been written shortly after the events recorded, as the expressions *nostro tempore*, *nobis*, and specially *misser*, preclude the idea that the poem can be later than 1100. It may not be unreasonable to suppose that we have in the poem the composition of Turgot himself, who, after the Queen, had most interest in the book. The scribe, however, as may be noticed, began to write the verses in prose. He had written two lines when, finding out his mistake, or more probably checked by the composer himself, he began to write the rest correctly. The scribe therefore could not be the composer of the verses. The verses supply a few particulars not given in the Life. The book was carried bare

without cover and not fastened, which suggests that it was kept in a case. The words *geminis ornatus*, applied by Turgot to the precious volume, may refer to the case in which it was preserved. We are told that the book was carried by a priest to a trysting-place that a solemn oath might be taken on it.

The *sinnamine vestis* is not inconsistent with the *pannis ob volutin*. The verse, *exceptis foliis binis que cernis utrusque*, explains the real meaning of Turgot's words in *extremis foliis*, that is to say, in the end leaves, while the *utrusque* refers to the beginning and end of the MS. And sure enough, says Madan, a leaf at each end of the book shows an unmistakable crinkling from immersion in water. As to the illuminations of St. Matthew, the colours have soaked through on the verso and can be traced on the *recto*, for the colour of this illumination seems to be almost as bright as that of the other three.

Both the prose narrative and the verses relate that the current had washed away a loose piece of cloth which had been inserted between the leaves of the MS. to preserve the illumination from contact with the opposite page. If anything could add to the interest of the volume, it is that in the same Life we are told that King Malcolm, although he could not read, would turn over and examine books which the Queen used either for

her devotions or for her study, and whenever he heard her express special liking for a particular book, he also would look at it with special interest, kissing it and often taking it into his hands. The discovery of St. Margaret's Gospel Book has preserved, it may be hoped, for all time, a volume which will always be of the deepest interest to readers and students of history.

In Falconar Madan's *Books in Manuscript*, 1893, there is the following reference to this remarkable book: "It was noticed that the writing was of the eleventh century, and that the illuminations were valuable specimens of old English work of the same century, comprising figures of the Four Evangelists of the Byzantine type, which was common in the West of Europe. The drapery, however, colouring and accessories, were purely English. The book itself was seen to be, not the complete Gospels, but such portions as were used in the Service of the Mass at different times of the year. Further, it was observed that a poem in Latin hexameters, had been written apparently before the end of the same century, on a fly-leaf of the volume, which began by thanking Christ for displaying miracles to us in our own days, and went on to describe how this very volume had been carried in the folds of a priest's robe to a trysting-place, in order that a binding

oath might be taken on it ; but that unfortunately it had been dropped, without the priest observing it, into a stream and given up for lost. But a soldier of the party at last discovered it, plunged into the river, and brought it up. To everyone's surprise, the little volume was entirely uninjured, except two leaves at each end, at which a slight contraction appears from the effects of the water, which testify the work of Christ in protecting the sacred volume. By a curious accident connected with the name of Margaret, a lady to whom this story was told remembered a similar incident in Forbes Leith's *Life of St. Margaret of Scotland*, and the mystery was solved. There, it is said, that she had a Book of the Gospels beautifully adorned with gold and precious stones, and ornamented with the figures of the Four Evangelists, painted and gilt.

The MS. of which Mr. Madan tells the story just related, is very small, consisting only of thirty-eight leaves ; size of page 7 by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Each series of extracts is preceded by a full-page miniature representing one of the Evangelists. It was the correct thing, says Bishop Dowden, for a Saint's book not to be injured by water. Thus in Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, we find how a volume written by the Saint, after being twenty days in Boyne Water, was dry and uninjured.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTENTS.

Prince Edward's remains in 1849. Character of Malcolm. Eadgar chosen King of Scotland. Turgot appointed Bishop of St. Andrews. St. Cuthbert Convent agreement. Queen's last instructions to Turgot. Death and character of Queen Margaret. Queen Margaret's sons. Black Rood of Scotland. Marriage of Princess Matilda. Letter: Turgot to Queen Matilda. Matilda and Princess Christian. Eadgar and Donald Bane. Silver Shrine, Holy Trinity Church, Dunfermline. The Queen and Pope Innocent IV. Translation of the Queen's head to Edinburgh Castle and Antwerp. King Alexander III. and Archbishop Burnham. Canonization of the Queen.

PRINCE EDWARD.

PRINCE Edward, as just stated, was slain. His remains appear to have been in the hurry of retreat sewn up, or roped up, in a horse's hide; for in 1849, when the tomb in Dunfermline Abbey was opened, during repairs then going on, a stone coffin was reached which, on its cover stone being removed, a sewn-up hide in its whole length, with thongs of the same material, was found in a decayed state. On the hide being cut open the fragment of a bone and a heap of dust were all that remained of the gallant Prince Edward after his long sleep of 756 years.¹

Malcolm ruled the kingdom with energy and ability, the different races and tribes composing the population acquiescing pretty generally in his administration. His reign is the first that gave birth to a shadow, something like a national spirit, though the flickering tie as yet uniting some of the districts of the kingdom was a very slender one. In 1097, Eadgar, son of Queen Margaret, was chosen King by a Saxon army, led by his uncle, Eadgar Atheling. He reigned ten years.

¹ Henderson.

In 1107, on his accession to the crown, King Alexander I. appointed Turgot, Prior of Durham, to the Bishopric of St. Andrews, and forthwith the right to perform the ceremony of consecration was claimed by the Archbishop of York ; but the King and the Scottish clergy said he had no authority over the Church of St. Andrews. Turgot was, however, in 1109, or two years afterwards, consecrated by the Archbishop of York, but died in 1115.²

Queen Margaret, though in the prime of life at her death, was in failing health six months before she died, never being able to take a ride on horseback, and seldom able to leave her bed. An account of her illness during that period was preserved and given to Turgot by a priest, who remained with her to the last, and to whom, for his simplicity and holiness of life, the Queen was much attached. Three days before her death she became more melancholy than usual, and said to the priest : " Perhaps on this very day such a heavy calamity may befall the Realm of Scotland as hath not been for many years past." It is a remarkable coincidence that on that very day King Malcolm and his son, Edward, the heir-apparent, were slain at Alnwick Castle.

² Mackintosh, *Civilisation*.

In 1093 an agreement of a curious description is on record³ between King Malcolm, Queen Margaret, and the Convent of St. Cuthbert : " The King and Queen by this agreement shall, while they live, nourish every day one poor man ; and two poor men shall be kept for them in the Lord's Supper for the common mandate, and our prayer shall be said at Litany and at Mass. But in this life and after it, both they and their sons and daughters, shall be partakers in everything which is done for the Service of God in the Monastery of St. Cuthbert, viz. : Masses, Psalms, Charities, Vigils, Prayers, and everything of that kind. And specially for the King and Queen from the day of their death, shall be repeated in the Convent, thirty full Offices for the dead and every day *verba mea*. Every Bishop shall celebrate thirty Masses, and each of the others shall sing ten Psalters. This anniversary shall be celebrated every year on King Ethelstan's Day, the 12th November."⁴

The King and Queen were remarkable for their piety, specially the Queen. Besides forestalling the songs of the priests in Lent, she kept watch at night in the Church, attending personally at Triple Matins of the Trinity, the Cross, and St. Mary ;

³ William of Malmesbury.

⁴ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

and then repeating the Psalter with the tears suffusing her garments and heaving her bosom. Leaving the Church she fed the poor, at first three, then twenty-four, at last three hundred, herself with the King being in attendance sprinkling water on their hands. Her gift of holy vessels and of the jewelled ebony Cross containing the Black Rood, supposed to be a fragment from the true Cross on which Our Lord died, are specially commemorated by the biographer.

Queen Margaret was not permitted to live to a long age. Her last days were overshadowed with trials and afflictions, while she had a foreknowledge of the evils to come and of her own death. Some time before her departure she summoned Turgot to her presence and related to him the events and incidents of her life. Turgot felt unworthy of being admitted to so intimate a friendship of one so holy. When she had ended what she had to say about worldly matters, she said : " Farewell, my life draws to a close ; I shall not continue much longer in this world, but you will live after me for a considerable time. There are two things which I beg of you : one is that as long as you live you will remember me in your prayers ; the other is that you will take some care about my sons and daughters. To you I commit the charge of them ; lavish your affection upon them ;

teach them, above all things, to love and fear God. When you see any of them exalted to the height of earthly dignity, be to them as a father and a guide. Admonish, and if need be, reprove them lest they be swelled with the pride of momentary glory, through avarice offend God, or by reason of the prosperity of this world, become careless of eternal life. These are the things that I ask you in the sight of God, Who is now present with us, once more to promise me that you will carefully perform." I promised her, says Turgot, that "I would carefully attend to her wishes, for I did not dare to oppose one whom I heard thus unhesitatingly predict what was to come to pass, and the truth of her prediction is verified by present facts; since I survive her death and see her offspring elevated to dignity and honour. Thus, having ended the conference and being about to return home, I bade the Queen my last farewell, and after that day I never saw her again."

On the day of her death Queen Margaret's weakness having slightly decreased, she was enabled to rise and attend Mass in her Oratory, strengthening herself for her passage by receiving the Holy Communion. Returning to bed after Mass, her disease increased and she got rapidly worse. She desired that a chaplain should remain near her reading Psalms, and sending for the Holy

Cross, or Black Rood of Scotland, for which, as it contained a fragment of the wood of the Cross on which Our Lord was crucified, she had a special devotion. She kissed it, and signing herself with it, continued steadfast in prayer. While so occupied, her son, Prince Eadgar, entered the room, the bearer of heavy tidings. Information of the King's death had just reached Edinburgh. Rousing herself at her son's entrance, she at once inquired for the King and Prince Edward. Eadgar, fearing to excite her or hasten her death, replied that they were both well. She was not satisfied with this answer, and said with a sigh : " I know it, my boy, I know it ; by the Holy Cross, I adjure you to tell me the truth." Eadgar then related the circumstances under which the King and Prince Edward lost their lives at the siege of Alnwick Castle. The Queen listened to the melancholy intelligence with patience and resignation ; raising her eyes to Heaven, she said : " I give praise and thanks to Thee, Almighty God, for that Thou hast been pleased that I should endure such deep sorrow at my departing, and I trust that by means of this suffering it is Thy pleasure that I should be cleansed from the stains of my sins ;" then she recited the words used by the priest during Mass : " Lord Jesus Christ Who, according to the will of the Father through the co-operation of the

Holy Spirit, hast by Thy death given life to the world, deliver me." As she said "deliver me," her soul passed to the Judgment Seat of God Whom all her life she had striven to love and serve. It is said that after death a great beauty was observed upon her countenance, all traces of suffering having passed away, and she appeared rather as one who calmly slept.

Four days before her death she appeared sadder than usual and told those who were by her that there had happened the greatest misfortune that had been heard of for a long time. The violence of her sickness relented a little the last day of her life and allowed her so much strength as to go to the Chapel (Edinburgh Castle), where she made a general confession of her whole life, heard Mass and received the Holy Sacrament of the Viaticum. She then returned to bed. At this point her son Eadgar arrived (interview already given). She then rendered up her soul to her Creator, in Edinburgh Castle. Her visage, which was pale during her sickness, appeared fresh and red after death. Her body was carried with royal pomp to the Monastery of Dunfermline, and interred there in the Church of the Holy Trinity, built by herself.⁵

Under date 1093 the following reference is made to Queen Margaret by a standard authority⁶:

⁵ *St. Margaret's Life*, printed at Douay, 1660.

⁶ *Scotland under her Early Kings*.

“ The smothered enmity of the Scots blazed forth after the death of the King, and the haste and secrecy with which the body of the royal Margaret was removed by Ethelred, her son, to its last resting-place, discloses the existence amongst many of her contemporaries of a feeling of antipathy against the Saxon Queen, widely different from the enthusiastic veneration paid by their descendants to the memory of the Royal Saint.”

Queen Margaret's life was one of great usefulness, purity, charity, and devotion. So intensely did she seem to live in good deeds and religious observances, while at the same time maintaining with dignity the high position she occupied as the consort of the King, that she thereby in all probability shortened her days. Her death took place in Edinburgh Castle on 16th November, 1093, in the forty-seventh year of her age. Her once beautiful Chapel may still be seen there. Queen Margaret, according to one writer,

“ Was oftener on her knees than on her feet,
And died every day she lived.”

Ethelred, her son, and other attendants were forced to convey her body out of Edinburgh Castle through a secret door in the wall of that fortress. They were favoured by a dense mist, which kept them from being seen by the

besiegers. From Edinburgh the body was taken via Queensferry to Dunfermline and, as just stated, interred in the Church of the Holy Trinity, erected by her influence in the place selected by King Malcolm and herself as the site for the royal sepulchre.

As a woman of high rank Queen Margaret excelled in her descent, having sprung from the blood of kings ; but she shone more brightly in the goodness of her customs and in the sanctity of her life. Among the good things which she did, she rebuilt the Monastery of Iona, which in the days of Brude, King of the Picts, St. Columba had built.

On the death, in 1072, of the Irish Chief named Diarmid, Lord of the Western Isles, these isles fell into the hands of King Malcolm. The state of Iona, with its ruined monastery and the decay of the clergy, attracted the attention of Queen Margaret. Under her supervision its restoration was promptly carried out, specially as Iona was at that period the chief seat of the clergy. She furnished it with monks and an endowment for carrying on the work. What she restored was the monastery which preceded the present buildings. The old monastery was burned by the Danes in 986. The last of the old abbots of Iona died in 1099.

She had sent her two daughters, Edith and Mary, to be brought up and to be instructed in the sacred writings, to her sister, Christian, who was a nun in the Abbey of Romsey. There they were nourished among the nuns, and learned well both the art of letters and the observance of good customs ; and attaining the marriageable age the devout virgins were ready for the solace of God. Being deprived of the aid of brothers and of other friends, they experienced the clemency of God who disposes all things well, giving them ready help.

William Warenne, Earl of Surrey, asked for Matilda's hand (Edith), but she was divinely reserved, and afterwards married Henry I., King of England, when he ascended the throne. Matilda's daughter by this marriage, wedded first the Roman Emperor, then Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou. She was mother of Henry II., Geoffrey and William. Eustace Count of Boulogne wedded the Princess Mary, and Matilda, the issue of this marriage, became the wife of Stephen, King of England.⁷

The tree returns to the root when Henry I., the Conqueror's son, married Matilda, the daughter of Queen Margaret. The Queen's gentle influence reprov'd whatever needed to be reprov'd in her

⁷ *Historia Ecclesiasticæ VIII.*



438. Henry I., King of England.
Son of William I.

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husband, and none laboured more diligently for the advance of temporal and spiritual enlightenment in her adopted country. There was no need for the Queen to bring a new religion into Scotland, but she gave a new life to the religion she found prevailing. She became, as is recorded, a correspondent of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury.⁸

It is remarkable that not one of her six sons received the name of any of the ancient Kings of Scotland, and all their names were chosen by the Queen. Edward bore the name of her father, Edmund of her grandfather, Ethelred of her great-grandfather, Eadgar of her brother, and Alexander, her fifth son, was probably named after Pope Alexander II. As David was the youngest son, it is supposed that he was born when the Queen had no hope of more children, and therefore he received the name of David, youngest son of Jesse.⁹ Queen Margaret's son, Eadgar, King of Scotland, is said to have been of a sweet and amiable disposition, incapable of harshness or tyranny towards his subjects, whom he ruled with gentleness and equity. Of Alexander it is said,¹⁰ that though kind and generous

⁸ Freeman.

⁹ Lord Hailes.

¹⁰ Aelred.

to the clergy, he was to the rest of his subjects, beyond everything, terrible, a man of large heart, exerting himself in all things beyond his strength. He was a man of learning, zealous in erecting Churches, enriching them with the relics of Saints, and in supplying them with sacred books ; generous to strangers, and so full of love for the poor that he seemed to like nothing so much as feeding and clothing them and attending to their wants in person. In this respect he resembled his mother. He and his brother Eadgar died childless, and David the youngest brother ascended the throne. He was the most distinguished of the brothers, and probably the one who bore most resemblance to his mother. King David showed a special love towards his poor and suffering subjects, and on certain days, like the kings of old, "sat at the gate" giving audience to the poor and aged ; and would defer a hunting expedition, without a murmur, to attend to some poor suppliant. He encouraged foreign merchants to trade at the Scottish ports, but preserving to native traders all privileges during Malcolm's reign. The great abbeys of Melrose, Jedburgh, and Kelso were erected by him ; and he erected Holyrood in order to enshrine or domicile the Black Rood of Scotland for which his mother had so great a veneration. On her death-bed her last wish was

to be carried to pray before the representation of our crucified Saviour.

Edmund is the only one of her children who is said to have fallen away for a time from the religious standard set by their mother's example ; but repentance marked his after life, and its sincerity was testified by his abandoning a life of pleasure in the world for the seclusion of the cloister.

Five of her sons survived her, but Ethelred and Edmund died shortly after her. Eadgar, Alexander, and David became in succession kings of Scotland, and with them Scottish history may be said to begin. Of Matilda, Queen of Henry I., much more is known, and those who study her life cannot fail to be struck with the resemblance she bears to her mother, especially in those practical acts of mercy to the poor for which she was famous. One day her brother David, whilst visiting the English Court saw her employed in washing the feet of some poor lepers and kissing them. He asked her how the King, her husband, could bear to touch her lips after she had put them to such usage, to which she replied with a smile, that she "preferred the feet of the Eternal King to the lips of any mortal prince."

The Princess Matilda was married by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. The marriage, which

was a great political event, and attended with much rejoicing, took place at Westminster on St. Martin's Day, 11th November, 1100, seven years after her mother's death. Matilda was afterwards consecrated by Gerard, Bishop of Hereford. A letter of Turgot to Queen Matilda, has been preserved, and is very interesting for its great antiquity: Turgot to Matilda, wife of Henry I.—“ You have, by the request you made, commanded me, for a request of yours is to me a command; to offer you in writing the story of the life of your mother, whose memory is held in veneration. How acceptable that life was to God you have often heard by the concordant praise of many. You remind me how in this matter my evidence is especially trustworthy since (thanks to her great and familiar intercourse with me), you have understood that I was acquainted with the most part of her secrets. These your commands and wishes I obey willingly; nay more, I venerate them exceedingly, and respectfully congratulate you; whom the King of the Angels has raised to the rank of Queen of England; that you desire not only to hear about the life of your mother who ever yearned after the Kingdom of the Angels, but further to have it continually before your eyes in writing, that so, although you were but little familiar with her face, you might at least have

a perfect acquaintance with her virtues. For my part my own wish inclines me to do what you bid, but I have I confess a lack of ability ; as the materials in truth for this undertaking are more than my writing or my words can avail to set forth. So I am in two minds, and drawn two ways at once. On the one hand, the greatness of the subject makes me shrink from obeying ; on the other, I dare not refuse, because of the authority of you who command me, and the memory of her of whom I am to speak. I cannot do justice to my subject, yet my duty is to make it known as far as I can. I owe this to the love I have for her, and to the obedience which is due from me to you. I trust that the grace of the Holy Spirit which gave her such powers for good, will to me vouchsafe also the ability to recount them : ‘ The Lord shall give the word to them that preach good tidings with great power.’ In the first place then, it is my wish that you should know, and others through you, that were I to attempt to recount all I could tell to her honour I might be suspected while praising your mother to be really flattering your own queenly dignity. But far be it from my gray hairs to mingle falsehood with the virtues of such a woman as she was, in unfolding which I profess, as God is my Witness and my Judge, that I add nothing to the truth.

On the contrary, I suppress many things, fearing that they might appear incredible, and I might be charged, as the orator says, with decking out the crow in the plumage of the swan."

The Princess Matilda had a bad time of it with her aunt Christian, Abbess of Wilton Abbey. As an illustration of her treatment, the historian¹¹ reproduces her own words: "As often as I stood in her presence I wore the veil, trembling as I wore it, with indignation and grief; but as soon as I could get out of her sight I used to snatch it from my head, fling it on the ground, and trample it under foot; that was the way, and no other, in which I was veiled." Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, declared her free from conventual bonds, and the shout of the multitude who had put the crown on Matilda's brow, drowned the murmurs of churchmen and barons. On another occasion the Princess Matilda stated, that once when she had worn a veil to please her aunt, her father indignantly pulled it off her head and tore it to pieces. She never, she said, had any intention of engaging herself to a monastic life.

In 1097, four years after the death of Malcolm III., Eadgar Atheling went with an army into Scotland with King William, and in a hard-fought battle defeated Donald Bane, Malcolm's brother.

¹¹ J. R. Green.

In fealty to King William (William Rufus) he set up as king his kinsman, Eadgar, son of Malcolm and Queen Margaret, and then returned to England.¹²

It is recorded of William the Lion that in the year 1200, impressed with gloomy forebodings, he determined on passing the night—he was living in Stirling Castle—by the shrine of his sainted ancestor, Queen Margaret, at Dunfermline, where his reluctance to engage in hostilities assuming the form of a warning dream, he dismissed his army the following morning, assuring his soldiers that he had been forbidden by a heavenly vision to attempt the invasion of England. The influence of Queen Margaret appears to have partially died out in the days of her great-grandchildren.

On 13th June, 1250, a silver shrine, richly adorned with jewels, was erected and placed under the High Altar of Trinity Church, Dunfermline, and the body of Queen Margaret was disinterred and enclosed in that shrine. On this occasion the public recognition of her saintly life was officially sanctioned by Pope Innocent IV. The ceremony is recorded to have been performed with great solemnity and splendour: many bishops and nobles being present, as also the King and Queen.

Alexander III., King of Scots, having assembled the clergy and nobility, after many prayers and

¹² *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

solemn processions, caused the bones of Queen Margaret, his great-grandmother, to be put into a silver shell enriched with precious stones, and placed in the noblest part of the Church. The rebels or rioters had seized the sacred movables of the Church, but some things of greater value were saved by being carried to Edinburgh Castle. Some of the more provident, learning that the rioters might assault the Castle, transported the coffer containing the head and hair of Queen Margaret, and other movables of great value, to the castle of the Baron of Durie.¹³ The Baron was a reverend father, priest, and monk of Dunfermline. It remained there many years. We next hear of it in 1567, when it was translated to Queen Mary at Edinburgh Castle. In 1597 it was delivered to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who transported it to Antwerp.

There is something mysterious about this matter. The great assembly to disinter Queen Margaret's body took place in 1250. Alexander III. at that date was a child of eight years old and had newly ascended the throne. He could have nothing to do with so serious a matter, but in all probability, David Burnham, Archbishop of St. Andrews at that date, directed the proceedings. The Normans and the Comyns were the two great factions in the

¹³ Durie.

kingdom at that time. They were at constant warfare, and in 1257 the Comyns seized the young King and Queen and put them under guard in Edinburgh Castle. A great company assembled, so it is recorded, to remove the remains of Queen Margaret from their resting-place to a silver shrine, profusely adorned with gold and precious stones. David Burnham, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was at the head of this assembly, which consisted of the King, the chief nobles, bishops, abbots, clergy, earls, and barons of the kingdom.

A movement was about this time made by the Abbot and Convent of Dunfermline, to have Queen Margaret canonized, in order in all probability to bring pilgrims to her shrine, especially on her Festival Day, 10th June, and thereby enrich the Monastery, although, doubtless, higher motives were included.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTENTS.

Papebroch's itinerary of the Queen's head. George Conn's narrative. Correspondence with the Escorial Authorities as to the relics of King Malcolm and Queen Margaret, 1852. Bull of Pope Innocent IV. Register of Dunfermline. Queen Margaret on Papal Roll as St. Margaret. The great ceremony and procession after the Canonization in 1250, when her body was disinterred and deposited in the Lady Aisle. Fordun's narrative of this event. Retrospect of the Queen's life. Destruction of her tomb. St. Margaret's shrine. St. Margaret's relics and her hair. Translation of Queen Margaret in metre, by Wyntoun. Her Festivals. Her burial place. The Edinburgh Convent proposal. Closing review of Queen Margaret's life.

QUEEN MARGARET RELICS.

THE subject of the unwarrantable interference, the desecration, and finally the disappearance of Queen Margaret's remains, is one that cannot be approached without pain and vexation. So far as can be inferred from the historical narrative, it would be at the canonization period or at the Reformation when her head was removed from her body, and placed in a silver shell, richly adorned with jewels.

According to Papebroch, a pretty well-known writer, Queen Margaret's head was brought to Queen Mary and deposited in Edinburgh Castle, as already stated, in 1567, but after Queen Mary's flight into England after the battle of Langside it was removed by a Benedictine monk to the house of the Baron of Durie (Fife), where it remained until 1597, when it was given in charge to the missionary Jesuits, and was by one of them taken to Antwerp. After being officially verified, it was publicly exposed for veneration. In 1620 the Bishop of Antwerp issued letters of authentication and license, to expose it for the veneration of the faithful. In 1627 it was removed to the Scots College at Douay, for safe keeping, and for inspec-

tion. In 1645 Pope Innocent X. granted a Plenary Indulgence to all who visited it on her Festival Day. Up to 1785 it was seen and venerated at Douay, and is recorded to have then been in perfect preservation, enclosed in a silver casket, the crown and chain about it being richly adorned with pearls and other jewels. A few years afterwards, this precious relic disappeared at the French Revolution, at the close of the eighteenth century. We are without any information as to why it came to Edinburgh Castle in 1567, or when, or under what circumstances, the disturbance took place in Dunfermline Abbey, when the remains of King Malcolm and Queen Margaret were removed.

It is recorded that the faithful would pray before this relic in the Chapel of the Scots College at Douay, on 10th June, St. Margaret's Festival Day. Some will admire the innocence of her manners in her tender years, the rigour which she exercised on her body in her youth, and the prayers wherewith she nourished her soul. Others will consider her great love towards God and holy things, her zeal to build churches, her dexterity to reform the abuses that had crept into the kingdom ; the care she took to instruct her children in the Christian faith, her liberality to the poor, her innocent artifices by which she gained and

ruled her husband's spirit, and engraved devotion on it. She has been the pearl of princesses, the ideal of a perfect queen, one of those wise ones who by the sweetness of her conversation, the innocence of her deportment, and the force of her spirit, reformed the disorders that had crept into her kingdom.¹

Queen Margaret was worthy of her husband, and of her royal rank. A woman less prudent and less amiable, would not have softened the mind of a fierce and martial husband, or civilised the manners of a barbarous people ; or established order, magnificence, and politeness in a Court in which simplicity and grossness had hitherto prevailed. She was handsome and elegant in her dress and manners, without anything of frivolous levity ; as a wife, chaste and affectionate ; as a mother, she was tender, anxious, attentive, especially to the education of her children. The Romish Church derives not greater lustre from any other of those names which it has dignified with canonization than that of Queen Margaret.²

The Abbot afterwards went to Rome to present Pope Innocent IV. the Petition of the Nobles, Clergy, and People of Scotland for Queen Margaret's canonization. From a fragment preserved by the

¹ *St. Margaret's Life*, printed at Douay.

² Chalmers's *Dunfermline*.

Bollandists of a MS. describing the translation and canonization, it is probable that her enrolment in the Calendar of the Church took place about this time.³ To accomplish canonization, a formal process had to be instituted by which the merits of the person had to be investigated. Then the Beatification would be pronounced by the Pope, and canonization would follow, on the production of evidence that miracles were performed at the tomb of the deceased person. All this was gone through in the case of Queen Margaret, and she who during her life was one of the most pious and exemplary of Scottish queens was by the Church of that day solemnly placed on the Roll of Saints. From that date Queen Margaret became patroness of Scotland.⁴

According to George Conn, author of *De Duplici Statu religionis apud Scotos* (Rome 1628), the remains were acquired by Philip II., King of Spain, along with those of Malcolm; who placed them in two urns in the Chapel of St. Lawrence in the Escorial; but when Bishop Gillies applied to Pius IX. in 1852 for their restoration to Scotland, they could not be found. It would appear, however, that the Catholic authorities of that period were fully alive to the vital importance of this

³ Bellesheim.

⁴ *Register of Dunfermline.*

question, and in 1852 the following report was issued by the authorities of the Escorial : “ Some good Catholics rescued these relics (or bodies) from the destructive zeal of the Reformers and conveyed them to Philip II., King of Spain, who preserved them in his new palace of the Escorial, with the simple inscription : ‘ St. Malcolm, King ; St. Margaret, Queen.’ ”⁵

Under date 1852 considerable correspondence took place with the Spanish authorities on the subject of the identification of Queen Margaret’s relics, but though every effort was made to identify them the investigation was unsuccessful. The correspondence, however, possesses some points of great interest. From the Escorial we have the following elaborate communication : “ From the inventory and record of the holy relics and reliquaries which his Majesty Philip II. bestowed on this his Royal House of St. Lawrence of the Escorial, from the year 1571, in which was made the first donation to that of 1598 in which he died, we found the following regarding the relics of Queen Margaret of Scotland. In the first donation was comprised the following relics : A small bone of slight importance ; part of the flesh of the right leg two inches square ; a part of a member of the same leg three inches long. After the disorder and

⁵ Macpherson’s *Notes to Maitland’s History of Scotland*.

confusion which the relics of this house underwent on the invasion of the troops of Napoleon in the Peninsular War, it was not so easy a thing as might be imagined to meet with those of the Queen as they were not in the place in which they were first put. There has been found in the cabinet allotted to holy relics a little box of fine wood, containing relics of different Saints. In this box there was a little packet with two very small bones and a small inscription, 'De Sancta Margarita.' There are doubtless some relics which were enclosed in boxes, and reliquaries, and disappeared at the French Invasion. Amongst those wrappers which were kept loose is one eight inches long and two-and-a-half broad with two relics, each of which bears the simple inscription, 'Sta Margarita.' There is a piece that looks like skin, and seems to have been the size of half a dollar. The other is a fragment of bone apparently from the thigh, three inches long. According to the monks, and the account given in the books, they are evidently relics of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland. There is a document testifying the authenticity of these relics of St. Margaret with all the forms and authorization necessary, to preclude every doubt as to their identity, and the delivery of them to this Royal House. Royal Monastery of St. Lawrence of the Escorial, 3rd January, 1852."

The Sub-Prior of Douay writes under date 22nd July, 1854: "At the time of the great French Revolution, the head of St. Margaret was preserved not in our own College, but in the Scots College of this town. The troubles obliged us all to flee. The present occupants made research, but no trace of the relic (St. Margaret's head) has been met with. Either the Scots conveyed it away with them in their flight, or it fell into the hands of men who respected nothing. The former supposition was given me as the more probable. Unfortunately no one is known here who is able to furnish any positive information."

The letter of the Sub-Prior is followed up by one from an English student at Valladolid (Rev. T. Hoskins), under date 15th August, 1854, and this letter is more to the point than any of the others: "After the death of Queen Margaret, her body was interred in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermline, where it remained till the change of religion, when all was destroyed; not as Alban Butler says, 'Privately rescued from the plundering mob, and carried into Spain to Philip II., and domiciled in the Escorial.' That the head was in the Scots College at Douay, and destroyed by the Revolutionists, is correct. This is also certain that all that now remains of St. Margaret is in the Escorial. But how came it

there? When Philip II. of Spain collected for the Escorial all the relics he could procure, he found amongst others at Venice, those of St. Margaret. It was for many years believed that the entire body of St. Margaret was in the Escorial, from an erroneous account circulated by George Conn, a Scottish gentleman who visited the Escorial, to learn all he could respecting the relics. He found, as Butler states, an altar or chapel in honour of the Saint, and concluded without minute investigation that the entire body, save the head, must be there; for the reason that there are no altars or chapels dedicated to any Saints, save those whose entire remains are deposited there. Butler is also correct in stating that this inscription is on the shrine: 'St. Malcolm, King; St. Margaret, Queen;' he might have added, that their likenesses are painted on the folding doors at full length."

The following communication to the author, dated 13th July, 1910, contains the latest information from the Escorial: "I beg to inform you that the only relics of Queen Margaret existing at the Escorial at this date consist in the bone of her back, seven fingers long and five-and-a-half fingers broad. Certainly St. Margaret's head in the silver casket is not at the Escorial, or at least if it is, it is lost, which is not admissible.

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You ought to be able to verify it at Douay. S. Cowan, Esq."

It is proper to state that a part of the bone of the back is domiciled at St. Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh.

This relic of St. Margaret brought by Bishop Gillies from the Escorial in 1863 remained under his seal in the cedar box in which he had placed it, till the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of St. Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh, on 10th June, 1866. The relic is enclosed in a crystal cylinder, and is surrounded by clusters of Gothic pinnacles, surmounted by a statue of St. Margaret. The base of the reliquary is provided with a receptacle for the documents confirming the authenticity of the relic. It is exposed for veneration annually on the Feast Day of St. Margaret, and on other festivals.

Dr. Peter Chalmers, of Dunfermline, writing Bishop Gillies on 25th April, 1855, says: "I published, in 1844, a history of Dunfermline in which I state at page 132 as to the coffer or shrine containing some sacred relics of St. Margaret. During the troubles of the Reformation it was carried first to Edinburgh Castle, and shortly afterwards to the house of George Durie, Abbot of Dunfermline. It was in 1597 delivered to the custody of the Jesuit missionaries in Scotland,

who, thinking it was in danger of being lost, conveyed it to Antwerp; and it was ultimately lodged in the Scotch College, Douay, where it was exhibited as a precious relic so late as 1770. It was lost in the confusion which attended the suppression of the Order of Jesuits."

According to Bishop Gillies, Her Majesty the Queen of Spain was pleased to grant, in 1847, permission for the transference to Edinburgh of such relics of St. Margaret as might be found in the Escorial, in order that they might be deposited in the Church of which, in honour of the Saint, Bishop Gillies was then interested.

Many obstacles stood in the way, e.g., the great difficulty that appeared to exist in identifying the relics.

In a separate but unfinished paper the Bishop says: "In virtue of a decree of the Queen of Spain dated 23rd August, 1862, there are to be handed over to us, all relics whatsoever, that in the MSS. of Philip II. are marked simply 'of St. Margaret.'"

ROYAL DECREE, 19TH AUGUST, 1862, IN FAVOUR
OF BISHOP GILLIES.

"Her Majesty the Queen has been pleased to authorise Your Excellency (President of the Escorial) to deliver to the Bishop of Edinburgh a portion of the relics of St. Margaret which are preserved in the monastery of the Escorial; which command I submit to Your Excellency to carry into effect."

This royal decree was duly acknowledged by Bishop Gillies. The relic is a bone of the shoulder of St. Margaret, seven inches in length by five-and-a-half inches in breadth. In a letter of Bishop Gillies the following sentence occurs: "There is no question of the head of Queen Margaret, which never was conveyed to the Escorial."

"In accordance with instructions we came," says Bishop Gillies, "to the Escorial on 23rd August, 1862, and reverently divided into two parts, a most venerable bone religiously preserved in the Church of the Royal Monastery (St. Lawrence) since the time of the Royal Founder, Philip II., and marked with the inscription, 'De Sancta Margarita,' of which parts, one is to be conveyed to Edinburgh, the other remaining among the relics of the monastery; and we have in the usual manner duly sealed that part of the same venerable relic with our seal impressed in wax. Certificate from the Escorial.—I certify that on 23rd August, 1862, in virtue of a Royal Decree, I handed over to Bishop Gillies the greater part of the relic entered in the Manuscripts of Philip II. 'of St. Margaret,' and I caused the Seal of the Monastery to be affixed to it as an authenticated relic.—Dionysius Gonzales."

In a letter from Dr. John H. Paul, of Birmingham, to Bishop Gillies, 24th June, 1863, the writer

says : “ The shrine of St. Margaret should, I think, be over the altar in her honour on the reredos ; the history of the relics to be carved in alabaster ; 1, burial at Dunfermline ; 2, translation to the Escorial ; 3, discovery there ; 4, given to a Scottish Bishop ; 5, head brought from Douay same year ; 6, solemn enshrining in Edinburgh. Subjects from the life under the altar :—1, reception of the Royal Prince and Princess by Malcolm ; 2, St. Margaret feeding and seeing to the poor ; 3, death of St. Margaret.”

In the inventory of Philip II. of the holy relics in the Escorial dating from 1571, in which the first donation was deposited, until 1598 when he died, we find the following : “ Margaret Queen of Scotland was daughter of Edward King of England. From her earliest years she was reared in much piety, and the saintly child endeavoured in all ways to live not only as the daughter of a king, but as a christian and humble servant of Our Lord, loving Him in her soul, and holding Him always in her heart by continual meditation on His life and passion. Being given in marriage against her will to Malcolm King of Scots, she took care that the pleasures of this world should find no room in her heart. In the place where her marriage was celebrated she built a Church in honour of the Holy Trinity, and furnished it with many



Philip II., King of Spain.

vestments and vessels. She brought up her children with much care in the fear of God, and offered to God constant acts of service, showing herself bounteous to the poor and obedient to the clergy, in particular her confessor. She was very devout to the Most Holy Trinity, to the Holy Cross, and to Our Lady, and recited daily the offices of these devotions, together with that of the dead, and the whole Psalter, a practice which seemed to be beyond human power. She served the poor with great humility ; heard every day five or six Masses besides a High Mass, and fasted two Lents, one at the usual season, the other before Christmas. We possess the following relics : 1, a bone, a small thing ; 2, part of the flesh of the right leg two finger breadths square ; 3, part of a nerve of same leg, three finger breadths long.”

In the Register of Dunfermline there is a copy of a Bull from Pope Innocent IV. regarding the miracles concerning Queen Margaret. It is addressed to the Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, and is evidently the result of a letter the Pope had had from King Alexander II., soliciting that the body of Margaret, of blessed memory, should be enrolled in the catalogue of the Saints, as her body had shown infinite bright, light flashing, coruscating miracles ; but as the King's letter had given no evidence of

this, His Holiness directs the bishop to make strict inquiry regarding the matter, commanding him to reduce what was proved to us, being attested by his seal, and transmitted to him by a trusty messenger. The miracles attributed to Queen Margaret were proven and she was consequently canonized. The case had been committed to the charge of a Cardinal who corresponded with the Bishop of St. Andrews regarding the matter, and from their testimony he (the Pope) "is satisfied that the miracles attributed to the blessed Margaret are genuine, and he therefore concedes the request to enrol her name in the catalogue of the Saints." It is likely that the Bishop of St. Andrews would repair to Dunfermline to investigate the case; the brilliant, light flashing, coming from her remains up the ground, or from the tomb. There is no record of the Bishop's investigation. It would have been curious to have known by what process of seeing and reasoning he came to the conclusion that the bright, light flashing, miracles were genuine productions. Queen Margaret was therefore canonized and enrolled amongst the Saints on the Papal Roll, and henceforth is designated St. Margaret.⁶

⁶ Henderson.

After the canonization, the next act in the programme was the removal of St. Margaret's remains to the Lady Aisle of the new choir of Holy Trinity Church. Eight months after her canonization the new tomb was completed and ready to receive her sainted remains, and now the pomp and parade of a translation was all that was necessary to complete the Bishop's programme. On 13th July, 1250, Queen Margaret's remains, as has already been stated, were exhumed in presence of the young King Alexander III., his mother, David Burnham, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and numerous bishops, abbots, priests, and the nobility of the kingdom, after having lain in the grave 157 years. After the remains had been exhumed, and deposited on a consecrated bier, for transmission from the Rood Altar to the Lady Chapel in the choir, the procession began to move to the Lady Aisle. It had proceeded only a few yards when a miracle occurred, viz., the sudden weighting of the bier in which the relics were borne.

It is stated by Fordun that at the opening of the tomb so great and so agreeable a perfume arose that the whole of that sanctuary was thought to be sprinkled with painters' colours, and the scent of delicious flowers. Nor, he adds, was there wanting a Divine miracle, for when that most renowned

treasure (the remains), placed in the outer Church, was being removed by the hands of the abbots and clergy to be interred in the Lady Aisle of the newly built choir ; joining their melodious voices, and had reached even the Chancel entrance, just opposite the tomb of her husband, King Malcolm, at the north part of the Nave of the outer church ; the arms of the pall-bearers were immediately benumbed, and they could not carry the relics further on account of the weight. They were obliged to halt and lay down their burden. After some interval and additional and stronger pall-bearers being got, the more they endeavoured to raise it the less able were they to do so. At length the entire company wondering, and in profound terror and amazement at the situation, and judging themselves unworthy of so precious a trust, the voice of a bystander, divinely inspired, as was believed, was heard suggesting distinctly that the bones of the holy Queen could not be transferred further, until the tomb of her husband was opened and his body raised to similar honour. The suggestion was adopted, and King Alexander, his lineal descendant, with associates chosen for the purpose, without either force or impediment raised aloft the shrine having the bones of Malcolm III., along with the elevation of the coffer of the relics of the Queen ; deposited in due form, each

in a sarcophagus in the Mausoleum, specially prepared, and accompanied by the chanting of the Convent and choir of prelates ; anno 19th June, 1250.

From 1250 to 1560 lights were kept perpetually burning before the tomb, as also on each side of the shrine. The tomb was destroyed by the Reformers, 28th March, 1560. St. Margaret's shrine, which appears to have been an oaken cabinet, elaborately carved within, was a magnificent silver chest, profusely adorned with gold and precious stones, containing her relics, which consisted of a skull, with the auburn golden flowing hair, still on it, along with certain bones. On St. Margaret's Day these relics were exposed to the view of admiring pilgrims and other devotees, who had come to humble themselves and make their adoration before the shrine.⁷ Queen Margaret's hair—the auburn hair which her maidens were wont to dress with golden combs in the Forest Tower, Dunfermline,—was long shown as a holy relic by which miracles were wrought. It was taken abroad at the Reformation, and, as already stated, deposited in the Scots College at Douay, till the latter part of the eighteenth century, when it was lost in the confusion attending the expulsion of the Jesuits.

⁷ Henderson's *Annals*.

The proceedings at Dunfermline in connection with this matter have been put into rhyme by a well-known ancient writer, Andrew Wyntoun, as follows :

TRANSLATION OF QUEEN MARGARET.

That year with veneration
 Was made the translation
 Of St. Margaret the holy Queen
 A fair miracle there was seen ;
 The third Alexander bodily
 There was with a great company
 Of Earls, Bishops, and Barons
 And many famous persons
 Of St. Andrews there was by name
 The Bishop, David of Burnham,
 Robert of Kyldelth syne,
 The Abbot was of Dunfermline
 Power there had they at full
 Granted by the Pope's Bull
 To make this translation
 And that to do they made them ready
 And feigned to make the body
 Translated be, of that lady
 With all their power, and all their slight
 Her body to raise they had no might
 To lift her once out of that place
 Where she at that time lying was
 For all their devotions,
 Prayers, and great persons
 That the persons gathered there
 Dyd on devot mahere ;
 While first they took up the body
 Of her lord that lay thereby
 And bear it ben into the Choir ;

Lastly syne on fayr manere
Her body they took up and bare ben
And them entered together then
So trusted they all then gathered there
What honour to her lord she bore :
So this miracle to record
Notice great reverence done to her lord,
As she practised in her life,
When she was his espoused wife
Of this solemn translation
Before there is made mention
But there is nothing noted here
Nor this miracle written here
That should not have been forgot
For the honour of St. Margaret.

The Festival of St. Margaret was originally kept on 16th November, the anniversary of her death ; but in the seventeenth century it was changed to 10th June at the request of James VII., on account of the original date coming in contact with another birthday in the royal family. Her shrine continued to be an object of the greatest veneration until the Reformation, when it was plundered and desecrated, but it is recorded the relics were preserved.⁸

Queen Margaret's name is closely identified with the Black Rood of Scotland, and will always be so. It is to her we owe its introduction from the archives of her ancestors, the Anglo-Saxon kings, whose residence was Winchester, the capital

⁸ Mrs. Maxwell Scott.

of that kingdom. Queen Margaret at the moment of her death held the Black Rood in both her hands.

All that remains of the ancient burial-place is the tombstone of Queen Margaret, a large horizontal slab in two tiers, about three feet above the surface—at the east of the new Church, Dunfermline, covering the spot in which it is understood was once deposited the remains of King Malcolm and Queen Margaret. There are to be seen in it six indentures, which tradition says are the prints of candlesticks in which candles were kept burning. King Robert Bruce made a special gift for the burning of a perpetual light before the shrine of Queen Margaret in the Choir.⁹

The proposal to found the Convent at Edinburgh under the invocation of St. Margaret excited the warmest interest and sympathy among Catholics; and even many Protestants promised a warm welcome to the good Sisters, and such material help as they could afford. His Holiness Pius IX. had thought the time not yet ripe for the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in Scotland, but he cherished the hope that by the intercession of Queen Margaret, whom he often invoked, and the prayers of the Catholics of Scotland, the happy day might not be far distant.¹⁰

⁹ Chalmers.

¹⁰ Bellesheim.

CONCLUSION.

IN concluding our notice of the life and reign of the Princess Margaret, the first thing that strikes the reader is the wholly exceptional nature of the circumstances which governed her career as Queen of Scotland. In respect of her Hungarian life, history is silent; but there is every reason to suppose that her life there was a happy and joyful period, void of cares, anxieties, and state responsibilities. Her brother was a weak prince, while her sister Christian, who became Abbess of Wilton Abbey, was from all accounts an overbearing woman, who possessed but a limited share of the "milk of human kindness." Queen Margaret's daughter, the Princess Matilda, has illustrated her character very graphically.

The piety, natural refinement, the generous but reticent disposition of Queen Margaret, were the outstanding features of her nature, and those features, the guiding stars of her life, governed her actions, civil, ecclesiastical, and political. Historians find fault with the ascetic life which she led, and what they say cannot be denied. Her fasting and abstinence from food were certainly overdone, and mainly account for her

premature death. During the twenty-three years of her married life as Queen of Scotland, she was doubtless a great power in the realm and a personality that could not be disregarded, by either nobles, barons, or common people.

Her influence on the civilization of the age was powerful, penetrating, drastic, and effectual. Under her, rudeness and barbarism gave place to refinement ; and brawls and political complications, which disgraced the Court before her time, were under her extinguished absolutely. Her reign was full of beneficent influences, and these materially contributed to the welfare and general prosperity of the nation. Her husband the King cannot be dissociated from her, in her acts of benevolence and philanthropy, as it is fully recorded that he endorsed all that she did. The ecclesiastical world and the clergy enjoyed peace and tranquillity ; and by her wise and enlightened administration the Church prospered and was influential, and made its way among the people ; slowly, but surely, removing the darkness of Paganism. Few people at that period could either read or write, and even the King was not able to read. What, then, could be the condition of the realm ?

The public events in Queen Margaret's life are not fully recorded, and the fragmentary biography

by Bishop Turgot is in some respects unsuitable for deliberate criticism ; and is disappointing. Queen Margaret will always maintain her position as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of Scottish Queens. During the whole Stuart period beginning with Robert II., the Stuart Queens were destitute of Queen Margaret's faculties, and exercised no such influence on the administration of the realm. Queen Margaret's influence was bright, exhilarating, undeniable ; founded as it was on the "eternal principles of justice," it became a power in the land and prevailed. There are writers who speak of Queen Margaret as working for her own aggrandisement. We have nothing recorded to verify this, no proof or evidence of any kind ; it is a mere conjecture of the writer. Queen Margaret was a lady who rose regularly at midnight for her devotions, in addition to what she did during the day, and the inference is that she despised aggrandisement, not caring for any such empty show.

In Queen Margaret we have a noble Queen, a lady full of the highest and noblest aspirations, whose influence on the nation is matter of history, recognised and acknowledged by posterity. In her recorded biography there is nothing to which the slightest objection can be taken. The treatment of her remains or relics after her death

we shall never understand ; nor is there any satisfactory explanation how they came to be removed from Dunfermline and found their way to the Escorial ; and if there, the latest report is that they cannot be identified.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BLACK ROOD OF SCOTLAND. HISTORICAL NARRATIVE.

IN any attempt to present an outline of the history of this mysterious subject, it is necessary to explain what is the meaning of the expression, Black Rood of Scotland. At the very threshold we get into the mists of antiquity, superstition, and legendary lore, with all their marvellous and wonder-loving surroundings. The subject is one that has called forth great controversy in all ages of the world, and the controversy is likely to go on. According to a well-informed writer of our own day,¹ there were two Black Roods of Scotland. The larger one was a sheet of solid silver, measuring about six feet nine by three feet nine. The figure of our Saviour was thirty-five inches in length, beautifully carved in the centre: and on each side of him were carved the figures of the

¹ Canon Fowler, Durham.

Virgin Mary and St. John the Apostle : the plate was smoked black all over. This so-called Black Rood of Scotland was, according to the writer, carried by two men, in the service of the King of Scots, at the battle of Durham in 1346, was by the English army captured along with David II. on that occasion, and was placed in the shrine of St. Cuthbert, Durham Abbey.

The situation in Durham Abbey, of this Black Rood, is thus pointed out by the writer : "At the end of the South Alley adjoining the pillar next St. Cuthbert's shrine, there was a Rood or Portrait of our Saviour called the Black Rood of Scotland, with the carved portraits of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Apostle, which Black Rood of Scotland was brought out of Holyrood House by David II. and was captured by the English at the battle of Durham. The Virgin Mary was on one side of our Saviour, and St. John on the other ; all richly carved in silver. On each of their heads was a crown of pure gold, with a device to take it off or on."

The Black Rood of Scotland has also been applied to what is called the Black Cross or Holy Cross of Holyrood ; said by the same writer to be a palm of three inches in length, by another writer eight and a half inches ; and this Cross has a remarkable history,

consequently by some writers we are informed that there were two Black Roods of Scotland. Both Roods disappeared finally at the battle of Durham in 1346. The larger one we have discredited, and therefore we need not pursue its history further. It really has no history beyond what is just recorded.

The Black Rood of Scotland, or Holy Cross of Holyrood, three inches in length, as just stated, comes prominently into notice at a very early period. In 323 A.D., during the Roman occupation of Britain, a lady occupying the highest position at that time in the civilised world, the Empress Helena, mother of the Roman Emperor, Constantine the Great, and wife of Constantine Chlorus, the Emperor, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the express purpose of discovering the site of the Holy Sepulchre. The virtues of this lady, her attachment to the Christian faith, which she appears to have embraced at the instance of Constantine,—her pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where she is believed to have discovered the sepulchre of our Lord, together with the wood of the true Cross, and her zealous patronage of the faithful, have afforded a copious theme to early writers and historians and procured for her the glory of canonization.²

² Smith's *Bible Dictionary*.

The Empress Helena set the example of pilgrimage to Palestine for the sake of visiting the holy places where our Lord had been born, died, and risen again. Churches were built over the spots where our Lord was born and where he was laid in the tomb. It was even believed that the actual Cross on which he suffered had been buried in the earth. From this time pilgrimages to Jerusalem became frequent. Religious zeal longed to see the very places where our Lord had walked and suffered : where he had risen and ascended to Heaven, and happy was the man who possessed a piece of the wood of the very Cross itself, which suffered no diminution though fragments were daily taken from it. The only person from whom genuine fragments could be obtained was the Bishop of Jerusalem. Many persons went to Palestine to be baptised in the Jordan.³ The Empress was honoured by receiving the distinguished Roman title of "Augusta."

The view that Constantine the Emperor wished to find the Cross is indirectly supported by the rapid development of the cult or history of the Cross. Less than twenty-five years after the Emperor's death Cyril of Jerusalem wrote that the wood of the Cross on which our Lord was crucified had been distributed piecemeal over the

³ Dr. Cheetham's *Christian Church*.

world, but this statement is not authentic. Julian was able to taunt the Christians with reverencing the Cross as a Divinity, and the heathen had come to regard it as a Christian idol no less materialistic than their own. The later Greek traditions are more concerned with the discovery of the three Crosses and the identification of the true Cross, than they are with the discovery of our Lord's tomb ; and in these traditions the principal figure is not the Emperor but his mother the Empress Helena. In the fourth and fifth centuries Socrates, the historian, attributes the discovery of our Lord's tomb and the Cross to the Empress Helena, assisted by Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem. Theodoretus, a church historian of that period, states that the Empress Helena was the bearer of Constantine's letter to Macarius, and confirms the statement that she discovered our Saviour's Cross. In the sixth century Alexander Monachus writes that the Emperor Constantine had ordered Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, to find the Cross, the tomb, and the sacred relics, and that he had sent his mother at her own request to Jerusalem that she and the Bishop might search together for the Cross. The Latin tradition is that the Empress, on her arrival at Jerusalem, made full enquiry regarding the site of the crucifixion. When it was pointed out to her by the Bishop, she had the

superincumbent buildings removed, and then, as is recorded, found the three crosses, viz., that of our Lord and the two malefactors. The Cross of our Lord was then identified with the aid of Macarius the Bishop.⁴

This affords a perfectly reasonable conception that early in the fourth century public attention all over the world was directed to the discovery of our Lord's Sepulchre and the Cross on which He was crucified.

Sozomen, a Constantinople lawyer of the fifth century, states that it was no easy matter to discover the Cross and the tomb, and that, according to some, their situation was ultimately pointed out to the Empress by an oriental Jew who derived his knowledge from family documents, but that the more probable view was that God revealed it by signs and dreams. Alexander Monachus states that the Empress Helena, on her arrival at Jerusalem, charged Macarius, the Bishop, to help her to search for the Cross, that they offered prayers to God, and were answered by a miraculous revelation of the place to the Bishop.

In a letter of the Emperor Leo to Omar, the site is said to have been disclosed by Jews under torture. This statement requires confirmation. According to Rufinus, a very reliable writer, the

⁴ Rufinus, a writer of the fifth century.

place was pointed out to the Empress Helena by signs from Heaven. Gregory, Bishop of Tours in 573 A.D., says that the Cross was pointed out to the Empress Helena by a Jew named Juda : but this statement is not confirmed. Eusebius, a great ecclesiastical writer of the fourth century, gives a letter from Constantine to Macarius, Catholic Bishop of Jerusalem, which was written in the full knowledge that the Cross had been found. The Emperor writes that "no power of language seems adequate to describe the present wonder. That the token of the most holy passion long ago buried under ground, should have remained unknown for so many years truly transcends all marvel. I desire then that you should especially be convinced that of all things it is most my care how we may adorn with splendour of buildings that sacred spot which, under divine direction, I relieved, as it were, of the heavy weight of foul idol worship, a place holy indeed from the beginning, but which has been made to appear still more holy since it brought to light the assurance of the Saviour's passion." Instructions were then given for the construction of a basilica. "For it is just that the place which is more wonderful than the whole world, should be worthily decorated."⁵ The Emperor intended to build, in

⁵ *Palestine Exploration.*

addition to the Church round the tomb, a large Church above the spot where the Cross was found—"a place more wonderful than the whole world."

The Empress Helena built a Church at Bethlehem, and another on the Mount of Olives. According to St. Ambrose, christian fancy busied itself much with the circumstances of the discovery of the Cross by the Empress Helena and the distinction of Christ's Cross from those of the malefactors, which was followed by miracles. Cyril of Jerusalem leads us to the conclusion that in Jerusalem the discovery or possession of the Cross had long been believed in: as also the story that "the Emperor Constantine used nails of the Holy Cross in his crown," and also for the bit of his horse. Fragments were scattered in such numbers that he declared it a miracle that the Cross could exist in Jerusalem. There was soon established a regular "Feast of the Discovery of the Cross," which was celebrated in the west from the time of Gregory the Great, in the sixth century, on the 31st May annually.⁶ This festival was in commemoration of the discovery of the Cross by the Empress Helena, now called St. Helena, but it is an open question whether the celebration was on the 3rd or 31st of May. The

⁶ Moeller's *Christian Church*.

Empress died in 328 ; her husband, who died at York at the head of a Roman legion, predeceased her by twenty-two years.⁷

The connection of the Empress Helena with the discovery of the Cross of our Lord cannot be denied in respect that it is faithfully recorded by various writers of undoubted authority. So far as can be gathered from the historic narrative, the Empress, after her remarkable discovery—a discovery that was to surprise the civilized world in after ages—evidently committed the safe keeping of the Cross to the Bishop of Jerusalem. For we are informed by more than one writer that the Bishop afterwards supplied pilgrims with pieces of it.

It is interesting to notice what Milman says on the subject in his elaborate work on Latin Christianity : The Holy Land was very early visited by Christian pilgrims. The supposed discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, with the miraculous legend of the Emperor's vision, the disinterment of the true Cross, the magnificent church built over the Holy Sepulchre by the Empress Helena and her son Constantine, were but the consequences and manifestations of a pre-existent and dominant enthusiasm. The objective reality which arises from the actual places where our Saviour was

⁷ Brewer.

born, lived, rose from the grave, ascended into Heaven, works back upon the inward or subjective faith in the heart of the believer. Where the presence, the being of the Redeemer, is more intensely felt, there it is thought to dwell with greater power. Down to the Conquest of Jerusalem by Chosroes, the Persian king (590-628 A.D.), the tide of pilgrimage flowed uninterruptedly to the Holy Land. The victory of Heraclius the Emperor, and the recovery of the true Cross from the hands of the fire worshippers, re-established peaceful communications. Pilgrimage at that period expiated all sin ; bathing in the Jordan was, as it were, a second baptism, and washed away all the evil of the former life. The shirt which the pilgrim had worn when he entered the Holy City was carefully laid past as his winding sheet, and possessed, as it was supposed, the power of transporting him to Heaven. The privilege of beholding Jerusalem and the sacred places was not the only advantage of the pilgrim. He usually returned bearing with him a fragment of the true Cross or some other memorial of the Saviour, the Virgin Mother, the Apostles, or some earlier Saint, and the prodigal demand did not in the least drain the inexhaustible supply. Then we have the Crusades and the Wars of the Holy Cross in the eleventh century ; religious wars carried on by

the Christians of the West against Mohammedans. The first crusade was undertaken to assert and guarantee the right of Christian pilgrims to journey to Jerusalem, which had been denied by the Turks.⁸

We now come to the actual Black Rood of Scotland, brought over to Dunfermline in 1068 by Margaret, the Anglo-Saxon Princess, afterwards Queen of Scotland. This was the period of the Crusades, and of the Norman Conquest of England, and war was raging all over the civilized world. The Norman Conquest extinguished the Anglo-Saxon kingdom and the Princess Margaret escaped to Scotland, bringing with her what was afterwards known as the Black Rood of Scotland.

Edmund Ironside, Anglo-Saxon King, and grandfather of the Princess Margaret, who died in 1016, was brother of Edward the Confessor. He left two sons, Edmund and Edward. They were conveyed out of England in 1017, and afterwards found an asylum in Hungary, where the Princess Margaret was born. Edmund died there, but Edward, Margaret's father, remained for a considerable time. It is important to observe that his family consisted of three children, viz.: Eadgar Atheling, Margaret, afterwards Queen of Scotland, and Christian. Eadgar was the heir of

⁸ Milman,

the Saxon line, was a prince, it is recorded, of weak intellect, while his facile nature disqualified him from being a leader in the state. He was called Eadgar Atheling, which in the Saxon vernacular meant Eadgar of the blood royal.

This Black Rood of Scotland, or Holy Cross, was enclosed in a black ebony case, whence it was called the Black Cross. The Cross itself was of gold, and set with large diamonds. "It was a palm, or three inches, long," said by Aelred, Bishop of Rievaulx, to have been made of pure gold, of wonderful workmanship, and it opened and closed like a chest. Inside was a portion of our Lord's Cross, having a figure of our Saviour cut out of massive ivory, and marvellously adorned with decorations of gold. Queen Margaret, as just stated, brought this precious relic with her to Scotland and handed it down as an heirloom to her sons. The youngest of them, David I., when he became king, built a magnificent church for it called the Abbey Church of Holyrood.

The Princess Margaret, daughter of Edward, the Anglo-Saxon prince, and Agatha, his wife, was destined to be a great personality in Scottish history. She arrived in Scotland in 1068 along with her brother, Eadgar Atheling, her mother, and sister, and an escort of Northumbrian nobles. He was grand-nephew, and the Princess, grand-niece, to

Edward the Confessor. Their arrival would be about two years after the famous battle of Hastings, when the Anglo-Saxon monarchy came to an end.

St. Margaret's Hope, not far from Edinburgh, is so called because the Princess Margaret, her mother Agatha, her sister Christian, her brother Eadgar, and their little fleet with an escort of Northumbrian nobles arrived there from the Anglo-Saxon Court of England, and landed *en route* for Dunfermline, to be guests, and to get shelter from, King Malcolm III. (Malcolm Canmore). The Princess Margaret was then twenty-one years of age, and the King some time afterwards fell in love with and married her. The issue of this marriage was six sons and two daughters: three of the sons died in early life, the other three were successively kings of Scotland: Eadgar, Alexander I., and David I. Their eldest daughter, Matilda, married Henry I., King of England, son of William the Conqueror, and the second daughter married the Count of Boulogne.

With the arrival of the little fleet the Princess Margaret brought with her, in addition to her jewels, articles of silver and gold and precious relics, and the Holy Cross or Black Rood. A well-known writer⁹ informs us that the Princess

⁹ Goodall.

Margaret brought Scotland many relics of the Saints, more to be esteemed than precious stones or gold. Amongst them was that sacred crucifix called the Black Cross or Black Rood, whose sanctity caused it to be revered and held in reverence by the Scottish nation. It is generally believed by writers on the subject that the Black Cross contained part of the true Cross discovered by the Empress Helena, and the Holy Cross was afterwards gifted by the Pope to the Anglo-Saxon King, Alfred the Great.

There is no reason for doubting that the Empress Helena discovered the Cross of our Lord. It is admitted by scholars and students of history in our own day that in very ancient times it was the custom to bury the Cross along with the person who was executed, and in the same tomb. This would seem to confirm the story of the Empress finding the Cross at the Holy Sepulchre. Opinion, of course, will differ as to whether the wood of our Saviour's Cross is of any intrinsic value, when we consider the brutal, the unjust, and barbarous manner in which he was put to death by an infuriated mob, having the mock consent of a Roman Governor who admitted having "found no fault in him."

After Queen Margaret's marriage she built a permanent memorial of her name and devotion in

the place where her nuptials were celebrated, Dunfermline. The church she erected there in honour of the Holy Trinity was to serve a threefold purpose : it was intended for the redemption of the King's soul, for the salvation of her own, and for securing to her children prosperity in the present life, and in that which is to come. This church she beautified with gifts of various kinds, amongst which, as is well known, were many vessels of solid gold for the sacred service of the altar. She also placed there a Cross of priceless value, bearing the figure of our Saviour, which she had caused to be covered with gold and silver, studded with gems, a token to this day of the earnestness of her faith. This was a distinct Cross from that known as the Black Rood brought by her from England.

Efforts have been made by historians to trace correctly the connection of the Holy Cross or Black Rood to Queen Margaret, and how or by what means it came into her possession. It is asserted by some writers who have carefully studied the subject, that Alfred the Great, the Anglo-Saxon King (849-901), was the medium of communication. He was one of Queen Margaret's ancestors, and this is the great point in the case. At the death of the Empress Helena in 328 A.D., there is reason to believe that it was bequeathed by her to His Holiness the Pope, per the Bishop of Jerusalem,

and that it was carefully preserved in the Papal Archives, as a treasured relic, down to the year 884 A.D. In that year Pope Marinus occupied the papal chair, and it is duly recorded that "for the love he bore King Alfred" he, in 884, the last year of his pontificate, exchanged many gifts with him. Amongst these was a no small portion of the Most Holy Cross on which our Lord Jesus Christ hung for the salvation of man.

The matter is placed beyond doubt by the following extract from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a highly reliable authority: "The Anglo-Saxon troops under Alfred the Great in 883 A.D. went up the Scheldt to Condé, and there remained one year. Marinus the Pope then sent *lignum domini* of Christ's Cross, a piece of the true Cross, to King Alfred." About 185 years afterwards the Princess Margaret, having inherited it from her ancestors, brought it to Scotland, and since her death has been known as the Black Rood of Scotland.

It is reasonable to suppose that in that superstitious age the Anglo-Saxon kings would place so precious a relic, venerated as a gift of the Pope, in a splendid and secure receptacle. With this view the earliest descriptions of the Black Rood completely harmonise. The name Black Rood was at first applied to the whole relic, the cruciform case as well as the Cross contained in it, but in

after ages, in Queen Margaret's time, and subsequently, it applied only to the Cross.

A question has been raised whether the Black Cross or Black Rood mentioned by Aelred, Bishop of Rievaulx, Yorkshire, was the Black Rood of Scotland. The relic called by Aelred the Black Cross or Rood, is given the same name by Turgot, Bishop of St. Andrews, biographer of Queen Margaret. Conclusive evidence of the identity of the Cross mentioned by Turgot, with the Black Rood of Scotland, is provided by a comparison of the two MSS. of Turgot's *Life of Queen Margaret*, preserved in the British Museum. The relic known two centuries earlier as the Black Cross or Rood was identical with the relic or national monument afterwards known as the Black Rood of Scotland. It is beyond doubt that the Black Cross or Rood of Aelred and of Turgot, and the Cross known in later days as the Black Rood of Scotland, were one and the same.¹⁰

A modern writer,¹¹ says the Black Rood of Scotland was a certified fragment of the true Cross of our Lord, preserved in a shrine of gold or silver gilt. The importance of such a relic to the country having the good fortune to own it, is shown by its finding a legendary miracu-

¹⁰ George Watson.

¹¹ Hill Burton.

lous history. Nothing is more likely than that King David would carry to the battle of Durham the smaller Black Rood, the Nigra Crux of earlier writers. It was but a palm in length, and had been used by Queen Margaret and David I. on their death-beds. Why it is described as black does not appear. Perhaps the portion of the true Cross was enclosed in a black cross, and that again in a gold case, which again may have been at the same time enclosed with the great Black Rood. But in 1383 it was kept with some other crosses in a place of honour in Durham Abbey among the relics.¹²

Among other crosses kept with the relics were a black cross called the Black Rood of Scotland, and a cross called that of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland. King Edward I. in 1296 got possession of the celebrated Holy Rood of St. Margaret. Its removal was a loss to Scotland second only to that of the Stone of Destiny. The relic, being small and portable, was very useful to Edward as a warrant of authority for the administration of the Oath of Allegiance in the course of his journey. It was returned to Scotland and to its domicile in Holyrood Abbey, where it remained till 1346, when it was taken by David II. to the battle of Durham as a miraculous relic, and to insure him victory.

¹² *Rites of Durham.*

From the death of King Alfred in 901 until the Princess Margaret's arrival in Scotland was 167 years, and during that period the Holy Cross or Black Rood is supposed to have been in possession of the Anglo-Saxon princes, in their royal residence at Winchester, the ancient Anglo-Saxon capital of England. Queen Margaret unfortunately did not live long. She died in Edinburgh Castle when she was forty-seven years of age. Shortly before her death she requested that the Cross, called the Black Cross or Holy Cross, which she had brought with her to Scotland, and which she always held in the greatest veneration, should be brought to her. There was some delay in opening the cabinet in which it was kept, during which the Queen, sighing deeply, exclaimed: "Oh, unhappy that we are: Oh, guilty that we are: shall we not be permitted once more to look upon the Holy Cross." When at last it was brought to her, she received it with reverence and did her best to embrace it and kiss it, and several times she signed herself with it. She repeated the fifty-first Psalm, and placing the Cross before her eyes she held it there with both hands. Her last words were: "All praise to Thee, Almighty God, Who hast been pleased that I should endure such deep sorrow at my departing: I trust that by means of this suffering it is Thy pleasure that I should be cleansed from

some of the stains of my sins. Lord Jesus Christ, Who according to the will of the Father through the co-operation of the Holy Spirit, hath by Thy death given life to the world, deliver me." As she said "deliver me," she expired. This is the Cross that was afterwards taken from Holyrood to Durham by David II. in 1346, and designated the Black Rood of Scotland.

At the death of Queen Margaret the Holy Cross was domiciled in Edinburgh Castle, where she died, in all probability deposited in the Castellum Puilarum, the castle or monastery of the nuns. Queen Margaret bequeathed it to her sons, Eadgar, Alexander I., and David I., Kings of Scotland, as has been stated. King David had residences at Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Haddington, and Perth, as we find some of his charters dated from these places. At his death at Carlisle in 1153 the Holy Cross or Black Rood was still domiciled in Edinburgh Castle, and it remained there unmolested until 1291. The date when it was removed to Holyrood is not recorded.

The influence which Queen Margaret's piety and learning gave her over her husband and the people, was used to soften the fierceness and to win them from their once half savage ways to the customs of more civilized countries. She is said to have encouraged literature and commerce, but

chiefly busied herself in reviving the state of religion, which had sunk to a very low ebb.

There is nothing on record to show that the Black Rood was removed from Edinburgh Castle from Queen Margaret's death to the Treaty of Brigham, 18th July, 1290, when Edward I. came on the scene. After the signature of that Treaty, Edward ordered all the keys of the Treasury of Edinburgh Castle and of the archives, chests and letter cases in which the State documents were kept, to be handed over to certain Commissioners. These Commissioners, in 1291, reported that they had got four chests, with various relics ; one chest with a silver cross, in which was part of the Cross of our Lord ; and a silver case covered with gold, in which was the Cross which is called the Black Rood. These, by order of Edward, were first sent to Berwick, afterwards to Westminster.

Brigham was a village situated between Kelso and Coldstream, near the English border. Edward with six Commissioners, met an equal number of Scots Commissioners representing the Scottish kingdom. The Treaty was called for in order to provide a Provisional Government during the minority of the young Princess Margaret, the Maid of Norway, but mainly to secure her betrothal to King Edward's son, Edward II. The Treaty was dated 18th July, 1290, but the unfortunate

young Princess died on the journey at Orkney, in September following. The clause of the Treaty which would include the Black Rood of Scotland was as follows: "All relics, charters, grants, and other muniments, touching the Royal dignity of the kingdom of Scotland, shall be deposited in a safe place within the kingdom, and in sure custody under the seal of the nobility and subject to their inspection. They shall so remain until the Queen arrives in her dominions and have living issue; and before this event takes place, no alienation, encumbrance, or obligation, to be created in any matters touching the royal dignity of the kingdom of Scotland."

The Black Rood was next found in the possession of Edward I. on his famous march through Scotland in 1296. On that journey we have records of many persons of note, Scotsmen, taking the Oath of Allegiance on the Black Rood of Scotland.

The Holy Cross was kept in England till 1328, when it was restored to the Scots by Edward III. in terms of the Treaty of Northampton. In Froissart's *Chronicles of Scotland*, the official entry is as follows: "At the English Parliament held at Northampton, 1328-29, the English delivered to the Scots the Black Rood of Scotland, which King Edward had seized and brought out of the Abbey

of Scone, the which was a precious relic."¹³ King Edward I. used it as a sacred relic in all cases where the Scottish people took the oath and swore allegiance to him. At Berwick on 28th August, 1296, William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, swore fealty to Edward, taking the oath on the Holy Evangels and on the Black Rood of Scotland, and same year Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, swore fealty on the Black Rood in Cambuskenneth Abbey. Again, on Edward III.'s visit to Scotland in 1326, James, the High Steward, appears in the priory of Lanercost before the Bishop of Lichfield and other potentates, and did homage to Edward by oath, taken on the Black Rood of Scotland.

King Edward I. died at Burgh-on-Sands on 7th June, 1307. In an inventory of his estate taken there on 13th July following, it is of importance to observe that this entry occurs: "The Black Rood of Scotland, constructed of gold, with a gold chain, in a casket with a wooden interior, and with its outer side of silver gilded over."

From 1328 the Holy Cross remained in Holyrood till 1346, when it was taken by David II. to the battle of Durham, with the intention of securing victory to that weak-minded monarch, which it did not, and the precious relic, so much

¹³ For Abbey of Scone, read Edinburgh Castle.

prized and venerated by his royal predecessors, was thus lost to Scotland for ever.

In a note to Prior Richard's *History of Ely*, Robert Stewart, the last prior previous to the Reformation, states that John de Hotham, bishop of the diocese, 1316 to 1337, was chiefly instrumental in effecting the surrender of the Black Rood to the Scottish nation.

It remained at Durham fully two hundred years, or until the Reformation, when Durham Abbey was suppressed. At the riots which then took place, it disappeared and has never since been heard of.

In estimating the character of Edward I. in his Scottish invasions, we must keep in view that he was closely allied to the Scottish kingdom. Alexander III., King of Scotland, was married to the Princess Margaret, his sister. They were children of Henry III., King of England, a prince who held the sceptre sixty years. Alexander III. and the Princess Margaret were each ten years old when they were married, amidst great rejoicings at York, in 1251; one thousand knights in robes of silk attended the nuptials. It is recorded by a well-known writer¹⁴ that if he were to explain at length the abundance of the feasts which took place, the variety and frequent changes

¹⁴ Matthew Paris.

of the vestments, the delight and the plaudits occasioned by the jugglers and the multitudes of those that sat down to meat, his narrative might become hyperbolic and might produce irony. He then adds that the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was the great Prince of the North, shewed himself a most serene host to all comers, made a donation of six hundred oxen on that great festive occasion, which were all spent on the first course, and from the circumstances we leave you to form a parallel judgment of the feast. We can scarcely conceive such a huge banquet possible, but the account is not contradicted. We have no details of succeeding courses, and probably it is just as well. The young King and Queen, who were honoured guests of this great banquet, were five years afterwards captured at Kinross by the powerful Comyn faction, and for a short time confined in Stirling Castle. The Maid of Norway was the grandchild of this marriage, and grand-niece of Edward I. Edward's sister, the Princess Margaret, had three children to Alexander III., two of them died in childhood, and the third, the mother of the Maid of Norway, died in her prime. This relationship of Edward to Scotland was a great factor in his political career and in his general policy respecting the ancient kingdom.

TREATY OF NORTHAMPTON, 1328.

A NOTICE of the Black Rood of Scotland would be incomplete without a reference to the Treaty of Northampton of 1328, an elaborate document signed by six Commissioners on behalf of Edward III. of England, and by six Scots Commissioners acting on behalf of King Robert Bruce. This Treaty is not now in existence, but according to Sir David Dalrymple¹⁵, though it is not in existence there has been preserved what is called the original indenture of the Treaty, containing practically the substance of the Treaty, and this is reproduced by the National MSS. Commission. According to this indenture it is treated and accorded that all writings, obligations, instruments and other muniments touching the subjection of the Scottish people to the King of England ; and all other instruments and privileges touching the freedom of Scotland that can be found with the King of England ; be given up and returned to the King of Scotland at the earliest date according as they shall be found. In case the letter of the King of England by which the said writings, obligations and muniments, are voided and annulled should be null, and restored

¹⁵ Lord Hailes.

to the King of England ; that all these writings, obligations, etc., so delivered to the King of Scotland by indenture be returned to the King of England without opposition from the King of Scots or his heirs or successors :

1. There shall be perpetual peace between the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland.

2. The stone on which the Kings of Scotland were wont to be crowned to be restored to Scotland.

3. In order to make reparation for the ravages committed in England by the Scots, the King of Scotland shall pay 30,000 marks to the King of England.

Date of Indenture, 13th March, 1328.

Such then is a connected narrative of the Black Rood of Scotland, so far as it can be traced from history, and so far as known to every historian who has written on the subject. From every point of view its historical record is of an extraordinary character, full of incident, full of mystery, yet conferring on its possessor a charm that no human power could remove. But wherever situated, the Black Rood of Scotland commanded profound veneration and was worshipped as a heavenly messenger.

The discovery of the Cross and of our Lord's Sepulchre is undoubtedly due to the Empress

Helena, and she, in all probability, made the beautiful little cabinet or casket of three cases which enclosed it, and which was radiant with jewels and gold. This in after ages was called the Black Rood of Scotland. The Empress at her death in 328 A.D. bequeathed it, it is believed, to Marinus, the Catholic Bishop of Jerusalem, and Marinus bequeathed it to the Pope. It was treasured among the Papal Archives till 884 A.D., when the Pope presented it to Alfred the Great, the Anglo-Saxon King, and in the Anglo-Saxon Treasury at the Royal Palace of Winchester it appears to have remained until the Princess Margaret, grand-niece of Edward the Confessor, and a direct descendant of Alfred the Great, got possession of it, she being one of the royal family ; but in what manner we are not told. The Princess Margaret brought it over to Scotland when she became the wife of Malcolm Canmore. At her death, and that of her sons, the Black Rood was prominent, and revered by them as a heavenly messenger. From that date till 1346 it was domiciled in Holyrood, when David II. took it to the battle of Durham, as already stated, where it was captured by the English and put in Durham Abbey. It remained there for two hundred years, or till 1546, when the Abbey was suppressed by Henry VIII., and the Black Rood disappeared and has

never since been heard of. It would not be surprising, however, if it should turn up in the near future in the archives of some of our great English Catholic families, as a precious relic, seized and treasured at the dispersion and looting of the monasteries in 1546. We entertain no doubt that many valuable and precious relics deposited in monasteries were at the Reformation secured and preserved from danger by some of the leading Catholic families of that period. But whether or not that has been so, it is generally admitted that the Black Rood of Scotland has had a wonderful history—a history calculated to inspire the reader with great interest, edification, and with profound gratitude, for the intelligent narrative that has been preserved of a remarkable subject so much lost in the mists of antiquity.

HOLYROOD FOUNDATION CHARTER.

IN connection with the Black Rood it will be important for the reader's information to reproduce the Foundation Charter of Holyrood by David I., so closely identified as it is with the famous Black Rood of Scotland, for whom, according to some writers, that King (Queen Margaret's son) erected the ancient monastery and abbey of Holyrood, subsequently known as Holyrood house.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in honour of the Holy Rood and of St. Mary the Virgin and of all saints :—I, David, by the grace of God, King of Scots, by my royal authority, and with the assent of my son Henry and the Bishops of my Kingdom, and with the confirmation and testimony of the Earls and Barons : the clergy also assenting, and the people, of Divine prompting grant all the things under written to the Church of the Holy Rood of Edinburgh and in perpetual peace confirm this. These therefore are what we grant to the aforesaid Church and to the Canons Regular serving God therein, in free and perpetual alms : to wit the Church of the Castle with all its appendages and rights, and the trial of battle, water and hot iron, as far as belongs to ecclesiastical dignity : and with Salectum by its right marches : and the Church of St. Cuthbert, with the

parish and all things that pertain to that Church : and with Kyrchetum (Kirkliston) by its right marches, and with the land in which the church is situated : and with the other land that lies under the castle, to wit, from the spring that rises near the corner of my garden, by the road that leads to the church of St. Cuthbert : and on the other side under the castle until you come to a crag which is under the castle towards the east : and with the two chapels which pertain to the same church of St. Cuthbert, to wit, Corstorphine, with two oxgates and six acres of land, and the chapel of Liberton with two oxgates of land, and with all the tithes and rights as well of the living as of the dead, of Legbarnard (Leadhills) which Macbother gave to that church, and which I have granted : and the church of Hereth with the land that belongs to that church, and with all the land that I have added and given to it as my servants and good men walked its bounds and gave it over to Alwyn the Abbot : with one salt pan in Hereth and twenty-six acres of land, which church and land aforementioned I will that the Canons of the Holy Cross hold and possess for ever freely and quietly : and I strictly forbid that anyone unjustly oppress or trouble the Canons or their men who live in that land, or unjustly exact from them any works or aids or secular custom. I will, moreover, that the same Canons have liberty of making a mill in that land and they have in Hereth all their customs, rights and easements to wit in waters, in fishings, in meadows, in pastures, and in all other necessary things as they best held them on the day in which I had it in my domain : and Broctum (Broughton) with its right marches, and Inverleith that which is nearest the harbour with its right marches, and all that has been, and with the half of the fishing and with

the whole tithes of all the fishing which belong to the church of St. Cuthbert: and Pittendreich (near Lassuade) with its right marches, and Hamere (Whitekirk), and Ford, with their right marches, and the hospital with one plough of land:¹⁶ and forty shillings from my burgh of Edinburgh yearly: and a rent of one hundred shillings yearly to the clothing of the Canons from my cane of Perth, and then from the first ships that come to Perth for the sake of trade, and if it happens that they do not come I grant to the aforesaid church from my rent of Edinburgh forty shillings, and from Stirling twenty shillings, and from Perth forty shillings: and one toft in Stirling, and the draught of one net for fishing: and one toft in my burgh in Edinburgh free and quit of all customs and exactions: and one toft in Berwick, and the draught of two nets in Scypwal: and one toft in Reinfry of five perches, and the draught of one net for salmon, and to fish there for herrings freely. And I forbid that anyone exact from you or from your men any customs therefor. I grant, moreover, to the aforesaid Canons from my exchequer chamber yearly ten pounds to the lights of the church and to the works of that church and to repairing these works for ever. I charge, moreover, all my servants and foresters of Stirlingshire and Clackmannan that the Abbot and Convent have free power in all my woods and forests of taking as much timber as they please and wish, for the building of their church, and of their houses, and for any purpose of theirs. And I enjoin that their men who take timber for their use, in the said woods, have my firm peace and so that ye do not permit them to be

¹⁶The hospital is believed to be identical with a place called "Spittell," in the road from Edinburgh to Carlops, and belonging to Heriot's Hospital.

disturbed in any way: and the swine, the property of the aforesaid church, I grant in all my woods to be quit of pannage.

I grant, moreover, to the aforesaid Canons the half of the fat, tallow and hides, of the slaughter of Edinburgh, and a tithe of all the whales and sea beasts which fall to me from Avin to Cockburnspath: and a tithe of all my pleas and gains from Avin to Cockburnspath: and the half of my tithe of my cane and of my pleas and gains of Kintyre and Argyll, and all the skins of rams, ewes, and lambs of the castle, and of Linlithgow, which die of my flock: and eight chalders of malt, and eight of meal and thirty cart loads from the bush of Liberton, and one of my mills of Dean, and a tithe of the mills of Liberton and Dean and of the new mill of Edinburgh: and of Craggenemarf (Craigmillar) as much as I have in my domain and as much as Vineth the white gave them in a LUIC of the same crag.

I grant, likewise, to them leave to establish a burgh between that church and my burgh: and I grant that their burgesses have common rights of selling their wares and of buying in my market, freely and quit of claim or custom, in like manner as my own burgesses: and I forbid that anyone take their burgh bread, ale, cloth, or any ware by force or without the consent of the burgesses. I grant, moreover, that the Canons be quit of toll and of all customs in all my burghs and throughout all my lands, to wit of all things that they buy and sell. And I forbid that anyone take pledge on the lands of the Holy Rood unless the habit of that place shall have refused to do right and justice. I will, moreover, that they hold all that is above written as freely and justly as I hold my own lands. And I will that the Abbot hold his Court as freely, fully and

honourably, as the Bishop of St. Andrews, the Abbot of Dunfermline, and the Abbot of Kelso hold their Courts.

WITNESSES :—

ROBERT, BISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.

JOHN, BISHOP OF GLASGOW.

HENRY, MY SON.

WILLIAM, MY NEPHEW.

EDWARD, THE CHANCELLOR.

HERBERT, THE CHAMBERLAIN.

GILLEMICHAEL, THE EARL.

GOSPATRIC, BROTHER OF DOLPHIN.

ROBERT DE MARTEYNE.

ROBERT DE BURNEWELLS.

PETER DE BRUS.

NORMAN, THE SHERIFF.

OGGU.

LEISING, GILLESE.

WILLIAM DE GRAHAM.

TURSTAN DE CRICHTON.

BLEIN, THE AULIDENAN.

CULFRIC, THE CHAPLAIN.

WALLRAN, THE CHAPLAIN.



The Traditional Stag of Holyrood.

INDEX.

A.	PAGE.
Abbess of Wilton Abbey	197
Adiva, Princess	20
Aelred of Rievaulx	212, 217
Agatha, Princess	62, 212
Alan of Bretagne	21
Alb Castle	103
Alexander I., King of Scots—	
At Durham Cathedral	139
Baledgar	139
Scone Monastery	139
Sibylla, his Wife	139
Appoints Turgot	158
Lineage	213
Alexander III., King of Scots—	
Related to Edward I.	224
Marriage of	224
Queen's Disentombment	174, 193
Alfred the Great, Anglo-Saxon King	6-13
Death of	11
Black Rood	216-219
Angles of Mercia	21
Anglo-Saxon Kingdom	28
Anglo-Saxon Troops on Scheldt	9, 216
Anglo-Saxon Kings, Kalendar of	1
Anglo-Saxon Monarchy	1
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle	22, 216

	PAGE.
Anselm, Archbishop	172
Antwerp	186
Antwerp, Bishop of	177
Ashingdon, Battle of	61
Atheling, Eadgar, Queen's Brother—	
Birth	103
Last of Royal Line	93
Offers Crown to the Conqueror	93
Leaves England for Scotland	95
St. Margaret's Hope	104, 108, 213
King Malcolm's Court	128
Defeats Donald Bane	172
Norman Castles of York	94
On Board Ship	106
Augustine, Abbot	13
B.	
Benedictine Monks	30
Bertha, Queen	13
Bethlehem	208
Berwick and Edward I.	223
Black Rod of Scotland	201-225
Bollandists	180
Book of the Gospels	146-155
Brigham, Treaty of	221
Brigham, Kelso, and Coldstream	221
Brentford Engagement	61
Bruce, King Robert	226
Brunanburg, Battle of	21, 36
Burgh-on-Sands	223
Burnham, D., Archbishop	175
Butler, Alban	183
C.	
Cambuskenneth Abbey	223
Canterbury	27

INDEX.

237

	PAGE.
Canute, Prince of Denmark	68-73
Searsden	60, 61
Exiles Edmund and Edward	69
Marries Queen Emma	70
Slays Edric	70
Divides the Kingdom	70
Monument to Elfeah	71
Carries off Elfeah's Body	71
Visits Rome	72
Death of	73
Carlisle	220
Castellum Puilarum	220
Charles the Great	22
Charles the Simple	22-24
Charibert, King	13
Chalmers, Dr. Peter, Letter of	185
Chosroes, Persian King	210
Christian, Princess	211
Conn, George, Author	180, 184
Constantine, King of Scots	20
Constantine II. at Brunanburg	21
Constantine Chlorus	203
Constantine the Great	203, 204, 207
Corfe Castle	41
Coronation of Ethelstan	19
Cowan, Samuel, Escorial Letter	184-185
Cyril of Jerusalem	204, 208

D.

Dalrymple, Sir David	226
Danish Confederacy	15
Danish Sea Kings	29
Danish and Saxon Fleets	53

	PAGE.
David I., King of Scotland—	
Accession	110
Character	168
Holyrood	212
Black Rood	218
David II., King of Scotland—	
Black Rood	218
Battle of Durham	218
The Holy Cross	220, 223, 228
Douay, Scots College	177, 186, 193
Douay, Sub-Prior of, Letter	183
Duncan, King of Scotland	102
Dunfermline	211
Dunfermline, Abbots of	124–125
Dunfermline, Holy Trinity Church	183, 191
Dunfermline Tower	193
Dunfermline Abbey	178
Dunmail's Sons	26
Durie, Baron of	174
Dunstan, Archbishop	28
Eadwig, and Elgiva	30
Assassination of King and Queen	31
The Holy Angels	34
Discrowns Eadgar	34
The Vision of	37
The Devil's Visit	38
Crowns Edward	41
Removes Edward's Body	42
The Synod, and the Crucifix	43
Precipitates Council of Nobles	44
Appoints Bishop of Winchester	44
Satan appears in various forms to	44
His Dream and Satan	44
Ethelred's Coronation	46
Durham Abbey	202, 218, 224, 228

E.					PAGE.
Eadgar, King of Scots	..	..	..	..	213
Eadgar, Saxon King	..	..	..	..	34-40
Eadwig, King	..	..	..	..	30-32
Eadred, King	..	..	..	..	28-29
Eadwig and Elgiva	..	..	..	..	30
Editha, Princess	..	..	..	..	20
Edington, Battle of	..	..	..	..	8
Edinburgh Castle	..	..	178, 185, 219,	220, 221	
Edmund the Magnificent	..	..	..	..	26-27
Edmund and Eadred	..	..	..	..	18
Edmund Ironside, King	..	..	..	..	60-63
Edmund, Brother of Ethelstan	..	..	..	..	21
Edmund Assassinated	..	..	..	..	26-27
Edward the Elder	..	..	..	..	14-18
Edward the Martyr	..	..	..	..	41-45
Edward the Martyr Assassinated	..	..	..	..	41
Edward and Alfred	..	..	..	..	58
Edward and Agatha	..	..	..	..	63
Edward, Queen's Father	..	..	..	..	64, 67
Edward the Confessor	..	..	..	..	79-90
Coronation	..	..	..	..	79
Marriage	..	..	..	..	80
Sieves Queen Emma's Property	..	..	..	..	81
William the Conqueror	..	..	..	..	84
Westminster Foundation	..	..	..	..	85-89
Edward, Son of Malcolm III.	..	..	..	..	157
Edward I., King of England—					
Black Rood	..	..	..	..	218
Treaty of Brigham	..	..	..	..	221
Black Rood	..	..	..	..	222
Oaths of Allegiance	..	..	..	..	222
Commissioners	..	..	..	..	221
Edward II., King of England	..	..	..	..	221
Edward III., King of England	..	..	..	..	222

	PAGE.
Elfero of Mercia	43
Elfeah, Archbishop, Prisoner	53
Elfreda the Fair, Queen	40
Elfrida and King Eadgar	35, 36
Elfrida and King Edward	41
Elfsi of Lindisfarne	39
Elgiva, Queen	24
Ely Cathedral	75
Emma, Queen of Ethelred and Canute	57
English Parliament	220
Escorial Palace	180, 181, 184, 186
Escorial Official Letter	181, 182
Escorial Letter to Author	184-185
Escorial Inventory of Relics	188
Eric, King of Norway	23, 28
Esandune, Battle of	61
Ethandune, Battle of	8
Ethelbert, King	13
Ethelfreda	14, 15, 16
Ethelfreda and Ethelred	20
Ethelred, Prince	9, 10
Ethelred II., King	46-58
Coronation	46
Massacre of Danes	52
Ethelred and Edward	41
Ethelred and Edwin	18
Ethelstan, King	19-25
Ethelstan, Prince	17, 18
Ethelstan and Edmund	22
Ethelward, Prince	18
Ethelwulf, King	1
Ethelwulf, his Sons	1
Eustace, Count of Boulogne	166

F.

PAGE.

Feast of Discovery of the Cross	208
Fowler, Canon	202
Freeman and Ethelbert	57
Froissart's Chronicles	222

G.

Gillies, Bishop, Chalmers's Letter	185
Queen of Spain	186
Royal Decree	186
Gonzales' Certificate	187
Gloucester	81, 142
Gregory the Great, Pope	13, 208
Gregory, Bishop, of Tours	207
Guthrum Danes	21

H.

Haco, King of Norway	20
Hailes, Lord	226
Harald of Norway	20
Harold, Last Saxon King	91-95
William the Conqueror	91
Succeeds Edward	90
Slain at Hastings	92
Harold and Hardicanute	74-77
Guildford Massacre	75
Alfred Assassinated	75
Interment of Harold	76
Body Decapitated	76
Hastings, Battle of	92, 93
Helena (The Empress Helena)—	
Goes to Jerusalem	203
Visits the Holy Places	204
Discovers the Cross	205
Jew named Juda	207

R

	PAGE.
Helena—Church at Bethlehem	208
Death of the Empress	209
Discovered the Cross	214
Bequeathed to the Pope	215
Henry I., King of England—	
Removes King Alfred's Body	11
Marries Princess Matilda	166, 213
Henry II., Emperor of Germany	103
Henry III., King of England	88, 224
Henry VIII., King of England	228
Heraclius, Emperor	210
Hexham Church	126
Holy Sepulchre	209, 214
Holy Cross of Holyrood	203
Holyrood Abbey Church	212
Holyrood House	202, 220, 228
Holyrood Foundation Charter	230-234
Hoskins, Rev. T., Letter	183
Hotham, John de	224
Hugh, Duke, Lord of Paris	22
Hungary, Kalendar of Kings	97
Hyde Abbey	11

I.

Innocent IV., Pope	179, 189
Innocent X., Pope	178
Ironside, Edmund, King	60-63
Related to Queen Margaret	102

J.

James, High Steward	223
Jedwood Forest	142
Jerusalem	203, 205, 208, 211
Jesuit Missionaries	185
Julian, Emperor	205

K.

	PAGE.
Kenneth, King of Scots	39, 40

L.

Lamberton, William, Bishop of St. Andrews	223
Lanercost	223
Lichfield, Bishop of	223
Lindhard, Bishop of Senlis	13
London and the Danes	10
Leo, Emperor	206
Louis, Prince, Son of Elgiva	24

M.

Malcolm III., King of Scots—

Acquires Cumbria	26
His Lineage	102, 110
At Edward's Court	90, 104
St. Margaret's Hope	104
At the Tower	104
Escorts the Exiles	104, 108
Marries the Princess	106
Former Wife, Ingibiorg	109
Duncan and Donald, his Sons	109
Dunfermline Monastery	123
Earl Gospatric	125
Cumberland Invasion	126
Malcolm and William I. at Leeds	128
Queen's Prayer Book	150
Malcolm and William II.	141
Malcolm at Durham	141
Malcolm at Gloucester	142
Malcolm at Alnwick Castle	142
Death of	142
Interment	142

Margaret, Queen of Scotland—	PAGE.
Arrives in England	101
Lineage	99, 102
Recreations	108
Conqueror's Command	104
St. Margaret's Hope	108
Betrothal	109
St. Margaret's Stone	108
Marriage	108
Cave Oratory	111
Book of the Gospels	146-155
Dunfermline Foundation	121-122
Royal Needlework Society	129
Clerical Council and Debate	130-133
Guest Houses, Queensferry	134
Care of the Poor	134-135
Devotions	136
Releases Prisoners	137
Her Family	138-139
Her Piety	140-141
Book of the Gospels	146-155
Restores Iona	165
Turgot's Last Orders	160-161
The Black Rood	162
Her Death	163
To Dunfermline Monastery	163
Disentombment	173
Canonization	173, 175, 179, 180
Queen's Relics	177-196
St. Margaret's Shrine	188, 195
Disinterment of 1250	191-192
Mausoleum	193
Wyntoun's Poem	194-195
Festival Day	195
Review of her Character	195-198

INDEX.

245

	PAGE.
Macbeth and Siward	82
Macbeth and Duncan	102
Magnus, King of Norway.. .. .	80
Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem—	
Discovery of the Cross	205, 206
Letter from Constantine	207
Maid of Norway	221, 225
Marinus, Pope	216, 228
Matilda, Queen, Daughter of Margaret—	
Marries King Henry I.	166
The Lepers Incident	169
Turgot's Letter	170-171
Aunt Christian	172
Consecration	170
Melrose, Jedburgh, and Kelso Abbeys	168
Monachus, Alexander	206
Mowbray, Robert, at Alnwick	143
Milman's Record	209
Mount of Olives	208

N.

Napoleon, Emperor	182
National MSS. Commission	226
Nigra Crux	218
Norman Conquest	57, 211
Northumbria and Cumbria	26
Normans in England	57
Northampton, Treaty of	226, 227

O.

Odo, Archbishop	30
Olaf, King of Ireland	21
Olaf, King of Norway	22
Olaf, Northumbrian Prince	26
Olney, Isle of	62

S

	PAGE.
Omar	206
Osbern the Dane	94
Oratory of St. Cuthbert	25
Otho, Prince	20
Otho, Prince of Germany.. .. .	25
Otto, Son of the King	23

P.

Papal Archives	9, 228
Papal Roll	190
Papebroch Narrative	177
Paul, Dr. John, Birmingham	187
Philip II., King of Spain —	
Queen's Relics	180
Receives the Relics	181, 183
Escurial and Venice	184
Inventory of Relics	188
Picts and Scots	20
Pope Gregory the Great	208
Pope Innocent IV.	179
Pope Innocent X.	178
Pope Pius IX.	180
Pope Marinus	216, 228
Prince of the North	225
Pucklechurch	27

Q.

Queen Margaret Relics	177-196
Queen Margaret's Character	197-200
Queen Matilda	169, 170, 171, 172

R.

Register of Dunfermline	189
Richard's History of Ely	224
Richard, Duke of Normandy	51

INDEX.

247

PAGE.

Ringmore, Battle of	53
Robert, Duke of Normandy	82, 128
Rochester, Siege of	51
Rufinus, Author	206

S.

Saint Ambrose	208
Saint Andrews, Bishop of	189, 190
Saint Andrews, Archbishop of	225
Saint Augustine, Feast Day	27
Saint Cuthbert Shrine	202
Saint Cuthbert Convent	159
Saint Lawrence, Monastery of	182
Saint Margaret's Convent	196
Saint Margaret's Hope	104, 213
Saxon Commissioners	62
Saxon Kingdom Overthrown	57
Saxon Chronicle	24, 109
Saxons of Wessex	21
Scone Abbey	223
Scots College, Douay	177, 183
Searsden, Battle of	60
Siward and Macbeth	82
Socrates, Historian	205
Sozomen, Lawyer	206
Stephen, King of England	166
Stephen, King of Hungary	102
Strathclyde Britons	17
Swaine, King of Denmark	52
Swaine's Three Sisters	52
Swaine made King	54

T.

Thanet, Isle of	13
-------------------------	----

	PAGE.
Turgot, Bishop of Durham—	
Review of the Queen	140-141
At Durham Cathedral	141
Bishop of St. Andrews	158
Last Visit to the Queen	161
His Death	158
Black Rood	217
V.	
Vikings	21
Venice	184
Valladolia	183
W.	
Waltham Abbey	93
Wearmouth	104, 105
Wedmore, Peace of	8
Wilton Nunnery	34
Westminster	170, 221
Westminster Abbey	100
William the Conqueror—	
Arrival in England	81
Battle of Hastings.. .. .	92, 93
Hostilities at York	94
Comyn Defeated	94
Death of the Conqueror	95, 129
William II., King of England—	
Quarrels with Malcolm	141
Foundation of Durham	141
Rebuilds Carlisle Castle	141
Refuses to see Malcolm	142
Winchester	9, 81, 219, 228
Winchester Synod	43

INDEX.

249

PAGE.

Witenagemot (National Council)—					
Alfred's Legislation					8
Appoints Edward the Elder					14
Appoints Ethelstan					19
Defeats the Danes					50
Provides £36,000					53
Oxford Meeting					55
Prefers Canute to Ironside					60
Prefers Ethelred to Canute					68
Another Oxford Meeting					74
Gloucester Meeting					81
Wishart, Robert, Bishop of Glasgow					223
Wodensfield, Battle of					16
Wulfhelm, Archbishop					19
Wulfreda and Eadgar					34
Wolf Month					37
Wyntoun, Translation Lines					194-195
Y.					
York Royal Feast					225