A SHORT ACCOUNT OF DANEGELD: WITH SOME FURTHER PARTICULARS RELATING TO WILL. THE CONQUEROR'S SURVEY

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A short account of Danegeld: With Some Further Particulars Relating to Will. the Conqueror's Survey by Philip Carteret Webb

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PHILIP CARTERET WEBB

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SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

DANEGELD:

WITH

SOME FURTHER PARTICULARS

RELATING TO

Will.the Conqueror's Survey.

By a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Philip Carteret Webl.

Read at a Meeting of the Society, 1 April, 1756; and ordered to be printed.

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SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

DANEGELD, &c.

HE particular attention your Lordship and the Society were pleased to shew to the paper I had the honor to lay before you the 29th Nov. 1755, containing an account of some particulars relative to Domes-day book, hath encouraged me to profecute my inquiries, and I flatter myself that what I have now further to offer on that subject will not be displeasing to the Society.

The learned Dean of Exeter, to whom this Society is under great obligations for his repeated antiquarian communications, in the paper he laid before the Society, the 22d Jan. 1756, concerning the Exeter MS. fays, The common opinion is, that Danegelt was a tax of one shilling upon every hide of land in England, wast-land, as he supposed, excepted. In my former paper, p. 20. I transcribed a paffage from Mr. Arthur Agard, which implied, that Danegeld was, in its original inftitution, a tax of fix shillings on every hide of land. As I shall be always diffident of any opinion I may be thought to have adopted, that shall appear in the least degree different from that of a person much more conversant with things of this sort than myself, I thought it not improper to bring this matter to a closer exa-The refult of this inquiry I have now the honor to lay before the Society, from which, I apprehend, it will appear that Mr. Gale, the learned Dean, and myself, were under a mistake as to this matter; and that Danegeld was originally neither one Shilling, nor

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nor fix Shillings, but a tax of two Shillings per Hide. The infeparable connection there is between the Domesday survey and Danegeld, will induce your Lordship and this learned Body to excuse the trouble I give you of this second paper; they will be of opinion the subject at least is worthy their consideration.

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- 1. DANEGELD, or, as it is called by the Saxons, Depexelo, heregildum, i. e. " tributum militare seu navale," began to be collected in the reign of king Ethelred about the year 991, as some writers suppose, ob pacandos Danos patriam infestantes, or, according to others, about the year 1012 or 1013, for the hiring Danish or other ships, soldiers, and mariners, to oppose the incursions of our foreign invaders. It was originally an annual tax of two shillings on every hide of arable land in the kingdom; and was in its nature a landtax, and is the first stated tax of that kind mentioned in our historians. It was called Danegeld, as being originally agreed to be paid to the Danes, and, like many other things, continued to retain the name long after it became appropriated to uses intirely different. Mr. Tate in a lift, inferted by Mr. Carnden, in his Britannia, p. 226. and by Sir Henry Spelman, in his Gloffary, p. 292. makes the number of hides of land in England amount to 243,600, confequently the gross produce of this tax at two shillings per hide, would at that rate amount to 24,3601. a very great fum to be annually raised at that period. Edward the Confessor suspended the payment of this tax during part of his time. In the reign of Will. I. it was in one instance increased to fix shillings, and in that of W. Rufus to four shillings for each hide. In the reign of Henry I. it was three shillings, and in the reign of king Stephen two shillings per hide. It continued to be collected as low as 21 Hen. II. and probably later.
- 2. There were two kinds of payments made in the reign of Ethelred to the Danes; the one tributary to purchase peace, and put a stop to their depredations; these could not be annual, being in their nature ex re nata, accidental and occasional, and were raised not by

any

any stated tax, but in the best manner the necessity and urgency of affairs would permit. — The other were stipendiary, or substituting payments, made annually, in consequence of treaties, whereby the Danes contracted to furnish the English with a fleet of ships of war, sometimes more, sometimes less, for the defence of the English coasts, for which the English agreed to pay them a stated annual subsidy. For the raising this, the tax called Danegelt, which was an annual land-tax, was first introduced.

3. Some of our earliest historians, for want of distinguishing these two different kinds of payment, place the original of the tax in question as early as the year 991, when the tributary payment to the Danes commenced; other writers have been of opinion this tax was originally collected not to surnish money to the Danes, but to defray the expence of guarding our coast against their invasions,

Sir Henry Spelman describes Danegeld to be, "Tributum Anglis indictum, aliàs ob pacandos Danos, aliàs ob arcendos." And a little lower, "Tributum annuum 48,000 librarum, ab omni populo eradendum, Danegeldum proprie nuncupatum." Glosfary, p. 161.

The author of the Dialogus de Scaccario hath the following chapter written expressly on the subject of this tax.

"XI. QUID DANEGILDUM, ET QUARE SIC DICTUM. Infula nostra fuis contenta bonis peregrinis non eget. Hanc igitur merito dixere priores, Divitiisque sinum, deliciisque larem. Propter haec innumeras ab exteris injurias passa est; quia scriptum est; Furem preciosa signata folicitant. Circumjacentium enim insularum praedones, irruptione facta, maritima depopulantes, aurum, argentum, et quaeque pretiosa tollebant. Verum cum rex et indigenae bellicis apparatibus instructi in suae gentis desensionem instarent, illi sugas aggrediebanturaequoreas. Inter hos itaque pene praecipua et semper pronior ad nocendum erat bellicosa illa et populosa gens Dacorum; qui praeter communem raptorum avaritiam acrius instabant, quia aliquid de antiquo jure in ejussem regni dominatione vendicabant, ficut Britonum pleniùs narrat historia."

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"Ad hos igitur arcendos a regibus Anglicis statutum est, ut de " fingulis hidis regni, jure quodam perpetuo, duo folidi argenti fol-" verentur in usus virorum fortium, qui, perlustrantes et jugiter " excubantes maritima, impetum hostium reprimerent. Quia igitur " principaliter pro Danis institutus est hic reditus, Danegildum vel "Danegildus dicitur. Hic igitur annuâ lege, ficut dictum est, sub "indigenis regibus folvebatur, ufque ad tempora regis Willelmi " primi de gente et genere Normannorum. Ipfo namque regnante, " tam Daci quam caeteri terrae marisque praedones hostiles co-"hibebant incurfus, scientes verum esse quod scriptum est, Cum " fortis armatus custodit atrium suum, in pace sunt ea quae possidet. "Noverant autem etiam quod acerrimae virtutis homines impunitas " non ferunt injurias. Quum ergo diu solvisset terra sub ejustem-" regis imperio, noluit hoc ut annuum folvi, quod fuerat urgente " necessitate bellicae tempestatis exactum, nec tamen omnino propter "inopinatos casus dimitti. Raro igitur temporibus illius, vel suc-" cessorum ipsius, solutus est: hoc est, cum ab exteris gentibus bella " vel opiniones bellorum infurgebant. Verum, quocunque tempore " folvatur, ab ipfo liberi funt qui affident ad Scaccarium. Vicecomites " quoque ab hoc quieti funt de dominiis fuis, propter laboriofam " ejuídem ceníus collectam."

Mr. Selden in his Mare Clausam, lib. ii. hath given us a chapter express on the subject of Danegeld, from which I have transcribed such parts as contain his opinion concerning it.

"Tributum, seu stipendium Danegeldum dictum, ad rem navalem et territorio marino tuendo quotannis pendebatur. — Originem habuit tributum hoc sub Ethelredo rege. Scilicet is a Swano Danorum rege miseras tandem redactus in angustias, pace ab eo empta, etiam ex foedere conduxit puppes Danorum 45, quae regnum suum in mari excubando tutarentur, stipendia, quae ex tributo hoc conflarentur, in commeatus annuatim accepturae. Quod ut ritè intelligatur, advertendum est ex Historia Anglo-saxonica, tributum seu censum Danis persolvi sub id tempus solitum non unius suisse generis. Aliud erat tributum seu pecuniae vis, qua

"-pacem interdum Anglo-saxones ab illis insulam graviter infestantibus " redimebant: aliud vero, quod classi Danicae, ad tutandum mare " orasque desendendas maritimas conductae, ut stipendium praesta-" batur. - Neque quotannis pendi folebat hoc genus primum, fed " pro re nata fubinde praestitum est. - Quod vero secundi generis " erat classi Danicae, ut dictum est, conductae solvendum, id an-" nuum fuit. Nec certa pecuniae quantitate finiebatur, fed quanta " classiariorum victui et vestitui sufficeret. - Utrumque autem " praestationis, quam diximus, genus, Danezelo, Danegeldum seu-" Danageldum, id est, tributum Danicum, dicebatur. -- Secundum " vero, quod pro claffiariorum commeatu folutum est, itidem eadem " voce indigitabatur, tum quia ex foedere Danico natum, tum quia " Danicae classi marino territorio tuendo conductae pendi solitum-"Unde et idem retinuit nomen tam sub ipsis regibus Danicis, veluti " Canuto, Haroldo I. Hardecanuto, quam fub Anglo-faxonibus feu " Anglicanis. — Apud Matthaeos Westmonasteriensem et Parisien-" fem annua stipendii hujus Danici pensio triginta octo millibus " librarum aestimatur. Quod sane temere nimis ab eis scriptum est-"Nec melius illi, quibus triginta millibus librarum taxatur illa " penfio, velut Chronici Melrocenfis autori. Nam qualicunque cenfus " ratione, pro temporum varietate, tributum ipfum regi penderetur, " certiffimum videtur stipendia classi Danicae praeberi solita adeo "incerta fuiffe, ut nunc ampliora multo, nunc angustiora, pro " navium et claffiariorum numero tutelae marinae idoneo (quod nec " aliter evenire potuisse credendum est) praestarentur."

4. In order to determine which of the abovementioned opinions ought to be adopted, it will be necessary to compare the different accounts our historians have given of this matter with each other. For this purpose I have transcribed such of them as appeared to me to be material, in the author's own words, and as near as could be in a regular order of time: by this means the Society will have the whole before them in one view.

Opera, vol. iv. p. 1317. to 1322.

H. Hunt. Hist. lib. v. p. 205. a. "Edelredi regis anno decimo "tertio (A. D. 991.) primum statuerunt Angli, concilio infausto Siricii "archiepiscopi, quod ipsi censum Danis persolverent, quatenus a "rapinis et caede cessarent, et dederunt eis decem mille libras, "Hoc autem malum usque in hodiernum diem [tempore regis "Stephani] duravit, et diu, nisi Dei pietas subveniat, durabit. Regibus "namque nostris modo persolvimus ex consuetudine, quod Danis "persolvebatur ex inessassibili terrore."

Florent. Wigorn. p. 609. Aº. 991. "Quo insuper anno Sirici "Dorobernensis archiepiscopi, et ducum Aethelwardi et Alfrici "consilio Danis tributum, quod erat 10 millium librarum, primitus "datum est, ut a crebris rapinis cremationibus et hominum occisi- "onibus, quas circa ripas maris frequenter agebant, desisterent, pacemque sirmam cum eis tenerent." —— Simeon Dunelmensis, p. 196. Matth. Westm. p. 169. And Roger Hoveden, p. 245. b. say the same, in almost the same words.

Chronicon. Saxon. p. 126. "Anno 991. hoc anno decretum est primum jam ut solveretur tributum Danicis viris propter magnos horrores quos incusserunt incolis maritimis. inprimis nempe x millia si librarum. Illud concilium constituit Siricus archiepiscopus."

Chronicon Johannis Brompton, abbatis Jornalensis (a). " Anno

"Ethelredi regis xiii. — Angli infausto concilio Sirici Cantuari"ensis archiepiscopi, ut Daci a rapinis et caedibus cessarent, censum
"pravum eis solvere statuerant. Quibus x millibus librarum primo
"pro tributo datis, hoc malum usque in bodiernum diem in Anglia,
"et diu, nist Dei pietas subveniat, durabit. Nam regibus nostris
"modo (b) consuetudine solvimus quod Danis tunc ex terrore inessabili
"solvebatur. Secundo vero solvebatur eis tributum 16 millium libra-

(a) Decem Scriptores, p. 879.

(b) From hence it appears, this part, at least, of this chronicle was wrote while Dancgold was a substitution tax, and therefore much earlier than the reign of Edward III. as low as which Mr. Selden, in his preface to the Decem Scriptores, hath shewn a part of it which answers to the year 1069 was wrote; others suppose the author wrote about the year 1198. Vide Tanner de Scriptoribus Angl.

" rum;