The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1863.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WULFSTAN, BISHOP OF WORCESTER.[1]

By the VERY REV. WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Chichester.

For the history of Wulfstan we have materials from writers contemporary, or nearly so. Heming, Sub-prior of Worcester, compiled a Chartulary under Wulfstan's directions, which contains a brief memoir of the bishop, printed in the Anglia Sacra;[2] and Florence of Worcester, as might be expected, is, on this subject, less concise than usual. But the most important work is that of William of Malmesbury. He wrote the life of Wulfstan at the request of Guarin, Prior of Worcester, and therefore before the year 1143, when the prior died. This work is the more valuable because Malmesbury states, in the preface, that it is not an original composition, but a translation from the Anglo-Saxon of Coleman.[3] Coleman had been Wulfstan's chaplain for fifteen years, and in 1089, as his chancellor, attached his signature to a charter which is printed in the Monasticon. When Wulfstan established a monastery at Westbury, Coleman was his first prior.[4] In Malmesbury's treatise De Gestis Pontificum, we have another notice of Wulfstan. There are notices of him by Roger de Hoveden, by Bromton and Knyghton, and other chroniclers of later date, whose works may be found in the Decem Scriptores.

Wulfstan was born at Long Itchington (Icentune), or, as

[1] Communicated to the Historical Section at the Meeting of the Institute at Worcester, July, 1862.

[2] Extracts from the Chartulary are given by Dugdale; the whole Chartulary is published by Hearne. The original is MS. Cott. Tiberius, A. xiii.

[3] Ang. Sac. ii. 242.

[4] Wright, Anglo-Norman Period, p. 46.

Florence describes it, in that part of the Mercian district which lies within the shire of Warwick. His father's name was Ælstan or Athelstan. Ælstan received the grant of one manse at Itchington, in 991, from the celebrated Bishop Oswald, who describes him as "his man."[5] The name of Athelstan occurs as the treasurer of St. Peter's Church at Worcester, immediately before Cynsige or Wynsige; and when we couple this fact with the grant just mentioned, we may suppose that the father of Wulfstan was one of those for whom Oswald made provision elsewhere, when he desired to have the offices of St. Peter's Church filled by men who were favourable to his designs upon that establishment, to which we shall have occasion more particularly to refer. The conditions of Oswald's grants, which were for life or for three lives, were uniform, and are the more remarkable as they show how the principle of feudalism prevailed, even before its complete establishment at the Conquest. The tenants of the bishop were to render subjection to him, to furnish him with horses, and to ride themselves when he demanded their services; to perform all the work about the steeple of the church, and for the building of castles and bridges; to fence the bishop's park, and to furnish him with weapons when he went a-hunting; to obey his summons whenever he raised his standard for the king's service or his own; and to render obedience to the commander whom he might appoint to lead his forces.[6]

This was a heavy rent, and the man who could accept the terms must have been a man of substance. Dugdale states that Itchington was a town certified at the time of the Conquest to contain twenty-four hides. It had a church in which two priests officiated. It had also two mills, rated at 6*s.* 8*d.*, with woods of two furlongs in length and one in breadth, valued at twenty pounds, but which, after the Conquest, realised a rent of thirty-six pounds.[7]

Florence of Worcester is very particular in giving the date of Wulfstan's death. It took place on the night of Saturday, the 18th of January, in the middle of the seventh hour, in the year 5299 from the beginning of the world according to the certain evidence of Holy Scripture, in the

[5] Thomas, 48. Heming. Chart. 126.

[6] See a Charter entitled Indiculum Libertatis de Oswaldis-lawes Hundred, cited by Spelman, ii. c. 26, p. 41.

[7] Dugdale's Warwickshire.

529th of the ninth great cycle, in the 476th of the ninth cycle from the beginning of the world, in the 1084th from the passion of our Lord according to the gospel, the 1066th according to the calculation of Bede. and the 1061st according to Dionysius ; in the 741st from the arrival of the Angles in Britain, the 498th from the arrival of Augustin, the 103rd from the death of St. Oswald the archbishop, in the 302nd of the eleventh great Paschal cycle, and the 502nd of the tenth from the beginning of the world, in the 4th of the second solar cycle, in the 3rd of the Bissextile cycle, in the 13th of the second cycle of 19 years, in the 10th of the second lunar cycle, in the 5th of the Hendecad, in the 3rd cycle of the Indiction, in the 18th lustrum of his own life, and in the third year of the 7th lustrum of his pontificate.

It is interesting to have such minuteness of detail, though we are compelled to subscribe to the opinion expressed by Wharton—"Multiplex in hisce numeris error deprehendi potest."[8] All that we gather, when stated in plain English, is that Wulfstan died on the 18th of January, 1095, in the 87th year of his age, or thereabouts. We may therefore give the year 1008 or 1007 for the date of his birth. The name of his father, Athelstan, has been mentioned: his mother's name was Wulfgeva. His own name was compounded, the first half of his mother's name, and the latter part of his father's.

The parents of Wulfstan provided carefully for the education of their son. He received his primary education at Evesham, and thence proceeded to Peterborough, where the school had risen to high repute under Kenulph, the second abbot under the new foundation. Kenulph is described by Hugo as "Flos liberalis disciplinæ, torrens eloquentiæ, decus et norma rerum divinarum et secularium." His name still reflected credit on the establishment, although in 1006 he had become Bishop of Winchester. His successor Ælsin was also a remarkable man. He had been for three years in Normandy with Emma, who, in spite of the Anglo-Saxon prejudices against the title, called herself queen. He was a man of taste and a collector of relics ; he prided himself on the possession of one of the arms of King Oswald, of which Hugo Candidus gives a description.[9]

[8] Ang. Sac. ii. 276.

[9] Monasticon, i. 346.

Wulfstan's preceptor under Ælsin was Ervenius, a man eminently skilful in calligraphy and in illuminating books. He took a liking to Wulfstan and committed to his custody some of his choicest treasures, especially a sacramentary and a psalter. Wulfstan admired the exterior of the volumes, but not content with this he studied them so deeply that he soon learned to repeat the Psalms. Florence expressly states that Wulfstan became a proficient in literature and in all ecclesiastical duties. While Wulfstan was in Peterborough, Canute and Emma paid a visit to the Abbot Ælsin ; and Ervenius, to win their good graces, presented the illuminated sacramentary to the king, and the psalter to the queen, sore against the will and in spite of the remonstrances of the less courtly Wulfstan, who complained that by the loyal donation the monastery was robbed of what the young student regarded as the most valuable of its possessions.

When Wulfstan returned to his parents at Long Itchington, they gazed with admiration on his graceful figure, and on his handsome countenance, expressive of the serenity of his mind and of his manly character. He possessed a strong constitution and a temper so good that he was never thrown off his guard, although he was endowed with a ready wit and powers of repartee.

The high-spirited youth had a keen relish for the enjoyments of life, and joined in the sports and exercises which became his age and position in society. He was in love, but his love-story only comes down in the shape of a legend, much like other love-legends of the age when told by a monk. The attachment was mutual, but this was not wonderful, for his ladyelove was a beautiful fiend in human shape, whose object was to ruin the innocent young man. In those days the lady was generally represented as the seducer. We can only accept the residuum of truth which we find, after sifting the story. By a strong exertion of his will, young Wulfstan tore himself away from the object of his affection, and determined to remain a bachelor. His parents and especially his mother urged him to this course, as they destined him for the clerical profession. In spite of the regulations of Dunstan, the secular clergy, indeed, continued still to marry, but a married clergyman was at that period regarded by many in the same light as a clergyman who should, in these days, appear on the race-course or dance at a ball. Wulfgeva

was doubtless a matron of the stricter sort. This circumstance may have conduced to the arrangement which was soon carried into effect, by which the parents of Wulfstan broke up their home and retired each to a monastery. Other reasons may indeed be assigned. On the death of Canute, it did not require much sagacity to perceive that troublous times were at hand. A disputed succession to the crown, in all ages a calamity, must have been, at that period, peculiarly disastrous. Between the years 1035 and 1039, during the reign of Harold Harefoot, men's hearts were failing them for fear. We have seen what were the conditions upon which a tenant of the church of Worcester held his manse, and those conditions it would be hard for an aged man to fulfil. Accordingly Athelstan and Wulfgeva separated by mutual consent; he became a monk, she a nun in the city of Worcester. They had a daughter; how they disposed of her I do not know,—perhaps, as she is not spoken of as a nun, she married. But they obtained for Wulfstan a situation in the family of Brighteag, the Bishop of Worcester. This must have been before 1038, in which year Brighteag died. He was ordained both deacon and priest by Brighteag, but he still retained the secular habit and his relish for the enjoyments of life.

An anecdote must be referred to this period, which is valuable because it is characteristic of the man and of his times. Wulfstan enjoyed the pleasures of the table, and had a particular liking for roast goose. Boiled meats were generally placed on an Anglo-Saxon table; therefore special directions were to be given when anything roast or fried was to be prepared. The order was given by Wulfstan that a roast goose should be prepared for his dinner. He then went about his ordinary business. There were many clients of the bishop to whom he had to pay attention, and he was involved in secular duties. He had not broken his fast when he was called upon to officiate at the mass. In due time he enters the church extremely hungry, he passes into the chancel, near to which, unfortunately, the kitchen is placed. A whiff of goose soon affects his olfactory nerves, the savour interferes with his devotions. His thoughts wander to his dinner,—*studio culinæ tenetur;*—his conscience reproaches him. His resolution is immediately formed. Then and there before the altar he vowed that, from that time forth,

he would never taste meat; and he remained a vegetarian all the days of his life, except on festivals when he regaled on fish. What was a fast to others was a luxury to him.

He henceforth lived an ascetic life, and was already in all but profession a monk. The bishop offered him a living, which he declined. His father suggested that he should take the cowl, and his mother urged it with all a woman's eloquence, when she proposes what she believes to be conducive to a child's eternal welfare. He took the monastic vows in the monastery of St. Mary's which had been converted, within his father's memory, into the Cathedral chapter. This was the work of Oswald who held the see in commendam when he was Archbishop of York. Oswald had thrown himself into the movement of the Dunstan party, when Dunstan attempted to expel the married clergy from the cathedrals and to replace them by Benedictines. Oswald had acted with discretion, with some regard for the feelings of others, and with great caution. There had been a monastery at Worcester from the year 743, under the name of St. Mary's. But this was not the Cathedral. The bishop's cathedra was at St. Peter's, and had been there ever since the foundation of the see in 680. The chapter of the Cathedral consisted of secular clergy, many of them married. Oswald's first step was to attend the chapel of St. Mary's Minster, instead of taking his place upon the throne in St. Peter's Church.

He was popular as a preacher. He was regarded as a saint; the people flocked to St. Mary's to hear his sermons and to receive his blessing. St. Peter's was deserted. Nobody went to the Cathedral. However mortified the members of the Cathedral body may have been by this treatment on the part of the bishop, they had not much reason to complain. The conservative members of the chapter, who were likely to oppose his measures of reform, he removed to a distance by bestowing preferments upon them, or by granting them leases on advantageous terms, and the others he assiduously courted, until the Cathedral body was filled with his devoted followers and submissive adherents.

In the year 969, scarcely any opposition was offered to the proposal of the treasurer, a creature of Oswald's, that

the keys of the emptied Cathedral, with all the emoluments and territories of the establishment, should be made over to the monks of St. Mary's.

The bishop now removed his Cathedra to St. Mary's Church, which has ever since been the cathedral of the diocese; and, finding that a building which sufficed for the church of a monastery was not sufficiently commodious for a cathedral, he proceeded to erect a new church in the churchyard of the neglected St. Peter's.

The chapter of the new Cathedral consisted of monks, from that time till the Reformation, when the monks were treated as they had treated the secular clergy, and the secular clergy thus restored have retained possession to the present hour. Such was the monastery into which Wulfstan was now admitted. But if, in joining himself to the Cathedral body, his object was to secure for himself peace, serenity, and leisure, he was almost immediately deceived.

From the Danegelt, which Ethelred had imposed to enable him to repel the Danes, Canute the Dane had graciously, and with sound policy, liberated the people. But when Hardicanute came to the throne he reinforced the payment, not, indeed, to repel, but to reward his countrymen, the mariners of the fleet which had conveyed him to England. This proceeding naturally gave offence to his Anglo-Saxon subjects; and, when he sent his body-guard to collect the tax in Worcester, the huscarls, Feadu and Thurstan, were resisted and compelled to fly in peril of their lives, to seek refuge in the tower of the minster. They were pursued by the outraged populace and slain. This happened on the 4th of May. In November, the news reached the monks that an army was approaching to take vengeance. The monks and inhabitants generally had time for flight. They left the city, and fortified themselves upon an island in the Severn. The country was ravaged and plundered for four days, and on the fifth the town was sacked.

When Wulfstan and his brethren returned to their home, they found their Cathedral in ruins, and we may assign a probable reason why the vengeance of the Danes should have been especially directed against St. Mary's Church.

I must here allude to the disgusting practice sometimes resorted to by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, of flaying the dead bodies of their Danish enemies, that they might affix

the skins to the doors of churches, in the expectation that they would act on the principle of a scarecrow, that they would excite superstitious fears and deter aggression. In the fifth volume of the Archæological Journal, we have a paper on the subject written by Mr. Albert Way, with his accustomed accuracy of research and logical precision. At Worcester, in the crypt of the Cathedral, the wooden doors thus desecrated may still be seen. They were originally in the west doorway, that is, facing the Severn, from which quarter the Danish attack might be expected. The west end of the Cathedral has been attributed to Bishop John de Pagham, but the wooden doors appear to have been retained and placed in the new doorways, from whence they were afterwards removed to the north entrance of the nave.

Now, taking all circumstances into consideration, the most probable period for the attachment of the skins of Danes to these doors is that in which the Saxons of Worcester triumphed over the Danes of Hardicanute; at all events, the doors cannot be of later date than the time of Wulfstan. These barbarous proceedings, if they terrified a few, only exasperated the many, and, in spite of the Danes' skins, or more probably on account of the Danes' skins, the church was nearly destroyed, though the damage was not quite so great as is generally supposed, since Oswald's church served the purposes of a Cathedral till 1084, and even then some of the old work was abolished to make room for the new.

It was a rule with Wulfstan to do with his might what his hands found to do, and he discharged with honor to the monastery the duties which now devolved upon him. The first office which he filled was that of *scholasticus*, or keeper of the schools.

Unless Wulfstan had made himself a scholar at Peterborough, he would not have received this appointment. That he was qualified for it is asserted by Malmesbury, who states that he read deeply, and was thoroughly acquainted with Holy Scripture.[1] Florence of Worcester remarks that he now devoted himself to a contemplative life, passing nights as well as days in the prayerful study of the Bible. He states a fact which he says that he should hardly have believed, if he had it not from high authority, that

[1] Ang. Sac. ii. 247.

Wulfstan would sometimes pass four days and four nights without sleep. A story like this has been told of one of the most eminent men of our own day, Lord Brougham. In either case, the truth probably is, that something like this occurred once in the life of each, under an unusual pressure of business, and consequently under circumstances of intense excitement. We may add here, that the greatest friend of Wulfstan, at a later period, was Robert, Bishop of Hereford, a man of universal information, a divine, a lawyer, a mathematician, a man of science. He would pass days in the society of Wulfstan; and he was not likely to choose for his friend and companion a man devoid of literature. I mention these circumstances because, in modern story, Wulfstan is spoken of as a well-meaning, well-conducted ignoramus, and Malmesbury tells us, in his treatise De Gestis Pontificum, that Lanfranc had spoken of him as an unlettered man. This was probably said before Lanfranc had become well acquainted with him, and because Wulfstan contemned the kind of knowledge in which Lanfranc excelled. He despised the learning, says Malmesbury, which consisted in the study of poetic fables and the crooked syllogisms of the Dialecticians (the new scholastic system lately introduced on the Continent); and he spoke Norman-French imperfectly. But Malmesbury truly observed that no man could have preached with such power, elegance, eloquence, and effect as Wulfstan did, and that too very frequently without premeditation, and not be a man of cultivated intellect.

Of Wulfstan's mode of teaching I have nothing to report. Of his discipline we have the following instance. He was not only liberal in his alms-deeds, but very considerate in his mode of administering to the wants of others. This was one secret of his popularity. Wulfstan would arrange his poor on seats, and employ the young men of his school to carry their repast. They were made to place the food with bended knee, as was the custom then with servants, upon the table, and to pour water upon the hands of his pauper guests. If any one, conscious of his high birth, evinced an unwillingness to obey, Wulfstan would chide him as contumacious. He would abase the proud and exalt the lowly.

Wulfstan, after a time, accepted the office of precentor. He was a good musician, and the Anglo-Saxons were fond of music. Nevertheless, I greatly fear that the manner in

which Wulfstan performed this part of his duty must have been peculiarly annoying to the choir. Of his mode of proceeding we happen to have an instance. When the Bishop of Worcester made his visitations, himself on horseback, he was attended, as he travelled through a thinly populated and only half-cultivated country, by a large cavalcade. To make the time pass pleasantly, as the cavalcade wound its way through the straggling village or the streets of a town, along the banks of the Severn or skirting the heights of Malvern, the bishop would call upon the precentor to intone a psalm, and all the company would join in a mighty chorus. This suggests pleasant ideas. But Wulfstan was a very absent man; and one habit of his must have tried the patience and temper of his choir. When some verse occurred which spoke to his heart or caused a special excitement to his devotional feelings, that verse, instead of proceeding to the next, he would repeat over and over again, with eyes uplifted and extended hands. This he would frequently do whenever the prayer-verses recurred; as Malmesbury says, "usque ad fastidium concantantis."[2]

But if Wulfstan was a bad precentor he became an admirable prior. There is some difficulty in fixing the date of his appointment to this office. He succeeded Æthelwiu or Agelwin, but it does not appear when Æthelwin died. Florence states that Wulfstan received the benediction from Aldred. It must therefore have been after the year 1044, in which year Aldred was consecrated Bishop of Worcester. It was before the year 1058; for the ancient Register of Worcester, according to Stevens, informs us that Earl Leofric and his wife Godiva, whose name we still hold in honor at Coventry, restored the manor of Blackwell to the Church, Wulfstan being then prior, and Leofric died in August, 1057. It is conjectured by Stevens that Wulfstan succeeded in 1050,[3] and finding the Cathedral in a dilapidated state through the Danes, he busied himself in raising funds for its restoration.

He immediately gave his heart and soul to his new duties. The church and monastery were in a dilapidated condition. There had been such intestine broils in the time of his immediate predecessor, that, instead of the numerous convent of monks instituted by Oswald, scarcely twelve remained.

[2] De Gest. Pont. 280. [3] Stevens, ii. 464.

Wulfstan almost immediately raised the number to fifty, over whom he exercised a considerate and paternal discipline.

A Cathedral is the parish church of the whole diocese, and Wulfstan felt that, as head of the chapter, he had pastoral duties to discharge. He found that the children of the poor generally remained unbaptized, because the clergy, in violation of every principle of the Church, refused to administer that sacrament unless a fee were paid; and by the venal clergy the ordinance of preaching had been neglected. Prior Wulfstan was seen every day at the door of the Cathedral ready to baptize the children that were brought; and not only did the poor crowd around him, but the rich, having entertained an idea of his saintly character, would place their children in his arms.

As a preacher none could equal him. "You would imagine," says Malmesbury, "that the words he uttered from the pulpit came forth from the shrine of some evangelist or prophet. Like a thunder-bolt they came down upon the wicked, they were distilled like dew on the souls of the elect. His subject was always Christ and Him crucified. So wisely did he choose his texts, that of the Lord Jesus Christ he was for ever speaking. 'Him first, Him last, Him midst and without end.'"

He did not—who does ?—escape the attacks of the malignant, even when doing that for which it might be supposed not the shadow of blame could be adduced. But those who, in these days, find fault with the supplementary services in our Cathedrals, affirming that they have a tendency to empty the parish churches, which they do not, had a representative in one Winrich, a monk of Worcester. It pertained, this man said, to a bishop only to preach to the people. Wulfstan was intruding upon the episcopal office; taking too much upon himself; indulging his own vanity, not seeking, as he professed, the salvation of souls. Silence and the cloister, as Winrich declared, were the proper place for a monk. Nothing, however, could move Wulfstan to wrath; he replied meekly, and pursued his course. Winrich's conscience reproached him, and he had the manliness to avow it. It was reported and believed that he had been rebuked in a vision from Heaven; whether he himself gave rise to this story we know not, but the tendency of the age was to attribute ordinary occurrences to a miraculous interposition.

Wulfstan, when prior, was a pattern of punctuality in attending the offices of the Church, and we have an instance of his discipline. If he perceived the stall of one of the brethren vacant at the midnight service—a thing not unusual in his predecessor's time—Wulfstan would not find fault with him in the presence of others, but, as soon as the service was over, he would proceed to his chamber, knock up the drowsy monk, and make him repeat the service, himself bearing his part.

It was the custom to quarter distinguished foreigners upon the wealthy monasteries. It secured the visitors' comfort while it saved the king expense. In the Lent of 1062, two cardinals appeared in England, legates of Alexander II. Their business was political rather than ecclesiastical, if we may so say, at a period when Church and State were so closely united. They were sent as guests to Prior Wulfstan, to remain with him till Easter, as Edward the Confessor could not transact business in Lent. Wulfstan was accustomed to keep Lent with strictness; the cardinals were more lax. Few indeed could come up to Wulfstan's mark. On three days of each week he abstained from food: on the other three he ate only bread and common vegetables. On Sunday, a feast-day, he partook of fish and wine. He felt need of refreshment, and being a thoroughly practical man, he gave himself every year a season of complete relaxation. He carried out the same principle. If he was to be strict and abstemious during six days of Lent, he must make his Sunday a day of holy enjoyment. But Wulfstan was a perfect gentleman in his feelings. He did not try to force his discipline upon others. With true hospitality he permitted his guests to enjoy whatever they deemed allowable. He was not to dictate to them. He alleged, as the ground of his own abstinence, his stricter rule and his special vows.

One of his guests was Hermenfrid, Bishop of Sion, whose friendship was, on more occasions than one, of service to Wulfstan. He and his companion left Worcester, in admiration of its prior, his hospitality, his politeness, his toleration towards others, and his strictness towards himself,—a strictness which it was difficult to imitate, but to which the opinion of the age attached a peculiar sanctity. They departed fully convinced that they had been the guests of a holy man.

For some time before the arrival of the cardinals, ecclesiastical affairs had been in an unsatisfactory state at Worcester. Aldred, consecrated in 1044, had been elected Archbishop of York in 1060. Oswald and other prelates had held the see of Worcester in commendam with the metropolitan see of York, and Aldred could not understand why the favour should not be conceded to him. The whole of the year 1061 was consumed by fruitless intrigues to effect this purpose. It was, however, at last, determined that he should resign the see of Worcester,—and who was to be his successor ?

The accounts are conflicting as to the preliminary proceedings and the endeavours to influence the king's mind ; but the result was the appointment of Wulfstan. In the days of the Confessor, as in our own, the king gave permission to the chapter to elect, but expected them to elect his nominee. The chapter of Worcester were prepared to elect their prior ; but the king's mind was not made up. Edward, false to his race, disliked the Anglo-Saxons, and would gladly have preferred a Norman ; but at this time the party of Godwin had the ascendancy, and they strongly pressed upon the king the nomination of Wulfstan. The cardinals arrived at Easter to back their suit. They were full of eulogies of the piety of their late host, and this determined the mind of the weak but devout king.

Wulfstan, like men of ardent piety in all ages, shrank from the acceptance of the proffered office, with an earnestness incomprehensible to those whose estimate of episcopal responsibilities is low, and who rank high the personal advantages attendant upon wealth and station. At length he yielded to the solicitations of his friends, which would be the more urgent from the importance of strengthening the Anglo-Saxon influence in opposition to the Norman predilections of Edward. But a difficulty arose as to his consecration. The see of Worcester having been on more than one occasion held in commendam with that of York, some fear was entertained that the archbishop might claim the Bishop of Worcester as his suffragan. At a later period a controversy on this subject did actually arise. While, therefore, Wulfstan was consecrated by his friend and predecessor Aldred, he was required to take the oath of canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury : neither was

Archbishop Stigand contented with this, he required the Archbishop of York to make a promise, in the presence of the king and his nobles, that he would not put forth any claim to ecclesiastical or secular dominion over Wulfstan, either by reason of his having consecrated him, or by reason of his having been one of his monks before consecration.

The consecration took place at York on the 8th of September, 1062; and Wulfstan addressed himself to his new duties. All accounts agree in stating the diligence with which those duties were discharged. He was a great church builder. In all parishes under his jurisdiction, says Malmesbury, he built churches, and elsewhere he persuaded others to do the same. His chief work was at Westbury, where he not only restored the half-demolished church, but attached to it a monastery, so as to supply missionaries to the adjacent districts. His reforms were not in some respects in accordance with modern notions. Wooden altars, says Malmesbury, were common in England, and had existed from ancient days. Against these Wulfstan made war, and substituted altars of stone.

As he had been diligent in the administration of baptism when he was a priest, he was now equally diligent in administering the ordinance of confirmation. He was ever ready to ride from one end of the diocese to the other when he might be of service to the most humble of his flock. He continued to preach in the vulgar tongue, and he was always attended by the treasurer of his household to bestow his alms upon the poor. He won the confidence of all conscience-stricken men, and many who in those days of violence had sad tales to tell, sought interviews to open their grief and to confess their sins. Confession had not yet been systematised into an ordinance, and his intercourse with sinners was more like that which still obtains between a pious pastor and his flock. He would receive the most atrocious offender upon his penitence, with kindness and sympathy. There was nothing haughty in his manner; he did not, says Malmesbury, start back horrified, when men confessed their offences, as if they were unheard-of crimes. He wept with those that wept, and gave the best advice in the kindest manner, ever afterwards treating those who had thus confided in him, whether high or low, as his personal friends.

It is a sore trial to a busy man to have to lay aside important work, to listen to unimportant communications from inconsiderable persons. It is one of the trials of a pastor, to which he must, however, submit, if he is really watching for souls, since what is intrinsically unimportant, may be relatively important to a weak brother. Wulfstan, with true pastoral feeling, was accessible to all persons at all times. He repelled no one : whenever he was sent for, he was on the instant prepared to go : he would postpone any business on which he was engaged, and desired that if sent for at night he might be at once aroused.

As a bishop he was under the necessity of retaining a considerable number of soldiers, especially when, after the Conquest, there was some fear of a Danish invasion. He made a point, whenever he was at home, of dining in the common hall, and of joining with them in conversation. He attended to preserve order and to prevent excess,—and being present, he stated that he thought it a breach of good manners to awe people into silence, and not to put them at their ease by encouraging converse.

A specimen of his table-talk has been preserved. He was accustomed to attend to his dress, having observed that it was a symptom of pride when a person in high station did not attend to little things. But, for some reason, he did not come into the fashion in wearing rich furs. His cloak was made of lambswool. This gave offence to his friend Geoffrey of Coutances, who, on one occasion, when on a visit at Wich-episcopi, remonstrated with Wulfstan on the subject. A man in your position, he said, ought to wear sable, or beaver, or foxskin. Wulfstan smiled and said, "You are a politician ; I leave it to politicians and men of the world to array themselves in the skins of versute animals ; I shall stick to my lambswool, an emblem that I never mean to change my coat."—"Well, but you ought at least to wear catskin," said the Bishop of Coutances ;—"Nay," rejoined Wulfstan, "I have often heard *Agnus Dei* sung, but never *Cattus Dei*." This may sound irreverent and profane, but it was regarded as remarkably clever when Malmesbury wrote ; and on such points it certainly is not for us to be too severe.

We may here mention an instance of Wulfstan's good temper. When he was on his visitations he made a point of attending

daily service in the nearest church. Once, on his way to London, he announced his intention of visiting a church at some distance. His suite remonstrated, for it was Christmas tide and remarkably cold. The way was miry, there was no pathway, a sleety drizzle was falling. A man named Frewen undertook the office of guide, and thought it a good joke to lead the bishop, under a semblance of care and reverence, where the swamp was deepest and the road rough. The bishop sank up to his knees and lost his shoe. It was hoped that he would discontinue his journey. But no,—he was not the man to give in. It was late in the day before he returned to his lodgings. He was wearied and cold. But he would not give a triumph to Frewen by uttering a complaint. He treated the whole matter as an amusing adventure. But he paid his tormentors in their own coin: he directed them to search for his lost shoe. This was only reasonable, but, in the state of the weather and the roads, it was neither an easy nor a pleasant duty which they were then compelled to perform.

A good man, as we have before remarked, is sure to be censured; the devil will take care of that; and so now it was said, that Wulfstan lowered the dignity of his office by his affability. He was ready with his answer—"He that is greatest among you, let him be your servant. I am your bishop and master; therefore I ought, in another sense, to be the servant of all, according to our Lord's precept."

A practical answer was indeed returned to these objectors when the fault-finders saw the first men of the country seeking the society of Wulfstan; not only asking his advice in what related to the well-being of their own souls, but consulting him also in what pertained to political interests. On one occasion, the illustrious Harold turned out of his road and travelled thirty miles in order that he might hold conversation with the bishop, and, at a later period of his life, as he was proceeding northward to rectify the consequences of Tosti's mis-management, he had a long interview with Wulfstan, when both the earl and the bishop, as we are told, took a gloomy view of public affairs, under the impression that the degeneracy of the Saxon race would bring down the vengeance of Heaven.

Notwithstanding the degeneracy of the age it is to be remarked that the Anglo-Saxon dynasty terminated in a

solemn act of religion,—the consecration of Westminster Abbey, to which Edward the Confessor summoned his nobles and people at the feast of Christmas, 1065. Wulfstan, with all the prelates and great men of the realm, obeyed the summons ; but on Christmas eve the king was suddenly seized with fever, and with difficulty took part in the solemnity. He rallied, however, from this dangerous illness, which brought him to the point of death. The time was one of great anxiety to Wulfstan and other patriots. Edward died on the 5th of May, 1066. Events succeeded to each other with that rapidity which seems to accomplish a revolution before half the world is aware of its commencement. In one year occurred the death of the king, the coronation of Harold, and the apparent brief triumph of the Anglo-Saxon party, —the intrigues and landing of Tosti,—the battle of Stamford Bridge, and the final overthrow of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty at Hastings, or, as "a minute philosopher" would have us say, the battle of Senlac.

After the battle, we find Wulfstan attending the Witenagemot, which assembled in London to concert measures to be adopted under the emergency. He acquiesced in all the proceedings. He was aware, as all were, of the ambition and incapacity of the Earls Edwin and Morcar, and, to put an end to their intrigues, he concurred in the suggestion, that the young Atheling, Edgar, should be anointed as the representative of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty.

It was hoped that the Anglo-Saxons would rally round the child, and that a regency might be formed. It was soon found, however, that these hopes were fallacious. No dependence could be placed on the Earls Edwin and Morcar. The Anglo-Saxons, without a leader, were also without an army ; on the other hand, the greatest general and the most unscrupulous statesman of the age was with a victorious army at the gates of the city. The intimidated Londoners, exposed to the intrigues of the Normanizers, who were numerous, were inclined to come to terms with the Conqueror, and to succumb.

The Conqueror was himself allied to the Saxon Royal Family ; and, as Canute had happily united both Danes and Saxons under his paternal government, it might be reasonably hoped that William would follow his noble example.

Wulfstan, therefore, again concurred in the decision of the

Witenagemot, when, under the impression that it was impossible to maintain the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, it was determined to offer the crown to him, who, if it had not been offered, would have seized it. Wulfstan formed part of the commission, which consisted of the young Atheling himself, the two archbishops, the most eminent among the Thanes, together with the leading citizens of London, when they waited upon William at Berkhampstead, and tendered to him their allegiance. He afterwards assisted at William's coronation.

From this time Wulfstan remained firm in his loyalty to the Conqueror and his family. Like another Jeremiah, he lamented the misfortunes of his people, but he counselled them to submit to the powers that be, since the powers that be are ordained by God, even if they be only ordained for the punishment of evil-doers. We have seen how, before the Revolution under William, Wulfstan, in conference with Harold, had anticipated a visitation of vengeance upon the country on account of the increasing immorality of the people; and, after the Conquest, he continued to remind his countrymen that the Normans were the rod which the Divine arm wielded for their deserved castigation. If the Anglo-Saxons replied, as they justly might, that the Normans were worse sinners than themselves, he warned them that it was their business to judge not others, but themselves, and he remarked that the rod, when done with, might itself be cast into the fire; that Satan was a creature more evil than man, yet, for the punishment of man, the agency of Satan was tolerated.[4]

But while he thus preached he was known to have at heart the welfare of the Anglo-Saxon race, and therefore he was trusted. He was ever ready to alleviate the sufferings of his people, but, seeing how those sufferings were multiplied by their impotent revolts, he would never sanction a recourse to arms. His whole object seems to have been, while proud of his own Anglo-Saxon birth, to create a good understanding between the hostile races, and to bring the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans into friendly relations. He was in this respect in advance of his age, and his conduct stands in direct contrast to that of Stigand. Both were good and

[4] Knyghton, col. 2366.

patriotic men. Both had concurred in the expediency of yielding to the force of circumstances, and of sending in their adhesion to the government of the Conqueror. But, when William was provoked to acts of tyranny, and ceased to adhere to the promises which, according to Matthew Paris,[5] he originally made of observing the laws of King Edward, Stigand felt himself exonerated from his promise of allegiance, and joined the standard of revolt. Wulfstan, on the contrary, never wavered in his loyalty, and we trace a compact between the Bishop of Worcester and the Conqueror so early as the year 1067. William was crowned on Christmas-day, 1066, and in 1067 we find a grant to Wulfstan and his church of two hides of land at Cullacliffe, on the condition that he and his clergy continue faithfully "to intercede for the benefit of the Conqueror's soul, and of those who assisted him when he obtained the lordship of the land."[6]

Wulfstan thought it so essential to the well-being of the country to support the government *de facto*, that he formed a league with seven Anglo-Saxon abbots, who, with the consent of their brethren, appointed Wulfstan as their leader, and bound themselves to yield obedience with heart and hand "to their worldly Lord William and the Lady Matilda."[7]

This desire to obliterate party feeling is observable even in little things. The Anglo-Saxon nobility were accustomed to let their hair and their beards grow, and to destroy the party distinction, orders were issued, according to Matthew Paris, that they should shave their beards and cut their hair after the Norman fashion."[8] Now Wulfstan possessed an *unguicularium*, a small knife to pare his nails, we are told, and to scrape the dust off his books; and on more than one occasion, when he chanced to meet one of his countrymen who refused to obey, and appeared in flowing curls and a long beard, he would pull out his knife, and inflict summary punishment on the offender.

Although in the miserable year 1069 the Cathedral of

[5] Matt. Paris, 1001. The story he tells of William's making an oath to this effect upon the relics of St. Alban is improbable, but it was possibly founded upon facts.

[6] Heming. Chart. 413, 414.

[7] Hickes' Thesaurus, ii. Dissert. Epist. pp. 19, 20. The date of this transaction is uncertain.

[8] Matt. Paris, Vitæ Abbatum S. Albani.

Worcester shared the fate of other religious houses, yet this did not exasperate Wulfstan to deviate from the line of policy he had marked out for himself; for we find him present at the council which was convened by William in 1070 for the deposition of Stigand. Wulfstan acquiesced in the proceedings of that synod, over which presided his friend Hermenfrid, Bishop of Sion, and he did not utter a word in favor of the persecuted primate. His silence must be attributed, in part at least, to the fact of his having been entirely opposed to the political views of Stigand. It was not from want of courage, for Wulfstan presented himself before the synod prepared to defend his own and to make good his cause, when justice required it, against the king himself. He demanded restoration of "certain appurtenances to the see of Worcester," which Aldred had retained when he was translated to York, and which had now passed into the king's hands. He insisted that justice should be done to him, not only by those who presided at the council, but by William himself. The judgment given was a fair one, viz., that as the see of York was vacant, and as there was no one to defend its rights, the case must stand over. The see of York being filled by the appointment of Archbishop Thomas, the case was again heard, according to Florence of Worcester, who speaks enthusiastically on the subject, at a place called Pedreda, in the presence of the king, of Archbishop Lanfranc, the bishops, abbots, earls, and all the magnates of England. Judgment was given in favor of Wulfstan. At the same time the see of Worcester was declared to be in the province of Canterbury, and all the vills which Aldred had retained to the day of his death were restored.[9]

I have observed, in the Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, that there existed a good understanding between Wulfstan and the successor of Stigand, if not a cordial friendship. This assertion takes for granted that there is no foundation for the improbable legend, so often repeated, representing Lanfranc as determined to depose Wulfstan, and commanding him to deliver up his pastoral staff: and Wulfstan, after delivering a very poetical address to the

[9] There are some conflicting accounts of this council, with which we are not here concerned, as appears from a short notice, Concilium Pedredæ, Wilkins, I. 324.

bones of King Edward, driving his staff into the tombstone, where in the hard stone it was immediately embedded; and Lanfranc then making an apology, requesting Wulfstan to take back his staff; and Wulfstan then drawing the staff from the stone in which it had been embedded as easily as if the hard stone had been clay; and Archbishop Lanfranc and King William falling down on their knees to beg Wulfstan's pardon. The legend concludes with representing the two bishops giving each to each a blessing and a kiss, and then walking away from the council hand-in-hand in the most loving manner. The legend rests on the authority of Ailred of Rievaulx, who did not live till the next century; and, speaking of whose superstitious weakness, Mr. Wright says, that he generally prefers improbable legends to sober truth.[1]

Discarding the legend, however, it still remains a question with some writers whether Lanfranc did or did not desire to effect the deposition of Wulfstan; and certainly William of Malmesbury states, "Sub seniore Willielmo inclamatum est Wulfstano a Lanfranco de literarum inscitia."

We know that Lanfranc, when he first arrived in England, was prejudiced against the Anglo-Saxon Church and clergy, and he may therefore at one time have spoken disrespectfully of Wulfstan, who certainly was not present at Lanfranc's consecration; but it is certain that the two prelates soon came to a good understanding, and co-operated in all that related to the affairs both of Church and State. The confidence of the Archbishop in the Bishop of Worcester is evinced by the fact of his asking him to hold a visitation of the diocese of Chester, on the ground of its being inaccessible to the Normans. The idea of sending an Anglo-Saxon prelate into the midst of an Anglo-Saxon population would not have been entertained, unless the fullest confidence had been placed in the loyalty and discretion of Wulfstan.

On another occasion, when application was made by the Archbishop of York to the primate for the loan of two of his suffragans to assist at a consecration, one of the prelates selected by Lanfranc was Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester.

The two illustrious prelates, Lanfranc and Wulfstan, are

[1] It is repeated by later writers, such as Bromton and Knyghton.

found acting together in their successful endeavours to suppress the slave trade. For this trade Bristol had long been infamous; the traffic being chiefly carried on with Ireland. Hither degraded parents would send their children, and the seducer the mistress of whom he was wearied, for sale and exportation; and the miseries consequent upon the accursed traffic ensued. Wulfstan himself attacked the stronghold of the enemy: he would go to Bristol and remain there for two or three months, remonstrating with the slave merchants and preaching on each Lord's day. But, though preaching and remonstrating would do something, he was aware that he could not succeed without obtaining external aid; he therefore applied to Lanfranc to make interest with the king, that the strong arm of the law might give effect to the eloquence of the preacher. The slave trade was, in some manner, profitable to the king, who was, on that account, unwilling to interfere; but he was at length persuaded by Lanfranc; and such was the success of the movement, that not in Bristol only, but in all parts of the kingdom, the slave trade was put down.[2]

On the death of William, Wulfstan co-operated with the archbishop in carrying out the directions of the Conqueror with reference to the succession to the English crown. He assisted at the coronation of William Rufus, and soon after appeared in arms in defence of the Government.

Wulfstan did indeed appear more than once as a warrior, and in that character he had rendered essential service to the Conqueror. In the rebellion headed by Roger, Earl of Hereford, in 1074, Florence of Worcester informs us that "Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, with a strong body of troops, and Ethelwy, Abbot of Evesham, with his vassals, supported by Urso, sheriff of Worcestershire, and Walter de Lacy, with their own followers, and a general muster of the people, marched against the Earl of Hereford to prevent his fording the Severn." To Wulfstan's influence we may attribute the fact that in this campaign the English were fighting side by side with the Normans.

In 1088, Wulfstan must have been upwards of eighty years of age; but the stout old man stood forth as the champion of William Rufus, when Roger de Montgomery

[2] Malmesbury, de Regum Gestis.

had taken up arms in favour of Robert, Duke of Normandy. He did not himself go into the battle, but he sent forth his retainers, and it was chiefly through his exertions that the city of Worcester was saved from destruction, and that the rebellion was suppressed. Some details are given both in the Saxon Chronicle and by Florence of Worcester.

During all this time Wulfstan had been engaged in husbanding his own resources and those of the church of Worcester for the great work which, from the days of Hardicanute, he had at heart—the rebuilding of his cathedral. In 1084 the work commenced. Preparatory to laying the foundations, the work of Oswald was to be removed. Wulfstan witnessed the demolition, and while all were rejoicing around him, he was heard by one of the chapter standing near him to heave a deep sigh: "Surely," said the monk, "instead of regretting the past, you ought rather to rejoice at what is taking place, and that such things are done for the Church in your time, that buildings are now erected in a style of beauty and splendour unknown to our forefathers." "Nay," replied Wulfstan, "we are destroying the work of holy men, and think in our pride to improve upon it. In times past they were indeed unskilled to erect magnificent piles; but under whatever roof they might be assembled they knew how to offer themselves a willing sacrifice to God, and to draw their flocks after them. A miserable change it will be, if, instead of edifying souls, we be content with merely piling one stone upon another."

The speech is characteristic. The heart of Wulfstan was with his Anglo-Saxon ancestors, whose virtues he admired and revered; but, when called upon to act, he thought only of what was practical, and availed himself of all the improvements of the existing generation. The poetry of his character endeared him to the Saxons, the Normans had entire confidence in his uprightness, and his practical common sense made him a counsellor to whose judgment all parties deferred. He wept over the wreck of Oswald's cathedral—he laid the foundations of that upon which we still gaze with admiration. The cathedral was completed in 1088, in which year it was solemnly consecrated.

Like a wise man, Wulfstan provided for the endowment as well as the erection of his church. He endowed the church

of Worcester by a grant of fifteen hides of land in Alveston,—land which had formerly belonged to the see, but which had been seized by some powerful persons in the late disturbed times, from whom he repurchased it.[3]

Archdeacon Churton observes that there is a sermon in the Anglo-Saxon or Early English language which is thought to be Wulfstan's.[4] To his pen we may certainly attribute the brief account which we possess of the proceedings of a synod which he held in 1092. Its title is "The Privelegium," that is, the enactment, or resolution, or determination, —"of St. Wulfstan concerning the church of St. Helen;" it is printed in the Anglia Sacra. It commences thus:—"I, Wulfstan, by the grace of God, Bishop of Worcester, determined to hold a synod in the minster of St. Mary's, in the crypt of the church, which I built from the foundations, and by the mercy of God afterwards consecrated. This synod was held in the year of our Lord 1092, the xvth indiction. There were assembled all the wisest men invited from the three shires in our diocese, Worcester, Gloucester, and Warwick, because that I, being full of days, sensible of my bodily weakness, and perceiving the end of my life approaching, was desirous of disposing canonically the ecclesiastical affairs committed to our charge, and by their wise concert, of correcting and amending whatever required amendment."

The principal thing which occupied the attention of the synod was a question between two presbyters, Alfnoth, the presbyter of St. Helen's, and Alam, presbyter of St. Alban's, concerning their parishes and the customs of their churches. The debate lasted a considerable time, and was complicated by a claim to St. Helen's church put in by the prior and chapter.

The whole subject was thoroughly investigated, and at length completely settled. The document concludes thus: "I, Wulfstan, approving the testimony now adduced as true, have put an end to the controversy of the Presbyters and have corroborated the same with the testimony of this Holy Synod, and our hand and seal; cautiously providing that no dissension nor scandal shall hereafter arise out of these matters, in this holy mother Church, between the monks or

[3] Archaeological Journal, vol. iii. p. 262.

[4] Early English Church, p. 286.

any other persons whatsoever. To those who observe these decrees, may eternal life be granted in the heavens. May he who breaks them or changes them for the worse be damned with the devil and his angels in perpetual torment. Amen."

The learned author of The Regular Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle attributes to Wulfstan all the entries between the years 1034 and 1079. He, first of all, establishes the fact that the manuscript was executed at Worcester; and then quotes certain passages which undoubtedly express the principles upon which Wulfstan uniformly and consistently acted.

The following remarkable description of William the Conqueror could hardly have been written by any one else, for we know of no other person who was in the position which the writer assumes for himself.

"If there be any one who wishes to know what sort of man he was, or what honor he had, or of how many lands he was lord, we write concerning him just what we found him, we, who have seen him, we who at one time lived in his court. The King William of whom we speak was a very wise man, and a very powerful; more honorable and far stronger than any of his ancestors. To those good men who loved God he was gentle; but beyond all measure stern to those men who opposed his own will. On that same site where God permitted him that he should win England, he erected a great minster, and placed therein monks, and well he endowed it. In his day was the great minster built at Canterbury, and also many others over all England. Also was this land exceedingly well filled with religious, who guided their lives according to the rule of St. Benedict. And such was the condition of Christendom in his day, that each man followed what belonged to his order, just as he himself pleased. He was also very dignified; each year he wore his crown thrice, as often as he was in England; on Easter he wore it at Winchester, on Whitsuntide at Westminster, on Christmas at Gloucester. And at these times there were with him all the powerful men from over all England, archbishops and diocesan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights. So very severe a man was he, and so quickly provoked, that no one dared to do anything against his will. He had in his bonds earls who had acted against

his pleasure. Bishops he deposed from their bishoprics, and abbots from their abbacies, and thanes he put in prison; and at last he did not spare his own brother, who was called Odo. He was a very powerful bishop in Normandy; his see was at Bayeux, and he was the foremost of all men to augment the power of the king. He had an earldom in England, and when the king was in Normandy, then was he the most powerful man in this land, and him William imprisoned.

"Among other matters this must by no means be forgotten, the good peace that he made in this land; so that a man of property might go by himself alone over his realm unhurt, having his bosom full of gold. No man dared to slay another, how great soever the evil which he had done to the other. He reigned over England, and so entirely did he understand it by his cunning policy, that there was not a hide of land within England that he knew not who owned it, or how much it was worth, and afterwards he put it down in his writing. The land of the Britons was in his power, and thereon he built castles, and entirely governed that nation. So also he subjugated Scotland by his great strength. The land of Normandy was his naturally, and he ruled over the earldom called Mans; and if he might have lived two years longer, he would have won Ireland by his valour and without any weapons. Truly in his time men had much labour and very many sorrows. He caused castles to be built, and the poor men to be made to labour heavily. The king was so exceedingly stern, and took from his subjects many a mark of gold, and more hundred pounds of silver, that he took by right and with great unright of his people, for little need. He was fallen into covetousness, and he loved greediness above all. He instituted a great protection for deer, and he established laws therewith, that whosoever slew hart or hind that he should be blinded. He forbid the harts and the boars also to be slain, so much he loved the tall deer as if he were their father. Also he commanded respecting the hares that they must free fare; his rich men lamented it, and the miserable people murmured at it. But so firm was he that he cared nothing for the ill will of the whole of them, yet must they entirely follow the king's pleasure, if they wished to live or possess their land —land, or property, or have good quiet. Alas! that any

man should be proud, and thus exalt himself, and boast above all men. May the Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins.

"These things have we written concerning him, as well the good as the evil, that what is good men may accept according to their goodness, and entirely forsake that which is evil, and walk in the way which leadeth us to the kingdom of heaven."

In the Lent of 1094, Wulfstan, then in his eighty-seventh year, began to show symptoms of decay. His charities increased as his ability to discharge the other duties of his high office diminished. At Whitsuntide he became seriously ill. His only sister died about this time, and, feeling that his own hour was approaching, he summoned the friend whom I have already mentioned, Robert, Bishop of Hereford, who administered to him the consolations of religion. He lingered through the summer, still suffering from a low fever, till the year 1095. The new year found him confined to his bed, and on the 19th of January he passed from the church militant here on earth to the church triumphant.

I am not aware of there being in existence any modern account of Wulfstan, and I think, therefore, you will not regard this hour as misspent which has opened to us a page of ancient history, and has made us acquainted with a great and good man. He indeed was no ordinary person who, having conversed with Canute, had to officiate at the coronation of William Rufus; who, the friend and counsellor of the noble Harold, fought, nevertheless, in the service of the Norman; who never forfeited the confidence of his Anglo-Saxon brethren, and yet was regarded by the Conqueror as a friend; who yielded to the pressure of hard times, and yet was never accounted a time-server; who, a wise and cautious man of the world, still preserved a simplicity of character, respected equally by the profane and the godly; who, with a heart replete with poetic sentiment, was, nevertheless, a thoroughly practical man; who, the representative of a vanquished race, was caressed by their victors; a man to whose influence and example we may attribute the temper, if not the policy, which gradually induced his countrymen to tolerate their conquerors, until the Normans, like the Britons and the Danes, were absorbed

into the Anglo-Saxon race; and out of the four commingled peoples has come forth the great English nation, with our noble language and our glorious constitution; with our spirit of liberty united with our love of order; with our zeal to promote the well-being of man and the glory of God.