OUR

NATIONALITIES

BONWICK.

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I.

WHO ARE THE IRISH?

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

The cry of " Ireland for the Irish " demands the inquiry, " *Who are the Irish ?* "

Is the question one of *Birth*, or *Blood ?*   If *birth*, the son of Irish parents, when he chanced to be born while his mother was visiting England, never gained the coveted rights ; while the equally fortuitous birth of another in Erin, though of English parentage, procured for him the privileges.

If of *blood*, some awkward difficulties arise.   A vast number of comfortable officials would have, on that principle, to retire in England were the Home Rule theory reduced to practice. Who, then, would cease to rule in Ireland ?

As genealogies are not preserved now, except among the landed aristocracy, if reputed Scotch and English were to be excluded from State affairs in Ireland, and the origin be decided by the question of *names*, nearly all the prominent Irish leaders would be immediately silenced, since they clearly belong to that hated race that conquered Ireland.

Proceeding on the work of ostracism from power, on account of race, Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught would have to be purged of Scotch and Welsh, as well as English, whether of Celtic, Saxon, Norwegian, Flemish, or Danish origin.   Then the Danes proper, settling between 800 and 1100 A.D., must be dealt with.   As a large proportion of these, and of the early Anglo-Norman colonists, took Irish names and the Irish tongue, it would be puzzling to get rid of those defilements of the pure Irish.

But, supposing that done, and the descendants of Irish there

before the advent of Dane and English be ascertained, the work of *Selection* is not completed. The small remnant would have a rare contest over the spoils of office. The big-boned and fair-haired Celts might claim the rights of rule, but would be resisted, as being mere devastating intruders, by the little, dark-eyed people of an older date. These, in their turn, might be shown to be intruders.

Who, then, are the *Irish* who ought to govern Ireland?

That which gives romance to Irish settlement is, that the land was the ancient refuge for the oppressed. People suffering from tyranny, or driven from home by irrupting hordes, found shelter there. It was the last north-western shore. They crowded in upon one another, being, as it were, in ethnological strata. Successive new-comers had no invitation, and received no welcome. As the intrusion was resented by the older tribes, each set of arrivals had to illustrate the doctrine of the *Survival of the Fittest*.

Ireland is, perhaps, inhabited by a greater mixture of races than any other nation in Europe. To call it *Celtic* because all spoke a Celtic tongue, forced on it by conquerors, is to call France *Roman*, because the older language was surrendered for Latin. England and Scotland are not *Saxon* because English is spoken in them, for the majority of both countries might be proved to be *not* Anglo-Saxon. Mr. Huxley asserts that "Ireland contains less Teutons than the eastern half of England, but more than the western half." While French anthropologists disagree as to Celts in France, who is to decide for Ireland?

Even if true,—if the Irish were Celts, and all English, Scotch, and Welsh were Saxons,—is it reasonable to hate or despise another to whom God gave a different racial parentage? How wrong, therefore, for any man, for party purposes, to foster such a feeling among those in one national bond! A war of race is a scandal to civilization and Christianity. This strife is embittered by religious zealots, who cry that Catholics are Celts and Protestants are Saxons. One object of this little book is to show that the Catholics of Ireland are far from being all Celts, and Protestants far from being all Saxons. If pre-

judiced adults fail to be convinced, the rising generation will learn that English and Irish, children of *the Father*, are very near in blood relations. If Scots came from Ireland, most Irish came originally from Britain.

The Irish Land Agitation, though founded on a sense of injustice, can be shown to arise in consequence of old Tribal customs, existing in Ireland before perhaps even the Celt ventured there. It is a remarkable case of *Survival*.

That ancient and partly Turanian Irish Institution is to be credited with another evil, thus referred to by Dr. Keating, the great Irish historian : " It was the misfortune of the Irish that they were never free from intestine divisions." Yes, each tribe hated its neighbours.

But the same cause originated the peculiar Irish objection to condemn one of their own, even to the shielding of an offender ; while there is the lack of moral courage to oppose a popular sentiment of the day, however foolish or unjust. As both Celt and Saxon have come to Ireland since the Tribal system was established, and both alike have clung to the old habits of the country, the anthropologist smiles at another illustration of *Survival*.

For the more modern ills of Ireland, the London and Dublin rule is much to blame. But, as evidenced in this story of the past, the English Settlers in Ireland were nearly as badly treated as the supposed native Irish, and that by the same reigning dynasty which oppressed the English at home. A more righteous system of rule has been adopted towards both English and Irish in these later days.

The writer has lived most of his years out of England, and has experienced, in British Colonies, some of that legislative neglect so long a drag upon Ireland. He has many valued Irish friends in various parts of the world ; and remembering affection for them, not less than admiration for the beautiful Isle itself, and its ancient learning, would prompt him to make this effort to promote peace between peoples long divided by ignorance and prejudice.

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THE PRIMITIVE IRISH.

Who were the first Irishmen?

The western "Isle of Beauty" has given rise to lots of discussions, and not a few differences; but the question of its primitive inhabitants can hardly be settled now. We might, it is true, track backward on the track of new-comers. We could thus pass by English, Scotch, Normans, Danes, Saxons, Britons, till we come among the more or less mythical Milesians, Tuath-de-Danaans, Firbolgs, and Fomorians, without ever getting across the original men, the true aborigines.

Some think that if we realize the Bardic tale of Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, on Tara's sacred hill, we have got far enough. When that worthy man, Milesius, who was said to have kept a school near the Tower of Babel, teaching Hebrew and *Irish* there, came over to Ireland, he found Somebody there before him. When Noah's niece, hearing of a coming Deluge, indulged a woman's fears in running away beforehand, she very naturally got to the end of the world, in Ireland. She had, as reported, a retinue of three men, but old chroniclers had too much contempt for women to tell us of her lady companions. Those who doubt the universality of the Deluge have thus a famous argument on their side; since, if the Irish had been all drowned at the Deluge, how should we know anything about Cesarea, the niece of Noah?

The Irish Bards, therefore, coming to the rescue, establishing the fact of the settlement of Ireland in Noah's time, we may venture on further in our march backward along the long line of Irish colonists. We pass by the *Great Stone*

Builders, who put up stone circles and cromlechs; pass by the *Mound Builders;* and pass by the curious folks who lived, like New Guinea savages, a sort of amphibious life on their *Crannogs*, or Pile Dwellings.

It is quite clear that Ireland was inhabited by a fierce people, even when the *Crannog* strangers came so long, long ago, or the latter would not have been driven to the erection of rude homes on piles in the shallow water. In case of attack, they could retreat to lake or bay quarters, and break down a causeway to arrest the foe. Who were the rough settlers before the *Crannog* men? And who were they before them?

But how did the old races get there?

When *bolgs*, or bags, of skin continued in use till Patrician days, they may have given a passage across the Irish Sea in remoter ages. The ancient ox, now gone from us, could have furnished a capacious skin for a boat. Those who require a very distant antediluvian date for early Irishmen have sug• gested a safer mode of travel. Geologists show that a rise of some 500 feet would connect Ireland with England, and England with Norway, Germany, and France. How easily then would emigrants get over the border into the area of Ireland! Any one may thus have reached Erin by an *Overland Route*.

We know that there was a very uncomfortable state of things once in Northern Europe, called the *Glacial Age*. Then, all Scotland, and the greater part of Ireland and England, looked just like Greenland does now. But that was before Erin was the *Green Isle*, and when the vegetarian system would have had considerable difficulties to encounter, since modern Esquimaux have to do without bread, cornflour, potatoes, and jellies. Yet, as men did exist in Britain before the glaciers retreated nearer the North Pole, one wonders what sort of creatures the *Glacial* Irish were, and whether temperament has changed with temperature.

How can we know anything about Primitive Irish?

By the fruits of their industry we know something of them. There was a time, and when they were barbarians, that they used iron. There was a more ancient time, that they had more easily managed copper. There was a yet more remote time, when they had not learnt to smelt any metal, and so

had to be content with stone tools and weapons. The first was the *Iron Age ;* the second, the *Bronze Age ;* and the third, the *Stone Age* or *Flint Age.*

It is not to be supposed that the old Irish relinquished the use of a stone knife when some one found out how to make a metal one. Bronzes were hard to be got in those days, and the many had to put up with the ancestral contrivance. Besides, the Irish have ever been remarkably conservative ; so, while some used stone because they could not get metal, it is not unlikely others refused to have anything to do with the modern invention, that was a standing reproach to the wisdom of their forefathers. Hence it is that we discover stone implements alongside of metal ones in the old monuments of the dead.

As the earliest known laws of Ireland proclaimed the heaven-sent distinction of families, teaching the dignity of *blue blood*, and the vast superiority of certain lines of birth, so that a Benjamin's mess descended to them, it is not altogether improbable that the recognized families of chiefs elected to have the sole use of the bronze, obliging the vulgar people to be content with their position as *stone-breakers.*

These *flints*, as they are commonly called, from the large employment of the silicious rock for its hardness and edge, have been found all over the world, and could not fail to be in Ireland, which is known as *Old* Ireland to this day. Though flints proper are confined to the north-eastern corner of the island, the site of the chalk formation, the rough commerce of the times might convey the useful material to other corners. Where this was not easy, quartz became the accepted substitute. Hard-pressed, isolated, or weak tribes had to put up with the rock at hand—slate, granite, basalt, or sandstone. In fact, flint might not be preferred for a stone hammer.

Antrim, Down, and Derry were the *Diggings* for flint. Vast manufactories were there established. The remains of these primitive workings are easily determined by the quantity of *chips* that remain, the pieces and failures left by the workmen. Many a stout fight must have taken place among the savages competing for possession of the coveted flints. Some, as in modern days, were not content with bartering skins for stones, but sought their end by the rude employ-

ment of shillelaghs. At Ballintoy, Antrim County, we note the ruins of a factory of flint-scrapers for skins.

The attractive Dublin Museum has a choice collection of these rough implements of an Irish Past. Some of these stone *celts*, as they are called, served as chisels, wedges, picks, hatchets, planes, punches, hammers, daggers, knives, mortars, grain - rubbers, querns, whetstones, spindle-wheels, anvils, borers, gouges, sink-stones, saw-flakes, drinking-cups, plates, scrapers, and arrow-heads. With the progress of civilization, the application of stone was extended to the growing wants of humanity.

There were, however, two distinct divisions of the *Stone Age*, even in Ireland. They mark two very different conditions of progress, and seem to indicate the slow and gradual development of human industry. Stone tools—for weapons were tools, as tools were weapons, in that hunting stage of being—were either prepared by percussion or flaking, or else by pressure or rubbing. It is everywhere found that the latter, requiring more labour and intelligence, are to be seen in formations denoting less age than the former.

The *celts* that were made by simply knocking off edges and flakes, by the aid of an extra hard stone, point out a lower state of society than that when men spent days and weeks rubbing down flints to an edge or point. The former are not only rougher, but larger. In that age, men had merely to contend with wild beasts, and never indulged in elaborate toilet and architecture, any more than in fanciful ornamentation. Clubs of wood, showers of stones, or massive stone axes, would provide weapons against animals long since extinct in Ireland. For domestic purposes, those cave-dwellers were satisfied with few wants. Their beds were leaves and skins. Their robes were, probably, the uncleansed and unscraped skins of animals. The fire was kindled by the rapid friction of two sticks. Stripped of its covering or not, the slain beast was cast on the live embers, and fingers served for carving-knives and forks.

Such were the Irishmen of the *Palæolithic* or *Early Stone* Period. But, as men advanced, their wants multiplied, and native ingenuity was exerted to supply the wants. The old celt was a very rough contrivance. It was a dragging rather than a cutting that was effected thereby. He was a bold

innovator who first discovered how much better the stone cut when it was rubbed down to an edge upon some softer stone. Strange that so simple an idea had not entered the head of his Irish ancestors.

A lance that came to an elongated point would, of course, be more destructive to quadrupeds desired for food. The flint arrow-head was improved by the rubbing. Flakes were prepared for better knives. Saws, borers, chisels, gouges, hatchets, and daggers were equally improved. Woman's intelligence was awakened. She scraped the skin before using it for a cloak or blanket. Not content with a fastening by a fish-bone, she proceeded to puncture the skin, and run the sinew of a beast through the holes. Afterwards, a real bone needle, with a cavity for the sinew, gave the means of sewing her skin, and so giving dress a definite shape.

The progress went on. The hunter became a keeper of cattle. The herdsman grew into a farmer. The stone still served its purpose. It turned up the soil, it crushed or ground the corn, it fashioned implements of horn or wood. Plough-coulters of stone continued to far later times. Then, women plaited grass for utensils, made sun-dried pots, and cooked meat more decently on heated stones under a cover of leaves and earth. It was a grand discovery that water could be heated by casting hot stones into the vessel holding it; but better still when the stone-boiling apparatus gave place to the now simple practice of putting a fire under the pot.

With more comforts around them, and leaving dark caves for outside huts, the primitive Irish turned their attention to adornment. As among all savage tribes, men were vainer than women, and kept all the ornaments to themselves. This neglect of the other sex was hardly due to Irish chivalry, that deemed the unadorned wife the more beautiful, as illustrating native charms alone; it was rather from masculine vanity and masculine tyranny. But, as the ages rolled on, female power grew beside the hearth they made the more attractive; and beads, armlets, bracelets, necklaces, and girdles were no longer monopolized by the stronger sex.

Sepulchral mounds, and stone cromlechs, as well as bogs, have led us to a knowledge of a remote Irish *Past*, while caves and river-drifts have taught us something of a more ancient time.

We find *Kitchen Middens;*—heaps of rubbish containing the remnants of aboriginal feasts. There were vast piles of shells cast aside when the eatable was removed. Naturally, these are observed near the shore. On the islands of Cork harbour, some may still be seen. The very accumulation of shells attests to the lengthened abode. The date of that occupancy was varied, of course; since successive swarms of Irish colonists added to the piles. But one *Kitchen Midden* in Ireland has been found 35 feet above the present rising of the tide there, and under a bed of peat. That must have been long ago when the folks left there those remnants of shells, with the bones of pigs and sheep.

The oldest *flints* are *Palæolithic*, belonging to the *Drift Period*. At that time, the now extinct elephant, the cave bear, mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, &c., roamed at large, and gave sport to the hunter. But Ireland had fewer of these large and now extinct thick-skinned animals than Britain; possibly, because longer submerged before their appearance. It must not be supposed that Ireland, when first inhabited by man, had the same boundaries and physical features now to be noticed. The sea and land have had many a battle since then. Even Irish tradition retains some remembrance of violent changes, described by men to their successive descendants. Hills have arisen; large areas have sunk; lakes have appeared, while others have been lost; earthquakes have desolated places; and the sea has invaded some parts, while retiring from others. Traditions are not all idle tales.

Irish exploration has not been carried on with the scientific energy and skill displayed in France; though it is possible that different conditions in the two countries may have led to a difference of inhabitants. We have not yet found in Ireland, as in France, those curious skulls of a very remote age, having rounded perforations. We have not recovered horn or stone artistic remains, having sketches of now extinct animals scratched by the hunter after a fight with the mammoth. But we do see in Ireland the evidence of high antiquity in human residents, and their dwelling with the now fossil elk, fossil ox, &c.

Ireland was largely submerged during the glacial period, and rose late in geological life to be visited by man. Of it may be said, what Professor Broca says of his French home,

that, " Since the Quaternary (post-glacial) Period many centuries have elapsed; numerous populations and *many races* have before and since the historic period clashed and supplanted each other on our soil."   Sir William Wilde thinks, however, that "the reindeer and the elephant, and probably the musk ox, had become extinct before man's arrival in Erin."   He adds, when referring to Milesians, &c. : "That there were inhabitants in Ireland at the time of the arrival of these first recorded colonists I have but little doubt."

Of the enormous space of time intervening between the *Drift* Period and that of the Surface Stone, some conception may be formed from a statement of Mr. Boyd Dawkins, that of 48 species of animals in the former, only 31 remained during the latter.   Flints of the earlier are seen to have a glossy surface, with calcareous incrustations.   They have, too, those dendritic or moss-like markings, resulting from the crystallization of manganese.   This *Drift* Age was that in which most of the present valleys were formed.   The ice erosions are plain enough in Ireland.   The boulders dropped by passing icebergs on the then sunken land appear to have travelled from the north-west, coming south-east.   The reindeer and Irish elk had gone very long before the Romans came, though the wolf did not disappear till 1710.

The next, the *Neolithic* (new-stoned), Age has the *flints* rubbed.   As, however, in spite of the length of time, the polished flints of dolmens are like those of the *reindeer men* in France, it may be assumed that there was no break between the Palæolithic and the Neolithic time, but that one insensibly glided into the other.   Though reindeer were fewer in Ireland, there is reason to believe *reindeer men* may have, also, lived there.   Worked flints were obtained at Port Stewart, Derry County, along with very coarse pottery, and the teeth of horse, ox, and dog.   The bed in which they were found is now covered with sand from ten to thirty feet thick.   They have been taken from a cave near Dungarvan, Waterford County, as well as bone pins, along with remains of a very large extinct deer, &c.   Mammoth and cave bear bones were seen in that cave.   Quatrefages and almost all other geologists and anthropologists admit the existence of man with the mammoth.   He lived in Ireland certainly when the rhinoceros had its home there.

The pottery indicates the march of progress. From sun-dried to fire-dried clay vessels the change was for the better. Simple parallel lines' ornament gave place to excellent fictile ware, of good form and decoration. Yet capital urns are seen, as at Trallick, Tyrone County, in association with polished flint implements, and bones from which the marrow had been carefully removed. Sun-baked urns are known with remains of the rhinoceros, &c. Rude pottery was gathered from a two-storied log hut discovered beneath 14 feet of peat in Donegal.

Bodies of ancient Irish have been preserved by the peat, though no definite age can be given for the material, which is formed more rapidly under some circumstances than others. At the depth of 6 feet, a body was found clothed in rough cloth. But in 2 feet of gravel, lying below 11 feet of peat, a female person was discovered, having long black hair, and curious shoes and ornaments. At a depth of 11 feet of bog, in Down County, a skeleton was secured in 1780. Ancient crania have been taken from the bed of the river Nore, Queen's County, and the Blackwater of Armagh. Dr. Beddoe remarked that "the ancient Irish skulls, as well as the mediæval and modern ones, are long." In 1748, at Mullingar, Westmeath County, was detected a body with a clay cast round the head. Canoes or coracles have been taken from considerable depths a long way from any existing bay or river-course. Remains of man, along with elk bones, were seen at Curragh. In Cork County, a human corpse, in excellent preservation, was wrapped up in an elk skin, under 11 feet of peat. Though the peat preserved the body, the softer parts had gone into adipocere. The skull of a fossil ox, found with human relics, was a yard long, and had a space of 42 inches between its huge horns.

Though the Bronze Age of Ireland can be proved to have been older in Ireland than in Switzerland, it is not easy to account for the small cubes of white porcelain, with *very ancient* Chinese inscriptions, found several yards below the surface, near Kilmanham, Dublin County. We are well aware of remarkably old iron works, in Queen's County.

Mr. Boyd Dawkins considers the type of the ancient Irish to be a small oval face, regular features, swarthy complexion, and dark hair and eyes. Captain Thomas, who held the ancients to be Turanian and not Celtic-Aryan, writes: "In the short faces of some of our Connaught boys, we have

nearly copies of the good-natured physiognomy of our earliest immigrants." Lord Dufferin, when among the Lapps, said: "There was a merry, half-timid, half-cunning twinkle in their eyes, which reminded me a little of the faces I had met with in the more neglected parts of Ireland." Dr. Carter Blake admits "an extremely ancient dolicho-cephalic (*long-headed*) form of skull" in Ireland. The forehead receded.

It may be taken as pretty well ascertained that the primitive Irish, forming the basis of the population, though receiving many successive colonizing races, were *not Celts*, were not Aryans, but of a kindred more like Fins, Lapps, and Siberians.

THE GREAT STONE-BUILDERS.

In Ireland, as in so many other places, huge stones have been set up in remote times. They may be isolated monoliths, blocks in the form of circles, Logan or Rocking Stones, and Cromlechs or Dolmens. The builders of these megalithic remains in that island have been usually called *Druids*, and the monuments themselves *Druidical*. Whether or not connected with religion is scarcely the object of this little work to discuss. It may be safely asserted that even if sepulchral in origin, the edifices may still have had a relation to religion.

Single stones may have stood as memorials of events and persons, or served the same purpose as the Indian Linga stones. Some had proximity to circles; as that one, 11 feet high, in Cork County. At Kilbury, Shannon, Castledermot of Kildare, and Kil-malkedar of Kerry, they have been used to drive away rheumatism, when the sick walked, or were carried, round with proper prayers or charms. *Uladhs* or pillar stones are still believed to cure diseases; especially at Mullimast Rath. One with its small end downwards, in Clunmany of Donegal, betrays its past history in its present name of the Magairle (phallus) of Finn Mac Cuill. *Tolmen* or holed stones are crawled through for luck, if the opening be large enough; as at St. Declan's Stone. Cormac says these were erected by the *Galli* from Gaul, and hence called the Gall stones. But *gall* means *stranger*. These Galls may have been temporary sojourners, or belonging to one of the old races of Ireland.

Many Irish stones are inscribed; as at Dalkey, and Tullagh

of Dublin, Dundalk, Ballybaun of Cork, Gowran, Lennan of Monaghan, and Castlederg of Tyrone. The inscriptions are either of line characters, or cup-markings and circles. The cup-marks are, as in Scotland, France, Sweden, and Switzerland, being still reverenced by the peasants. With the rings they are seen in Kerry, Wicklow, Rathmichael of Dublin, Meath, Drummakilly, Donegal. Concentric circles exist on the lintel-stone of St. Kevin's church, near Ennis of Kerry, evidently placed there for superstitious reasons. There are cups with or without circles, a few curves and spirals, besides some zigzags and concentric circles. Near the Lough Crew are beautiful illustrations of various sorts. Occasionally the cross is inscribed, and not always of Christian age, as the cross was a symbol of faith thousands of years before the Christian era.

There are antiquarians, like Professor T. Y. Simpson, who esteem these cup-markings as peculiarly the mark of a very early stage of human development.

A curious tale is told of a cairn of stones. An old tradition spoke of a servant saving the life of a king when attacked by three enemies. The man perished, but a cairn of stones was raised over his grave by stones cast by every soldier. Tradition called it "The cairn of one man." An antiquary dug through the stones, and found a fine cinerary urn, with black earth about the burnt bones. The urn is now in the Dublin Museum, a witness to the truthfulness of an old tradition.

LOGAN or ROCKING STONES are rarely seen in Ireland. Easily moved if touched in the right quarter, they were also associated with superstition, and termed *Divining* Stones. Often upset for sport, some were overturned by religious zeal. At Magee of Antrim, one is said to be 12 tons in weight.

STONE CIRCLES are not so numerous in that island as in Britain. A fine one, of a concentric character, at Ballynahatne near Dundalk, has some resemblance to Stonehenge; but many of the best circles have been destroyed to furnish road-metal, gate-posts, &c. In 1810, one, at Rostrevor of Down, was distinctly to be traced, 120 feet in diameter. That at Templebrian of Cork consisted of nine large stones round a central one. There are three circles at Killballyowen of Limerick.

The largest known is at Carrowmore of Sligo. Near Belfast are the remains of one of very great diameter. A cist or burial-place at Carrick-a-Dhirra of Waterford has a circle around it. There are others at Drogheda, Rath-Hugh of King's County, New Grange, Druman Hill by Neath, Glanworth of Cork, and Ballrichan of Louth. At Mount Druid, by Dalkey, the diameter is 150 feet.

CROMLECHS are interesting. In a simple form, a cromlech is a huge stone or *cap* resting on three, four, five, or more upright stones. Mostly for sepulchral use, a few would appear distinctly religious. Some are called Giant's Graves, and are associated with Fenian or other heroes. There is a Giant's place, of Parrahbong Mac Shagjean, at Ballymascandlau near Dundalk. The cap is 12 feet long, and weighs 40 tons; the inclosure or cell is 20 by 5 feet. The bones of the monster were *once* seen. At Brown's Town of Carlow, the top is 22 feet 10 inches by 18 feet 9 inches, weighing 89 tons, and resting on three supports, from 5 to 8 feet high. At Mount Vernes, Dublin County, the cap is 18 feet by 8 feet.

A cromlech or *Diomruck*, at Glanworth of Cork, is on 7 supports; at Ballymascandlau on 3; Finvoy of Antrim on 5; Killala of Mayo on 4; Dundonald of Down on 5; Castle Wellan on 3. The cap at Headfort weighs 14 tons; Gaulstown, 6; Ballynageeragh, $6\frac{3}{4}$; Ballyphillip, 12; Rath-Kenny, 19; Knockeen, $10\frac{1}{2}$; Mount Brown, 110. One at Kilternan of Dublin is 23 feet long; Castlehyde of Cork, 17; Grannie's Bed at Glanworth, 17; Finvoy, 10; Dundonald, $8\frac{1}{2}$; Headfort, $9\frac{1}{2}$; Rathkenny of Meath, $10\frac{3}{4}$; Ballylowra 12, and 9 feet from the ground.

On a hill known as *Sleigh-Grian*, or Hill of the Sun, in Kilkenny, stands a dolmen or cromlech. At Loughrey of Tyrone it is a Giant's Cave. Another Giant's Grave is at the Kempe Stones. A noble one is at Ballintoy, near the Giant's Causeway. There are others at Sliabbcroabb of Down, Dungarvan, Drumgoolan of Down, Fiddown of Kilkenny, Sugarloaf of Waterford, Garry-Duff of Kilkenny, Rinvyle of Galway, Innishshark Isle of Connaught, Lennan, Castlederg of Tyrone, Leaba Diarmuid of Cleggan Bay, Scariff and Burren of Clare, &c. One is called the bed of Dermot, or Diarmuid, and Graine the Princess. It was a year before the runaways were caught; of course, as the word *graine* means the *sun*.

Another bed, at Mayo, is 15 feet long inside, and 7 high. Druid's Grove, peninsula of Ballrichan, Louth County, has circles, pillars, and cairns, as well as the remains of a grove.

Some cromlechs or dolmens have several chambers, in or off passages of standing stones, covered by several flat stones. In these have been found bones, broken pottery, flints, beads, &c. There is a three-chambered one at Moytura, near Lough Corrib, connected with cairns and magnificent circles of immense stones, said to have been set up by the Firbolgs. Some caps are suspended, and others rest partly on the ground, being called *Primary*, or *Earthfast ;* as, the Leaba Diarmuid, Headfort, Carlow, Rathkelly, Rathkenny, &c. The top of one, between Carrick and Waterford, is 15 feet high. Some dolmens are free, others are under mounds or *Barrows*.

One of the most interesting and romantic is that on the beautiful Hill of Howth, Dublin Bay. Tradition says it was a memorial erected by Aideen, daughter of Angus, chief of Ben Edar or Hill of Howth, for the death of her husband Oscar, son of Ossian, who fell in the Battle of Gavra, near Tara, when the Irish destroyed their Fenian troublers.

By far the most celebrated Irish monument of a megalithic character is at New Grange, near Drogheda. At first only a mound, it attracted no attention till 1699, when the discovery of the interior took place. It is like the Calry giant's grave in Sligo, with its chambers 50 feet by 25.

One authority gave the hill a height of 150 feet ; but really it is 67. It occupies two acres of space ; while the diameter at the base is 319 feet, at the top it is 118. The remains of a foundation on the summit has induced a belief that a rude edifice was on the top. There is yet a huge stone, a sort of apex to the tumulus. It is calculated that there are 180,000 tons of stone therein, though afterwards covered with earth as a barrow.

At the entrance there are stones covered with spiral ornaments. Ten stones are round at the base, one down, which is 11 feet long, all the others being erect. Passing in, one enters a gallery 62 feet long, of stone uprights and roof, with side chambers leading to a central chamber, 17 feet wide and 20 feet in height. One thus refers to it : "The interior dome is admirable, and the diminishing octagons of the massive horizontal unhewn stones, so ingeniously piled till

they are finally capped by one broad slab, have a marvellously impressive effect." The eastern side chamber is covered with spirals, zigzags, volutes, and other marks. Some stone basins have been called altars; one was found in each of the two side chambers.

What race constructed the wonderful tumulus and dolmen of New Grange? Were they Firbolgs or Danaans?

The old name of the locality was Brugh; and a MS. of the tenth century notices that "the nobles of the Tuatha de Danaan were used to bury at Brugh." Dr. Petrie thinks the mound was the tomb of Achadh Aldai and Dowth of Dubhad, kings of the Tuatha de Danaans. Two Roman gold coins found near the surface, at the top, give no indication of the age. Two skeletons were seen near one pillar.

Very similar monuments are to be observed in England, Scotland, France, Spain, Italy, Holland, Greece, Sweden, Palestine, Algeria, and India. Of the last, Colonel Forbes Leslie writes: "It will not be disputed that the primitive Cyclopean monuments of the Dekhan were created prior to the arrival of the present dominant race — the Hindoos." Prof. Benfey is of opinion, also, that they are pre-Aryan.

These mighty works were certainly not done by the Celts, as they never dwelt in India, and were never great builders any time. Fergusson, the architect, very reasonably credits Turanian people with the erection, and not an Aryan, whether Celt or Saxon. Bonstettin thinks them the *Tamhu*, or white, northern race, described in the ancient Egyptian sculptures as men of tattooed limbs, and wearing a leathern dress. Prof. Huxley identifies "the ancient population of Ireland with the long barrow and river-bed elements of the population of England." Belgæ of round barrows were few.

If not utterly destroyed or devoured by the Celtic or other incoming races, the blood of the *Great Stone Builders* still remains in the country, a portion of the ancestry of a modern Irishman.

THE CRANNOG RACE.

Among the many colonies of Irish, helping to form the singularly composite character of the nation, the Crannog men must not be forgotten. They were people who dwelt in houses raised on piles in shallow bays or lakes.

Herodotus, nearly twenty-four hundred years ago, visited the Pæonians of Thrace, not far from the site of modern Constantinople, and found them in huts on piles in the bed of Lake Prasias.   He spoke thus: "Platforms supported upon tall piles stand in the middle of the lake, which are approached from the land by a single narrow bridge.   Each," adds he, "has his own hut, wherein he dwells, upon one of the platforms; and each has also a trap-door giving access to the lake beneath."   But one statement has been thought the tale of a traveller, viz.: "They feed their horses and their other beasts upon fish."

It is not a little curious that a survival of the practice may be now observed.   The fishermen of this very Lake Prasias still inhabit wooden cottages built over the water, as in the time of Herodotus.   A Russian city, Tcherkask, stands over the river Don.

But it is in the Celebes and in New Guinea of the Indian Archipelago that these *Lake Dwellings* may be seen in perfection.   Captain Cook, and voyagers before and since, have been much amused at these structures.   There they are, lying off the shore, and often in deep water, connected by wooden causeways with the shore, having boats attached to the poles or piles.   Even in those very countries the system is only followed by a few races, and those near the sea, who are quite unlike the tribes in the interior.   This circumstance has led many persons to suspect that the *Lake Dwellers*, or *Pile Drivers*, were colonists of a maritime character, who adopted this plan of protecting themselves from the attack of barbarous neighbours on shore.

Switzerland had once its Lake Dwellings.   These were first observed in 1863, owing to the great fall in a lake level revealing the stumps of the piles.   A search in the lake mud has brought to light many curious illustrations of the life of the people at that time.   It is not to be supposed that Lake Dwellings, whose remains have been discovered in France, Italy, Germany, Illyria, &c., belonged to one particular age. As we discover in Borneo and other Eastern islands individuals still pursuing the like custom, as Herodotus noticed it so long ago, the Pile Houses of Switzerland, ancient as they undoubtedly were, might have been erected hundreds if not thousands of years after those of Ireland.   Some of them in

Switzerland itself, as in Lakes Brienne and Neuchatel, were of the Iron Age, judging by the contents of *débris;* others were clearly of the Bronze Age; while the piles in the rest have evidently been cut by a stone weapon.

In Ireland it is probable that further examination may bring out a similar conclusion of relative dates. Leading authorities unite in the declaration of this pre-historic age. Implements both of iron and stone have been rescued from the mud. Even horse-shoes have been seen; though these, and possibly other iron articles, may have been lost there long after the original dwellers had departed. As a rule, they may be esteemed as belonging to the Stone Age of Ireland. Assuredly both fauna and flora have changed since their day. Abundant remains of the *Bos longifrons,* or ancient Celtic ox, so - called, give evidence of extreme antiquity.

The word *Crannog* or *Crannoge* is by some said to be derived from the Irish *craun,* a tree, being a wooden structure. Mr. Benn derives *cran* from *crieve,* a living branch. *Og* is a common terminus. An old kind of pulpit is known as *crannog. Craun* is also a ship's mast.

There are various kinds of the dwelling. Usually they are oval or circular in form. They look like conical hollows, or bees' nests. The platforms are spread over piles driven in the mud of the sheltered part of a bay or lake. Simple trees or branches are thus employed; occasionally they were roughly hewn or rounded. Stones, as at Ardekillin of Roscommon, were at times placed outside the piles for additional protection; and even stone walls have been seen raised upon the piles.

Other forms of erection appear. Instances occur where piles are used merely to keep in their places great beams, laid horizontally upon the mud bottom, into which posts are clumsily mortised, and the platforms more securely built up. This was a grand advance upon the early style. Cross-beams at the top presented a sort of circular enclosure, as a bulwark against the waves. There was an arrangement by which a fence around afforded shelter from the spray in a storm.

Crannog remains exist in Lough Neagh, Lough Eyes of Fermanagh County, Lough Annagh of King's County, Lough Drumgag by Enniskillen, Ardmore, Ballydoolough, Lough

Rea, Cornagall of Cavan County, Clonfinlough, Roughan-lake, and forty other places in Leitrim, Roscommon, Monaghan, Tyrone, Meath, Limerick, &c.

They may be called *Stockaded Islands.* The one at Lagore was 520 feet in diameter, but others were even larger. Ardmore had one in the form of a salmon weir. In another it was calculated that there were 30,000 piles of oak alone ; birch was more uncommon. The partitions were of wicker-work. Fascines or bundles of sticks now and then formed the basement, being kept in their places by piles outside. The very dwellings on the platform were in the rudest age of bundles of sticks or wickerwork. Double and even treble lines of piles were driven to maintain a safe front to sea-waves. Here and there these Crannogs or Wooden Islands were built on artificial mounds raised at a distance from shore, giving shallows for the piles, with deep water protection on the shore side. The platforms are variously fixed to the piles by wooden pins, or mortises. Some of these mortises betray signs of the blunt stone weapon used in the work.

The general style of Irish Crannogs is rougher than in Switzerland. The more rude they were the less they advanced into the water. The Bronze Age ones are better built and further out from land, in deeper water, than those of the Stone age. The stockade has been observed not more than twenty yards across. The bridges or causeways to the shore suited the village convenience.

The story of the Crannog men can be read at Lough Rea. There we detect evidence of the village home having been repeatedly burnt and rebuilt. The shore tribes had suc-ceeded in their assault, and had consumed the huts of their foes. Or, it may be, that the inflammation arose from acci-dent. Some had resided for a long period at one station, when from a Crannog in Meath county a farmer got 150 cartloads of bones, the remains of aboriginal feasts.

The folks lived well, judging by these bone relics. They fed upon the now extinct ox and stag, the red deer, sheep, goat, pig, horse, dog, and ass. In one place, under 16 feet of bog, there were the remains of the pig, ox, sheep, deer, dog, and ass. Limb-bones were always fractured for their marrow contents. Among other articles discovered, there were flints of various kinds, glass beads, horn handles, bone ornaments

and tools, with rude pottery, quern stones, wooden swords, and some bronze pins, rings, &c. Some iron tools were recovered among the piles of Cornagall. The pottery marks are very simple, mostly of the saw pattern.

Who, then, were the Crannog men of Ireland? It is highly probable that they were the remnants of some aboriginal tribes of Europe, driven by inroading peoples from one haunt to another, until they found shelter in that last home of European races, Ireland, with its western wall to the vast Atlantic. Here, pressed by necessity, or adopting the course by force of habit, they constructed their Crannogs as their forefathers had done.

And what became of the Crannog men? As, from their love of the water and boats, they were certainly not Celts, they were either exterminated by the new comers of the Gaelic race, or they became absorbed in their tribes, and so forsook their ancient habits. It is by no means improbable that the wild coast of Connaught still harbours fishermen, called by the name of Irish, who hold in their veins some blood of the interesting Crannog tribes, whose earliest visitors may have preceded the advent of both Iberians and Celts.

THE IBERIAN IRISH.

Irish travellers have reminded us of certain centres of a slightly made and dark race, observed in out of the way parts of Ulster, Connaught, and Munster. Concerning these, Prof. Huxley echoes the general opinion of ethnologists when saying : "I believe it is this Iberian blood which is the source of the so-called Black Celts in Ireland." Again: "The Iberian blood has remained, although all traces of the language may have been obliterated."

It cannot be too often repeated that language is no certain test of race. Because Celtic Irish was the only language remaining on the island, it is no proof that the people were all Celts. The Celts of Great Britain and Ireland adopted the Saxon tongue, as the Celts of Gaul used to speak Latin, but it no more proved the first to be English than the last to be Roman. A strong conqueror may either adopt the language of the country or enforce his own. The Normans in England, as in France, accepted the dialects of the conquered.

The Saxons in England and Scotland caused the tongue of the many to be forgotten. So it may have been in Ireland. The Celtic intruders, who came most probably from Britain, forced their own speech upon the original natives.

The dark Irish are now, as Prof. Boyd Dawkins says, Iberic islands in seas of Celts. They would naturally be more in the west, as driven thither by the strong Celtic invaders. They are nearly pure on the north shore of Galway Bay. The Lloegrians some thought Iberian.

Who were the Iberian Irish?

Some argue for their having been the Firbolgs, those reputed aborigines. One tradition makes Milesians a dark-haired, black-eyed people. If so, the Milesians were not Celts. Mr. Hector Maclean calls them *Atlantean*, with "brown skins; large, lustrous eyes, with long dark eye-lashes; a round head," &c. Their beards are weaker than in the Celt. Mr. A. L. Lewis does not regard them as aborigines. They are clearly like the dark race of Wales; for many, like Mr. Skene, have "reason to suppose that a people possessing their physical characteristics had once spread over the whole of both of the British Isles." The distinguished Dr. Latham held the same view. It has been contended by Mr. Glennie that the Firbolgs of Ireland were this "dark-haired, pale-skinned, small or medium-statured, little-limbed race." The Iberians had small hands and feet, being in that respect different to the Celt. The extreme delicacy of frame and colour among ladies in the far Irish West is due to Iberian blood.

If not the first Irish, Mr. Boyd Dawkins gives them a high antiquity, having "proof that an Iberian or Basque population spread over the whole of Britain and Ireland in the Neolithic Age, inhabiting caves, and burying their dead in caves and chambered tombs, just as in the Iberian peninsula also in the Neolithic Age." The sacred promontory of Ireland was called Jeronakron, an Iberian word.

Tradition brings the early colonists from Spain, and the nearest folks like the Iberians are the Basques of North Spain. These are an aboriginal race, or one before the Celts. Their primitive language, largely agglutinate, is unlike any in Europe, though supposed allied to that of the Dravidian Hill Tribes of India. In Strabo's day a marked difference

was observed between them and the Celts. Dr. Hyde Clarke detects the blood in Asia Minor, Italy, Greece, and Spain. Dionysius Periegetes, in the first century, wrote:

> "On Europe's furthest western border dwell
> Th' Iberians, who in warlike might excel."

Yet Varro thinks the *Iberi* of Spain were but immigrants. Many believed that they always occupied a higher stage of civilization than the Celts did. The Rev. W. Webster says: "This Iberian population of Spain was almost cleft in two by another set of tribes, called by all ancient authors the 'Kelt-Iberi.'" But with the exception of the *Cynetæ*, the Iberi were thought the most remote inhabitants in the west of Europe. The Welsh Triads note the *Cynet*. Strabo was struck with the Aquitaini of South-western Gaul, who, said he, "resemble the Iberi more than the Celts." The Ligurians of South-eastern Gaul and Northern Italy have been allied with the Iberians. In North Africa, among the Berbers, some of this blood remains.

The Basques are believed to be of Turanian origin, while the Celts are Aryans, like most of the Europeans, as well as Persians, Hindoos, &c. Some Turkish and Finnish tribes, with ancient races in Greece, Italy, and Assyria, have been deemed Turanian, with Tartar sympathies. The Etruscans of Tuscany were leaning to the Iberian. Mr. J. W. Jackson deemed it probable that the dark race preceding the Xanthous varieties got its colour when there was an excess of carbon in the air. But no Irishmen flourished in the Carboniferous era, and the older Melanic Caucasians were scarcely produced "under inferior telluric conditions."

But if from Spain, how did the Iberians reach Ireland? Was it in that remote age when the *Green Isle* was easier reached by land? Did they reach it by way of Britain, instead of direct from Spain, as the Irish Bards indicate?

Ireland undoubtedly had a so-called Iberian race. Isodore of Seville says so. Leland uses the word *Iberos*, when speaking of the Irish. Dr. Charnock, it is true, rather doubts the Iberian stock, though the theory is generally maintained by ethnologists, who distinguish it as non-Celtic. Mr. Huxley finds in Ireland, "the dark stock predominates in the west and south, the fair in the east and north."

For the Irish of the present day to proclaim themselves *Celts*, mainly in opposition to the supposed Saxon origin of England, is to ignore altogether a number of races, clearly not Celtic, who helped to build up the Irish nation. It is particularly unkind to ignore the earlier Iberians, since the far-famed ladies of Limerick and the distant west might trace their slightly made and delicate-looking frames, their bewitching eyes, and the rich, dark red of cheek to such an un-Celtic origin. As so considerable an amount of the same blood exists in England and Wales, this is an additional reason why the Irish should not be pitted against English and Welsh as being of so different a race.

EARLY RACES ACCORDING TO IRISH BARDS.

The ancient Irish literature is of far greater interest, perhaps, than that of Great Britain, France, Spain, or Germany.

Most nations traced their origin to the gods at first. Afterwards, when the deities rose somewhat higher than the earth, and retreated to the sacred precincts of a celestial Olympus, men were content with a fatherhood of the loftiest heroic character. Homer's grand poem furnished a Trojan parentage for several races. The Irish narrations are different. Though notices of men and events of a strictly Pagan character are not unknown, the only really definite conceptions of the chroniclers, Bards and Monks, were connected with Scriptural names and saints. This fact gives us a distinct clue to the age of the stories, which must have been after the conversion to Christianity.

We are told by Irish Bards of seven distinct invasions. The Firbolgs, Tuath de Danaans, and Milesians seem the only ones securing permanent occupation. A number of tribes may be indicated, with no special account of their history. The *Lettmanni* or *Leathmannice* are said to have given name to the Avene Liff or Liffey ; some trace the tribe to Livonia of the Baltic. The *Mantinei* might have been Teutons of Zealand. The *Veneti* were, also, in Venice. The *Damnonians* or *Domnann* are called the aborigines of Connaught, and thought to be Belgæ'. The *Galians* gave name to Ulster in Irish ; others style them *Gallenians*, and say they came from Britain under Slangy, first monarch of Ireland. But they

were not the earliest comers, being considered the third colony. The *Brigantes* formed the clan Breogan, the lord of that Spanish land from which the Milesians set out.

The Irish historians were ambitious enough to have their country very early and respectably settled. In truth, Keating modestly writes : " To give an account of the first inhabitants of Ireland, I am obliged to begin at the creation of the world." Was that necessary ? The Welshman, proud of his remote genealogy, is reported to have shown this entry somewhere down the list : " About this time Adam was born." So little is said in the Bible of events before the Deluge that the worthy romancers of Ireland may be excused commencing with Noah's epoch.

Upon the authority of St. Fintan, a convert of St. Patrick, it may be affirmed that Ireland was colonized *before* the flood. Giraldus Cambrensis, in Ireland during the twelfth century, heard the story, and duly noted it. The ' Annals of Ireland,' by James Grace, written in the reign of Henry VIII., can enlighten the reader upon the interesting fact. It is idle at this time to ask Grace for his authorities. He says :

" Cesarea, niece of Noah, aware of the coming of the Flood, sailed for Ireland, and was the first person who landed there ; she was accompanied by three men only, and she hoped that this land alone, seeing it was uninhabited and waste, would be saved from the Divine judgment which the sons of men were bringing on the rest of the world."

It is a pity that we have no further information, except that the lady protector of the three men came to Littus Navicularum, wherever that may have been. It is conjectured by some persons that this quadruple alliance was dissolved unpleasantly by the rising of the water. Giraldus, whose capacity for swallowing legends is consistent with his age of faith, ventures to express his astonishment as to how any account of that visit was communicated when all the parties perished in the flood. But we fail to see why that should be doubted any more than the miracles with which the travels of Giraldus are so profusely illustrated.

There is just another fact that must not be omitted. Fintan told St. Patrick that Bioth and Ladhra came also to Ireland before the Flood. In their case the rule was reversed, for they brought with them there fifty maidens. They all died before

the Deluge, leaving no particulars of the circumstances of their stay there.

The second attempted colony was under Parthalon, says the *Leabhar Gamhla* or *Book of Invasions*, about 1500 B.C. Another MS. gives the date 2048 B.C.; but it scarcely matters. One calls him Partholendus; but that scarcely matters. Somebody says he came with thirty ships, just three hundred years after the Deluge. He was a Greek, or a Scythian, but a descendant of Gomer. He came from Greece, and the Welsh Triads, that give him a bad character, assert that he was a pirate from Spain. He was accompanied by his wife, three sons, and their wives. The wonderful *eight* brings us to the Noah story again.

Parthalon had others beside his own family, even soldiers, affording some ground for the Welsh suspicions. He arrived at Inverskene, now in Kerry County, upon a Tuesday, the 14th day of the May moon. The narrative is quite exact in some of its particulars. He was not pleased with Kerry, and moved round to the site of Dublin, attracted by the lovely *Ben Eider*, or Hill of Howth. Here he found some giants, whom he had to reduce to order. One of these giants managed to live to the time of Patrick. At least, the huge monster was said to have been raised from his grave by the Saint, duly baptized a Christian, and then allowed to lie down in his stony bed for good without further molestation.

Parthalon never forsook Dublin Bay. After a residence of three hundred years at Howth, a terrible *thaum* or pestilence carried off the whole party. Is there not a Thaum-Lacht there? Have there not been many kists broken open there for urns of bones? The writer has seen the reputed grave of Parthalon, at a cromlech on the glorious Hill of Howth, but never ascertained how the news of the destruction was handed down, unless by the giant restored to life for a few minutes by St. Patrick.

THE NEMEDIAN IRISH.

After the death of Parthalon and company, Ireland had rest for thirty years—always excepting the giants, a proverbially quiet race. Then came the Nemedians.

These arrived from Greece, of course; that country exercised

the minds of Irish writers.   They were in thirty-four vessels, containing thirty men each.   Their leader, Nedi, or Nemhidh, was eleventh in descent from Japheth.   Other versions represent them from Scythia, from Jutland, from Germany, from Britain, &c.   Nedi or Nemeth had four sons,—Starn, Hiarbanel the Bard, Fergus Red-side, and Audinn, with his wife Macha and several nurses.   Why the nurses are mentioned is not clear.   All landed in Leinster.

Suffering from cold in the damp Irish atmosphere, a Druid, one Midhe of Meath, succeeded in making the first fire for them, says the " Book of Leinster."   Unfortunately the pestilence reached the party, possibly from the undrained land, and three thousand died on Barry's Island, near Cork.

Eventually, the Fomorian pirates drove them from Ireland, after a residence of 216 years; and the Nemedians went to Alban or Scotland, and to Thrace in Greece.   But they reappear on Irish sods as the story goes on.

<div align="center">THE FOMORIAN IRISH.</div>

The Fomorians, Fomhoraidh, or Fomhoraigh, are called African sea robbers, and are unpopular with Irish bards. Some regard them as sons of giants; the date of their arrival is put at 1000 B.C.   They have been confounded with the Phœnicians.   They must have been strong and tall, since the Giants' Causeway was their stepping-stone structure.   All that O'Flaherty said of them 200 years since was: " The Fomorians (whether they were the aborigines of Ireland or not, they were certainly very famous for their attacks on the different invaders) were not descended from Phut the son of Cham."

It is not likely they were aborigines, for the so-called giants were certainly before them.   Procopius has them Africans.   Skene, with more judgment, considers them Frisian pirates, from the German Ocean.   If so, they may have been early Sassenachs.   Some bring them from Finland.   If so, they could have been either Scandinavians, or their predecessors, the Fins proper, a race neither Celtic nor Teuton, but allied to the Basques of Spain.

Again, they were *Lochlan naibh* from North Germany, and had a fort in Ireland, on Tory Island, called Tur Conaing.

Now, *conaing* is the Saxon for *king*; another nail for their Sassenach coffin. A Fomorian king erected Fort Balar; his name being Balar Beman. One Fririn made the Aclech Fort of Londonderry. The Fomorians are usually credited with being builders of the Irish Cyclopean forts. But *Fo-mor*, in Celtic, means *under the sea*. The Irish writers called Holland, *Tir-fothuinn*, the *land under the waves*, from its being low. Hence they had *Tir-former*, the *land under the sea*, and *Fomorians*, a sea people. It is a deep mystery to find these connected with the *Cruthens* or Ulster Picts.

THE FIRBOLG IRISH.

Here we begin to find some solid ground, for the legends multiply and strengthen at this point. Still, as legends, they may be myths after all.

When the Nemedians had to retire before the Fomorians, a large party set sail under Simon Breac, of *Lia Fail* notoriety, for Thrace. There they were ill-treated, made slaves of, and condemned to carry bags of leather, called *Bolgs*, whence they got the name of *Fir-bolgs*, or *men of the bag*. Tired of that life, they sighed for the ancient Irish home; so, getting into their *bolgs*, which made capital coracles, like the ox-hide boats of the Russians when they attacked the Greek Empire, the Firbolgs passed through the Straits of Gibraltar, and returned to Erin. O'Flaherty's 'Ogygia,' of 1665, knew of their flourishing "in Connaught for a series of ages, to the reign of Cormac."

They came under the care of the five sons of Dela, and divided the island into Ulster, Connaught, Leinster, Meath, and Munster, with one brother over each. O'Flaherty says the people " of the sons of Dela came from South Britain, or present England, are called in our histories Firbolg, Fir-Domnan, and Fir-Galian;" *fir* being *men*. Though under five leaders, the five thousand Firbolgs were of two tribes— the Fir-Gallian (spearmen) or Galenians, of Leinster, and the Fir-Domhnon (deep diggers) or Fir-domnians of Connaught. Before being conquered by the Tuaths, their nine kings reigned eighty years.

Not a few authorities make the Firbolgs the true aborigines of Ireland. Ledwich says they were Belgæ, and of Teutonic

origin. Betham interprets *Fear Bolg* as *shell men*, from shell necklaces they wore. "It may, perhaps, be questioned," says he, "whether the Belgæ of the Continent and the Cymbri were the same people; but there can be no doubt they were of Northern extraction, and the Teutons were also of the same Northern race." But it is more romantic to make them Greeks. Others, as O'Kearney and O'Brien, Bishop of Cloyne, will have them Phœnicians. McFirbis, the Bard, associates them with the cannibal Attacotti, who were, also, the ancient race of Glasgow. O'Donovan, the much-valued authority, discovers Attacot, or Aithech-tuatha, as a "term applied by the old Irish writers to the enslaved descendants of the Firbolgs, and to all those who are not of the royal line of the Milesians or Scoti." An able editor of the Dublin 'University Magazine,' considers the Firbolgs as Belgæ from Gaul, and the same as the Menapii and the Cauci of Ptolemy. Captain Oliver thinks them Mongolian.

In Kerry and Connaught many of that race are said to be living. The little dark men of the western isles of Munster and Connaught have been thought children of the Firbolgs. Ulster is, also, given as a home. "The Ultonians of Ulster," says Dr. O'Donovan, "of the ancient Irish race, still consider themselves as hardier and more warlike than the natives of Munster, Connaught, or Leinster." The others, probably, have an equally good opinion of themselves.

Tradition makes them the former owners of the small-handled bronze swords occasionally turned up there. Ethnologists have called them narrow-headed, and the others round-headed. Sir William Wilde fancies they always buried at full length, and not, like others, with knees and chin together. He writes: "We will call them Celts. They had laws and social institutions, and established a monarchical government at the far-famed Hill of Tara. The Firbolgs were a small, straight-haired, swarthy race, who have left a portion of their descendants with us to this very day. A genealogist (of Galway, 200 years ago,) described them as dark-haired, talkative, guileful, strolling, unsteady." Is it possible, then, that the very excitable temperament of some Irish is not Milesian, but Firbolgian, which may be Iberian?

Professor O'Curry describes two races: "One, high-statured, golden-coloured or red-haired, fair-skinned, and blue

or gray-blue-eyed ; the other, a dark-haired, dark-eyed, pale-skinned, small, or medium-statured, little-limbed race." The latter is deemed the Firbolg by Mr. Skene. Some give them a straight nose and a very prominent larynx or Adam's Apple. The junction of Sligo, Mayo, and Galway is said to show the race more purely.

The 'Book of the Cruithne' extols the superior learning of the Firbolgs, particularly of their Druids. A specimen of the poem runs thus in a translation :

> " There remained behind of them in Ealga (Ireland)
>   With many artificers and warriors,
> Who settled in Breagh-magh,
>   Six god-like Druids.
> Necromancy and idolatry and Druidism (leaving)
>   In a fair and well-walled house,
> Plundering in ships, bright poems
>   By them were taught,
> The observance of sneezing and omens,
>   Choice of weather, lucky times,.
> The watching of the voices of the birds,
>   They practised without disguise ;
> Hills and rocks they prepared for the plough ;
>   Among their sons were no thieves."

What a thousand pities, then, that the rough Milesian Irish came to overwhelm Firbolgs and Tuaths, so clever and good !

Celt, Saxon, or Iberian, the Firbolgs were a most important part of the population of Ireland, affording no inconsiderable share of the blood of modern Irishmen.

THE TUATH-DE-DANAAN IRISH.

Of all the Irish races, the Danaans were, unquestionably, the most remarkable. They stand out pre-eminently as the intellectual people of that country. They were, above all others, the *Druids ;* by which name the Irish Bards designated men of superior intelligence, with such a knowledge of the natural laws as constituted them magicians and dealers in charms.

Fanciful definitions of Tuath-de-Danaans have been given. *Tuath* was said to be the Egyptian *Tuut,* or the *Tau* of the worshippers of Sirius. The *de* was asserted to be the river

Dee. The Danaans were, Danes with some, and Danites with others. The 'Black Book' of Christchurch, Dublin, has much about them. Nennius calls them the *Plebes Deorum.* The Tuatha were known as the *Divine Folk.* Ledwich has them Danes.

In the old traditions, they are so associated with magic and fairy tales, that one writes: "I am now satisfied that the Tuath-de-Danaans never were real people, but a fanciful set of sprites or fairies." History makes them real. When the Milesians invaded Ireland, three kings of the Tuaths, brothers, were killed in the Battle of Invercolpe, or Drogheda, says the *Leabhar Gabhala.* It is suspicious that their last recorded king, MacGrene, should bear a name meaning *Son of the Sun.*

The Tuatha were said to have fled from Athens, when the Syrians conquered Greece (?), under Nua of the silver hand, he having replaced his natural limb by an artificial one. Another tale makes Nua or Nuadd leader of Danaans from North Britain. They are said to have left four cities — Falia, Goria, Finnea, and Mura. Betham makes them Teutons; and Wilde,—Celts. Another calls them brown-haired Scots. MacFirbis, 200 years ago, thus described them : " Every one who is fair-haired, revengeful, large, and every plunderer, professors of musical and entertaining performances, who are adepts of Druidical and magical arts, they are the descendants of the Tuatha-de-Danaans." They were thought fair or sandy, and much given to freckles on the skin.

Wilde calls them " a large, fair-complexioned, and very remarkable race ; warlike, energetic, progressive, skilled in metal work, musical, poetical, acquainted with the healing art, skilled in Druidism, and believed to be adepts in necromacy and magic." He fancies they "spoke the same language as their predecessors, the Firbolgs." He notes their long, bronze, leaf-shaped swords, like Grecian. " I think," says he, " they were the builders of the great stone Cahirs, Duns, Cashels, and Cairns of Ireland ; while their predecessors constructed the earthen works, the Raths, Circles, and Forts."

It is usual to speak of the Danes as constructors of the stone forts of Ireland. These, observes Mr. G. W. Atkinson, " are the Tuatha de Danaans, whom I think must be the

highly intellectual race that imported into Ireland our Oghams, round towers, architecture, metal work, and, above all, the exquisite art which has come down to us in our wonderful illuminated Irish MSS." It is no wonder if such a race was looked upon as magical.

"Wise as the Tuatha de Danaans," is a saying, " as Mr. A. G. Geoghegan says, "that still can be heard in the highlands of Donegal, in the glens of Connaught, and on the sea-board of the south-west of Ireland." An old MS. informs us that "the purpose of the Danaans' journey was in quest of know-ledge, and to seek a proper place where they should improve in Druidism." Another writer contrasts the rude Celt with the polished Tuath.

They were cunning enough, when beset by the fleet of Milesius, to raise a fog by their enchantments, so that the stupid Milesians mistook Ireland for a huge hog's back that rose above the water. They did not take in the Firbolgs so easily in their own invasion of the country. They first landed in the north-west. Wrapping themselves in what is called a Druidical fog, they got as far as Moy-tuir, or Mugh-Tura, the plain of the tower, before the Firbolgs saw them. They then assured the Firbolg Irishmen that it was of no use trying to contend with them, as they knew too much, for they could make Tuaths slain in battle come to life again. "We defy your Druids," shouted the brave and smart Firbolgs; "for we will run sticks of rowan through the bodies, and nothing can raise them then." The rowan stick is well known to possess magical powers. "Then let it be a fair fight," quoth the Tuaths, " without any *Druoideachta*, or magic." The battle was fought on equal terms, and lost by the Firbolgs, who had to retreat into Connaught.

Who, then, were the Tuatha? Some trace them to Scandinavia. If so, they were a forestalling of Danes and Norwegians. They were also said to have been of the Nemedian race, a part of whom fled before the Fomorians to Northern Europe, when the rest went to Thrace. If so, they were Teutonized Nemedians. Others bring them from Germany, as Teutons, in opposition to the Celtic race. It is more probable that they found their way through Britain from the East. They were said to have ruled 197 years before their conquest by the Milesians.

Curious figures in kilts, with Persian crowns, are still to be seen. The writer saw such at Cashel. The dress and crown are Oriental, and the figures are imagined to represent the Tuatha. Were they Phœnician settlers? Whatever they were, they were not destroyed, though subdued, by the more rude and warlike Milesians. They remained to give some tone of intellectual taste, to keep alive some knowledge of the arts, to preserve a little primitive civilization. Credited as Druids, no one can suppose they were the race to raise huge blocks of stone for worship. They were more advanced than that.

It would be interesting indeed if we knew more reliable facts about the Danaans, and could indicate the probable extent to which they influenced the races before and after them in Old Ireland.

THE MILESIAN IRISH.

Whoever they were, Celt or no Celt, the Milesians have succeeded in being placed in the very front rank of all the Irish colonists. An Irishman is proud of being thought a Milesian. And yet the stories about that ancient race are marvellously conflicting and misty. Their identification with such characters as Pharaoh, Moses, and Jeremiah, and with such places as Egypt and the Land of Shinar, is suspiciously like an invention of merry or imaginative Irish monks of early Christian days. After the very extraordinary tales they tell in the history of their times, one ceases to wonder at any other creations of fancy.

The 'Book of Ballymote' gives the adventures of Milesius. He was intimate with Moses. One time he and a party were out upon the Red Sea, when a great storm arose, which drove them far to the eastward, beyond India. Somehow, they got on to the Caspian Sea. There they remained spell-bound thrice nine days, because of the music of the sirens or sea-nymphs. Roused from that danger of delights, they got into worse trouble as they entered the country of the *Burnt Breasts*. This was Amazonia, which has been equally placed in the Caucasian Mountains, Media, India, and America. There is no certainty about the exact locality Milesius reached.

Wandering-Jew fashion, the party went forward. Passing

Albania westward, besides Slieve Riffi from the north, they
landed in Aicia, after Alania, and here they remained a month.
A Druid was with them, but his natal region is not men-
tioned in the 'Book of Ballymote.' This Druid ordered them
to go to Erin. If they had a guide on the occasion, he was
at fault in his geography, or wished to play the party a trick.
First of all, they were at Gothiam, the Gothland of Sweden.
The navigation of the Baltic may have been puzzling, or they
preferred a land route, for we next discover them in Southern
Germania. Up again they marched, fifty-four tribes of them, (!)
over the river Rein, past Galliane to Belgicane, leaving the
port of Lugdunum, passing Galliam and Erriturriam, happily
bringing up at length in Southern Spain.

Caithear, the Druid, had all the traditional sense of his
order. When the sirens were harping, he prudently melted
some wax, and poured it into the people's ears to arrest the
seduction. Perhaps he was hunting for wax during the thrice
nine days of enchantment. But it was impertinent for Lam-
finn, son of Agnoman, somewhat bothered with the tortuous
route, to demand, "Where is Eire?" This was long, long
after the Druid had cried, "Arise, and we shall not stop until
we reach Erie." It must have damped the spirit of Lamfinn
to have this reply : "It is further off than Scythia, and it is
not ourselves that shall reach it, but our children, in three
hundred years from this day."

Men were very quiet and tractable in those days. They
had not then entered Erin. They remained in Spain. One
day, well remembered in story, for it was *Samhain* Eve, or
eve of November 1st, the *All-souls'* day of the heathen, Ith, the
son of Breogan, had a wonderful sight. He was on Breogan's
Tower, and beheld from that corner of Northern Spain the
land of Erin.

The book, '*Lowr Gavala*,' learned something more. Gade-
lius, otherwise Milesius, was an acquaintance of Aaron's. The
coming high-priest prophesied that his friend would be going
one day to a country where no noxious reptiles could live, a
decided advantage over crocodile Egypt. For some reason
not apparent, our hero goes to Shinar, of Babel reputation.
There, very discreetly and naturally, he became a teacher of
foreign languages. Establishing a university — the first on
record — he opened a school for Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and

Irish, all necessary tongues for those to acquire contemplating visits to the lands in which these were spoken, or hereafter to be spoken. He was good enough to make use of the Druidical sticks or tallies on which to make his *mark,* and framed upon these wooden tablets an alphabet and a Grammar of Irish.

There is yet another version. It was not Gadelius or Milesius that set up the Shinar University, but Fenius Far-shee, King of Scythia. There this prince with an Irish name learned at Babel all the languages of earth. His Professor Eber taught Hebrew. His accomplished son, Niul, though not interviewed by the Press of the period, had his praises so well sounded that Pharaoh invited him to be teacher in Egypt. He taught the king's daughter, Scota, so well that she became his wife. It was their son who was the genuine Gadelius, who studied Irish, whence the word *Gædhelic* was derived. It was on the occasion of that young man's visit to Aaron in the wilderness that he got bitten by a serpent. Of course, he was cured by Aaron, who informed him that hereafter he would go to Erin where no serpents could live. Gadelius subsequently went to Spain along with the grandfather of Milesius.

Again, Milesius was said to have had two sons by Scota, in Egypt, and afterwards had Ith, the discoverer of Ireland. This led to his voyaging from Corunna, in Spanish Basque Land, and getting killed by the Tuath de Danaans, who resented the intrusion of foreigners, as bad to them as Sassanach to Celt. His son, Lughaidh, led back the remnant to Spain, and the sons of his relative, Milidh or Milesius, came to avenge Ith's death, somewhere, as O'Flaherty tells us, about 2934 A.M. or 1070 B.C.

These monkish legends have been interpreted by Mr. Arthur Clive thus: "Either there was no such thing at all as the Milesian invasion, or the Milesians were Christian missionaries." This is not a bad suggestion. "The account of the alphabet, &c.," said he, "does not look like the history of a nation of warriors. On the contrary, it is clear that in this queer rambling story is contained the history of the men who brought the knowledge of letters and of the Bible into Ireland." That about Ir or Ith, son of Scota, was, he supposes, "a metaphorical way of saying that Milesius planted the monastery of Ir off the coast of Hibernia." It is certain,

according to him, that "Irish Christians were called the clans of Mileth or Milesius." Elsewhere, *Ir* is the son of Milesius, giving rise to the name *Ir-landia*.

Spain is identified with Milesius and an Irish colony. Livy speaks of a Spanish nation of Milesians. The settlers may have left near Cape Finisterre or Artabrum. Ortelius affirms that the Irish came from the Spanish province of Cantabria. Father Innes, a respectable authority, judiciously fancies that war in Spain was the cause of the emigration. "Many, without doubt," says he, "from Spain, Gaul, and Britain, betook themselves to Ireland as a release from the most iniquitous slavery."

Father Innes was very probably correct. The Milesians of Ireland were Spaniards. The *Concani* were so. If so, of what race were the Milesians?

Spain was of mixed races; but those of the north, whence the colony set forth, were, it may be presumed, not Celts, but Iberians. They were, in that case, Basques. Elsewhere, reference has been made to this interesting people, who were very different from Celts, and had no love for them. The Iberians, however, are dark; while a tradition gives credit to the Milesians for being fair. A certain old MS. declares that the light and decent people were derived from Miledh, but that the noisy, talkative, thievish folks were of Firbolg origin.

Mac Firbis, to whom the present learned are much indebted, has these words: "Every one who is white of skin, brown of hair, bold, honourable, daring, prosperous, bountiful in the bestowal of property, and who is not afraid of battle and combat, these are the descendants of Milesius in Erin." He thus gives the traditional idea of his own day. Baldwin, the American Ethnologist, suggests: "Perhaps the Milesians were the first Kelts that appeared in Ireland." This is not unlikely; and, as Celtic people were in Spain, the colony may have been forced out by the aboriginal Iberian Basques.

Spain is shown by D'Alton to be associated with Ireland; he saying: "In conformity wherewith we find similar affinities in the maps of Celtarius and Ptolemy, the Lucenses, Concani, and Antrigones in the Spain of the former geographer being met by the Luceni, Concani, and Anteri in the Ireland of the latter, and the Nannetes in Gaul by the Nagnatæ of Ireland." No information comes to our aid in Spanish tradition. But a

Mac Donnell reappears in Spain, and a Mac Mahon in Gaul. *O* and *Mac* are both Milesian for son.

Milesius is derived from Gomer, of Genesis, by some. Ware sees him come from Magog, son of Japheth. He was reputed of Scythia, and Josephus mentions that the Magogians were called Scythians by the Greeks. Ir was said to have gone to the north. The house of Ir, the Red Branch, were in Ulster, and were constantly at war with Connacht. Connaught was given by Milesius to some Belgian tribes that helped him against the Danaans, when two Spanish Druids were reported to have been slain in the war with the inhabitants of Ireland.

The Milesians are supposed to be the Scots; and O'Flaherty speaks of their coming as a Scottish invasion. "Eight sons of Golam, the Spanish soldier," says he, "with their relations and kinsmen, planted a Scots' colony of Scythian origin in Ireland." They came, in 120 ships, on Thursday, in May, 2934 A.M. Heber was the eldest of the eight, and Heremon the youngest but one.

The Psalter *Narran* has these statements : "Heremon was the first of four Scots who held the dominion of all Ireland. Of the seed of Heremon, 58 kings held the sovereignty of Ireland before Patrick." About 50 kings came after the Saint. One story is that Heber took the south and Heremon the north, 1268 B.C. ; but that, like Remus and Romulus, they had a quarrel, and one killed the other. Milesius is elsewhere called the father of Heber and Heremon. Their brother Amergin, was the first Druid of Ireland ; that is, he was a Brehon or judge.

Altogether, the Milesian narrative abounds in such manifest errors and contradictions, with Scriptural names interpolated, that there is no disentangling its thread of history, if any there be. It may have a basis of fact, in a band of emigrants from Spain, or they may have come from Britain. Approaching by ships, they were colonists, and evidently melted into the general mass of Irish. There is no possibility of distinguishing the Milesians from the main body of Irishmen there before them.

THE FENIAN IRISH.

Those who have assumed the name of *Fenians* in our times are not quite like the genuine Fenians of Erin, though these gave a world of trouble to the authorities in their own day. But some Fenian tactics were employed to get rid of them, and Ireland was no worse for their summary removal. Yet, though those not killed in fair fight were afterwards murdered in foul play, they had been long enough in the country to influence the blood of the present generation of Irishmen.

Their crimes, which provoked the vengeance of the Irish nation, were forgotten in their destruction, and the soft light of romance has been thrown around their memory. The extent of so-called Fenian literature is immense. Though conspicuous enough in the annals of Scotland, the people were glorified in Ireland. O'Kearney writes: "We find incontrovertible proofs of the existence of the Fenians in Lochlan, Britain, Scotland, and other countries."

Who, then, were they?

Vallency thinks the Finne, Fiana, or Fillfinne, were armed soldiery; and that every province had its Curaithe or Curaidhe militia, commanded by a Finn. An Irish MS. calls them military tyrants and enslavers. Some confound them with the Fomora or Fomorians; others fetch them from Finn-land. Strangely enough, the 'Book of Leccan' speaks of them as "the Fenians of the Northern Seas." The 'Book of Fermoy' gives them the kilt of the Highlander, and declares that they had great privileges, for that the Fians of Eire had their choice of women for wives. "None but the brave deserve the fair."

It is most likely that they were a sort of Mamalukes, or Bashi-Bazuks, in the pay of princes, good fighters, but not too nice as to the work they did, or the persons they attacked. They were like the Zouaves, special recruits with special favours. Useful for awhile, they were cut off, like Mamalukes and Janizaries, when they became a difficulty with their employers.

O'Kearney will not allow them to be Irish, but "a branch of those enterprising foreigners who remained in this island and elsewhere, when casualties and changes at home neces-

sarily cut off the communications of their friends." They were, like the Swiss Guards of Paris, the Varangian Guards of Constantinople, and other foreign mercenaries, ready to sell their valour in the best market, and were as truculent as the *Free Companies* of the Middle Ages.

They were decidedly superior to the Irish generally, which lends a sanction to O'Kearney's idea. They could turn a tribe sick or old, when convenient. Magic was thoroughly practised. But why some of them should become females on alternate years is not clear; we cannot pry into their domestic matters. It was, however, annoying as well as absurd for the wife of the great hero Fionn to be alive by day, but turn dead at night.

The Fenian tales and poems in Irish are, it is said, in 2594 stanzas, or 10,376 lines. The 'Pursuit of the Diarmuid' is entertaining. Diarmuid O'Duibhne ought to have been caught, for the audacious Fenian had run off with Grainne, daughter of the King of Ireland. Then there was the "Battle of Gabhra," fought in 283, and particulars of which, in a long and wearisome poem, were furnished to St. Patrick by a survivor some hundreds of years after. The Psalters of Cashel and Tara have other Fenian traditions. The 'Book of Dinnseanchus,' by the bard Amergin, about 550, makes out that Oisin, who told St. Patrick his story, was then 300 years of age. A number of the Fenian poems have been translated by Mr. O'Kearney.

From such remains, we learn that the Fenians had seven legions of 3000 each; being armed with swords, javelins, axes, slings, and bows. They had silk banners of various colours, representing animals, &c. Fionn's standard bore the resemblance of sun-beams. Each Fenian, before admission to the ranks, must give proof of being a good poet.

Irish air had the same effect upon the Fenians as upon other races in that lively country. They were always quarrelling among themselves. The Leinster Fenians, for instance, of the clans of Baoisgne, were fighting with the Fenians of Moirne. The Connacht Fenians helped Conn of the Hundred Battles against Eoghan Mor of Munster, and against the Fenians of Leinster. All Ireland got tired of the Fenians. Decent people were shocked at their irreligion; for one poet says:

> " O how sorrowful was the choice
>   The Fenians of Fionn preferred :—
>   That their hounds should be sweeter to them
>   Than to be praying to the Saints."

King Cairbre undertook to put down the nuisance, and gathered 28,000 of the best warriors. The Fenians sent to their brethren in Britain, Scotland, and elsewhere, but only secured 21,000 in all. The desperate Battle of Gabhra was fought on June 17, 283, and ended in the slaughter of 12,000 of the royal troops, but 18,000 of the Fenians. The balance of the latter were effectually and speedily hunted down, so that the race was exterminated. The site of the struggle was near that of Garristown, in Dublin County.

Though Fionn O'Baoisgne was slain in this Battle of the Boyne, his son, the poet Oisin, escaped. His adventures were detailed by him to St. Patrick, who tried his best to convert this, the last, Fenian, but utterly failed in his purpose.

Oisin declared that, as he was running away from the fight, he met a most lovely young lady, superbly dressed, who promised to save his life if he would promise to marry her. Nothing loth, like a good Fenian, she took him up on her white horse. Off the animal bounded over the sea to a city of delights. There he married the princess, and lived happily enough for three hundred years. After that time, he sighed for old Ireland, and asked his wife to allow him to go on a visit. She granted his request, gave him the magical horse, but told him on no account to get off the creature's back. Well, he bounded over the sea, and came to Erin. Going to the old Fenian haunts, he inquired about his friends. None knew them. "But they are Fenians," quoth he. "And who are the Fenians ?" said the people. The poor fellow was puzzled. At last a very aged man was brought, who remembered when a little boy hearing a very aged man tell an old story about a race of men once called the Fenians. Oisin, who had no idea he had been 300 years away, was utterly confounded. In his stupor he got off his horse. The animal at once flew off home, and the Fenian poet found himself both old and blind. In that state he met with St. Patrick.

A part of his story gives a picture of the Fenian conception of Heaven :

> " It is the most delightful country to be found,
>   Of greatest repute under the sun.
>   Trees drooping with fruit and blossom,
>   And foliage growing on the tops of boughs.
>
>   Abundant there are honey and wine,
>   And everything that eye has beheld,
>   There will not come decline on thee with lapse of time,
>   Death or decay thou wilt not see.
>
>   Thou wilt get feasts, playing, and drink,
>   Thou wilt get melodious music on the harp-strings,
>   Thou wilt get silver and gold,
>   Thou wilt get also many jewels.
>
>   Thou wilt get a hundred virgins gay and young,
>   Bright, effulgent, like the sun,
>   Of best form, shape, and appearance,
>   Whose voices are sweeter than the music of birds," &c. &c.

With such anticipations of the future, Oisin, the blind old Fenian, turned a deaf ear to the story of St. Patrick's Purgatory.

Looking at the poems for some light upon the Fenian race, we can understand Mr. J. F. Campbell's notion of burnt Sienna men, russet, orange-coloured, and fair. Thus Fionn is described as having a marble skin, rose-cheeked, blue-eyed, and with graceful locks. Oscar was a fair-skinned hero. On the other hand, Fraoch was dark, with raven hair, red cheeks, and curly hair. From the descriptions, Mr. Glennie is led to say : " I think that the Fenian traditions would appear to connect themselves with the Picts."

It is amusing to see how distinguished Irish authorities differ about the Fenians. The Rev. Dr. Drummond observes : " The era of Fionn and the Fenians is as distinctly marked on Irish history as any other event which it records." But Mr. O'Beirne Crowe, who has lately written learnedly upon Irish matters, speaks contemptuously of " fabulous Fenian militia of ancient Erin ;" daring to fly in the face of ten thousand lines of Fenian Poems, and cry out : " Such a body has never had a being in Erin."

It is quite possible that some persons might regret the modern resuscitation of the Fenians, and wish they could believe no such body had ever a being either in Erin or in Clerkenwell.

THE PHŒNICIAN IRISH.

The connection of Carthaginian Phœnicians, if not of those from Tyre and Sidon, with Ireland is well-established. It is not the object of this work to allude to that most interesting subject, the religion of Pagan Irish, or fresh evidence could be presented of these visits of Oriental shipmen.

Sir William Betham affirms a Phœnician Irish colony, particularly from the affinity of Hiberno-Celtic and Phœnician languages. Thus we have in Punic, *Gan ebel Bal-sameni ar a san*, and in Irish *Guna bil Bal-samen ar a son*, for *O may the good Bal-samhen (Baal) favour thee!* Bochart says: "This name Hibernia appears to be a Phœnician word, for Hibernia, by some called Iërna, &c., is the same thing as Ibernæ, or, the remotest habitation." Avienus, of the fourth century, quotes the Carthaginian voyager Hamilco in the words, "called Ierne by the Ancients." Welsford, the philologist, asks: "Is it not more than probable that the same Phœnician or Celt-Iberian race who had named Cyprus *Yarna* (woody) colonized Ireland, and named it Ierne for the same reason, namely, its superfluity of wood?"

Irish traditions run to Spain as the great source of Irish ancestry. Spain, of old, was for centuries a colony of the Phœnicians, having one settlement at Gades, now Cadiz. If, then, the Milesians were from this peninsula, they would have more or less Phœnician blood. Relics of a generally supposed Phœnician character have, in gold and bronze, often turned up in Ireland. Certainly the bronze swords of the Dublin Museum are just like those recovered from the field of Cannæ, where Hannibal, the Carthaginian, defeated the Romans. Ring money, like that of the Irish, has been found in the ruins of Carthage.

The Phœnicians came to Ireland for pearls, gold, tin, and copper. Sir Hans Sloane believes that the celebrated Tyrian purple dye, from shell-fish, was a recognized tradition of Ireland up to William of Orange's day. The Irish - Jewish

colonists, mentioned by Postelius, were most likely another Semitic race, the Phœnicians. They were a great and enterprising people, not unworthy to aid in the creation of the modern Irishman.

THE CELTIC IRISH.

Space will not permit a full discussion upon the origin of the Celt himself. He has been shown to have an extensive and honourable relationship ; for his kindred have been found in Chaldæa, Troy, Greece, and Italy. Ireland has been deemed Celtic, and England Saxon. But it has been thought that the Celts in England are more numerous, in proportion, than even in Ireland.

The Bards traced the Celts to Gomer, son of Japheth. Bishop Percy of Dromore makes all Irish and Britons to be Celts. Betham sees no affinity between Welsh and Irish, and calls the Cimbri non-Celtic. Vallency will not have the Irish Celts at all. Dr. O'Brennan regards the Celts of Scotland and France as of "the same race as the Celts of Ireland." Others will not have Irishmen Celts, as so many of them have small and often turned-up noses, while Gauls had such powerful organs. The low noses, so prevalent in the Sister Isle, mark a Mongolian proclivity, say others, like unto the Tartar ; the thick lips are not less the evidence of a less respectable ancestry than Celtic.

Dr. Pritchard, the ethnologist, perceives a connection with ancient Italy, saying : "It is remarkable that it is with the Irish dialect of the Celtic that the barbarous part of the Latin coincides. The Celtic people, therefore, who inhabited Italy in early times were akin to the Irish Celts, and not to the Britons or Celtic Gauls." Aneurin, the Welsh Bard, put the race *Cynt* before Gwiddel and Phrydin ; the Cynt or Cynet, the first of the Celtic families, has been thought Irish. Herodotus says the Celts, next to the Kynetæ, were the most western population of Europe.

The *Gaidal* or *Gwydhil* may be put as the ancient Celt. Welsford fancies the word *Celtix* a contraction from the Greek *Galatæ*, or *milk people*. Others refer it to Celtus, son of Hercules. Keary regards the Celts as the oldest Aryans of Europe. The Cimmerians or Kimmerii of Homer came

from the cold north. Mr. Howorth looks on a large number
of the so-called German tribes of Cæsar as Celtic, and Holtz-
mann is of the same mind. The Titans, who warred with the
gods, have been included among the Celts.

Roget de Belloguet distinguished the Celt as blonde, tall,
longheaded, of a lymphatic temperament, and quite different
from the Iberian, with dark eyes and hair, having a dry and
nervous temperament. Some think it quite a mistake to
ascribe the Irishman's vivacity to his Celtic ancestors rather
than to the Iberian. It is a fact that the Celtic French—the
Bretons—are rather heavy than smart, enduring more than
resenting, conservative, and not revolutionary. On the con-
trary, that part of France which is least Celtic, as the south,
produces the fiery spirits of party tumults.

A war of races is only inferior in destructiveness to a war
of creeds. It has been a great misfortune for race-questions
to get mixed up with politics, often to the dividing of people
under the same government. Ignorance has ever been the
nurse of bigotry. In no instance has that been more verified
than in Ireland.

There two parties assume to be Celt and Saxon, without
foundation in fact. The English Saxon is pitted against the
Irish Celt. Writers, not less than interested orators, have
widened the breach by senseless and bitter sarcasms. "What
the lion is to the ass," quoth Pinkerton, "the Goth is to the
Celt." That Englishman little thought he was maligning his
own country people, the majority of whom are Celt, at the
expense of the Irish, who, with their admixture of Dane,
Norwegian, Lowland Scot, and Eastern English, leave alone
early races, are in all probability *less* Celtic than the English.

Unhappily, the leaders who knew better kept up this
antagonism for party purposes. The Irish, from ancient
tribal usage, are very susceptible to an attack upon a neigh-
bour. The name *Sassenach* has stuck, and is maintained, to
the loss of common brotherhood and Christian sympathy.
Dr. Johnson exhorted: "Sir, first clear your mind of cant."
Until that be done, a fair way of looking at the question can-
not be expected. But then we should learn that, as Huxley
puts it :

"THE ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE
ANGLO-SAXONS AND CELTS ARE A MERE SHAM AND DELUSION."

PICTS AND SCOTS.

As Scotland had its Picts and Scots, so had Ireland. In constituent elements of population the two countries have many points of agreement. Both have Celt and Saxon.

The Irish Picts are generally known by the name of the *Cruthens, Cruithné,* or *Cruithnigh.* The Bards place them in the north and north-east, opposite to Scotland, from which country they are said to have come, repaying Ireland for sending the Scots to Scotland. The legend of the ' Acts of St. Cadroë' speaks of the Picts of Dalaradia in Ulster and in Galloway. The story of the ' Descent of the Dalaraidhe' associates these with the Picts of Albin, or Scotland, and calls them the *Cruithnigh* or *painted men,* the same meaning as is attached to the word *Pict.*

Some Irish authors resent the imputation of deriving any folks from Scotland, though proud of giving that land their race of kings. They bring the Cruithné from Wales. Others have them from the English part of the old Strathclyde, which comprehended all from the Clyde down to Lancashire on that western side. But the Strathclyde inhabitants were Cymric Britons and Celts. The best Scottish writers incline to regard their own Picts as the true Caledonians and Cymric Celts. Columba, dwelling among Scottish Celts —that is, the Irish—was said to require an interpreter when he preached to the Picts of Albin. Yet there may have been but two dialects of the same tongue. Picts are mentioned as people on Tara Hill. The Danes ended the Pictish or Cruithné kingdom in Ireland.

The Irish Picts have been called Fenians. Mr. Glennie finds traditions put them together. " The Feinne," says he, " belonged to the Cruithné or Picts, and that they were the Gaelic race who came to Ireland by way of Scotland from the north." Others recognize them in the *Comgalls,* and in the Norwegian Fingalls. The Fomorians are mysteriously associated with the Cruithné, who are reported to have been the race erecting the megalithic monuments of Ireland.

The ' Book of Leinster' and other MSS. have romantic tales of their being from Greece, or the never-to-be-forgotten Thrace of the Irish. Then they were said to have had nine

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ships. But they came somehow through Gaul, being driven
out by King Eireamon. One says they looked in at Wexford
in their distress, and were relieved by the hospitable inhabit-
ants. In their generosity these sent a number of women on
board to be wives for the strangers, who joyfully set sail for
some place in Ulster.

Other MSS. confound them with the Nemedians, who
were driven from Ireland by the Fomorians. The Cruithné
were declared to be real Irishmen, forced from home by an
inroad of African pirates, and so taking their way to Thrace,
by modern Turkish Roumelia, the ancestral home of quite a
number of the Irish tribes. It was a party of these who,
returning from Greece, were so well treated at Wexford.
But one writer fetches them, through Europe, all the way
from Armenia.

The Scots are the Irish proper, as understood by the
ancients. Their home, native or colonial, was in Ireland,
called then *Scotia*, though that appellation got carried over
the Straits, to be applied to Caledonia or Albin.

Cæsar is represented as saying, that Erin "is inhabited by
the nations of the Scots." Orosius, of Spain, in the 5th
century wrote : " Ireland, inhabited by the nation of the
Scots." Gildas, the historian of the 6th century, calls the
land *Scotia*. That name was used for Ireland in the 12th,
13th, 14th, and even in the 15th century. Prideaux affirms
that " the Scots of the Roman authority were no other than
the Irish." The Scots, of whose cruel devastation of Britain
Gildas has so affecting a tale, were Irish. They were the
Scuits from Scythia. The ' Acts of St. Cadroë' brings them
from Greece to Cloin on the Shannon, and then to Kildare
and Cork. They were fair, yellow-haired, long-faced hunters.
O'Conor says, the Senachies always distinguished other Irish
races from the Scots or Gaidhels, called after Gaodhal, born
in Egypt. The learned Bishop of Dromore thinks Scots and
Gaidhels of a common stock.

Those who regard the Milesians as the principal race of the
Irish, and find the word *Scot* given to Irishmen in general,
assert that the Milesians were Scots. Edward Lhuyd and
others will have the Scots or Gaidhels first pass through
Britain. Most writers consider the Scots to be the Celtic race.

The most energetic, they at least gave their name to the whole of Ireland 2000 years ago.

Adamnamus, the successor of Columba at Iona, always speaks of the Irish as *Scots*. Probus, 7th century, has "Ireland, the country of the Scots." Eginhart, the Chancellor of Charlemagne, tells of "Ireland, the island of the Scots." The great St. Bernard uses that phrase. Henry of Huntingdon, later still, says that "Ireland is properly the country of the Scots."

The name of *Scot* has altogether gone from Irish soil to the more northern "land of the mountain and the flood." This furnishes no bad illustration of popular ethnology. A *Scot* is now used only to apply to any person north of the Tweed. Few ordinary folks would dream of the appellation belonging originally to an Irishman only.

Dalriada was a name applied alike to the south-west of Scotland and the north-east of Ireland. The people were Gaeidhil, the Welsh Gwyddil. Those who distinguish Picts and Scots believe the latter displaced the former. Gildas places them together as plagues to the Britons: " Foul droves of Scots and Picts;" adding: "They came up out of their curragh, just like odious regiments of reptiles, from the deep caverns of their earth-holes." Boethius said: "They are called *Gaideli*, and also called Scoti." They waited for the departure of the Romans to begin their forays. Egesippus once said: " Scotia, which links itself to no land, trembles at their (Romans) name."

Sir William Betham, who thought the first Irish were from the North, says: " The Irish ever called themselves Gael, and an individual man Gaelach, which last Cæsar Romanized into *Celtæ* or *Keltæ*." Ware asserts that "Ireland all along retained the absolute title to the name Scotia, until the extinction of the Pictish government in Britain." One of the earliest mentionings of Scotia out of Ireland is by an Arab geographer of 1150, and he applies it to Albany of Scotland. Colonel Gawler regards the name *Scot* as synonymous with *wanderer*. As to the source, C. M. Kennedy observes: "That the Irish Gael came originally from Spain is a fact substantiated by history as well as by tradition."

The exaggerated type of Gaelie in Connaught is thus noted by Mr. D. Mackintosh: " Head elongated backwards, large

perceptive faculties, projecting ears, oblique eyebrows, low nose, in most sub-varieties turned up at the point, great distance between the nose and month, projecting month and jaws, retreating chin; in some of the Irish sub-varieties, no chin." A Fenian writer speaks of an Irish hero as "fairest of the heroes of the earth, larger and taller than any man; bluer than ice his eye, redder than the fresh rowan-berries his lips, whiter than showers of pearl his teeth, fairer than the snow of one night his skin."

ANCIENT NAMES OF IRELAND.

Homer, some 3000 years since, wrote that "Far off within the sea, the Isle Ogygia lay." O'Flaherty called his history of Ireland, 'Ogygia,' believing the Homeric Isle to be Ireland. Plutarch says Ogygia, where Saturn was enchanted, was five days' sail west of Britain. The Irish mail does not take so long now to pass over; but some Irish saints who went to Christianize the Cornish folks were seven days on the passage in some boat of the period.

The Carthagenians, of the energetic Phœnician race, are said to have gone there, and their voyager Hamilco is quoted by Avienus as saying : " From the Scillies to the island called *Sacred* by the ancients is a distance of two days' sail." One says it was *Ierne* from the days of Orpheus. Onomacritus, 500 B.C., is supposed to refer to the country, in his 'Argonautics,' being seen by Iernis. Diodorus Siculus calls it *Iris ;* Strabo, *Ierne ;* Juvenal, *Juberna* or *Juverna ;* Aristotle, *Ierne ;* Pliny, *Britain ;* Stephanus Byzantius, *British Juvernia ;* Orpheus, *Iernis ;* Gildas, *Scotia ;* Solinus, *Juerna ;* Claudian, *Jerna ;* Eustatius, *Verna ;* Abridger, *Ierna ;* Ptolemy, *Little Britain.*

The Irish Bards inclined to the word *Erin*. The 'Book of Armagh' talks of the grave of Ir, son of Milesius, whence *Irlandia*, land of Ir. It is *Ir*, or *Eri*, the Irish *green land*. The Welsh word for *green spot* was *Ewerddon ;* with no double *d* in Irish this became *Eweron*, and so *Erin*. The Arab geographer, of 1150, has it *Irlanda ;* an Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *Yr-land ;* an Icelandic poem, *Irland ;* a writer of 1105, *Iros*. The three Tuath de Danaan Queens—*Eire*, *Fodhla*, and *Bauba*—gave names to their country. It was

Iberia, from Heber, son of Milesius, of the Milesian colonists. It was *Scotia*, from Scota, the Egyptian princess, married to the Irish immigrant Milesian ; *Herberdien*, from Heber ; *Arthuri Regio*, from the kingdom of Arthur ; the *Isle of Swine*, from its multitude of pigs in olden time, or from the hog's-back-shape into which the Tuaths conjured it.   Pre-eminently was it *Insula Santorum*, or *Island of Saints ;* and *Inis Fail*, the island of the *Lia Fail*, or Stone of Destiny.

Ptolemy, the Greco-Egyptian geographer of Egypt, about 150, has Latinized names of Irish localities. He places the Venicnii and Robogdii to the north-west ; the Darnii, north ; the Voluntii, north-east ; the Erdini, central ; the Nagnati and Gangani, west ; the Luceni, Velabri, and Uterini, south-west ; the Vodii and Brigantes, south ; the Cauci and Menapii, south-east. Among the towns, he has Eblanæ (Dublin) ; Nagnata, in the west ; but Rigia-Laberus and Rheba, central. O'Flaherty, in Charles the First's time, made merry with that story, observing : "The tribes and septs which have been summed up by Ptolemy are as foreign to us in sound as the savage nations of America."

Pytheas of Massilia wrote an account of *Thule*, the furthest land, being six days' voyage from Britain, and he stated that Ireland was west of Britain. Strabo, the Roman geographer, some 400 years after, derided the ignorance or untruthfulness of the other. He knew that the furthest land to the north of Gaul was Ireland ; " which," said he, " being situated beyond Britain (*northward*) is by reason of the cold with difficulty inhabited, so that all beyond it is reckoned uninhabitable."

Ireland was the Hyperborean isle of the period. As *Brittia*, it was known to stretch to the north, and was associated, by Procopius, with ghosts, serpents, and death. It was the *Land of Souls*, usually placed in an island westward, and believed by the old Irish to be west of themselves. Claudian wrote : " At the extreme coast of Gaul is a spot protected from the tides of ocean, where Odysseus by bloodshed allured forth the silent folk. There are heard wailing cries, and the light fluttering around of the shadows. And the natives there see pale, statue-like figures and dead corpses wandering." Did the Roman poet hear of the Irish Banshee ? Yet Tacitus speaks as if it were no ghost region, saying :

"Its ports are better known for trade, and more frequented by merchants, than those of Britain."

Associated very early with Sun-worship, no less than Serpent-worship, some think the island was the *Surya-dwipa*, or *Land of the Sun*, in Hindoo mythology. The Sanscrit *Hiranya* and *Suvarneya* have been identified with Ierne, Erin, and Juvernia. The learned Mr. Hyde Clarke also looks eastward for the origin of the Irish names. The *Senus* may be the *Sinnus* of Italy, the Arsinos of Greece, the Sonus of India. He perceives a connection with the Accadian primitive people of Babylonia.

In Mrs. Wilkes' ' Ur of the Chaldees ' may be read what can be said on behalf of Ireland's being the land from which Abraham came. The Shinar of Bardic stories is thus placed in Europe. Certainly, Tara is like the name of Abraham's father, and Padan-aram may, possibly, have become St. Padan's well. Laban, like Ireland, is connected with the harp. In both Irish and Hebrew, *Ur* means *fire*. The Teraphim, referred by the Koran to Terah, may have been like a Buddhist relic. The trees of the Jacob narrative belong more to Ireland than Syria, and the peeled rods are suggestive of Druidical learning. *Iberia* may have to do with Heber of the Irish legends, or the father of the Hebrews. Still, if Ireland were the Ur of the Chaldees, the travelling to and fro between it and Canaan must have been rather wearisome, even with camels. Though we may see camels kneeling to drink upon the Irish stone cross, it does not quite prove the love-story of Rebekah to have been an Irish transaction. But the book has some singular coincidences in it.

We come upon firm ground in calling Ireland *Scotia*, the ancestral name of the Scots of Scotland. A few authorities may be cited.

Claudian sang : "And cold Ierna mourned her Scottish slain." Hegesippus wrote : " And them hath Scotia troubled, Scotia, unconnected with any other land ; " and Ethicus : " Ireland is inhabited by the Scottish people." Jerome thus alludes to an opponent : " He was a Briton, overfed with Scottish meal, and was descended of the Scottish nation, which dwelleth in the neighbourhood of Britain." The first Bishop of Tully was called a Scot, yet known as an Irish-

man, by Adsonius. Orosius, fifth century, has this description of Ireland: "This island is nigher unto Britain, and smaller in size, but being more favourable in climate and soil, is inhabited by the Scottish people." Cogitosus, sixth century, notes a monastery as "the head of the Irish Churches, and governing all the Scottish monasteries."

The Hibernia of the Romans and Erin of the Bards are still the poetical names; but the orthodox appellation of Scotia, so common for ages, has yielded to that of Ireland.

TARA AND DUBLIN PAST.

These two places are near, and closely associated in Irish story. Tara claims the place of honour. As Luith-druim, or Tara, it was the special seat of ancient Irish royalty. We are assured by Irish monkish chroniclers that in the exact year 921 before Christ a great national assembly was held there. The *Feis*, or triennial parliament, assembled there. Three schools were established by King Cormac there. The house of Ollamh the learned was there. It was the *Tea-mur*, or home of Queen Tea, cousin of Milesius of the Milesian colony, and wife of King Heremon, the founder of the Milesian Irish kingdom.

Deserted by sovereignty, because the curse of St. Ruadhan was pronounced against it, Tara Hill has become a desolation. The old scene of festivity and song has been silent since the year 565. Well, then, might the poet lament:

> "The harp that once through Tara's halls
>   The soul of music shed;
> Now hangs as mute on Tara's walls
>   As if that soul were fled.
> So sleeps the pride of former days;
>   So glory's thrill is o'er;
> And hearts that once beat high for praise,
>   Now feel that pulse no more."

Still, so little interest have the Irish felt in the old place, the monumental remains have been suffered to go to decay, and not an effort made to rescue any from destruction. To Dr. Petrie, the antiquary, belongs the honour of directing attention to the sites of olden glory. But though he did this

nearly fifty years ago, no one has cared to carry out senti-
mental feeling into a practical regard for the relics of an Irish
past at Tara, the Temhuir, Temhor, or Temor. Some *English*
gentlemen lately proposed to save the place from further
desecration, at least. They desire also to dig beneath the
ruins for the discovery of supposed sacred objects, brought
from the temple of Jerusalem by Jeremiah, when he accom-
panied, as it is said, the Milesian party from Egypt to settle
Ireland. It would be a grand *find* to light upon the ark of
the covenant, David's harp, and a lot of other curiosities
which are supposed to be buried at Tara. But for further
light on that story the reader is referred to the subject of the
Lia Fail, or *Stone of Destiny.*

Among the remains some may be mentioned. There is the
Rath Riogh, the Rath of Laoghaire (royal convert of St.
Patrick's), the Mound of the Hostages, the sepulchre of the
three Druids, the house of Cormac, the Forradh-rath, Cormac's
kitchen, the tombs of Cu and Celhan, the Rath of the
Synods, the Banqueting Hall, the Mound of the Heroines, the
Mound of the Cows, the Slope of the Chariots, &c. A little
imagination is required by the visitor when in search of these
Tara Halls.

The Rath Riogh consists of two mounds and a ditch, in a
space 853 feet by 775. It has been called the high seat of
royalty among both Firbolgs and Danaans. A church, not
far from the spot, may contain some of the original stones of
the building ; though it is admitted the Raths, in general,
were of wood and clay materials. The Forragh is said to
have had two outer circles, and is of chief interest from having
there the supposed Stone of Destiny, or Fatal Stone, which
some supposed removed to Westminster Abbey from Scot-
land, though originally from Ireland, but which Dr. Petrie
discovers in an upright stone, 12 feet high, set over the
grave of some killed in the rebellion of 1798. " The Tara
monuments," says Petrie, " are all nearly contemporaneous,
and belong to the third century of the Christian era." Tara,
therefore, has not a remote antiquity, as Bards have declared.

DUBLIN, so near Tara, has remarkable interest in connection
with the different races colonizing Ireland.

Its old name, *Eblana*, has been said to have come from the
Teutonic *Eb-land*, or sea at ebb-tide. The *Saxo Grammaticus*

of the 12th century calls it *Duflynum*. But its primitive
Irish appellation was *Baileacleath*, or *Bally Ath Cliath*, the
town of hurdles, or town on the ford of hurdles. Curious
names were given to settlements : as Lummach or Luimneach,
for Limerick, meaning the *place eaten bare by horses;* and
Waterford was Portlargi, or *port of the thigh.*

But there was a reason for Dublin being called Bally Ath
Cliath, or town (bally) on the ford (ath) of hurdles (cliath).
Camden writes : " The Irish call it the town on the Ford of
Hurdles, for so they think the foundation lies, the ground
being soft and quaggy." So said Stanihurst, in 1570, Speed,
and Sir William Ware. Vallency thought the word related
to weirs of hurdles. Halliday tells us that the name was
Ath Cliath, before the 5th century, because the houses were
of clay plaster, over frames of wickerwork. The old MS. of
Dinn Senachus declares it derived from the Ath Cliath, or
ford of hurdles near.

To lend some sanction to this idea of its foundation, some
have shown that in parts of Dublin, at a depth of from 8
to 10 feet, remains of branches and leaves of trees may be
seen. At Fishamble Street, a dozen feet below, a framework
was discovered, resting upon piles 4 or 5 feet high. Be-
neath Castle Street not only trunks of trees, but mud con-
taining shells, have been known.

In Harris's ' History of Dublin,' one reads of Drom Choll
Coill, or the Brow of the Hazel Wood. It is not a little odd
that among the decayed leaves below Dublin a large quantity
of hazel nuts have been turned out. Still, to account for the
word *ford*, we learn that a certain King Mesgedhra made a
ford across the Liffey, to the site of Dublin, in order to
convey sheep and cattle in safety to his castle, Dun Edair or
Howth. The oldest MSS. assure us that in remote times
there were five great roads leading to Howth, and that one of
these crossed the Liffey where Dublin now is. The Hill of
Howth, one of the most picturesque places near Dublin, was
the seat of very early colonization, the centre of Druidical
learning, the sacred spot of all Ireland.

The Liffey was formerly very shallow, and an artificial ford
on hurdles appears to have been formed. It is probable that
there was a sort of hurdle bridge, resting at intervals on big
stones dropped in the stream. Hence the *Droichiad cluthe,*

or bridge of hurdles.   There was a bridge of the Ostmen or
Danes, and a bridge of Ath Cliath, about the year 1000.
Causeways of hurdles, known as Tochars, existed in other
parts as well as near Dublin.   John is said to have built the
first stone bridge in 1215; but an early charter, 1200, refers
to a stone gate near the bridge.   Howth and Tara gave way
for Dublin.

THE LIA FAIL, OR STONE OF DESTINY.

There is a wonderful Irish story about a stone on which
the ancient kings of Munster were crowned, after a primitive
but not uncommon fashion.   If any sat thereon with no blood-
right to the throne, it gave no sign; but when the true heir
pressed it, a miraculous sound of approval was uttered.   In
the 'Ogygia' of that worthy but too credulous old writer,
O'Flaherty, we read: "Since the incarnation of our blessed
Lord it has produced no such sounds."   We are not informed
what connection lay between the Babe of Bethlehem and the
Lia Fail.

The reputed travelling adventures of this stone constitute a
greater marvel than its speaking powers.   It was the stone
set up by Jacob for his pillow.   He or somebody else took
the trouble, some hundred years after, to hunt it up, and
carry it to Egypt.   When the Irish Milesian colonists left
that land with Pharaoh's daughter, it came along to Ireland.
Some one ages after took it to Scotland.   It was St. Columba's
pillow.   It was the Scottish coronation stone.   It was stolen
from Scone by Edward I.   It is now known as the coronation
stone of Westminster Abbey.

All this, and more, was honestly believed by historians
and readers till lately.   Now, several accounts are given that
throw more than a shade of doubt over the romance.   Mr.
James Mason is prepared to prove that the canny Scots
substituted a rough building-stone for the genuine article,
when ordered to send it to London.   But Dr. Petrie, the
learned and excellent Irish antiquary, is convinced that the
real stone never went to Scone at all, but that the *Lia Fail*
is still in Ireland, standing on the site of Tara's Halls.

How puzzling it is for simple folks to know what to believe
in this day of conflicting authorities!

What say the old Irish chroniclers, those lovers of the marvellous, who never threw overboard a good story, but were ready to add a *fact*, and then pass the story on?

One Irish poet of old spoke thus of it :

> " From this stone, which is under my two heels,
>   The Island of Fail (Ireland) is named."

The 'Book of Howth' refers to its voice like thunder. The MS. *Leabhar Gabhala*, supposed of the date 1100, mentions that it was brought to Ireland by the Tuath de Danaans from the city Falia, which gave rise to *Lia Fail*. We learn on like authority two versions of the story. One is that Simon Brec brought it from Spain ; the other that Pharoah's daughter Scota conveyed it to Erin at the time of Moses. An Irish poet, Cuan O'Cochlain, about 1024, laments the death of Tephi, daughter of Zedekiah, the Jewish king, who came with Jeremiah and the stone to Ireland, and who afterwards married Eochaid, Irish King of Ulster. She, too, regarded it as Jacob's Pillow.

A deal of sentiment has been expended on the said coronation stone of Westminster, founded on the Jacob's Pillow theory. Mr. E. Hine, who believes that " God has irrevocably established this stone to be a witness to his covenants in the future," considers that the Irish tale about Simon Brec refers to Baruch, who accompanied Jeremiah to the site of Dublin. As the chronicler declared, the prophet arrived there with a "goodly store," that must imply some precious articles. "It is *known*," says Mr. Hine, " that Jacob's stone formed part of the 'goodly store,' and there is good reason for believing that it also included the ark of the covenant, the earthen vessel with its title-deeds, the holy oil, David's spear and harp, the breastplate, and the Urim and Thummim ; and that all these things, with the *exception of Jacob's stone*, are deposited at the present time in the Mergech of Tara, in the county of Meath, Ireland."

That gentleman further says : " We insist that so ancient a legend is to be respected." There has ever been a vast deal too much respect for legends because of their antiquity.

But what a terrible hash of the legend is made by the discovery that the Westminster Abbey stone, almost adored by some for its hallowed association, is a delusion and a

sham, for that the *Lia Fail* was never sent out of Erin at all
to be St Columba's pillow, the throne-stone of Scone, the seat
on which James I. was duly anointed King of England!

Wright's ' History of Ireland' states that "The Tuatha de
Danaans brought with them from Scandinavia, among other
extraordinary things, those marvellous treasures, the *Lia Fail*,
the sorcerer's spear, and the magic cauldron, all celebrated in
the old Irish romances." Then he says : " It was preserved at
Cashel, where the Kings of Munster were crowned upon it.
According to some writers, it was afterwards kept at the Hill
of Tara. It seems to be the opinion of some modern anti-
quaries that a pillar-stone, still remaining on the Hill of Tara,
is the true Lia Fail."

Tradition has it that it was deposited in the Great Mergach
of Tara. In some Tara notes of the Ordnance Survey, the
following passage occurs : " The most important monument is
that called the Tea-Mur. Of this there is now no vestige ;
but its situation is pointed out at a little hill which lies
between the two Murs, to the south of the Rath Riogh ; and
the poem of Kineth O'Hartigen indicates that it was 60
feet in extent, and containing within it the sepulchre of the
Milesian Queen Tea." Boece, upon as good an authority,
declares that Gathelus, the son of the Athenian Cecrops,
having married Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, brought it to
Tara.

All history *had* assured us that the said stone was lent to
an Irish prince who had emigrated from Irish Scotia to what
is now called Scotland, in order to give validity to his corona-
tion, but that he forgot to return it, and so it eventually got
to Scone. That transference was supposed to have been in
the 6th century. But an Irish writer of the 11th century
distinctly notices it as being then at Tara. It could hardly
have been a case of two relic heads of the same person,
because of the great difference between a stone used as a seat
and one that is a pillar 12 feet high.

Dr. Petrie, who provoked this want of harmony, has much
to answer for. But exactly forty years ago, in a most learned
Essay, for the Irish Royal Academy, he affirmed that it may
still be seen at Tara, near Dublin, standing as a monument
over some rebels slain at Tara in 1798, having been removed
for that purpose from where it had long been lying. It was

by the Mound of Hostages, and was taken thence to the Forradh Rath.

Here are his reasons for the assumption. "The mound," says he, "is still popularly called *Bod Fhearghais*; that is, *Penis Fergusii*, an appellation derived from the form of this stone." It is six feet out of ground, and six below the surface, rounded at the top. The form of it is exactly like the *Linga* stones worshipped in India, and which are anointed in religious service, as Jacob is stated to have anointed his stone. The Irish Pagans, doubtless, reverenced such a standing stone, a type of generative and creative force, as almost all other nations have done; and it is just possible the Tara one was a Lingum one.

Certain MSS. are believed, according to Dr. Petrie, to "identify the *Lia Fail* with the stone on the Mound of Hostages" at Tara. Cuan O'Lochain wrote:

> "The Rath of the Synods of great Powers—
> To the north of the *Fal* of Temor,
> East of the Rath at the side of *the Stones*,
> Is the house from which Benen escaped."

Again we read: "Fal lies by the side of Dumha na-n-Giall to the north; *i. e.* the stone that roared under the feet of each king who took possession of the throne of Ireland." Yet it seems scarcely likely that a 12 feet long pillar would thus roar beneath the feet of royalty. Mr. E. Hudson writes: "The account given by our Bardic histories of the *Lia Fail* would lead one to believe that it was a small flat stone, such as the one now under the coronation chair in Westminster Abbey."

It is quite natural, however, that Irish antiquaries should sympathize with a view which gives Ireland possession of an object so celebrated in tradition. "It is an interesting fact," says Dr. Petrie, "that a large obeliscal pillar-stone, in a prostrate position, occupied, till a recent period, the very situation on the Hill of Tara pointed out as the place of the *Lia Fail* by the Irish writers of the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries; and that this was a monument of pagan antiquity, an *idol stone*, as the Irish writers call it, seems evident from its form and character."

After all, it may be asked, Why do not the friends of Irish

history remove the stone to a suitable place, where it would
be cared for, if they believed it the *Lia Fail?* Toland may
be right in calling it "the ancientest respected monument in
the world."

Mrs. Wilkes, in her remarkable work, 'Ireland, the Ur of
the Chaldees,' has some objection to the literal story. She
does not believe in the flesh and blood Simon Brec. Simon
is, to her, *Samen*, which "in Irish mythology signified the
Divinity who presided at the judgment of departed souls."
Simon Brec, or Brek, is nothing beyond a bit of Sun-worship;
for *samen* is *sun*, and *brack* is *speckled*.

How much more romantic is it to mix up Jeremiah with
the Milesians, and Jerusalem with Tara! One may almost
envy a devoted clergyman of the Church of England, the
Rev. Mr. Glover, in his solid satisfaction when contemplating
the *Lia Fail*, and saying: "The Foundation Pillar which
the Jews regarded for six hundred years with veneration, as
Jacob's Pillow, in their temple on Araunah's threshing-floor;
and which, being lost in the destruction of their sanctuary,
B.C. 588, has appeared in Ireland as the precious *Liag Phail*,
brought thither by Hebrew men in a ship of Dan, *cir.* 584."

But, as the Irish story so utterly conflicts with the Scottish
one, and one thing cannot be the other or both, what can
folks decide? Is the *Lia Fail* at Westminster or Tara?
Have the English or Irish got it? Was either ever a pillow
to Jacob or Columba? Why do existing Jews know nothing
of it by tradition or in records? Is it simply a creation of
heated Celtic imagination in Ireland and Scotland?

Dr. Skene thus settles the controversy: "There was no
connection between the stone of Scone and the Lia Fail at
Tara, and the legends of their wanderings, like those of the
tribes with which they are associated, are nothing but myth
and fable. It was the custom of Celtic tribes to inaugurate
their kings upon a sacred stone, supposed to symbolize the
monarchy. The Irish kings were inaugurated on the *Lia
Fail*, which never was anywhere but at Tara, the *sedes
principalis* of Ireland; and the kings of Scotland, first of the
Pictish monarchy, and afterwards of the Scottish kingdom
which succeeded it, were inaugurated on this stone, which
never was anywhere but at Scone, the *sedes principalis* both
of the Pictish and the Scottish kingdoms."

THE IRISH ROUND TOWERS.

This tempting subject must be briefly dismissed, as the only material question for present discussion is as to the *race* that erected the towers.

They are of stone, and mostly of one size, about 16 feet diameter at the base. The height of those still perfect ranges up to 130 feet. One peculiarity is the doorway being a dozen feet or more above the ground. There are light openings on the sides, and often four windows, with shutters, at the top, facing the four cardinal points. Many of them have five or six stories. The stone-work is admirably executed.

When were they erected, and for what purpose?

As no one knew, every one was at liberty to indulge a theory about them. Some thought they were for beacons; others, for forts. They might be purgatorial or penitential chambers. They were observatories, or fire-temples. They were Buddhist temples, with shelves for relics. But the favourite tradition was that they were belfries to the Christian churches often observed beside them. Their old name was *cloictheach*, or bell-tower.

Some said the Phœnicians built them; others, the Milesians, Tuaths, or Danes; but most writers have acknowledged a Christian origin for them. Tradition says that Gabban Saer, a mysterious ancient architect, set them all up in one night. The 'Ulster Annals' record that 75 were overthrown by a severe earthquake in the year 448. If that be true, it was very unlikely they had been erected as belfries, since the churches of the period were *all* of wood, and continued to be of wood for six hundred years after.

The oldest stone churches are extremely rude, and of imperfect masonry. It is strange, therefore, that the belfries, supposed to have been raised in the 12th or 13th century when churches were either of wood and clay, or of miserable stone-work, should have a finish and delicacy of work rivalling anything of modern times. Why should belfries have such arrangements as the Round Towers display? If Christian, how is it that only two of one hundred and twenty-five should bear the least symbol of a Christian character, and

while those two evidently show such marks to be novel alterations?

It was assumed that they were of sepulchral origin, raised over the bodies of Christian saints or pious princes. But, though the majority would seem not to have had interments, those which contain bodies, found beneath two or more carefully-laid cemented floors, have no crosses, and no Christian memorials, in connection with the skeletons.

There is a mysterious silence about the Towers. They may have been associated, like the *Lia Fail* of Tara, with a worship we moderns deem obscene. They may have been heathen temples, preserving the sacred fire St. Patrick found reverenced in his time. We know nothing certain of their use. We are equally in the dark concerning their builders. They were hardly Norman, as Dr. Petrie and others imagine, for tradition and poets give a far higher age. They could hardly have been Celtic, for the Celtic Irish were no architects, and were without skill in masonry. But all stories point to some indefinite past, when a highly civilized people dwelt in Ireland. Who these visitors or colonists were, it is impossible now to say. The wonderful likeness of these towers to Phœnician, Persian, and Indian buildings has struck travellers. Is it possible that men from the East raised them long, long ago, for purposes of worship or utility we fail now to recognize?

The Round Tower builders, whoever they were, have left some of their blood in the constitution of the modern Irishman.

ROMANS AND IRISH.

Did the Romans hold any part of Ireland? Sir William Ware proudly declares that his countrymen were never slaves to Rome. The immense number of Roman coins found there gave the impression that a conquest had taken place. Thus, in 1820, near the Giants' Causeway, one turned up 300 silver Roman coins. In 1830, there were 500 at Tonduff, Antrim. In 1854, not less than 1937 were seen in a Roman urn near Coleraine; the singular circumstance was that no two coins bore the same superscription. In the same year, and not far from the same spot, 195 were recovered.

As Ulster has furnished the greater part of money finds,

Mr. T. Wright, the eminent antiquarian, is led to write:
" The coins themselves show that this settlement of the
Romans in the north-east of Ireland, of whatever character it
may have been, lasted during the whole period of the Roman
power in Britain." Still, the proximity to Britain, the profits
of trade between the two lands, and the shelter which Irish
ports gave to piratical attacks on the neighbouring coast, may
account for coins, without the supposition of settlement.

There is the curious fact of Roman cemeteries having been
found, not only in Ulster, but in Leinster. In one of these,
near Bray of Wicklow, many Roman coins were unearthed.

Roman authorities give no sanction to the theory. Claudian
regretted that his people never converted the Irish into
Roman citizens ; as, in that case, he observed, they would the
sooner have relinquished their barbarous ways. Mr. A. Clive
is nevertheless correct in his remark, that " the proximity of a
Roman colony so flourishing as that of Britain must have
largely helped to introduce into Erin the culture and ideas
current in the Roman world." Certainly, some detect Roman
influence in the Irish native laws. It is admitted that an
Irish monarch, Crinithan, gave some help to the Britons
against the Romans.

Tacitus has a tale to tell of his gallant father-in-law, the
conqueror Agricola, saying : " He stationed troops along that
part of Britain which looks to Ireland." That may have been
simply to be on watch for the Scottish marauding hordes.
But the historian knew of no conquest then, although it is
quite possible to have been partially done afterwards. Speak-
ing of Agricola, he observes : " I often heard him say that
Ireland could be conquered and held with one legion, and a
small reserve ; and such a measure would have its advantage
even as regards Britain, if Roman power were extended on
every side, and liberty taken away, as it were, from a view of
the latter island."

If no settlement were made, how was it ? There was no
modesty in Roman advances. Britain, it has been said, offered
the invaders pearls ; but Ireland could have given gold. Cut
up into a number of clans, with certain incoherent divisions
called kingdoms, the island would have been an easy prey to
those men of the sword. Then, too, it was a retreat for the
foes of Rome. Those incurring the displeasure of generals or

judges in either Gaul or Britain could easily find shelter in
Ireland. That circumstance must have made it a standing
reproach, if not a menace, to the Roman authorities.

Could it have been, that the Romans, knowing the Irish to
be no ship people, had little fear of trouble from them, and
were quite content to have the disaffected go over there where
they could do no harm to Britain or Gaul, but where they
would be sure to have sufficient employment of restless
energies among so lively a race as the Irish?

BRITONS IN IRELAND.

History is nearly silent about the connection of the two
peoples. Both were essentially landsmen, and there was little
occasion for commercial intercourse. But, as kindred races,
largely of Iberian and Celtic origin, there was a certain
brotherhood that might have drawn them together, though it
would certainly have been in fighting, but for the water
between.

Tradition kept alive the fact that Ireland was much indebted
to Britain for its inhabitants. Richard of Cirencester has
these passages in his Chronicles : " a.m. 4052. About this
time the Cangi and Brigantes leaving Britain emigrated into
Ireland. It is most certain that the Damuii, Voluntii, Bri-
gantes, Cangi, and other natives, were originally from Britain."

Apart, however, from the question of remote ancestry, there
can be no reasonable doubt that a considerable influx of
Cymric Celts and Iberians from South Britain did take place.
The Roman wars extended over a great period, and must have
sent large numbers of disaffected Britons over the way. Some
writers attach so much importance to that migration, that they
attribute the very existence of Druidism in Ireland to the
enforced visits of Druidical Britons.

But far greater changes occurred when the Saxons were
warring for 150 to 200 years to gain their footing in England.
Not so gentle as the Romans, they would have provoked an
extensive flight of the more refined Britons, with their
acknowledged wealth, to a land where liberty might be hoped
for, if not safety of life and goods. Anyhow, they would go
among a race much like themselves, and get away from the
dreaded Saxons.

The intense hatred of the Irish to the *Sassenach*, that scarcely ever really troubled them, may have arisen from the traditional hate of the Saxon by the descendants of the emigrant Britons to Ireland.

THE DANISH IRISH.

The Danes, so called, exercised a very important influence upon Ireland. The Celts, as it is well known, are not given to sea roaming; as landsmen they objected to foreign commerce, since it involved the shipboard life. But the Danes, of a kindred blood to the Saxons, were Teutons, not Celts, and had not that disinclination to a toss on the ocean wave. Their conquest and settlement of nearly every port in Ireland gave the country the blessing of foreign trade. The Danes made Dublin, Wexford, Cork, and Waterford the commercial ports they are, whose people are now lighter than others.

But the word *Dane* is not a correct term, if it imply that the northern invaders were from Jutland or Denmark. Mr. Joyce may, therefore, be correct in asserting that there are not half a dozen names in all Ireland of a strictly Danish origin. Upon that a theory might be founded that the Irish Chronicles about the Danes formed a mere myth. Undoubtedly, the vast majority of those troublesome visitors came from Norway and Sweden, being true Norse or Northmen of Scandinavia.

In an Irish MS., still to be seen in Brussels, and called *Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh*, the wars of the Gall with the Gaill, we read as follows: "There was an astonishing and awfully great oppression over all Erinn, throughout its breadth, by powerful azure Gentiles, and the fierce, hard-hearted Danars." The *azure* may mean the colour of their armour. They were *Gentiles*, because heathen. The 'Book of Leinster,' supposed to have been written about 1100, is full of references to these *Galls*, or strangers. That same word was afterwards applied to the English, as it is to Lowland Scotch by Highlanders. The *Gall-Gaedhil* were, consequently, a mixture of Danes and Irish.

The Vikingrs, or Scandinavian sea rovers, were most of them Norwegians, as were the Normans. Driven from their own fiords or bays by the pressure of increase, these perhaps unequalled warriors made their power felt in England, Scot-

land, Ireland, France, Naples, Greece, Barbary, Egypt, and Constantinople. They seized many lands, but retained sovereignty in England, Normandy, and Naples, though greatly affecting the racial characteristics in Scotland and Ireland. When converted to Christianity, they lost some of their native ferocity by contact with civilized refinement, but nothing of their native dignity, freedom of speech, love of truth, and high-souled courage, by which, in their connection with those races, they have not a little elevated in morals English, Scotch, Irish, and French.

The Irish writers do distinguish the fair from the dark Galls. The former, says Sir William Wilde, may be Norwegians ; the latter Danes. But Snorro distinctly lays it down that the *Ostmen* of Irish writers were directly from Sweden. One Ethnologist traces the word to the Aestic, or Esthonians of the Baltic, called Germans, but being a much more ancient race. The judgment of the learned inclines to the opinions of Worsaae, the greatest of Scandinavian antiquaries, when he says ; " It was evidently Norwegians rather than Danes who settled in Ireland." But he traces the Finngalls to Norway, and the Dubhgalls to Jutland. They called the Irish, *Westmen,* as they were themselves Eastmen. Words ending in *ster*, as Ulster ; or, in *ford*, as Waterford, are of Norwegian origin.

As a race, they were much larger in frame than the Iberian and Celtic Irish, with great heads and immense hands. The Norwegian settlement of Iceland was much supplied with slaves or workers stolen from Ireland ; though the Norse tell a tale of finding on their first visit to the volcanic island certain tokens of a pre-existing, though departed, population, which appears from several circumstances to have been an Irish one.

The tales of Irish and Norse do not completely accord, though Worsaae esteems the account by the Sagas of the latter as " very trustworthy." The invaders are not flattered by the former. But old MSS. of the Irish speak of the *Lochlanns*, who are elsewhere called the Gall-Gaedhil or Dano-Irish, and early settlers in Ulster. They are known also as *Gall-Gadelians.* They established themselves in the country, forming alliances with the natives, and conforming to the Christian faith. When, however, the pagan Danes arrived, the Loch-

lanns gave up their religion, and joined the men from their own father-land. But in connection with them is a curious Irish story, not very consistent in details, about BLUE MEN.

This was a new and singular variety in the composite race, called *Irish*, and speculation might be indulged as to the particular quarter in which any of this blood could be detected. One might fancy the *blue* to be *black*, or a *blue-black*. One story is that the Lochlanns stole the poor fellows from Morocco, and used them for their slaves; but another version is that the *Blues* were imported for the purpose of driving out the Danes. It is not often that history talks of Blues or Blacks driving out Whites. Anyhow, the supposed veracious 'Annals of Ireland' declares they came between 571 and 910, and that "long indeed were these Blue men in Erin." Their descendants would, at least, have done something to mitigate the evil of so many white Sassenachs settling and mixing with the other Irish for the last seven hundred years.

Mr. Howorth, the ethnologist, is helped in his theory of deriving the Norse from the Caspian Sea country by the fact that a considerable amount of Eastern Cufic and Caliphate coins have been found in Ireland. Yet, as the Norsemen were not content with plaguing the Irish, but had offered their sword service to the Greek Emperors, such coins might easily have been appropriated during their Oriental travels.

The Norse maps of Ireland are very interesting to us. There we note Ulaztir, Kunnaktir; Lindis-Eyri for Leinster; Dyflin for Dublin; Hlimrek for Limerick; Wexfiord; and Themar for Tara.

The mixture of races must have been complete. "Intermarriages," says Worsaae, "between the Norwegians in Ireland and the native Irish seem to have taken place from the very first, which explains the circumstance that many men in Ireland bore, at an early period, Irish names, such as Kjaran, and Neill or Nyall." This appropriation of what has been usually called the real Milesian and royal name of O'Neil seems very unkind. But Norsemen say that the O', or *son of*, like the *Mac*, is only an Irish prefix to a Scandinavian word for the hero Burnt Njal of the Sagas. That no Runic abounds in Ireland, as elsewhere, is accounted for by Professor Stephens on the ground that the Northmen then made use of the Anglo-Roman alphabet.

The extent of the so-called Danish intermixture with Irish blood may be believed, when we read of Sitric, the Danish King of Dublin, marrying the daughter of Brian the Brave, who, though the reputed head King of Ireland, was known to have Danish blood in his own veins. There were thirty-five Danish Kings of Dublin between 853 and 1200, besides kings of other ports. Thorgils, son of Harald Harsagre of Norway, was called King of all Ireland for thirty years. Soliciting, at last, the daughter of the sub-King of Meath for his wife, she was sent with sixteen *ladies* of her household. These, passing the guards, disclosed their sex by drawing swords from beneath their dresses, and despatching the *Gall*. But the story goes that Magnus of Norway sent his shoes to Ireland, that Mortagh, the King of Munster and reputed King of Ireland, might publicly bear them upon his shoulders one Christmas Day in token of submission.

The Danes, or *Aunites*, got credit for a deal of mischief. The 'Book of Leinster' told of the first invasion during 807, with burning of rich monasteries, and adding: "The greater part of the churches of Erinn were attacked." They took Dublin in 837. Duffy's 'History of Ireland' gives 790 as the date of the first attack, saying: "All this time Ireland was laid waste as much by domestic wars as by the exactions, pillage, and burnings of the Northmen." They appeared in Ulster about 795. No coins of Norway have been discovered in Ireland bearing an age greater than 800. But every *Rath* of the island was by no means a Danish fort any more than any Round Tower. The sacred Hill of Howth, near Dublin, 578 feet high, had its buildings destroyed by the Danes in 819.

One record says that the earliest invaders came in 120 ships during the year 812, and that the Eoganachts clan of Loch Lein killed 416 of them. When, after an interval of peace and free intercourse, the Irish made a sudden massacre of the Danish settlers, the Norsemen vowed a bloody revenge, and spared no one. Again and again did peace and war follow. But the Northmen evidently preferred quiet in their new abode, and the Dano-Irish distinctly adopted the Irish *names* as well as language; so that, as Duffy's publication admits, "By degrees the Northmen became, as it were, a *part of the recognized population of the country.*"

This is the great fact to be borne in mind. The Danish blood became completely mixed with the native Irish, and Teuton and Celt could be no longer distinguished.

The Danes of Ireland ultimately became Christian. But the curious thing is, that, though all Europe then professed the Catholic faith, owning either Rome or Constantinople for head of the Church, the Irish had so bad a reputation as Catholics that the Dano-Irish bishops would acknowledge no Irish Primate, Armagh or other, but placed themselves directly in communication with the more orthodox Saxon Primate, the Archbishop of Canterbury. As such, they alone of all the Irish acknowledged the Pope of Rome as the *Father* in the strict sense, and were, consequently, free from the censure which the Popes cast upon the Irish as a nation.

But the popular idea is that the Danes somehow mysteriously disappeared after the Battle of Clontarf, fought three miles to the north-east of Dublin, in 1014, when Brian Boru delivered his country from them. A close examination of history will not support that notion.

Brian was King of Munster, and the *Ard Ri*, or High King, of Ireland. Malachy of Leinster had held that position, but lost it, for a provincial sovereign might become King of Ireland for a few years, and be displaced by some other king of one of the five provinces. After many wars with his neighbours, Brian in old age determined upon attacking the Dublin Danes, enjoining the Kings of Connaught and Leinster to join him. The former did so, in spite of the traditional hatred of Munster and Connaught; the latter was supposed to be ready to support Brian, but failed in his engagement. The contest was really the south and west against the east and north.

The Irish MS. *Hibernia Pacata* tells a remarkable story. It speaks of the design " to get Ireland made a province of Norway by way of union." But it indicates something more than a social revolution in aid of the project. The influence of Rome to obtain a sound footing in Ireland is too clearly conspicuous. The Dano-Irish, against whom Brian Boirom or Boru was pitted, naturally, like the Norwegians, won the sympathy of orthodox Catholics. Through such agency there was a hope of thoroughly implanting *Roman* Catholicism, as understood then in England, France, and Italy. It is not

surprising, therefore, that the clergy and lawyers should have been tampered with.

The Irish MS. says: "The Brehons and Tanists, who dispensed the laws of Ireland, were rejoiced on the prospect of being set free from all inspection or authority of the Irish chiefs, which only restrained them from doing what they listed; the military, the secular priests, and all orders of Holy Church were supposed to be ready to embrace it; but, particularly the prelates, by the influence of Galesius, and a false prospect of temporal power, were brought into it."

This is a very curious bit of history, throwing a singular side-light upon the posture of parties in Ireland. It was all very well for the writer, from a Milesian point of view, to slander the Irish bishops, and make out that their leaning to the Danes or Norwegians was from "a false prospect of temporal power;" but it is more probable that Rome, which had long sought control in Ireland, had at last made a breach in the hierarchy, disposing these to believe that so long as the Irish kings reigned the Church would never have its rights, and that peace and piety would be obtained if Ireland were really joined to a Rome-acknowledging country like Norway.

Something similar was then passing through Scotland. That, like Ireland of old, had been mainly Celtic, though afterwards subjected, like the sister Isle, to a large influx of Teutonic blood in the shape of Norwegians, Danes, Saxons, Normans, &c. The Sovereigns of the Scots were at first of Irish Celtic origin, and favoured a Christian Church not immediately connected with Rome. But the Saxon and Danish elements of Scotland were orthodox Roman. The whole force of intellectual influence was, therefore, brought to bear in favour of the Saxon rather than of the Gael. The *mot d'ordre*, so to speak, was for the ecclesiastics to keep down the Celt and exalt the Saxon. What followed? The Scottish kings forsook their native tongue, and made *English* the court language. The Scottish rule became, henceforth, as absolutely Anglo-Norman as England was, though politically independent.

Ireland thus, by an attempted quiet revolution, narrowly escaped being admitted into the European family of nations by incorporation with Scandinavia. Though the Norwegian political movement failed, Rome accomplished its design. It

was not long before the question of Roman pretensions was openly discussed in Synods. The Danish element of population was in favour, the Irish-Celtic was opposed, because of the power of chieftains. But the way was being prepared. Nothing but a power outside could effect the union. That came with the conquest by the Anglo-Normans of the 12th century. Yet the beginning of the end was apparent in the scheme for making Ireland a province of Norway, as the north-east part of Scotland absolutely became.

Malachy II. had made peace with Brian in 998, but took advantage of some disorders in the south to rebel, and join the Danes. Brien, after reducing the Deisi of Waterford and the kingdom of Ossory, invaded Meath. Finding that the Hy Neill tribe of Ulster was not disposed to help him, Malachy yielded, with his Colmain clan, and became King of Meath. The Ultonian chiefs of Ulster drew the displeasure of Brien, and suffered for it.

Peace was now in Ireland, for Brien was the real *Ard-Ri*. But Leinster rebelled again, and in the dispute the grandson of Malachy was slain. Brien came up with Munster, Meath, and Connaught against Leinster and the Danes of Dublin. King Stric sent for help to Scandinavia. The long, black-haired Brodar came, and headed the foreign Danes. Brien ravaged the country, burnt the sacred town of Howth, and encamped on Dublin Green.

The Battle of Clontarf, fought on Good Friday, 1014, was witnessed by the Danish king from the walls of Dublin, as Brodar was general of the army. Tradition, sanctioned by most historians, declares that victory was on the Munster side, though Brien fell, and that Danish troubles were ended for ever.

But some awkward facts militate against this idea.

Malachy, never loyal, kept his men together, but gave no help to either side, though engaged to aid Brien. Brien, then more than fourscore, remained in his tent to recite fifty psalms, fifty prayers, and fifty paternosters, while his soldiers fought. Brodar forced his way to the tent. The old man struck a deadly blow at the Dane, but the axe of the other pierced his brain.

What followed? Brien's son did not succeed to be *Ard-Ri*, but Malachy, the traitor, ascended the throne. The Munster

men retreated southward, and both Ossory and the southern Dal-Cas tribes rebelled against the domination of Munster. The King of Connaught fell in the battle, but his body remained in possession of his foes. Brien's body was not returned to Cashel, but buried in the land of his enemies, at Armagh. Kings were no longer after that selected from the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and greater internal disorder than ever reigned in Ireland. It is not so clear, therefore, that Brien won the Battle of Clontarf.

Was the Danish power ever broken by Clontarf? If so, how was it they retained the capital, Dublin? Sigtryg was long afterwards King of Dublin. A very pious prince, he built that glorious specimen of architecture, Christ Church, Dublin, twenty-five years after the Battle of Clontarf. In 1095, Ostmen erected St. Michan's Church there. For many years after, we read of Norwegian bishops being ordained at Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and Wexford.

The Danes were not conquered, and not expelled. Though disputes between Irish and Norwegians existed as late as 200 years ago, Worsaae tells the simple truth when writing: "They gradually amalgamated, partly with the English conquerors, and partly with the national Irish."

But the Teutonic Danish blood is uncommonly well represented in the modern Irishman.

THE SAXONS IN IRELAND.

Did the Saxons or Angles settle there?

A restless, seafaring, marauding people like them spared nobody in the day of their emigration mania. History makes them the conquerors and settlers along the north-east border of France before they descended with fire and sword upon the unhappy Britons. Were they likely to let Ireland alone?

By no means a literary race, especially in their pagan condition, they give little or no news about themselves for many years after settlement in Britain. Yet there are reasons for belief that the Saxons were not content with ravaging the Irish coasts, but actually made permanent locations in the country. The Irish were too accustomed to the inroads of strange races to bother much about the advent of another tribe. It is likely enough, however, that such colonies, like

others, became Irish in tongue and sympathy before many
generations.

No doubt exists about the large migration of Saxons, or
rather Saxon-Britons, when the Danes invaded the country.
Many fled to Ireland, in spite of the fact that all the ports to
the east and south were held by the Danes.

After the Norman conquest, a considerable amount of
discontented or persecuted English, of the mixed races of
Briton, Saxon, and Danish, made their way westward both to
Wales and Ireland. Though it would not be correct to call
them Saxons, the Saxon blood was there, after hundreds of
years since Hengist's visit. One fact is not a little interesting.
The Irish ladies took a great fancy to the Anglo-Saxon gentle-
men, while their brothers were tenderly drawn in alliance
with the blue-eyed Saxon maidens. There was no prejudice
against the *Sassenach* in that period. That, unhappily, arose
with the Norman invasion of Ireland, and under the domination
of that foreign dynasty which bore so hard upon Saxons
themselves.

ANCIENT IRISH LIFE.

The customs of a barbarous or semi-civilized people are
remarkably conservative. A would-be reformer is esteemed
lightly enough, as he assumes to be better than the Fathers.
Any changes must be for the worse, and so occur more by
accident than by design. The Irish were not so isolated but
that they learnt something from their neighbours. There is,
however, distinct evidence that, at least, one race of colonists,
traditionally held to be the Tuath de Danaans, brought no
inconsiderable amount of civilization to the rude natives.

The tokens of superior refinement appear in beautiful gold
and silver work, and the elegant and artistic ornamentation
discovered on most ancient MSS. But the religious history
of Ireland affords further proof of considerable advances,
even when Britons and Gauls were in comparative darkness.
The so-called *Druids* of Bardic stories were men of learning,
who bequeathed to sons their lore, and who, by accepting the
sort of Christianity brought very early to Ireland, retained
for centuries their old hereditary office as teachers and rulers.
Those irregular Irish Culdee monasteries of married clergy

succeeded in converting Scotland and Western Britain. The
Irish missionaries of Iona alone would establish the theory of
a superior ancient light.

But the disappearance of the hereditary and secret order
of the learned, a few centuries after Christianity entered
Ireland, removed the strong barrier against the tyranny of
chiefs and the lawlessness of factions, leaving the people
a prey to intestine commotion or despotic will. Under
such circumstances, retrogression would be expected; since
the new order of priests did not succeed to the influence
of the Druids. With a few bright exceptions, when a strong
and wise man became *Ard-Ri* or Head King, the country
was a prey to misrule and ignorance for centuries.

In attempting to throw some light upon the Early Irish
Past, the question of racial interference must be omitted. It
cannot be forgotten that, in times of disorder, the influence of
the few refined of a higher race would be lost in the up-
heaval of primitive rudeness prevalent among the masses,
whose ancestors would be of the more ancient date.

HOUSES.   Leaving the consideration of Cave Men, Cran-
nog Men, Great Stone Builders, or other early races, the dwell-
ings of the more recent Irish, the, so to speak, conglomerated
peoples, were of wood, mud, wattle-sticks, or roughly-piled
stones. Kings were content with such habitations. 'Ware's
History' says: "When Roderick O'Connor, King of Con-
naught, built a castle of stone at Tuam, in 1161, it was a
thing so new and uncommon that it became famous among
the Irish at that time, by the name of the *Wonderful Castle*."
Malachy O'Margair, Archbishop of Armagh, who died in 1148,
is recorded as "the first Irishman, or at least one of the first,
who began to build with stone and mortar."

The early tenements of rough stones are the only ones
surviving to our time. But now and then a wooden house
is discovered in a bog. A two-storey log house was thus
observed under 14 feet of peat in Donegal. A sort of
corduroy wooden pathway was seen under 5 feet of bog.
At Cleggan Bay, Galway, are remains of an ancient settle-
ment of some primitive race.

Beehive arrangements formed the prevailing fashion.
When of stone, they are *Bo'hs* or *Cloghans*. O'Flaherty, in

the 17th century, described some "so ancient that nobody knows how long ago any of them was made. Scarcity of wood and store of fit stones without peradventure found out the first invention." Some old beehive clochans may be seen on the west side of Dingle, Kerry County. A few had an interior dormitory and a timber roof. The dome of one was 18 feet in diameter.

The *Eirde* houses were subterranean passages with a chamber. They are so dark, that their use may have been less for a dwelling than a store. They have since been of some service to smugglers along the coast.

The *Cahirs* or cahers are forts rather than houses. They are of dry masonry, and of various forms. Groups of cloghans or dwellings are placed within one great wall. The *Caher-na-mactirech*, 100 feet wide, meant the *stone fort of the wolves;* and the *Caher-fada-an-doruis*, the *long fort of the doors.* The last is 80 feet in diameter, of an oval shape, and triple chambered. The Cahir of Dunbeg has a wall 200 feet long and from 15 to 25 thick, enclosing cloghaums or cloghans. This is much of the kraal character: a *creaght* is a kraal. Most of these cahirs are near the sea, as in Kerry. The chambers are usually circular, and like the Esquimaux *Inglöe* or stone huts. All these forts were pre-Celtic.

The *Duns, Cashels, Lisses, Cathairs, Caiseals,* or *Raths* are stone enclosures or forts. One which would hold 200 cows is by a cliff of Galway Bay. Like the rest, it had no mortar. One cashel at Rathmichael is quite Cyclopean. Monks imitated these ancient works in protecting their monasteries. *Lis-more* means the *great fort.* Many of the chambers were but 9 feet long and 4 broad. Outside the cashel, dun, or lis a ditch was dug. The *Riogh* or *Cathair* of Cormac, at Tara, . enclosed an area 550 feet by 450. *Lis-na-raha,* in the south, is 280 feet diameter, having a ditch 30 feet wide. But a very considerable number of these *Raths* were earthen and not stone forts. On the Ordnance Survey maps of Munster, not less then 10,000 of these earthworks are noted in Munster alone, of which at least half have since disappeared, destroyed in improvements by farmers.

DRESS. Several instances have occurred of the finding of bodies in peat, dressed in skins converted into leather by the peat. Spenser, in the time of Elizabeth, thus describes the

dress of his day : " The Irish have from the Scythians mantles and long *glibs*, which is a thick, curled bush of hair hanging over their eyes, and monstrously disguising them." Of the mantle he wrote : " When it raineth, it is his pent-house ; when it bloweth, it is his tent ; when it freezeth, it is his tabernacle." He adds, that " any man also that is disposed to mischiefe or villany, may under his mantle goe privily armed." An Irishman then must have had an Italian brigand appearance. The *rheno* mantle was woollen.

Though skins were the primitive material, garments of hair have been recovered from bogs ; the moose-deer may have furnished the same. The *rhruchen* was a leathern cloak. Cloth was afterwards made, and in distinct patterns for each clan, after the fashion observed in latter days among the Scotch Highlanders. The dye for the cheques was a secret with certain families, but the colours of tartans were of vegetable origin. The *breachan* piece was six yards long by two broad. Irish laws strictly regulated dress, pattern, and colour, according to the class of society ; servant girls would never have been allowed to imitate their mistresses' garb in old Irish communities.

The great, distinguished article of the ancient Irish, causing much amusement and astonishment to Greek and Roman civilized visitors, was the supposed barbaric *pants*. Those semi-savages absolutely wore trousers, that no refined and cultured people could view without a shock to their feelings. Himerius thus describes a northern philosopher : " Abaris came to Athens, holding a bow, having a quiver hanging from his shoulders, girt about his loins with a gilded belt, and wearing trousers reaching from the soles of his feet to his waist."

The *braccæ*, *briog*, *ochrath*, or breeches were down to the ancles, and very tight-fitting to the body. The word *trews* came from *truibas*, or plaid brecs ; in Welsh, *trws*, and Gaelic, *triughes*, or *tucked-up* garb. A purse, called *sporan*, was worn with the trews or *trius*, as with the feilebeag. The stockings, *oerath*, were greaves, and not below the ancle. The shoes, *broce* or *cuaran*, were mostly thongs of leather securing a piece of wood or untanned leather sole, or even a thin sheet of bronze, known as *ass*. The *fallin* was a jacket.

The plaid or *brychan* was truly Irish, and carried over to

Scotland, and was often worn with the *leinidh* or kilt, in lieu of trews, leading some in Froissart's time to call the Irish a breechless nation. Around the waist was a *cris* or girdle, often fancifully adorned. Accepted lovers would wear a belt made of their beloved lady's hair. The *lena* or *caimsi* of cloth, skin, linen, or silk was a tight-fitting shirt, worn by the upper classes, and resembling the Greek *chiton* or Roman tunica. Some had part to hang below as a kilt *inar* or kirtle. The *over-inar* or *brat* was of unfashioned cloth, thrown over the shoulders, and secured by a brooch, fibula, or thorn for a pin. Both *lena* and *brat* appeared in fancy colours. The Irish mantle is also known as a *trouse*, *cocul*, or *matal*. The *fuan* was a sort of brat or sagum. The headdress or *barr* was often a peaked hat, *boined* or *at*, of cloth or felt. The king's kilt was of seven colours. Kilts are *not* Celtic, but of Oriental origin.

Women were not allowed to wear the *brecs*. But the richer indulged in a silk *caimsi*, and had a longer lena than the men, with an open side. A veil of linen or muslin, the *caille*, covered all the head, though a hood, called *culpait*, might be seen out of doors. The *berrbroce* was a petticoat. Flax, hemp, wool, and hair, as well as skins, furnished material for dresses. The *cuirtan* was a white twill for petticoat and hose. Patterns, chiefly stripes and chequers, were of conservative order, to be duly observed by the *modistes* of the period. A woollen *tonnag* might be thrown over the shoulders. Sleeves of scarlet cloth were decorated with jewels. Ladies' mantles were more voluminous than those of the men. Heads, bare before marriage, were afterwards concealed by the wives.

The fibula fastenings were round or lunar-shaped, often of silver, and beautifully made. The size was fixed by law, according to rank. We read of one lady's brooch weighing four pounds. Some were 10 inches long and 5 broad. The bracelet was a *budne*. Gold *fainnes* and spiral rings confined the hair. Waist-rings were sometimes of gold. Hollow balls of gold were fastened to the flowing tresses. Nose-rings were common. The arms and part of the bosom were left exposed.

Men wore little protective dress in war. A *seiath* or wicker shield was the defence. For arms, they had the bow,

the sword, the javelin, the mace, the iron *flail*, the sling, the
spear, and poisoned arrows.

FOOD.   In the hunting stage, the flesh of animals formed
then man's only resource.   In the pastoral stage, milk was
added.   In the agricultural stage, they became almost entirely
vegetarian.   A jar of butter has been recovered from beneath
15 feet of bog.   Butter in buried wooden vessels had turned to
stearine, while the wood had nearly all disappeared.   Curds
were so much in vogue, that Spenser declared the Irish lived
on milk and curds.   Barley-meal and milk was the staple
food, and porridge helped to turn out as stalwart a race as
any in the world.

Strabo called the Irish *herb-eaters*.   They largely indulged
in cress, sorrel, shamrock, &c.   Nuts, too, were freely used.   A
rough table, 10 feet long, and 4½ high, was brought out of a
bog at Tyrone; upon it, all ready for a meal, was found a
bowl of hazel-nuts.   Bread was in cakes, cooked on a grid-
iron, or thrown on the ashes.   Stirabout was made of three
sorts of corn.   Cheese was eaten in early times.   Salted
beef, mutton and pork, blood puddings and sausages, gave a
variety to the table.   Fish was despised by the Irish, and
only quite in modern days would be eaten at all.   The Saxon
of Ireland, as in Scotland, was spoken of in contempt as a
fish eater.   This abstinence was a religious superstition,
derived from some ancient colonists from Asia.

Prices were low enough in the ancient days, when, in 1630,
they stood thus : A quarter of beef, 3s. ; eggs, 45 for a
penny ; a fat goose, 3d. ; turkey, 6d. ; ham, 1½d. ; lamb, 4d. ;
a salmon, two feet long, one penny.

For drink, they mainly depended on water.   The richer
might procure beer—*cuiron*, or ale, *lin ;* cider, berry beer,
meal wine, herb wine, and honey beer.   The *metheglyn* con-
tained honey, spices, meal, herbs, and balm.   Gold drink-
ing-horns were used at drinking parties, the horn being
blown to show the liquor had gone.   Shells formed the com-
mon cup, giving to banqueting places the name of *Hall of
Shells*.   Women scarcely ever indulged in any intoxicating
liquor, it being deemed by the supposed barbarous Irish that
the delicacy and chastity of females were not improved
thereby.   Mead was used, though Solinus gave Ireland no

bees, saying : "No such things as bees there ; that dust or small pebbles carried out from there, and scattered among hives, will banish the swarms from their combs."

The soil of Ireland was thus then esteemed inimical to peace and settled government.

BURIAL CUSTOMS. It is generally understood that the Irish buried the dead, before the custom of cremation was introduced. In the earliest of tombs, under cairns or tumuli, or in the sepulchral chambers of cromlechs, skeletons have been found. In some instances, the knees and chin are seen together, as in the burial of Australian aborigines ; in others, the body is placed in a standing posture. Animals were often slain at the obsequies, for the repose of the soul. The Irish ever spoke well of the dead. The mourners plucked hair from head or beard, often tearing the flesh ; one MS. says :

> " Mac Ronan then cried aloud
>   And fell upon the earth ;
> He cast his pure body on the ground,
>   And plucked his hair and beard."

Long before the Irish kept watch over a corpse, to prevent it being stolen by foul fiends, their ancestors had the *wake*. From raising a *Keen* or cry over the dead, mourners got the name of *Keeners*.

CHARACTER. The worst stories told of the ancient Irish were from the pens of Roman ecclesiastics. Giraldus Cambrensis gave them no good word in 1172. "It is indeed a most filthy race," said he, "a race sunk in vice, a race more ignorant than all other nations of the first principles of the faith. Hitherto they neither pay tithes nor first-fruits ; they do not contract marriages, nor shun incestuous connections ; they frequent not the House of God with becoming reverence. They are given to treachery more than any other nation, and never keep the faith they have pledged." This scolding priest was pleased to call Saxons some very rough names. He wanted to please the Pope and King Henry II. in slandering both races. But a learned Jesuit, Dr. Lynch, in 'Cambrensis Eversus,' written in 1650, reversed the judgment of the Welsh flatterer, and proved that the Irish abounded in

domestic virtues, having an affection to kindred, a fidelity to their own, and a loyalty to chiefs; though he admitted their readiness to quarrel, their intensity of hate, their disinclination to obedience. The legend of Irish dust, sprinkled over a community of loving bees, driving them out in tumult and disorder, may have been told to show the unhappy propensity of Irishmen to riot and disunion.

ORNAMENTS. The Irish were not without coins of gold and silver, though mostly in the form of ring-money, being of an exact multiple of some standard unit. The copper and iron *manillas* of Africa resemble bronze ones of Ireland. Some found near Cashel are like the pennannular rings of Sennaar. Musical instruments are elsewhere described. The ornaments are highly interesting, very varied, and often of great value. Gold specimens of ancient work have been far more numerous in Ireland than in England. The Dublin Irish Academy Museum collected 300 golden articles in 30 years. Doubtless, very many besides had been taken to the melting-pot.

A crown of gold was found in a bog of Tipperary, ten feet from the surface, in 1692. Beneath the Rock of Cashel four thin circular golden plates were obtained, having a golden ball at their intersection; the interior presented a wheel-shaped ornament nearly three inches in diameter. Golden drinking horns were not uncommon. The Museum Catalogue says: "The gold ornaments discovered in Ireland possess a special character, not found elsewhere." Again: "No other country in Europe possesses so much manufactured gold belonging to early and mediæval times as Ireland."

In 1739 a gold plate, eight inches across, was dug up; and in 1744, a gold cup of large size. There were golden vessels, pipes, plates, &c. A sort of chess was played on boards of gold and silver, having the angles adorned with precious stones; common ones had merely black and white spots. The breast-plate of judgment was of pure gold. The *fuinne* or finger-ring was of gold. The *bullæ* were amulets of lead covered with gold. Circular gold plates have often been found, as well as bracelets or *budne*.

The most plentiful sort of ornament is the Torque or Armilla. These were for the head, arms, wrists, and even waists. Some are long and curved wires of gold, often twisted

most fantastically. The largest, *lumbars*, may have been girdles, extending a couple of yards. One spiral sold as gold for £29. Many torques are annular, being twisted rings. The Treasure Trove law was only passed in 1861, but it saved a large number of torques being melted down. The neck torque or *muin* was most spiral. Some were used as fibulæ or breast-pins. A large proportion had the lunette or crescent form, serving as diadems or tiaras. The *fuilge oir* went round the arm. The earliest torques were pennannular and bulbous, resembling the serpent ornament of the East. The gorget one is almost peculiar to Ireland. The bulbous ends were very peculiar, looking like plates or cups at the extremities, which sometimes nearly meet, and were probably neck adornments. There are solid torques, hollow, and twisted, of an elliptical form. One found in 1838 weighed 27 ounces of pure gold. Brian Boru gave a collar of 20 ounces to a church. There has been no Irish find of torques like that in Brittany, under a stone, which realized £1085. The hollow conical end is common. Many are beautifully embossed, and may have formed the breast-plates of kings. A finely-wrought gold ornament much resembled a Mongolian cap.

Tradition makes King Minemon, 700 B.C., the first to wear a golden torque. But such pretty things were not confined to Ireland, Britain, or Gaul. Mr. Digby Wyatt calls attention to a period when "the Irish were in advance, both in mechanical execution and originality of design, of all Europe." The influence of an Eastern people seems clear. A stirrup and other articles have been found which are thoroughly Oriental in form. "At some very distant period," as Syer Cuming points out, "a powerful and highly cultivated race not only visited but planted colonies in Ireland." These he declares were of eastern origin,—as Phœnicia.

The Bronze works of the island are equal to any; whether as rings, torques, horns, coins, &c. Some specimens rather resemble brass than bronze. A pretty toy was picked out of a bog. It was a hollow tube, 22 inches long, pierced with holes, through which were pins, having rings on one side, and well-executed bronze birds on the other. The six birds remaining represent swans or geese. The bronze swords have small hilts, and are often of leaf shape.

Glass rings, beads, and other ornaments were very early, and

long before the Christian era. The word *Gloine-an-Druidh*,
the *Druid-magician glass*, was applied to them. In Great
Britain they have been called *adder stones*. One is shaped
like a dumb-bell, of green opaque glass. Armlets are seen
studded with settings of enamel, being pre-Christian by cen-
turies. There are very handsome wristlets of glass. One of
these, taken up in Antrim County, enclosed a bead. Another
has a dozen drops of light vitreous paste. Golden beads have
coloured settings of this vitreous paste.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. No one can dispute the fact of
the old Irish having a soul for music. To which race, out of
the many settling in the Sister Isle, this taste is peculiarly to
be ascribed, we have no means of discovering. It is not certain
which instrument is the oldest, but it may be supposed some
form of bag-pipes was the first in use. The harp may have
been brought by Phœnician or other Oriental people. The
horn might even have precedence of both. In more modern
times the Irish got the *cibbual* or *corabas*, cymbals or rattles;
crotals, or musical bells; the *roto*, played by the hand on
strings; the *timpan*, like the *roto ;* the *fidil*, played by women;
the *salteire, clerseeck*, and *quanon*, sorts of lutes; the *crowth*,
or violin; the *tabwrdd*, or drum; the *cornbuelin*, or cornet;
the *pidgorn*, or hornpipe; the *pip*, or pipe.

The *Horn, cearn*, or *corn*, was said to be sacred to the Irish
god Anu. There was the *stuic* or *stoc*, a brazen tube, with
the mouth-hole at the side. The *dudag* was a shrill-sound-
ing one of brass; the *dord*, one for war and the chase; the
udgorn, another sort. In that wonderful Museum at Dublin
there is a horn, 8 feet 5 inches in length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ wide at the
mouth, and five-eighths of an inch across at the other end.
The edges of the two portions are rivetted. Vallency
supposed such a monstrous one would be used from the top
of the Round Towers. Giraldus Cambrensis, who so deals in
the marvellous, caught this story in the 12th century:
" St. Patrick had a horn, which was not of gold, but of brass;
that horn was afterwards brought to Wales from Ireland; but
what is remarkable of that horn is this, that by applying the
opening of the larger end to the ear, one may hear a sweet-
sounding noise emitted through it, like the melody which is
usually sent forth by the naked harp gently touched."

The *Bag-pipes, priob-mala,* or *adharcaidh cuil,* has originated much discussion among antiquaries. Because it was not named by Giraldus, the Welsh visitor in Henry the Second's time, Dr. Ledwich thinks it "was probably introduced into Ireland sometime prior to the 14th century." As the Scottish Highlanders had it very long before, it is not likely their ancestral home would have been without it. The instrument was known in Asia several thousand years ago, and is still popular among Hill tribes there, both Indian and Afghan. The *chanter* had seven or eight ventages, or holes, in Ireland. The bag was *bolg,* and the drones were known as the *anan.* Some had the drones with brass keys, played by the wrist, as the fingers for the chanter. The *cuislean* or elbow-pipes gave a softer sound. One writing in 1751 says that in Ireland "every village has a bag-piper." Burnett thought the Irish bag-pipe better than others. A bag-piper was a *cinslinnaigh.* The Irish were not of the opinion of Hudibras :

> "And makes a viler noise than swine,
> In windy weather when they whine."

The *Bells* were early known. The most ancient, generally called after some Saint, are nearly square in shape, and thus clearly betray their Oriental origin. Carl Engel, the authority on national music, observes : "The oldest Chinese bells known had not, however, the round form of the present ones, but were nearly square." The Irish hand-bell was pre-Christian. Being in use among Buddhists, and Ireland possessing much of a Buddhistic character in primitive faith, some have concluded that the bell came with the Buddhist missionaries, once, in the fervour of their zeal, preaching in almost every part of the world.

The *clog,* or bell of St. Patrick, the celebrated *Maecomog,* presented to him by the angels, was a sort of gong, struck by a wooden mallet. It was endowed with the same power as Buddhist bells of China and Ceylon claim, that of expelling demons from the air when rung by the right party. After the Russians were defeated at Narva, Peter the Great ordered all the bells of the country to be incessantly pealing, that the devils helping Charles XII. might be driven away. The proper blessing of Christian bells, even in this 19th century, is to communicate to the metal the like happy charm.

The ordinary relic bells of Ireland are of iron dipped in molten bronze. Some very small bells have been found, like those collected by Layard from a vessel in Assyria; there were eighty, of from $1\frac{3}{4}$ to $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. They may have been to put on the garments of Druids and the bridles of horses, especially when of gold. The *Finn Faidheach*, and the bells of St. Finnian, St. Culam, and St. Ruadhan are the most celebrated of the old Irish bells.

The *Harp* is regarded as the distinctive music of Erin; though Brindley Richards, as a true Welshman, does venture to question "if the harp was ever as generally popular among the Irish as among the Welsh." Fiery sons of St. David avow that the Irish stole it from them; while equally bigoted children of St. Patrick are as satisfied that Welshmen are indebted to them for the same.

> "The harp that once through Tara's halls
>   The soul of music shed,"

was no romance; for the most ancient Irish MSS. refer to harpers and their privileges. However popular once, harps ceased to be so there. When a Society was formed in 1792 to revive the use, a call for Irish harpers was sent through the length and breadth of the land; but only ten could be gathered. Yet all admired the peculiar sweetness of play as compared with the vigour of a Welsh instrument. One Rory Dall, of the days of James I., had a great reputation. Evelyn, about that time, wrote in his 'Diary:' "Came to see my old acquaintance and most incomparable player on the Irish harp, Mr. Clarke, after his travels: such music before or since did I never hear, the instrument being neglected for its extraordinary difficulty."

The old style of playing, even on wire strings, was with the finger-nails. It is related that the quarrelsome propensities of a certain O'Kane were kept in check by a threat of cutting his finger-nails. Dr. Lynch, 1650, says the play was not with the top of the finger, but the string was caught between the flesh and long, crooked nails.

The Irish harp, Dr. H. MacCormac remarks, "is played preferably in one or at most two keys. It is easily learned. It is readily kept in tune—is not of elaborate, costly construction." As such he warmly recommends its use in schools.

The father of the great Galileo wrote on music, at Florence, in 1581. Referring to the harp, he says : "This most ancient instrument was brought to us from Ireland (as Dante says), where they are excellently made, and in great numbers, the inhabitants of that island having practised on it for many and many ages ; nay, they even place it in the arms of the kingdom, and paint it on their public buildings, and stamp it on their coin, giving as the reason, their being descended from the royal prophet David."

This very remarkable Italian story of the musical condition of Ireland three centuries ago has a very suggestive ethnological bearing. "How was it that the harp was so well-known in 1590, and almost unknown in 1790 ? What had occurred during those two hundred years so entirely to change the very taste of Irishmen? How was it that music was so popular in the remoter past, and has been so little appreciated in Ireland since ? Until comparatively a few years ago, it is a well-known fact that the Irish were not musical. Music teachers have lamented their difficulty in getting the Irish poor to imitate sweet sounds. In the towns and in the country music was scarcely ever heard for two centuries before the Union of Ireland with England. What had made this national change ?"

The simple reply must be an ethnological one. The very population of the northern, eastern, and even southern provinces had been changed. Before Galileo's time, the Irish proper had moulded the Danes, the English, the Normans, and other settlers, upon the national style. These adopted Irish dress, Irish manners, Irish language, and Irish music ; becoming, in short, *Irish*. The harp thus retained its universal esteem.

What occurred to make the change ? A vast inroad of Scotch and English settlers in the time of the Stuarts and Cromwell, and the large extent of transplantation of the old inhabitants westward. Whatever little taste for music the new colonists brought was not likely to be nurtured amidst the scenes of rapine and bloodshed that followed the occupancy. The Irish, driven to Connaught, had something else to do than tune the harp. The Irish who remained in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, had also something else to do and think about than harp-playing.

Again, the harper represented the *past,* which was un-

pleasantly regarded by landowners; and so the strings were silenced. The tunes told of other days, and might revive another bloody insurrection; and so the sweet voices were stilled. The new-comers were little likely to catch the musical enthusiasm of the country. Is it astonishing, then, that the Irish harping ceased, and that some began to doubt if ever Irishmen had been musical at all ? The Irishmen of the present, in the north and east especially, have so little of the old Bardic blood in them, and so much of the foreign element, that a long day of culture must intervene before Ireland can ever adopt the harp again as the national music.

"The harp," says the Rev. Dr. Ledwich, "was unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans." French writers, in the 6th century, call it a barbarous instrument. The 'Book of Leccan' and the 'Book of Ballymote' trace its introduction to the Tuath de Danaans. But Dr. Ledwich follows others in ascribing it to the Saxons! He admits, however, its great popularity, saying : "It was Henry VIII. who, on being proclaimed King of 'Ireland, first gave us the harp (on the royal arms). He selected this instrument as being our favourite one." Giraldus was enthusiastic in his praise of the Irish harp.

The oldest harp known is one in the Irish Museum, claimed to have belonged to Brien Boru, of the 11th century, but supposed to be younger by three hundred years. It is nearly 3 feet in length, standing 2 feet high, having about thirty holes for strings. It may have belonged to the O'Neils. The story goes, that Brien sent his son with it to Rome ; that Pope Clement made a present of it to Henry VIII., who was very musical ; and that he sent it to the Earl of Clanricarde. It came then to the McMahons of Clare, and the Macnamaras of Limerick, being presented, in 1782, to Trinity College. The sounding-board is of oak. Silver was once abundantly ornamenting it, besides precious stones.

Most Irish harps had but one row of strings before the 15th century. A Jesuit, Robert Nugent, is credited with improvements. Richards says he enclosed the open space between the trunk and upper part, or arm, after the manner of a box. He covered with lattice-work of wood the open space, and then placed a double row of strings on each side. The Irish used brass strings. Daghda's harp of the Tuaths was

said to be quadrangular. Diodorus talks of harpers singing hymns at the Round Temples dedicated to the sun. Irish tradition relates, that the first harper in Ireland was Onna Ceanfinn, and that he arrived in the first Milesian expedition.

The Irish music, according to Prof. O'Curry, had no musical notation; but "all notes served as tonics, ancient keys—semitones in diatonic scale." It was homophonous, having refrains. "The harmonic music," says O'Curry, "killed the Irish music." Old Irish poems were often accented for use in singing. The melodies, in order to suit the harp, were in thirds, fifths, and octaves, as the harp, with wire strings, being very resonant, demanded every note to agree with the last, in order to prevent discord. The *Gallttraidheacht* style was festive and war-like; the *Geanttraidheacht* was dolorous; and the *Guanttraidheacht* was soothing. "They sang in a melancholy strain," says Beattie, "by minor thirds, which consist but of four semitones, more than by major thirds, which consist of five." Beaufort says, that in the 11th and 12th centuries "they had a musical notation independent of their practical accents." The early notation had quite a *Sol-fa* appearance, the sign being a sort of alphabetical character. "The Last Rose of Summer" happens to be an English air adapted by Moore.

In the 'Legend of Arthur and the Round Table,' there is a story of Sir Tristram, ordered to Ireland for the cure of his wounds, as the daughter of the king had remarkable medical skill. It is said that he taught her the harp, and lost his heart in the lesson. As the romancer says, "he harped a merry lay, such as had never been heard before that time;" and this pleasant pastime was the occasion of much sorrow afterwards to the heroine, *La Beale Isoul*.

A religious party, anxious to prove the English, not the Irish, to be the genuine descendants of the Tribes of Israel, has come to the conviction that Jeremiah brought David's harp to Ireland, when he came with the Milesians, and with Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, who gave the Irish an Egyptian origin. In the 'Glory Leader,' Mr. Hine declares that this harp may yet be found, by digging under Tara Hill, where Jeremiah must have hidden the precious relic. Mr. Harrison Oxley notes that the Irish harp, "which appears so gracefully on the British standard, will be found to have had

its origin from the transplanted Judah and Israel." He adds : " That Ireland should have been so famous of yore for its harp and music, would certainly seem to indicate some intimate connection with the worship of the God of Israel at Jerusalem."

An Irish dance may fittingly follow the Irish music. The supposed National Dance is the *Rinceadhfada,* which has been thus described by Mr. Waller :

" Three persons abreast, each holding the ends of a white handkerchief, first moving forward a few paces to slow music, the rest of the dancers followed two and two, a white handkerchief between each. Then the dance began. The music suddenly changing to brisk time, the dancers passed with a quick step under the handkerchiefs of the three in front, wheeled round in semi-circles, formed a variety of pleasing, animated evolutions, interspersed at intervals with *entrechants* or cuts, united and fell again into their original places behind. In this way," he says, " it was played before James II. in Ireland."

As all sun-worshipping tribes had special dances, with especial relation to the supposed movements of the sun, may not this Irish performance have been the popular demonstration at the *Beal-tinne,* or Baal festival, referred to by early Bards and Saints. The Pedro Pill dance is Oriental.

IRISH WOMEN.

Irish women of old had a reputation for beauty beyond the bounds of the Isle of Saints. They had, what is far better, a reputation of faithfulness to their lords, too little rewarded by a return of the quality in those rude days.

In the tribal wars the women suffered the most. If men were slain, their wives and daughters were often reserved for slaves and violence. Irish history is full of such records, and of forcible abduction in times of peace. The law was weak to protect them from insult, or avenge their wrongs. That law was made by Irish chiefs for their own good, and was not too heedful of the cries of females, or of the poor. A chief had almost unbridled power over the girls of his clan. His bridal right with women was enforced, unless the husband paid a heavy fine.

Still, the Brehon law did not leave the wife helpless in the hands of a tyrant partner. Property she received at marriage, or after by gift, became hers absolutely. She had a liberty usually denied to Christian spouses, that of suing, or being sued; and she could contract engagements independent of her lord. She could not inherit any but *loc* land, and that in usufruct, for it afterwards went to her uncle. A *Flath* freeman was allowed to leave one-third of his landed estate to daughters, if he had no sons. As landowners then paid military service to the chief, a female owner paid a money or cattle substitute for such service.

When going to be married, a woman received a marriage portion. This was either given by her friends, or by the *fine* or portion of tribe to which she belonged. The *gild* consisted of clothes and cattle. The portion was less or more according to the rank of the bridegroom. After the marriage night, a gift, called *coibche* or *morgangaba*, was made by her new possessor. Though settled upon by friends beforehand, it was first named to her before rising the next morning. This *coibche* did not all go to her; a large portion went to her father and the tribe, for the bride's price, or *brauthauf*, as others called it. Gold, silver, dress, or land, might thus be given. This was in pursuance of the time-honoured notion that woman was a slave, or property, before and after marriage. Civilized Europe retains this barbarous institution in many ways; mainly in awarding damages to a man, whether father or husband, for violence offered to her by another. Without the *coibche* the marriage was no legal one.

The wedding of an Irish princess was kept up in royal state. The marriage portion of one is thus described in the old ' Book of Leinster ' :

" Fifty blue cloaks, and each of them like the pure metal of a work of art, and four black grey ears on each cloak, and a brooch of red gold with each cloak, and pale white shirts, with loop animals of gold around them; and fifty silver shields, with edges, and a candle of a royal house in the hand of each of the men, and fifty studs of fine metal in each of the shields, fifty knobs of thoroughly burnt gold in each of them, pins of carbuncle under them from beneath, and their point of precious stones. They used to light the night as if they were rays of the sun. And fifty swords of gold

hilt with them, and a soft grey mare under the seat of each
man, and bits of gold to them, bands of silver with a little
bell of gold around the throat of each horse; fifty horse-robes
of purple, with threads of silver out of them, with drops of
gold and of silver, and with head animals; fifty whips of fine
metal, with a golden hook on the ends of each of them, and
seven chase-hounds, in chains of silver, and an apple of gold
between each of them; greaves of bronze about them—by no
means were there any colour which was not in them.   Seven
trumpeters with them, with gold and silver trumpets, with
many-coloured garments, with golden and silken heads of hair,
with shining cloaks.   There were three jesters before them,
with silver diadems.   Three harpers, with a king's appear-
ance about each of them.   They depart for Cruachan, with
that appearance with them.   Three nights and three days
were the messengers bearing these gifts feasted."

Such wedding presents to a bride betray a singular con-
dition of society.   But the narrative proves the wealth of
Ireland in those early days.   It is at least an open question
whether the marriage portion of the princess was not more of
an advantage to her lord than to herself.

The Irish wife has seven chances by which she could
procure divorce.   She could be freed if her husband were
unfaithful, did not give her due rights, beat her till she was
black and blue, gave her a love potion before the bridal day,
ridiculed or neglected her, and even venturing to accuse her
of impropriety.   But marriages in those days were loose
engagements, and easily dispensed with, if it suited the
stronger party, the one having most influence with the elders
of a tribe.

The women of the better classes lived apart from the males,
occupying, with their servants and slaves, the east side of the
dwelling.   They sat on a different side of the table.   They
never attended parties and revels.   They slept, for protection,
with their servants in one room, where a light was constantly
maintained.   With chiefs and kings they were shut up as in
a harem, which was known as the *Grianan*.

They were not without fine names; as, Eimer, Grainné,
Acal, Buona, Muiream, Siobail or Elizabeth, &c.   Some names
were significant.   There were Sorcha, *bright;* Brogheil Fionula,
fair shoulders; Dunfla, *fort-lady;* Dervorglan, *true oath;*

Gormila, *blue-eyed ;* Orfla, *golden-haired ;* Niamh, *effulgence ;*
and the lovely, modest-faced Dubhdaire.

Of their beauty wonderful things are told. On the charm
of their manners eloquence was never silent. And yet we
read of beauty in the other sex working similar marvels.
There was that celebrated Fenian Adonis and Hercules com-
bined, Diarmuid O'Duibhne, who had a beauty spot on his
left breast, which he fully exposed, to the certain fascination
of the lady. In this way he stole the heart of Grainné, the
daughter of the great King Cormac, from allegiance to her
husband, to the apparent delight of Fenian poets, who thereby
got a romantic subject for their verse.

Here is the translation of part of a very old Irish Fenian
song :—

> " A gold ring was hanging down
> From each yellow curl of her golden hair ;
> Her eyes blue, clear and cloudless,
> Like a dewdrop on the top of the grass.

> " Redder were her cheeks than the rose—
> Fairer was her visage than the swan upon the wave,
> And more sweet was the taste of her balsam lips
> Than honey mingled with red wine."

The Scoto-Irish poet, Ossian, has pretty phrases for his
island charmers. He speaks of " white armed, bosomed,
handed maids " ; " eyes that shone like two stars of night " ;
" her face was heaven's bow, in showers " ; " her breasts were
like foam on the waves " ; " covered with the light of
beauty " ; " When wilt thou arise in thy beauty, first of
Erin's maids ? " " She came to the hosts of Erragon like a
beam of light to a cloud " ; " She was like a spirit of heaven,
half folded in the skirts of a cloud " ; " Her white breast
heaving, like snow on heath, when the gentle winds arise,
and slowly move it in the light."

Very gallant indeed were the Irish Bards of old, in spite of
the saying that St. Kevin's Kathleen had " eyes of most un-
holy blue." A modern medical man, and quite a poet, Dr.
R. Tuthill Massey, has given what he calls an Analytical
Ethnology of a typical Irish fair one :

" She has lovely, rich, dark brown hair, with a golden
tinge—the rich, but rarely seen, auburn ; the skin is soft, fair,

and beautiful; the thinking forehead forms almost a line with the straight, mild nose; the mouth, lips, and chin are exquisite; the teeth are white, well set; and then the expressive soft, dark eye contains so much of honest love, it really speaks. The whole countenance is expanded and open, and over all its parts harmony reigns. The back of the head droops gracefully. The elastic chest is softly rounded. The abdomen is not too full, while the expanded haunches, running fine to the knee, again expand, and then taper into a chiselled ancle and foot, which, although belonging to an Irish peasant girl, may well be held to rival that of the Venus de Medici. Alas! that this lovely specimen of womankind should nearly always fall a victim to pulmonary consumption!"

A fanciful modern has thus pictured a time of Irish Millennium, believed to exist in the days of Brian Boru, who was killed by the Dane, nearly nine hundred years ago:

> " Rich and rare were the gems she wore,
>   And a bright gold ring on her wand she bore;
>   But oh! her beauty was far beyond
>   Her sparkling gems and snow-white wand.
>   Lady, dost thou not fear to stray,
>   So lone and lovely through this bleak way?
>   Are Erin's sons so good or so cold
>   As not to be tempted by woman or gold?
>   Sir Knight, I feel not the least alarm,
>   No son of Erin will suffer me harm;
>   For though they love woman and golden store,
>   Sir Knight! they love honour and virtue more.
>   On she went, and her maiden smile,
>   In safety lighted her round the Green Isle;
>   And blessed for ever is she who relied
>   Upon Erin's honour and Erin's pride."

Although, unhappily, the reign of O'Brien was about the most disturbed of Irish times, and the legend was very far from being true, yet blessed is the man, and he an Irishman, who has so charmingly described the fine ideal of maiden confidence, and man's respect for woman.

IRISH LITERATURE.

In any account of old Irish life, the question of its literature cannot be neglected, though, in this little work, it can be but glanced at. Neither North nor South Britain has such literary treasures as Ireland can display. The Scottish kings soon tired of the Celtic learning, after adopting English as the court language; and constant feuds between the Highlanders and Lowlanders, or clan with clan, were destructive of MSS. In England they quickly disappeared. The Welsh long held tenaciously to their Bardic lays; but the jealousy of Anglo-Norman kings occasioned the loss of the most precious. In Ireland the monasteries became the deposits of much of this treasure.

Ireland would have been the richer had not the fears or bigotry of the priests discouraged the reading of pagan poems and romances, and threw thousands of MSS. into the flames. Fortunately, the Bards managed in some cases to interpolate the writings of their fathers with passages concerning some saint, living hundreds of years after, and so preserved their copies. St. Patrick himself is reputed to have destroyed three hundred books at one time. Such an example found many zealous followers. Protestant clergymen, in like manner, were not eager to preserve the records of heathenish days; but they got rid of others which had been long kept in safety, because they were thought to encourage Popish superstitions. Under these circumstances, one may wonder at any surviving such zeal, the fury of wars, the neglect of ignorance, and the tooth of time.

Zeuss, the German philologist, considered the oldest Irish MS. to be of the 10th, or at the most, the 9th century. But if existing ones be no earlier, many are clearly copies from more ancient parchments; though, as one had admitted, 'interpolated, glossed, and changed in many instances from century to century." That fate has befallen other valuable books; as classical authors, and even the more important religious literature.

Earl Rosse, following up this idea, enthusiastically exclaims: "The Irish MSS. give a view of a people who were in a much more advanced state of society 3000 years ago

than the Peruvians and Mexicans when the Europeans first invaded them."

It is to the honour of the English Government that some of these marvellous specimens of art are being reproduced at the expense of the Treasury ; and Ireland, in this instance, at least, has received a favour not yet granted to either Scotland or England. The National Manuscripts have had facsimiles reproduced, even to the colours, under the skilful hand of Mr. J. T. Gilbert, Irish Master of the Rolls.

Paper and ink were expensive articles ; hence we find that thin sheets of wood were used. These were covered with wax, and words were traced upon that with a sharp-pointed instrument. Oddly enough, one of these waxed books has been brought to light, having been dug out of a bog at Maghera, Derry County, beneath 4 feet of peat. It was evidently the school exercise of an Irish student ; for its leaves of waxed wood were found to contain some exercises in grammar, which were of Latin, but in Irish letters.

A very wonderful book was seen by Giraldus in the 12th century. He learnt the history of it. The four Gospels, according to Jerome, were written therein. It appears that while St. Bridget was praying one day, with a scribe bowing beside her, an angel appeared, and directed the latter to get up and write. He not only told the man what to write, but kindly produced some specimens of good illuminations and pictures, which he desired the worthy bard to copy. This book Giraldus saw at Kildare.

One of the most interesting MSS. remaining is the reliquary, *Domnagh Airgid*, containing portions of the Gospel in uncial or corrupt Latin, but Irish characters. The relic is in several *cumdachs* or ornamental cases, of various ages ; first, yew-wood cover, then copper-plated silver, and the outer one of silver, plated with gold, adorned with many fine figures. The word *Domnagh* is derived from the Latin *dominicus*. It is believed to be the identical reliquary given by St. Patrick to St. Mac Carthen. A number of relics might be seen attached to the outer and least ancient case, which was evidently not made to open. The interior displayed the effect of age, in spite of the case, for little of Matthew could be deciphered. At least of the sixth century, it is one of the oldest Christian MSS. in the world. It was purchased by Mr. Westenra for £300, and

presented to the Museum. The box is 9 inches long, 7 wide, and 5 thick.

Some of the Psalters are of great antiquity. That of the "*Catboch*" had belonged to the Domhnaills (O'Donnells) for 1300 years. Carried on a sinless breast, it always brought victory in war to the Domhnaill clan. It has fifty-eight leaves, and the writing is in a very ancient Irish. A portion is said to have been done by St. Columba of Iona in the 6th century. The 'Book of Kelly' is placed in the same age, ascribed to Columba, and hence called the 'Book of Columb-kille,' which some say was written at the dictation of an angel. It is six times larger than the *Catboch*. Giraldus saw it 700 years ago, and called it the greatest curiosity in Ireland. The illuminations of the four Gospels are marvellously beautiful and wonderfully varied. An old writer says : " This worke doth passe all men's conyng that now doth live in any place." Her Majesty and Prince Albert gave their autographs on a front vellum leaf.

The 'Book of Leabhar Gamhla' is the 'Book of Invasions,' the source of Bardic inspiration for Irish history. The 'Leabhar Breac' means the *speckled book*. The 'Dinsenchas' of Tara has been dated 550. It has much about the Druids and the sacred fire of the old sun worshippers. The 'Book of Leinster' has the whole story about Cormac's palace at Tara, which ceased to be inhabited as early as the 6th or 7th century. The 'Senachas More' is the great book of antiquities. Cormac's 'Psalter or Saltaire of Cashel' is of the 10th century, and older than the 'Psalter of Tara,' which is apparently derived from it. The 'Book of Dioma' gives a gospel of the 7th century.

The 'Book of Cuilmean,' or 'Book of Skins,' has notices of Ogham writing, and its stories have been considered pre-Christian. Like the Psalter of Tara—and many other MSS., it has ceased to exist. The 'Leabhar na-H-Uidhae,' or 'Book of the Dun Cow,' has 138 pages of vellum, and is of great age. The 'Book of Clonmacnoise' has something about the House of Ollamh at Tara. The 'Book of Rights' is a record of superstitions. The 'Gospel of St. Chad' is over a thousand years old. The 'Leabhar Leccan,' or 'Leabhar na y-Ceart,' is attributed to St. Beanan, and gives the story of Tuaths, Milesians, &c., tribal customs, and records of remarkable

G

women; the date of the copy is 1418. The historical 'Book of Ballymote,' 1391, is taken from the original of the 7th century.

Fenian literature was extensive. There are the 'Battle of Gabhra,' the 'Pursuit of Diarmuid,' the 'Lamentations of Oisin,' &c. The last is of 420 verses, four lines each. The 'Book of Howth' is the record of from 430 to 1370. The 'Siege of Howth' is a story concerning a bad poet and a King of Ulster about the year 33, with much relating to 700 white cows with red ears, and 150 fine women. Wars between the Gaedhil Irish and the Danes exercised many a poet. Then there are the 'Annals of Innisfallen,' the 'Book of Clogher,' the 'Annals of Tighenach,' the 'Book of Lismore,' the 'Tain-bo-Cuailgne of Cathbagh,' the 'Dialogue of the Sages,' the 'Departure of the Great Bardic Assembly,' the 'Great Cattle Spell,' the 'Dialogues of Patrick,' the 'Dal-cassian Race,' the 'Leabhar Ardamacha,' the 'Leabhar Ghlia-da-loch,' the 'Leabhar Fiontain Chluana H'Aighnigh,' &c. &c. The 'Book of Armagh,' containing records concerning St. Patrick, is deservedly held in high and honourable repute. The "Annals of Ulster" is by Cathal Maguire, born 1438. The 'Annals of the Four Masters,' including the 'Annals of Donegal,' give the whole Irish chronicle up to 1636. The Four Masters were O'Conary, O'Dulgnan, and the two O'Clearys. The dates, however, are two years forward. In the Museums and other repositories in London, Brussels, Milan, Vienna, Geneva, and Rome are many neglected Irish MSS.

The Irish Bards were very celebrated for their vigour. We read of one who rhymed the very rats to death. The ancient Bardic wish was for a good harp, a shell of strong wine, and that his ancestor's shield be buried with him. Eigeas was a great Bard at the Danish invasion. The Irish Bards often got into trouble from their habit of prophesying in their poetic ecstasies, and were accused of witchcraft when the word came unpleasantly to pass. Even Sir Philip Sydney acknowledged their miraculous power. Many were conscious or unconscious *Mediums*, and wrought wonders in clairvoyant or trance condition. It was something, however, to stop the growth of corn in Munster. No wonder the *Statutes of Kilkenny*, in 1367, prohibited the English having anything to do with them, especially not to cross their hands with silver coin.

The Bards were honoured in Irish law. They were allowed six colours to their garments, when Kings were limited to seven, chiefs to five, gentlemen to two, and common folks, mere plebeians, to one colour. Their wives were valued as high as three milch cows. There were Bardic Colleges at Clogher, Armagh, Lismore, Tara, &c. They were either a *Filea*, a *Breitheamh*, or a *Seanach*, by birth, and privileged accordingly. The *Filea* was a herald, and sang the praises of chief and clan. The *Breitheamhain* were Brehons or judges. The Seanachaidhe were genealogists, and kept proper records lest ambitious *sons of the people* dare intrude upon *blue blood*, so immensely favoured in ancient Ireland above English practice.

They duly parted their hair in the middle, and wore long robes fringed with needlework. The *Ollamh-Filea* or *Ard-Filea* was their head. Amergin, their earliest ancestor, came with the first Milesians, and was known as Aaron's friend, or Jeremiah's, as some say. Their arrogance incensed the kings of Ireland, who got rid of them in Irish fashion. However, one is said to have lived to 1670, a genuine genealogist, being murdered at Sligo, perhaps for aristocratic tendencies. The Bards bothered St. Patrick, and the Danes were rough to them.

There were Lady Bards in Ireland, who sometimes used their supposed supernatural powers to such purpose that burning only arrested the mischief. The *Cruiteoga* played on the harp to aid their rhapsodies, and were the early criers over the dead. In the 'Cathluina' we read : "The daughter of Moran seized the harp, and her voice of music praised the strangers. Their souls melted at the song, like a wreath of snow before the eye of the Sun."

Ossian's Poems are too well known to be passed over. Supposed to be Scotch, they are truly Irish. The characters are Irish, and the scenes are almost wholly Irish. The dispute respecting their authenticity, as alleged by Macpherson, has raged for a century. Dr. Johnson and others have concluded the whole a base invention. If so, Macpherson was, at least, a most distinguished poet. Some allege that he strung old ballads together, supplying a connection where required. An early collector of songs, he is credited with manipulation and interpolation more than invention. There is little doubt but that snatches of very ancient Bardic lays might still be collected from some of the old Irish peasantry.

Scotch and Irish localities have been identified in Ossian. A committee of inquiry, formed on Hume's suggestion, got satisfactory replies. Dr. Blair and Byron were enthusiastic in their praises of the poem, and pointed out a Homeric characteristic in the simplicity of similes. One passage may be quoted : " When wilt thou rise in thy beauty, first of Erin's maids? Thy sleep is long in the tomb. The sun shall not come to thy bed, and sing ' Awake, Darthula ! Awake, thou first of women ! The voice of spring is abroad. The flowers shake their heads on the green hills. The woods wave their growing leaves.' Retire, O Sun ! The daughter of Colla is asleep. She will not come forth in her beauty. She will not move in the steps of her loveliness."

Letters, therefore, can be said to owe something to Ireland. The Irish language has a rich fund of literature. It was a cultured tongue when Saxon was uncouth, meagre, and barbaric. Dr. Blair, the rhetorician, echoed to the opinion of many when he called it " the oldest language, perhaps, in the world." If Welshmen can be enthusiastic for Cymric effusions, how much more might the Irish be for their own. Yet, while Welsh is cherished, the Irish has been studiously neg- lected in the Sister Isle. For all that, nearly a million can speak the ancestral language, though a large proportion of words is of English disguised. Some distinguish between the *Gnath-bherla*, or common Irish speech, and the *Berla Feine* of the Brehon Laws. But Prichard, in his " Eastern Origin of Celtic Nations," thinks that "from the Celtic dialects, a part of the grammatical inflections, and that a very important part common to the Sanscrit, the Eolic Greek, the Latin, and the Teutonic languages, are capable of an elucidation which they have never yet received." In 1851 about 1,500,000 spoke Irish ; but in 1871 the number was only 817,865, or scarcely one in seven.

The ancient Irish Alphabet has points of similarity with the old Greek. It was called *Beth-luis-nion*, from its three first letters ; or *Trees*, because the letters were named after them. The ' Book of Leccan ' says Irish did not begin with *a, b, c,* as Latin, nor *a, b, g,* as Greek and Hebrew, but *b, l, f ;* from which came the appellation *Bobel-loth ;* or *b, l, n,* originating the phrase *Beth-luis-nion.*

There were primitively seventeen letters, originating eighty

sounds.   A fir-tree gave name to *a ;* a birch to *b,* hazel *c,* oak *d,* aspen *e,* alder *f,* ivy *g,* yew *i,* quicken *l,* vine *m,* ash *n,* spindle *o,* pine *p,* elder *r,* willow *s,* holly *t,* heath *u,* and white-thorn *h.*   In subsequent additions, *q* was the apple, *ng* the broom, *st* the black-thorn, *ui* the wood-bine, and *ia* the gooseberry.   Some of these were interchangeable ; as *l* and *r.* The old Bards attached mystic meanings to their letters, as Greeks, Talmudic Jews, and others did.   When cut on sticks, the letters had a quadrangular look quite different from the fluent on vellum.   The poet's *tables* were the wooden tablets, waxed or plain, for writing.

The *Ogham* characters, on old Irish monuments, have been the occasion of much controversy.   Some thought the notches were idle chippings ; and others, that they were cattle scores, or the number of sheep in a flock.   But a certain regularity and uniformity came to be observed.   Bilinguals, or double language, removed many difficulties.   The marks are in sets of five.   A central line, or edge of a stone, received the characters.   These were in three ways ; under the line, upon the line, or obliquely across it.   The five were single stroke, double, three strokes, four, and five.   Those beneath the line represented *b, l, f, s,* and *n.*   Those above were *h, o, t, c,* and *q.*   The slanting ones, crossing the line, were *m, g, ng, t,* and *r.*   In addition, five smaller markings perpendicularly across, were *a, e, i,* and diphthongs.

Most of these stone inscriptions are found near the sea, giving rise to the notion that they had been done by North-men.   They are not uncommon in Scotland, though exceed-ingly rare elsewhere.   But there are references to Ogham, or Ogam, in ancient Irish MSS.   In a poem, King Cormac was said to have buried some ogham under a certain stone.   The Irish Academy sought for it, and found it.   The first was observed in 1785.   Fine specimens are in a chamber at Drum-loghan, Waterford County.   *Drum* is the ridge ; *craobh* is the stem line ; *fleasc* is the stroke across the craobh ; *aieme* is the group of five letters ; and each letter is a *fidh* or tree.

Ogham means *inscription.*   Mr. G. M. Atkinson says : "The derivation is oghaim, from *ghuaim, i. e.* the guaim or wisdom through which the bards were enabled to compose." Others call it from Ogma, the Tuath grandson of Dealbadh. General Lane Fox suggests modifications of some very primitive

method of recording ideas. Some said they were Assyrian arrow-heads filled up. It is singular that while 147 oghams occur in Kerry, Cork, and Waterford, only 13 are found elsewhere in Ireland.

Bishop Graves of Limerick has exhausted the subject. He owns that Roman letters came to Ireland before Christianity, and that oghams existed in Pagan times, but believes the *Runic* to be the parent of ogham. The trees grew with age. The ogham comes from across the sea, and was introduced by the Teutonic Lochlann visitors. "It is a cipher," says he, "a series of signs which represent letters." The MSS. prove this cryptic character. "It was contrived," says the Bishop, "by those who possessed a knowledge of one or more foreign alphabets," as Latin and Runic. But he doubts if any specimens be much older than the Christian era.

RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT IRISH.

This subject is so interesting, and so peculiar, that something ought to be said about it in any story of Old Ireland. But it opens up such a wide field of inquiry, that no manner of justice can be done to it in the small compass that could be allotted to it here. The writer hopes for a future opportunity to give a detailed account of the ancient religions of Ireland.

Whatever amount of ignorance prevailed, the worst features of heathenism were not so conspicuous as in most other countries. There were not such bloody and cruel rites, nor was there such degradation of humanity.

As might be expected from the fact of the Irish being of so many races, the ancient religions, of which we discover more or less distinct traces, were more numerous, or more pronounced, than in England. Sun-worship and serpent-worship prevailed to the time of St. Patrick. Tradition gives him the credit of getting rid of the snakes from Ireland; that is, he put an end to that prominent form of idolatry. England had her real snakes, and kept them; but was never so troubled as Ireland with spiritual ones.

The gods in vogue with the Irish distinctly indicate in their names and character their Oriental origin. More civilized than the Britons in remote ages, the Irish were indebted to

Eastern colonists for arts as well as faith. Several Oriental creeds streamed in with the several new comers.

The position which *Druidism* occupied in Ireland, being known in so-called Early Christianity there, long before the reputed age of St. Patrick, is one of interest and importance to all inquirers into the religion of the ancient Irish. But the vail, thus barely raised, must be hastily drawn, the subject being too large for investigation here.

OLD IRISH LAWS.

Our information upon this subject is mainly derived from a work called The SENACHUS MOR. This has been translated from the Irish by Messrs. O'Donovan and O'Curry. It was a compilation by nine authors, the principal of whom was an ecclesiastic, St. Cairnach of *Cornwall*. A large amount is attributed to the celebrated Druid, Dubhthach, converted by St. Patrick. As usual, the apostle of Ireland is credited with the authorship of this body of Irish law, collected by the Brehons, or lawyers, of the King Laeghaire, through the suggestion of the Irish patron saint. Some say the *Senachus Mor* pertained to schools for the study of law.

About these Brehon laws a misapprehension exists. While some would give them a date only just preceding the introduction of Christianity, others claim an antiquity of thousands of years. Anyhow, the very Irish in which they are recorded is so full of obsolete words, that Irish scholars feel free to indulge in a variety of fanciful translations. "As to the book," Sir H. Maine writes, "if its authority could be well established, this ancient Irish code would correspond historically to the 'Twelve Tables of Rome,' and to many similar bodies of written rules which appear in the early history of Aryan societies." There lies the difficulty.

Prof. O'Curry finds proof of its age in quotations from it by Cormac of the 9th century. But that does not carry one far. The 'Book of Rights' has been said to be very old. It supposes Munster Kings over the sovereigns of Connacht, Ulster, Meath, and Leinster, as well as the *Galls* of Dublin. But these Danish Galls, or foreigners, arrived there only in the 9th century. Still, it is pleasing to note, as Mr. Hodder M. Westropp had pointed out, that "the native Irish not

only possessed a fixed and written code, by which to
regulate the judgments of their Brehons (*judges*), but also,
that these functionaries duly committed their judgments,
such as they were, to writing."

What, then, do we learn of the constitution of the Pagan
Irish from this record?

At first sight, there appear many things which could have
been attributed to Roman customs.   Then there are many
indications of a system of rule precisely like that in common
use among the Saxons.   There are striking parallels with the
ecclesiastical laws, giving some foundation to the tradition of
the part St. Patrick had in the compilation.   The Feudal
system is beheld therein by others in full bloom.   But,
digging deeper, we seem to pierce Feudal, Saxon, Christian,
and Roman strata, getting even beyond all the *Aryan* expo-
nents, and drop upon the more primeval, and so-called
Turanian, elements.   If anything, all this would seem to
indicate the Brehon Law to be a conglomeration of usages,
pertaining to various ages and different conditions of society,
some recorded in letters, but the major portion dependent
upon traditional and oral sources of information.

If examined searchingly by a jurist of a philosophical turn
of mind, antiquarian knowledge, and ethnological learning,
most interesting and important evidence might be obtained
as to the races that have influenced the early civilization of
Ireland.

All acknowledge that the Brehon law is founded upon
tribal customs.   Some religious enthusiasts of the present
day, who trace Jewish influence in Ireland, assert distinct
traces of there having been twelve tribes there, each with its
own standard.   The tribes, called *Septs* and *Clans*, were con-
stantly fluctuating in numbers.   Like as in the Highlands of
Scotland, the greater proportion may be put down as quite
modern,—a few hundred years old only.   We are told of
sixty clans at one period.   But it was not uncommon for a
man of distinguished energy or service, whether of native
Irish, or of English or Scotch, origin, to gather men together,
give themselves a name, and be included as a clan.   Other-
wise, *Septs* were descendants of remarkable kings, Druids,
and Brehons.   The land of a tribe constituted, in general, an
area about equal to a modern Barony in Ireland.

But no particular ethnological truth can be got at by the recognition of a tribal system, as that has prevailed in so many parts of the world, of all times, and in very conflicting races. Ages before Moses there were tribes. The wild natives of Australia have assuredly had their tribes before Abraham's day. Aryans and Turanians were so divided. If, originally, men roamed in families, self-preservation and human instinct would lead to the agglomeration of families into tribes. The clan system marks a low order of things, but an emergence from the chaos of lawless individuality. No people retaining it can possibly form themselves into a stable and advancing government. But as soon as they come together, in the progress of civilization, they drop the tribal system; though the *Law of Survival* may perpetuate clan names, and some of the characteristics of that past, as was the case in the land of the Jews.

The secret of the Irish disorders and internecine strifes lies in the fact of the conservative retention of this idea. A very slavery to public sentiment existed within the border of the clan. One would defend the other, as a foster-brother, and never impeach him to outsiders. The difficulty still observed in Ireland, as relates to the discovery of crime, the giving of evidence, the decision of juries, so trying to an upright judge, so great a scandal to religion as well as to civilization, is to be accounted for on this conservative principle. No association of English or Lowland Scotch could thus bind individuals to acts contrary to their judgment and sense of right; and thus justice can be administered, order maintained, and individual liberty secured. But, among the Irish and the Highlanders of Scotland, the old tribal notions made the individual a slave to any prevailing sentiment in spite of personal conviction of duty. That moral cowardice is in singular contrast to the physical bravery always conspicuous in them.

But while the Irish tribal system bound a certain number in the bonds of kindly sympathy, it led them to look upon outsiders with jealousy, suspicion, dislike, and with increased force according to proximity. An injury done to one of their name was to be avenged by the tribe, not only upon the offender himself, but upon any member of the clan to which he belonged. The disquiet of life, the constant terror about something likely to happen, the knowledge that vengeance,

swift and terrible, might any moment fall upon one, however innocent and unprepared, must have seriously embittered daily enjoyment, while fostering those dark and malignant passions, the development of which would too often react within the fold of tribe or family itself.

Politicians, too ready to impute the worst motives to those in opposition, might charitably recognize the influence of old tribal feelings when disposed to be hard in their condemnation of Irish practices. And, certainly, Irish politicians, aware of this tendency in their auditory to take an extremely prejudiced view of another party, would only act as men and gentlemen, leave alone questions of morals and piety, to refrain from playing upon this unhappy national trait, to the widening of breaches, the provocation of party hate, the loss of self-respect, the destruction of human feeling.

In the tribe there were several classes. An Irish tribe had by no means uniformity of rights and privileges. The gradations of society were distinctly marked, and the several ranks had their several and different conditions of freedom. Unhappily, there was then one law for the rich and another for the poor, unknown under any existing British rule. Justice with us is meted to the humblest in the same measure as to the greatest. In an Irish clan, it was the contrary. The poorer or lower classed the man, the less value was his life, and the greater were his disabilities. As fines, or *erichs*, formed the punishment for crimes, the fine was greater in proportion to the elevated station of the person so offended, not offending. As a man was born, so might he remain. Romancers may speculate upon the liberty and equality under ancient Irish law, but a perusal of legal literature gives one a sadder impression.

For the source of these tribal customs we must look to something more than the ideas of a primitive society. In that there would be more liberty and less complexity than apparent in the Brehon law. The structure was laid in the foundation, probably, of a Turanian population, long, long before the arrival of the Celts, and received in the process of many centuries those additions which successive races brought to the island, besides being affected by civilizations with which the Irish were brought into contact, outside of permanent colonizations.

The chief, though of a certain family, held his position by the right of election, according to the custom of *Tanistry*. His privileges were considerable. By the "Law of Distress" he was specially shielded from attack, as the punishment for an offence against his person was far in excess of that awarded for crime against one of lower degree. While there were lands belonging to the community, he had an acreage subjected to his own will alone, but only a life interest therein. The *Rig* or chief of the Irish corresponded somewhat to the Saxon ealdorman. A Rig Mor Tuatha was, in fact, the ealdorman of the Tything.

The king himself was elected, though chosen by the chiefs, from one particular family. The *Ard Ri*, or monarch of Ireland, gained his position less from hereditary privileges than from warlike qualities. This ordination of an extreme aristocracy of blood, the marked peculiarity of Irish rule, though so contrary to the *Rights of Man*, necessitated great care of genealogies. Thus, every chieftain had his Bardic herald, one of whose most important offices was the preservation of the Family Tree. They were genuine aristocrats in those days, and looked with scorn upon a man whose father was no *gentleman*.

There was one comfort left to a man. If he only managed to increase his store, though at the expense of those outside of his tribe, he gained increased favour in the tribe, and was voted to a higher social class, with all its extra privileges. The sentiment of "A man's a man for a' that" was not appreciated in the clan.

One very important privilege of a chief was the right of *Coshering*. He was permitted to take great liberties with even the family relations of a subordinate : but he could *cosher* upon him to his heart's content. That is, he could come with his wives (for polygamy was sanctioned), children, relatives of all sorts, servants and dependants, and put themselves on a tenant farmer, who had to keep the locusts till ready to fly off elsewhere to another man's field. Sir John Davis, who witnessed the system in vogue, might well exclaim : "The lord is an absolute tyrant, the tenant a very slave and villain, and in one respect more miserable than bondslaves. For commonly the bondslave is fed by his lord, but here the lord is fed by his bondslave." That was the ancient Tenant-Right of Ireland.

Next to the chiefs elect or Tanists were the *Freemen* or *Airés* in the *Fine, Finead,* or family. They were *Flaths,* or *Bo-aires;* the former being allowed to hold slaves. The *Ceilles* were genteel freemen. Cattle being the standard of property, and cattle-lifting outside the tribe a reputable though dangerous calling, Sir H. Maine says : " It is by taking stock that the free Irish tribeman became the ceill or kyle, the vassal or man of his chief, owing him not only rent, but service and homage." The Saer-ceiles were vassals, and the chief of a *Fine* was the guardian of all minors. The *Daer-Ceiles* were copyholders.

Some speak of nine degrees in station. The *Gwreange* was a yeoman, and the *Kaeth* a slave. The value of life rose from that of the *cumhal* of a slave, put down as three cows. All freemen having a voice in deciding upon war and peace, the occasions for strife were multiplied. As, however, men went on the war-path only so long as it suited them, or paid well, a king could hardly count an army as better than a rope of sand.

The Irish tribal system forestalled and perpetuated some of the worst features of the Feudal System.

The *Land System* was most complicated. In a sense, the tribe owned the soil in common. That was the theory in Ireland, as it is still in the village communities of India, of Servia, of Southern Russia, and of Turkey, as found by the Turks, and retained by them. In India, Turkey, and Russia, however, there is far more freedom and justice in the administration of such lands than there was in ancient Ireland. Godkin wrote : " In Ireland they had (all to themselves) for two thousand years one of the richest countries in the world ; and from century to century the land remained uncleared, uncultivated, unenclosed. unfenced—no man having a field he could call his own." This is hardly correct. But Giraldus, who saw the Irishman about 700 years ago, said that " he lives on the produce of his cattle, and leads a life but little superior to them, nor have they emerged from the pastoral state."

The Brehon law supposes the people engaged in pastoral pursuits rather than agriculture. It is not true that they were without a land tenure, but there could be little security for the product. In such a state of society, one of almost universal rapine, cattle would be the safest property, being

moveable. All crimes, including even murder, were condoned by the payment of so many cows, according to the social status of the aggrieved party. Land was required for the cattle, and the equivalent for its use was *Rent*, that bugbear of the present day. The chiefs had a bad name as landlords up to the Elizabethan days, for we find Spenser saying that "they most shamefully racke their tenants." This was before Scotch and English Plantation landlordism.

There were several forms of tenancy. Lands occupied by those belonging to the clan were let at a rate lower than that paid by an outsider. The *Senachus Mor* thus lays down the law: "The three rents are—rack rent (the extreme) for a person of a strange tribe; a fair rent, from one of the tribe; and the stipulated rent, which is paid equally by the tribe and the strange tribe." Keary's 'Dawn of History' thus draws attention to the shifting ideas of justice prevalent in the good old times: "This distribution is generally recognized in all early communities. In dealing with a man of his own tribe, the individual was bound in honour not to take any unfair advantage, or to take only such a price, to exact only such a value in exchange, as he was legitimately entitled to. It was quite otherwise in dealings with members of other tribes."

There were certain lands held in common, called the *Infinné*. The *Dathaig-finné* was a separate and inheritable possession. In the *Gall-finné*, the inheritance was to three-fourths of the estate, and one-fourth in the *Sar-finné*. The *Finné* constituted the majority of lands, being held in common. Other portions were set apart for strangers. It was of much importance to a clan to get an increase of members, as that strengthened fighting power. To the chief was, therefore, delegated the privilege of granting land to new comers. Some of this might be made hereditary, if the man brought great cattle wealth to the *Fine*; or it would be let at will. The stranger was called the *Fuidhir*, and his tenure a *Fuidh*. Hence the origin of the Scottish words *Feuer* and *Feu* for the English *lease*.

A homestead was a *Rath*. That the tribesman had was a *Finné-rath*, and the stranger's home was a *Sar-rath* or *Mer-rath*. The Ordnance Survey has mention of the sites of many thousands of raths in Munster. A rath, properly, was an enclosure. The payment of rent was in cattle and service, a

combination of aboriginal and of feudal systems. If a man lost cattle, by any circumstance, his ground was limited accordingly, as he was in a worse position to pay the rent.

Another sort of tenure existed alongside of this. The chief might give the new-comer stock for the land, deriving a certain share of increase as payment. It was a *Saer-stock* tenure if the stock were given without security, and a Daer-stock tenure if the tenant found security. The former tenant gave free service to the chief for seven years, and then retained the stock. The latter stood in a better position, being no serving dependant on the lord, but making a cattle payment of rent; he was, however, obliged to submit to the heavy charge of *Coshering* when the chief chose to quarter himself and his family on the homestead at certain times for so many days. If the chief died after seven years' rent had been paid, the tenant kept the cattle. If the *Saer* tenant died, his heirs were relieved from service, but they kept to the land. If the chief reclaimed his stock, he was obliged to leave one-third with the man in possession. There was an entrance fee of so many cattle on the taking of land. The slaves on an estate were captives taken in war, or men unable to pay a fine inflicted by the chief, or by the *Cuirmtigi* or so-called *Council of the Alehouse.*

This curious system seems to belong to the Turanian rather than to the Aryan race, and evidences a lower and more primitive condition of society. If one wanted to see some approach to the Irish of 10 to 20 centuries back, he must go to the village communities yet existing in Turkey and Russia, always protected by Turkish and Russian alien rulers of those ancient races. Though the Hindoos were too advanced a people for that style, when they entered India nearly 4000 years ago, they found the wild blacks in that state, and left them in it. Some British land systems in India still retain this ancient Irish custom the English found in Asia.

The Feudal system was foreshadowed in the military service of Irish tribes. In some cases the service was limited to seven years. The light-armed were the *Kernes*, the others were *Galloglasses.* There were hereditary marshals, as there were judges, poets, and physicians. A successful foray gave cattle to the chief and an increase of wealth. The necessities of a weakened tribe were opportunities to their neighbours.

THE ENGLISH-IRISH.

How long the more ancient settlers in Ireland have been established cannot now be ascertained, though the Bards venture to give precise dates for the time of their arrival. The Danes and Norwegians kept up their migrations to Ireland, more or less, for a couple of centuries. But, from about the year 1000, Norway and Sweden were not able to send forth fleets of marauders or settlers to Ireland.

The English found refuge from oppression there long before the conquest by Henry II. in 1172. In disorders under Saxon sovereigns, malcontents sought homes in Ireland. The sons of Godwin got shelter and friends there in the reign of Edward the Confessor; while the family of Harold obtained Irish aid to make an incursion during the government of the Conqueror.

But the great stream of English emigration flowed westward to Ireland after the so-called Anglo-Norman Conquest. Its volume contracted and expanded according to circumstances. At times it seemed about to dry up, and once or twice one might have prophesied its going to overwhelm the island.

While interesting to trace the progress of this English colonization, itself a very mixed character of race, it is sad to observe the official neglect of the colonists, the State opposition to the English settlement of the country, and that unjust treatment of these Anglo-Irish which drove them, age after age, to seek sympathy and union with the natives rather than with their own ancestral home. The spirit of disloyalty has, in fact, been always more marked in those parts of Ireland occupied by the descendants of Englishmen than in the more distinctly native Irish quarters.

By far the greatest proportion of English immigrants, before the accession of James I., became Irish, not only in feeling, but in manners, religion, and even language. A large amount of those who imagine themselves to be Celtic Irishmen, and natural foes of the Sassenach, are descendants of English colonists, even in Munster and Connaught.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

The Scandinavians were a sore trial to Ireland for centuries. They came under the names of Danes and Norsemen, or Northmen. Their object was something more than the destruction of churches, the pillaging of houses, and the capture of youths for southern slave-markets. Those operations were systematically and zealously performed. But, finding the *Green Isle* decidedly fairer and richer than their own rock-girt or tempest-torn homes, a considerable number emigrated from lands known now as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Baltic Russia, Prussia, and Holland;—and, though generally called *Danes*, they occupied most of the ports of Ireland and the contiguous country. · Though these and their descendants mixed with the native Irish, and were ultimately lost in the generic appellation of *Irish*, they added, as has been before shown, a vast amount of Teutonic or Saxon blood with the more native Celtic and Iberian.

A second Scandinavian invasion took place in the so-called Norman-English Conquest of Ireland in the time of Henry II.

As England is said to have been one-third Danish at the time of the Conquest by William the Norman, so Ireland had, perhaps, especially on the eastern and southern sides, as large an admixture of Danish or Scandinavian blood. But, as in England the stoutest resistance to the Normans was presented by the Danes of the North, so, in Ireland, the force of resistance was on the part of the eastern and largely Danish population.

The Normans came originally with Rollo from Norway, and subdued a portion of France, since known as Normandy. It is by no means improbable that a very considerable proportion of both chiefs and men who came over with William, as Normans, were Celtic-French and Teutonic or German-French. In like manner it might be assumed that the very Norman Barons who subjugated Ireland were far from being true Normans or Scandinavians. They were supposed to be such, but received no sympathetic welcome on that account from those in Ireland who claimed a common ancestry with them.

It is, nevertheless, a singular ethnological fact that the so-called *English* conquest of Ireland should have been the

upward returning current of Scandinavians. The lords were of Norman or Scandinavian blood, and their best men-at-arms were imported from Normandy. The Celtic and Iberian-Irish were, therefore, to be further Teutonized by that invasion.

The story of so-called English introduction to Ireland can but be glanced at here, as history is only called into requisition for the simple purpose of elucidating the question of race.

As is well known, Ireland was ever in a chronic state of Donnybrook Fair. Tribal races take a deal of time to coalesce. The Circassian clans had never peace among themselves till they were embraced by the Russian Bear. The Afghan clans were always fighting each other, but on the rare occasion of plundering a rich neighbour. The Scottish clans had a similar tendency to mutual mutilation, till crushed by the Saxon Kings of Scotland. The Irish septs or clans were, like the old Bedouin tribes, at war all round. Their nominal kings were powerless to prevent these clannish disorders.

After the same fashion, the five sovereigns of Meath, Ulster, Connaught, Leinster, and Munster found everlasting subjects of dispute, and constant occasions for going to war. Had it not been that their battles were usually short and not very sanguinary, such continual collisions must have put the Irish in the condition of the traditional Kilkenny cats, that had nothing left but their tails.

The population of Ireland at this time could not have been large, though so long peopled, and by such a succession of races. The inhabitants of no country can be numerous while in a tribal and contesting stage of being. Sir William Petty, some two hundred years ago, estimated that there were 300,000 at the time of the Conquest. That is, Ireland, with an area of 30,000 square miles, after thousands of years of supposed independent existence, had a population equal to that of Melbourne, a colonial city forty years old.

The Norman-English got Ireland by gift and conquest. The Pope, as recognized head of European morals, could not but be shocked at the past history of Ireland, and its then existing state of barbarous warfare and of lawless crime. His predecessors had fulminated against the Irish in vain, and he felt the weakness of his own influence to correct the evils.

The Pope, as recognized head of European faith, could not

but be shocked at the spectacle of a professedly Christian country, an island of Catholic churches and forms, utterly indifferent to his claims as the Head of the Church, and absolutely innocent of the sacred institutions of tithes and Peter's Pence.

What could be done to improve their morals, and establish a concordat? They must be flogged into better manners and spiritual subjection. But who could be the instrument? Were there ever such devoted friends of the Church as the newly-baptized Northmen? Was not England adjacent to Ireland, and its Norman sovereign able to chastise the wild Irish? Is it quite certain that that virtuous king had not been as deeply wounded in spirit as the Pope himself at the wickedness of the Irish?

It seems that disinterested piety moved Henry II. as early as 1154, when he sent an embassy to Pope Adrian IV., expressing his profound spiritual interest in unhappy Ireland, and his earnest wish for Romish sanction to a little crusading scheme. He desired to *visit* that land, in order to restore Church discipline, and enforce the payment of tithes. From the 'History of Ireland,' published by Duffy of Dublin, we copy part of the celebrated Papal Bull in reply:

"You intend to extend the limits of the Church, to announce the truth of the Christian religion to an ignorant and barbarous people, to pluck up the seeds of vice from the vineyard of the Lord, while to accomplish your design more effectually, you implore the counsel and aid of the Apostolic See."

His Holiness then unfolds an Emigration Scheme:

"Certainly it is beyond a doubt that Ireland and all the islands upon which Christ, the Sun of Justice, has shone, belong of right to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church. We, therefore, the more willingly plant them with a faithful *plantation* and a seed pleasing to the Lord, as we know, by internal examination, that a very rigorous account must be rendered of them."

"Thou hast communicated to us, our dear son in Christ, that thou wouldst enter the island of Ireland, to subject its people to obedience of laws, to eradicate the seeds of vice, and also to make every house pay the annual tribute of one penny to the Blessed Peter, and preserve the rights of the

Church of that land whole and entire. Receiving your laudable and pious desire," &c.

Again : " We, seconding your pious and commendable intention with the favour it deserves, and granting a benignant assent to your petition, are well pleased that, for the enlargement of the bonds of the Church, for the restraint of vice, the correction of evil manners, the culture of all virtues, and the advancement of the Christian religion, you should enter into that island, and effect what will conduce to the salvation thereof, and to the honour of God." It was still needful to add : " Let the people of that land receive thee with honour, and venerate thee as their Lord ! "

The next Pope, Alexander III., was equally favourable to the project. The state of Ireland had been a great cause of anxiety and distress at Rome for ages. The want of orthodoxy in the high seat of Culdeeism, and the unwillingness to submit to proper Church authority, could not but trouble the faithful elsewhere. There can be no doubt but that the invasion was a popular one through Christendom, as it was expected to remove a standing scandal in Europe. Alexander III. was delighted to find Henry resolved at last upon action. It was a pleasing thought, as he assured the king in a *Bull*, " that the barbarous people of Ireland, by your means, be reformed and recovered from their filthy life and abominable conversation; that, as in name, so in manners and conversation, they may be Christians."

It has been said that these Papal views were incorrect and prejudiced. But there seems no reason to suspect the heads of the Church of any want of true intelligence about the islanders, and no father would readily accept an evil report of a child. The visit of ecclesiastics in that reign confirmed the narratives of lay travellers as to the disorders, vices, and irreligion of the Irish.

After the first success, the Pope was eager to express his satisfaction, saying :

" We have heard by glorious report, and by the faithful relation of many, not without great delight of mind, in what manner you have, like a pious king and magnificent prince, miraculously and splendidly triumphed over that Irish nation, which, abandoning the fear of God, runs, as it were, unbridled down the steep of crimes, casts aside the obligation of

the Christian faith, and of virtue, and consumes itself in internecine slaughter."

Whatever, then, the sentiment of Ireland in the 12th, 15th, 17th, or 19th century, as to the conquest of the country by the English, there can be no doubt concerning the European sentiment in the 12th century. From the Pope to the humblest monk of Italy, without mention of France, Germany, &c., the onset was esteemed a sort of crusade against the infidel. That the results were neither so favourable to the Church and the cause of virtue as they should have been, nor so satisfactory to the English Crown, may be owing to circumstances independent of Pope and King.

The moral causes of the invasion having been stated, it is necessary to indicate the then supposed *providential* openings for the conduct of the enterprise.

It would hardly have done, even in that day, for Henry to land an army in Ireland, and proceed on his system of conversion by fire and sword, without some slight excuse. When William the Conqueror came, it was avowedly to enforce the will of the Saxon Edward the Confessor, as well as to bring the Saxons, who were almost as bad Churchmen as the Irish, more directly under the authority of the Pope. But, as William waited for the opening, so did Henry wait. In 1171 the opening came.

A love affair connected with King Dermot Mac Murrough and the fair Devorgilda sprang the mine.

Dermot, though something of a representative of his day, was not an agreeable person. As King of Leinster, he took more liberties with the eyes and limbs of his subjects than the Brehon Law could sanction. His cruelties, exactions, and oppressions were compensated for, to some extent, by pious gifts to the clergy, and donations to monasteries. Not content with the ill-will of his own chiefs, he drew down the wrath of his neighbours. O'Ruarc, Prince of Breffney, in Connaught, had a beautiful wife, Devorgilda, daughter of the King of Meath. Dermot wished to have her, and she wished to be had. An occasion was sought, and she was seized as the willing prize.

Breffney appealed to Connaught. Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, was then nominated *Ard Ri*, or Head

King of Ireland. He came to the rescue, and delivered the stolen Helen to her purchasing master. Forsaken by his Leinster men, and deserted by his Danish Dublin friends, Dermot made a hasty retreat from his country, and reached Bristol, the great port of the Irish trade. The clergy came to the aid of their benefactor, and procured him an audience with Henry II.

Although Dermot promised to hold his crown in homage to the English king, the Norman was not ready in his advances to help him. But a sort of permission was granted for any Norman lord to do the service. The Earl of Chepstow and Pembroke, a Norman ruler in South Wales, then recently subjugated, was deemed likely to enter upon the speculation. He had a warlike son, the renowned Strongbow, who was on no better terms with the king than other nobles, and would be quite willing to live further off. Dermot came to an agreement with him. He would, for the assistance needed to put him again on the throne, give the Norman his daughter Eva for wife, and leave him the kingdom at his death.

Strongbow might have known that the Leinster king could not engage the sovereignty after his death, since the crown was elective and not hereditary. But the Baron doubtless thought his good sword would cut the knot, and that it was his mission to teach the Irish a more correct European system of rule. He determined first to send his friends, Fitz Stephen and Fitzgerald, who were indebted to Henry I. for their existence. Dermot engaged to give these lords Wexford and the country around.

The invasion began with 30 knights, 60 men in armour, and 300 Welsh bowmen; these were joined by 200 more Welshmen. It was truly an invasion of Ireland by Celtic Britons and Normans.

The story of the war is not entertaining, for it was only another Irish contention. But the skill of the strangers gave the advantage to one side. After the battle, Dermot's Irish clansmen brought him the present of 300 bleeding heads. Recognizing one face, this Christian monarch eagerly snatched at it, and bit off the nose. But when he heard of Connaught coming with an army against him, the miserable Dermot proposed to get rid of the English, if Roderick did not disturb him in Leinster.

After awhile, Strongbow came over, stormed Dublin, repulsed the rude Irish thousands by a charge of his Norman horse, and married Eva. The death of Dermot seemed to remove all barriers to his becoming an Irish king. Had it been so, it would have been only what had been done by the Normans in France, England, Naples, &c. But if only a settlement of foreigners were to be made, little difficulty would arise ; for, as Dr. Leland said : "The settlement of a Welsh colony in Leinster was an incident neither interesting nor alarming to any one. Irish Annalists speak with a careless indifference of the event."

Henry thought otherwise. He knew the bold Norman conquerors of Cardiff were strong enough to plant their banners in Ireland, and he wanted no Norman rival there. At first, he appears to have wished the work undone. "He published an edict," said Berington, "forbidding his ships to trade to Ireland, and commanding all his subjects to retire." Then he changed his mind. As a Duke of Normandy became King of England, why might he not be King of Ireland? Strongbow, Richard de Clare, Earl of Strigul, would be only his liege subject in Dublin.

The king arrived at Waterford, Oct. 17th, 1171, and enjoyed a walk over the course. Who could resist these Norman knights he brought over, with English and Welsh bowmen? First one chief, and then another, came to do him homage. Strongbow bent his knee before him. The Prince of Desmond, the one of Ossory, O'Brien of Thomond, &c., brought Munster to his feet. Even Roderick of Connaught consented to hold his crown by command of the English monarch. There was no fighting, and all Ireland up to the Shannon yielded. The King of Ulster only kept aloof. It was a grand Christmas time with Henry at Dublin.

The spiritual business had then to be transacted. Henry's own renewed friendship with Rome, after the murder of à Beckett, must be secured in Ireland.

A national Synod of 3000 Irish clergy was held on the sacred Rock of Cashel. All the prelates, excepting the aged and infirm Archbishop of Armagh, were assembled, and swore allegiance to Henry and his heirs.

Great reforms were then and there inaugurated—by the clergy. Lawful marriage alone was to be allowed. Men

were not to go about armed with a battle-axe, "as this people are easily moved to rebel." Taxes were to be paid to England. Henry, on his part, contracted that the lands of the Church should be free from exactions of Irish chiefs. To remove the reproach resting on the Irish Church, the Cashel Synod agreed to make their institutions Papal as those in orthodox England. The resolution as given by Giraldus is as follows :

"That Divine Offices shall be henceforth celebrated in every part of Ireland according to the forms and usages of the Church of England. For it is right and just that, as by Divine Providence Ireland has received her lord and king from England, she should also submit to a reformation from the same source."

What could be more satisfactory ! The Irish clergy congratulated themselves and the cause of order and religion that their country had come under a foreign yoke. Henceforth a millennium would visit the heretofore distracted Ireland. Henry smiled graciously upon these patriots at the grand old Rock of Cashel, and almost believed, for the moment, that he was the saviour of society in Erin.

And Ireland, thus brought under the English, or rather Norman, authority, without a struggle or a murmur, and expected no longer to be tormented with intestine wars and local tyrants, was at peace for a few weeks only. No sooner had Henry returned, than the De Courcys, Fitzgeralds, and the rest of the Norman barons found nearly all their labours had to begin again. Ireland was not conquered. The Normans found it comparatively easy to establish themselves in England, where a central government existed; but Ireland, without union in itself, was able for several centuries to baffle the efforts made to reduce it to order and unity under British rule.

ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS AFTER THE CONQUEST.

It is difficult to estimate the number of English settling in Ireland during the four centuries between the conquest by Henry II. and the active measures of the Elizabethan times. Naturally, the Norman nobles who appropriated to themselves the fairest domains of Ireland would surround themselves with the best fighting men they could obtain. Normandy, Brittany, and Anjou yielded valiant knights, and England

supplied common men-at-arms. It was not probable that settlers of an agricultural kind would appear with families thus early. The fighting men, though forming alliances more or less lasting with the native women, could hardly be deemed colonists, while leaving blood-traces of race.

After a while, as the primitive leaders gave place to others born in Ireland, succeeding to estates, and having foster-mothers among the natives, a decided tendency to absorption was conspicuous. The Normans—afterwards known as English —contracted marriages with the daughters of the land. This example was followed by their inferiors. It was to the interest of the lord to attach to his person, by ties of a permanent character, as by grants of land, the brave men of other places. While the small minority might obtain wives from England, the greater part would seek partners among the Irish. The offspring of such connections would, generation after generation, become less English in sentiment, language, and habits, but be none the less English in origin. The same operation went on for centuries. Every year adventurers went over from England or France to Ireland, carrying with them to the castellated homes of Irish lords fresh blood. The original Celtic element, more or less absorbing the Teutonic one in Danes and Norwegians, had a continuous influx of the Teutonic in Norse of Normandy, German-Burgundian from France, and Saxon from England, France, and Scotland. New Celtic blood came from Brittany, Wales, Cornwall, Lancashire, and Western Scotland.

This process went on. As the supply from Normandy and other parts of France gradually ceased, Irish lords imported fighting men from English fields, and a steady flow of English blood came into Ireland. In quieter times there would be a considerable migration of English women; but, ordinarily, the newly-arrived from abroad would contract alliances with Irish females, and be the ancestors of a mixed race. As Norman and Saxon became absorbed in England, as Angles and Briton had before been, so Norman and Irish, or Saxon and Irish, melted into the Irish nation. In this way did the Burkes, Butlers, Fitzgeralds, Roches, Barrys, and hundreds of other Anglo-Norman names become Irish ones. The Mac Mahon, *son of a bear*, had been before a Fitz Ursa, or son of a bear, the murderer of à Beckett.

As several Anglo‑Norman lords in Ireland had held possessions in the marches of Wales, it was not unlikely that a good many Welsh would be gradually incorporated with the general Irish population, adding a renewal of Celtic blood, though Cymric instead of Gaelic. The connection between the Anglo‑Normans of England and those of Scotland was carried onward to Ireland, and became the means of introducing not only Norman and Saxon Scots, but Scandinavian and Gaelic ones. The feuds, which were ever arising among Irish chiefs, and also between the powerful barons of Norman origin, were actually the principal means of obtaining fresh blood for Ireland; as foreigners had a greater reputation for warlike qualities, and were in more demand than natives for purposes of foray and battle. They were, too, less yielding to prevailing tribal usages. Merchants and traders from England naturally came to scenes of such English settlements, and many made there a permanent home. In their train arrived English servants and artisans, with their families, and some sprinkling of men who preferred to handle the plough.

As the Englishman of the period was at least as much British as Saxon, or Danish as either, the English colonization of Ireland in the Middle Ages, not less than in subsequent times, meant not the Sassenach proper, but mixed races.

The Norman De Burghs (Burkes), Fitzgeralds, Lacys, Geraldines, &c., were not content with quarrelling and fighting one another, but boldly confronted the crown of England itself. Among other demands was the not unreasonable one for English law. The representative of royalty—the Viceroy— was often the occasion of much tyranny and bloodshed. John, when prince, conducted himself in Ireland after the same despotic and brutal manner he did as king afterwards in England. A general rising against the colonists occurred in Leinster, Meath, and Munster, in which many, like the distinguished Hugh De Lacy, lost their lives.

To show how early the spirit of revolt appeared among the Anglo‑Normans there, it is sufficient to state that, in 1200, De Courcey and De Lacy united with the Irish O'Nial, representative of ancient sovereigns, against the ruler in London.

Dublin and other ports were settlements of foreigners, and so incurred the determined hatred of the old Irish party. In

1209, about 300 Dublin citizens had a gala-time in the country on Easter Monday. They were violently set upon by the Wicklow clan, and murdered. *Black Monday* anniversary was remembered for centuries after by the municipality. In Henry III.'s feeble reign there were horrible massacres in Ireland, as the barons afforded no protection to colonists, being too busy in domestic quarrels themselves.

Though a charter was obtained from Henry III. granting to Anglo-Irish like privileges and rights with the Commons of England, the terrible extent of intestine commotion and general lawlessness gave no practical effect to the charter. Had protection been really afforded, the extent of English emigration into Ireland would have been much greater. Deprived of this advantage, many settlers conformed to Irish custom, and placed themselves under Irish chieftains and Brehon law, rather than submit to the exaction and neglect of their English lords. Seeing this, a great effort was made by Henry III., especially in an Act of 1230, to hinder any migration from England to Ireland.

Colonization could not flourish under the warlike Edwards. Wars with Scotland and France demanded further check to any English emigration. Meanwhile, the enemies of England were not slow to fan the flame of discontent in Ireland. The barons, being required by feudal conditions to send help to their sovereign, objected to fulfil this duty, and imagined themselves safe from any punishment for contumacy. In not a few instances, as with members of the great De Burgh family, they formally renounced their allegiance to the head of their race, adopted Irish manners, and became founders of clans or septs with Irish names, though of English blood. Men of lower rank, disgusted with the oppression of Anglo-Norman kings, either left Ireland in despair, returning to England where some law was recognized, or turned to the nearest sept or clan and became Irish altogether.

This condition of things is here referred to by the Rev. J. Gordon: "Thus the lands of Waterford, Cork, Kerry, and Limerick, deserted by English settlers, were occupied by a mixed rabble of Irish manners, and mostly of Irish blood, the followers of Maurice Fitzthomas of Desmond, who, to evade the claims of the proprietors, renounced all connection with English law, and assumed the title of an Irish prince." There

was strong inducement for English lords to become the heads of clans, as they came under the Irish law, which gave them far greater power over the property and lives of the poor vassals than English custom sanctioned. The Brehon Irish law was made by chiefs for chiefs.

The same historian relates an incident to show the hatred of race. "About eighty persons of English ancestry," he says, "surprised in a church at the time of Divine service, in utter despair of mercy to themselves, attempted only to supplicate for the priest's life, who in vain presented the consecrated wafer. The Host was furiously snatched from his hand, himself transfixed with weapons, and the miserable congregation consumed in the church, which was set on fire over them."

The glory gained at Falkirk, Crecy, and Poictiers was dearly purchased at the expense of both natives and settlers in Ireland. Fynes Moryson might well say, some three hundred years ago: "About the year 1341 the English-Irish, or English colonies, being degenerated, first began to be enemies to the English; and themselves calling a Parliament wrote to the king (Edward III.), that they would not endure the insolences of his ministers."

Our heroic Edward, the chivalrous prince, was, like his son, the Black Prince, both cruel and unjust in policy. His funds exhausted by war, he coolly proposed to resume all grants of lands in Ireland made by his father and himself. These were to be taken from the English colonists, whose homes were to be exposed for sale to recruit the royal treasury. The rage of the Anglo-Irish vented itself in threats, as well as petitions, in 1343, and a compromise in the shape of cash was effected.

The disloyalty of the settlers was further increased, when the king ordered that none could hold legal office in Ireland, unless sent direct from court. An Englishman, however wealthy and influential a colonist, thus found the avenue to administrative power in the land of his adoption closed against him and his sons. When Clarence was sent over as Viceroy, he studied to exhibit disrespect to the settlers. He permitted no Irish of English blood to approach his camp.

In 1356 a proclamation directed that no Irishman, whatever his origin, could have office in any town or castle upon the king's land. Can it be wondered that Anglo-Irish and

natives were drawn together by the tie of common justice? Prendergast, in his *Cromwellian Settlement*, admits that " The English of Ireland, of all classes, except in the neighbourhood of Dublin, had adopted the Irish language, dress, and manners, and never appeared in English apparel except when attending Parliament."

In condemnation of this tendency to absorption in Ireland, the " Statutes of Kilkenny " were passed in 1367. By these, both fosterage and marriage between English and Irish were sternly prohibited. The penalty was in harmony with the times—hanging and disembowelling. But the law was ill-maintained. Beyond the very limited precincts of the so-called *English Pale*, with an ever-shifting border round Dublin, the authority of English law was disregarded. The Englishmen of Munster, Connaught, Ulster, and most of Leinster, despised the enactment, drawing even closer toward the natives. The constant favour toward nominees and grantees from the English court tended more and more to alienate settlers from the mother country, " raising thereupon," said Borlase in 1675, " such a dissension between the English of blood and the English of birth."

This unfortunate line of policy, on behalf of the English Government, has not been confined to the days of Edward III. The cool treatment of colonists, the contempt for Englishmen who choose to leave the little island for another part of the English dominions, proceeded from the court of London from Henry III. to George III., and continued during the days of Victoria. The same wretched antagonism between English by blood and English by birth disgusted English colonists in America not less than in Ireland. Even in the Australian colonies, the settlers were made to feel that officials sent out from home to rule them were as superior to themselves as China to common Delft. It is only a very few years ago that a distinguished statesman, a friend of liberty, pettishly expressed his indifference to the colonies, whose separation from Great Britain might be contemplated with more smiles than tears.

That from which Ireland suffered, other places have had to endure. The authorities, that should have rejoiced at the expansion of England, and at the spread of civilization abroad, preferred a narrow-minded, jealous feeling, as if the

emigration of a man were the departure of a customer, or the loss of so much fighting material. It has been felt a burning shame by many an Englishman that his leaving for an English colony has reduced his rights as an Englishman, and so lessened his loyalty for his native land.

Richard II. attempted to remedy the disorders of Ireland. It was easy to subdue a people ever divided into factions. His acts, and those of Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., were never favourable to colonists. These were termed *English Rebels*, and spoken of as in an intermediate state between being subjects to the king and enemies to his power. It was not surprising, therefore, that the very visits of Anglo-Irish to England should have been viewed with aversion, and that proclamations of expulsion were issued against them by Henry V., who, however brave at Agincourt, was no friend to Englishmen in England or in Ireland, and was a violent hater of Welsh and Irish.

Yet it was in his reign that one of the greatest emigrations to Ireland took place. His unrighteous rule, his cruel exactions, his religious persecutions, excited anger and alarm. There were no *plantations* to which men could fly but to those in Ireland. There Englishmen could feel themselves more safe from direct oppression, though in a different land, and among a wild sort of people. Numbers fled from England. It was in vain that orders were issued against emigration, unless provided with a special license, to be paid for, from the king. "Westward, ho!" was still the cry. Henry then tried to stop the movement by seizing the goods of the departing ones, and confiscating any property left behind in England. This was a sample of English royal justice to English emigrants.

In Henry VI.'s time, the English colony was in a very low state. In 1474, the *Pale* simply included Dublin, Kildare, and Louth Counties. Beyond that district, the English colonists were wholly beyond the protection of England, and were compelled, excepting at the ports, to claim the aid of Irish chieftains, and pay dues for the same. And yet we find vexatious enactments were then passed for the repression of emigration, the irritation of English colonists, and the excitation of Irish hatred. No one from Ireland, Anglo-Irish or not, could dwell in or near an English University. Any native Irishman desiring to live in a colonial quarter must

assume English dress, and shave his moustache.   He must do
more ; he could no longer retain his very name, but had to
assume and use one derived from the appellation of a town in
England, or a trade, colour, or office.   In 1446 the Irish Par-
liament assembled at Tuam were induced to pass the follow-
ing : " Those who would be taken for Englishmen should not
use a beard upon the upper lip alone, that the said lip should
be shaved at least every two weeks, and that offenders therein
should be treated as Irish enemies."

In short, all that would tend to the peaceful settlement of
the country, and a happy amalgamation of races, was sedul-
ously guarded against by a government of foreign origin and
sympathies, regarded as such by the main body of both Eng-
lishmen and Irishmen.

As the feudal system decayed in England, the strength of
the Crown increased.   The fatal War of the Roses tended in
that direction by the destruction, or impoverishment, of the
leading nobles.   When the astute Henry VII. reigned, the
power of the aristocracy was much reduced.   His son, with
the same Tudor energy, employed like tactics to develop royal
rights.   His granddaughter Elizabeth, supremely Tudor, was
equally successful in the maintenance of sovereign dignities.
What was their policy toward Ireland ?

Henry VII. found at his accession only five counties
acknowledging his supremacy.   The rest of the island was in
the independent hands of about sixty *septs* or clans of Irish
and degenerate English, who never wanted occasion for dis-
turbance and bloodshed among themselves.   The king com-
menced action by removing one cause for shillelahing ; he
abolished family and clan war-shouts.   If Munster did not
shout *Munster*, nor Connaught *Connaught*, there would be
fewer broken heads, in spite of coat-tail trailing.

The next thing done was the despatch of a wise deputy,
Poynings, who exercised a wonderful influence.   He was the
originator of the celebrated *Poynings' Law*, which greatly
strengthened the Crown, while affording decided relief to the
Irish from local oppression.   Both Anglo-Irish and native
Irish had long and grievously suffered from the exactions and
cruelties of their chiefs, whether of Irish or of English origin.
An Irish Parliament was the creature of the few powerful
families, and was called together when it suited these, and

too often for the simple purpose of enacting laws to persecute a faction, rather than to benefit the country at large. *Poynings' Law* struck at the root of this self-assumption of the barons and their *cliques*. It ordained, henceforth, that no Parliament could be summoned in Dublin but by the King's command ; and that the Privy Council should be regarded as a part of the Irish Parliament, whose approval of a Dublin decision was essential to its legality.

This wise measure brought Ireland in direct connection with England, and prevented factious nobles conducting private enterprises under the shield of public law. It revived the hearts of the Anglo-Irish, and gave renewed energy to the work of emigration. The iron rule of Henry was uncomfortable for the lawless spirits of the times, and England becoming too hot for many, the calm air of Ireland got ruffled by their passage thither.

Something else had to be done by the shrewd king. The ever restless and rebellious character of Irish lords, tyrants over both races, could be better controlled by a master mind from amongst themselves than by the nomination of one from England. The Earl of Kildare, head of the house of the Geraldines, was the strongest of the old Norman masters of Ireland, and was duly appointed Viceroy, on the old principle of setting a thief to catch a thief. He was a nice man, but a representative one. When once charged with burning Cashel Cathedral, he was candid enough to say, " I did set fire to the church, because I thought the Bishop was in it." He continued Viceroy till 1513, and assuredly kept both Irish and English in admirable order.

Henry VIII. advanced on the lines of his father awhile, and then struck out a characteristic course of his own. Having no further need of Kildare, he beheaded him, to the great delight of his numerous foes in the Sister Isle. The Fitzgeralds and other Norman-Irish clans tried their hands at rebellion, but found their master. Every sign of discontent served only the one purpose of filling the pocket of the spendthrift king. Estates were confiscated.

Henry assumed the title of King of Ireland, and clearly indicated his intention of being actually sovereign. " To him," says old Borlase, " the Irishy and degenerate English made their submissions by indenture." Three Irish tribes in

Munster, the Tooles, the Byrnes, and the Kavanaghs, thought themselves far enough off to dispute the passage of English judges through their territory; the promptitude of executive justice convinced them of their mistake. The five Royal tribes submitted. These were the O'Neils of Ulster, the O'Connors of Connaught, the O'Melaghlins of Meath, the O'Briens of Munster, and the Mac Murroughs of Leinster.

The tug of war was anticipated when Henry, later on, proceeded to suppress the monasteries of Ireland, as he had done those of England. Strange to say, the Irish of all races were either rather indifferent to the question, or too effectually cowed to resist. Even when he went further, and objected to any more Papal interference with even ecclesiastical concerns, Ireland made no sign. Sir John Davis wrote, "All the Irish lords acknowledged King Henry VIII. to be their sovereign-lord," and were quite willing "to renounce the Pope's jurisdiction."

But Henry was not satisfied with Ireland, and its jumble of races, — English, Norman, Danish, and Irish of various sorts. They would neither settle down among themselves, nor be quiet with him. The possession of immense crown lands, now greatly augmented by the familiar practice of confiscation, presented an agreeable source of revenue. He promoted emigration. Englishmen went over in crowds, and purchased farms. Still, it had for ages past got to be so much the habit of English to turn Irishy there, that he hesitated about the expediency of allowing decent Englishmen mixing up with Irish, especially those Irish of English and Norman descent, who were by far the most inflammable elements to govern. He, therefore, seriously contemplated a general clearance of old bloods—Irish, Danish, and English—from all districts eastward of the Shannon, and planting therein a genuine English population. Though he did not live to carry out the project, Oliver Cromwell seized the idea, and acted upon it in 1654.

In Edward VI.'s reign, the English Parliament was too busy about religious changes and the beheading of rival nobles to attend to Irish affairs, so that the Moores and the O'Connors of Leinster made a diversion.

Mary, though a Roman Catholic, troubled little about Ireland. She extended the English dominion there by appropri-

ating the lands of the Moore and O'Connor clans, forming out of them two counties, called after her husband Philip and herself, King's County and Queen's County.

In Elizabeth's reign a great emigration of English into Ireland took place. Instead of merely occupying the seaboard, these penetrated further into the interior, and so greatly influenced the racial character of the Irish.

Elizabeth, as a true Tudor, pursued the selfish and domineering policy of her father, for her English patriotism was, like that of her Norman ancestors, not altogether out of pure goodwill to the English people. In Ireland, therefore, her despotic rule was sensibly felt. Not able to reach the Irish proper, she laid her hand on the English-Irish settled in the *Pale*. Presuming to levy a tax on these, with no authority from Parliament, the settlers sent three agents to plead before her in London. These she at once put in the Tower, and ordered into Dublin gaol sundry lords and gentlemen who had sent them.

The religious difficulty, which hardly appeared in previous reigns, came further to alienate the hearts of English settlers in Ireland during Elizabeth's reign. As to the Reformation, Professor Huxley rightly says : "The Irish as a body, without distinction of Teutonic or Celtic elements, declined to have anything to do with it." The Queen, by no means much of a Protestant herself, was very rough in her plan of conversion. She ordered that the Prayer Book should be accepted as the only rule. As at that time the native Irish and the great mass of old English settlers spoke only the Irish tongue, a concession of translation might have been made. But the book was to be in Latin when not in English. Yet the Welsh and Cornish subjects were equally compelled to use the foreign English language at their own Protestant devotions.

The quartering of the troops upon the people was better understood by the Irish than by the English settlers. The former were accustomed to the *Coshering*. One, writing in the 16th century, says of certain nobles : " These earls, with their wives, children, and servants, do use, after the custom of wild Irishmen, to resort with a great multitude to gentlemen's houses, continuing there two days and two nights, and their horses and grooms are maintained by the neighbouring farmers."

· But the *Pale* colonists resented the application of this *Bonacht* system by the orders of the Queen.

The result was rebellion. This appeared alike in Ulster, Munster, Leinster, and Connaught; and "in which," as an old historian remarks, "the hatred of the Hibernicized English appeared still greater than that of the wild natives against the Government of England." With the exception of the O'Neils, all the leaders of revolts against Elizabeth bear Norman and English names. Fitzgerald of Munster led the way.

The extent of this rising may be gathered from Fynes Moryson, writing thus, about 1600 : " At this time the county of Dublyn, on the south side of the river Liffy, was in effect wholly overrunne by the rebels." He further states that " in the English Pale, the towns having garrisons, and the lands from Drogheda to the Nauan, and thence back to Trym, and so to Dublyn, were only inhabited." It thus appeared that the large number of English and Scotch, who had for hundreds of years passed over into Ireland, became as thoroughly Irish in feeling and language as the original inhabitants, thanks to that State tyranny which equally oppressed the English and Scotch at home.

The object of this work being to trace the progress of foreign settlement in that country, it is needless to follow the sad story of wars and atrocities. Had there been any unity among Irish septs, or even the Anglo-Irish families, the disorders would not have been so terrible. The 'History of Ireland,' published by Duffy of Dublin, has this passage : " Meanwhile the Irish were, as usual, a prey to discord among themselves."

But these rebellions, from 1569 to 1600, whether arising from religion or politics, from land troubles, or the desire of chiefs to retain their ancient feudal independence of the Crown, gave occasion to another large influx of foreigners, tending still further to complicate the question of the Irish origin.

Wholesale confiscations of property, mostly affecting the grand old English houses in Ireland, gave immense acreage for Elizabeth to dispense. The Earl of Desmond's lands in Munster alone came to 574,000 acres ; these had been originally seized from the Irish clans, and were now offered to would-be emigrants. Her grants were 4000 acres to 20,000.

It certainly required some courage to emigrate in those days. A grant of land in Australia meant only a difficulty with a few naked savages. But a grant in Ireland brought the possessor in personal conflict with former Anglo-Irish holders, and a native population who had become devotedly attached to old families of conquerors, that had so largely adopted Irish manners.

Plenty of needy or adventurous persons were ready to go to Canaan, though the Canaanites were there. Some Munster estates were sold at threepence an acre. Sir Walter Raleigh and other courtiers got great slices. In general, Elizabeth preferred cash for her concessions. Some colonists had but brief enjoyment of their privileges. Gordon's history says : " The settlement of a colony (in 1570) transported from England to the peninsula of Ardes, in the present county of Down, was defeated by the death of *Smith*, its conductor, who was murdered by the treachery of one of the O'Niels."

Of course some conditions were appended to grants. It was stipulated that the contractors should import English labour, and only sublet to English tenants. But as the latter were not readily obtained, and grantees were in a hurry for returns, farms were leased to Irishmen, in spite of the conditions of tenure. The very infraction of agreement helped to alienate from England the new colonists, who, in their turn, became Irish, and helped to swell the rebel element.

The enterprising Earl Essex contemplated a pretty effective settlement on his Ulster estates. He knew how to hold his own, and resolved to have 1200 soldiers in pay. But his efforts to obtain cash from city men, and support from the Crown, were thwarted by his enemies, Leicester and others. However, a large number of Englishmen from Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Cheshire, Somerset, and Lancashire settled in Munster during this reign.

It is interesting to note here that these Englishmen were rapidly absorbed into the current Irish element. They *became Irishmen.*

Curiously enough, inasmuch as Irish orators and writers delight to stigmatize the English as Saxons, and themselves as Celts, it is a fact that while so many Irish are really of Teutonic origin, some of their English settlers, as those in Munster, were from countries distinctively British or Celtic.

THE ULSTER SETTLEMENT.

The accession of James I. was viewed very favourably by some Irish Catholics, as he was the son of the Catholic Mary of Scotland; and by many of the true Irish, as he was called a descendant of their own Milesian sovereigns. It is, however, curious to notice the strong objection to his rule among the southern ports. A very timid man, though very self-willed, he was conscious of the Irish difficulty. Whether from policy, wisdom, or a sense of justice, he was the first monarch of England to attempt a healing process.

He, or his counsellors, saw one burning source of trouble— the existence of feudal rights. The chiefs, almost all of English origin, were opposed to English rule, as it offered restraint upon their supposed sovereign rights. The people proper, mostly Irish, were sorely tried by the exactions of their landlords, who preferred the Irish laws to the English ones, as they gave special privileges to chiefs. James, therefore, to depress feudal landlordism, and raise the peasant, resolved to introduce more absolutely the English law.

Furthermore, he abolished all distinctions previously existing between English and Irish. Heretofore, the murder of an Englishman was punished by death, according to English law; but that of an Irishman by fine, according to old Irish law. He offered landlords new and secure tenures if they would adopt English practice. But many, as Parnell says, "preferred to be poor *tanists*, elected by their clan, rather than rich landlords dependent on law."

But James was partial in his justice to Ireland, especially to the Anglo-Irish. The great majority of the latter, as well as the native Irish, had no sympathy for that Protestantism which was thrust upon them for acceptance, without teaching or appeal. A proclamation of 1605 ordered all Popish clergy to leave Ireland within a certain limited time. "Instantly," says one, "were all the old English families of the *Pale* in violent commotion." These tried hard to gain a majority in the coming Irish Parliament, but failed in their efforts. Musgrave's history has these words: "Previous to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the aboriginal Irish bore a most unrelenting hatred against those of English blood; but, on the Reform-

ation, Popery became a firm bond of union between them, and it is remarkable that the natives of English blood became more stubborn and inveterate rebels after that period than the primitive Irish."

When, therefore, it was determined to introduce more English and Scotch settlers into Ireland, those of the same blood, instead of welcoming their approach, regarded them as intrusive aliens. Amidst the progress of this internal hate, one may wonder at the existence of any serenity there.

While portions of Leinster and Munster received an influx of new comers under James, Ulster was the chief seat of the experiment. It was easy to find the means in those unscrupulous times. There was confiscated land in plentiful supply. But James had a fashion of taking off a fourth or three-fourths of the acreage of Irish holders, in order to swell his returns. As early as 1607 he caused inquiry to be made into legal rights of holdings, for the purpose of adding to the free list. Not a few were forcibly removed from houses, and sent to lands in the western wastes.

Certain unscrupulous men, called *Discoverers*, obtained special commissions of inquiry into defective titles, and thus *jumped* properties, securing themselves by a payment to the Crown. Leland speaks of "vile perjury and scandalous subornation employed to despoil the fair and unoffending proprietor of his inheritance." The same writer indignantly refers to "lands transferred to hungry adventurers, who had no services to plead: and sometimes to those who had been rebels and traitors. Neither the actors nor the objects of such grievances were confined to one religion."

But the ground was cleared for the *Plantations of Ulster*. These were to be appropriated in lots of from 1000 to 2000 acres, though this regulation limit was soon broken through.

The great feature of the Ulster *Plantation* system was the settlement of Protestant Scotch and English there.

The Scotch had been settling in the North of Ireland for hundreds of years before. As the Scots of Scotland came originally from Ireland, the ancient Scotia, it was natural that there should be much coming to and fro afterwards. The supremacy of the Saxon Lowlanders, which changed the very court language of Scotland, operated in the restriction of this intercourse, except that between the Highlanders and the

Irish. A diversion, however, in Ireland was an occasion never lost sight of by the Scotch in their wars with England. The local rebellions of the Irish were aided if not originated by the jealous policy of Holyrood.

The wars of the Edwards with Scotland greatly promoted the emigration of Scotchmen into Ireland, and insurrections of the Irish septs against the Norman - English kings. In 1315, Edward Bruce, brother of the heroic Robert, headed a diversion against the national foe. He landed in Ulster with an army of 6000 men. He was at once joined by many colonists of Scottish origin, as well as by the Irish chiefs. He then, as we are told, fell like the "fury of a tempest on the English Settlements." The devastation was awful. A Connaught prince essayed to imitate the course, but was slain in battle.

Edward Bruce found help from the Lacy family and others of the Norman-Irish nobility, ever ready for an attack upon their sovereign. He was crowned "King of Ireland" at Dundalk, and the island seemed likely to become a portion of the Scottish dominions, with the best offices and estates at the disposal of the Scottish Crown. The Sassenach of North Britain, instead of England, would have been then the object of patriotic reproach.

But, while one Pope gave Ireland to the English, another was unwilling to see it absorbed by the Scotch. When the English cause seemed very doubtful, a Bull from Rome excommunicated Edward Bruce, and compelled the Irish clergy to denounce all who supported the Scotch King of Ireland. The Archbishop of Armagh came forth publicly to bless the English army on their way. The Battle of Dundalk was fought in 1318, Edward Bruce was defeated and slain, and Ireland was not transferred to Scotland.

By the time of James, the old Scotch residents had been wholly absorbed in the Irish population, retaining the common faith of Rome. The blood was so united, whether of Highland or of Lowland Scots, with that of the primitive Irish and Anglo-Irish, as to be no longer distinguishable. The new settlers, therefore, imported by our Scottish King James I. from his heather-land, found no sympathetic countrymen in Ulster. They were new men. They were generally from Saxon and Danish counties, not Celtic ones, in Scotland.

They were Protestants of the uncompromising Presbyterian stamp. What sympathy could exist between these and the *Irishie?* Who, then, could have expected that among their descendants would have been found the leaders of the insurrection of 1798, and the attempted one fifty years after?

James afforded every facility for the settlement of his energetic and impecunious countrymen. The number bearing the names of Edgar, Douglas, Kennedy, Livingstone, Campbell, Angus, &c., in the north of Ireland, bear testimony to the fact that the *modern Irishman contains a deal of the Scotchman.*

The English settlers in the Ulster plantations were, like the Scotch, established in or near towns, while the Irish were left in the open, or among hills and bogs. But the Southerners kept their distance from the Northerners, and their descendants form a large part of the Irish Episcopalian Protestants. The common use of Moore, Parnell, Gray, and other English names, assures us that the *modern Irishman has not a little of the Englishman in him.*

There were 800,000 acres to be had in Ulster, and a scramble took place for them. There were three classes of claimants. First and foremost were the *New Undertakers,* who were sound English and Scotch Protestants. These had the first and best selection, the strongest and most commanding places, not only from their nationality and orthodoxy, but because they could and would pay something to James for the lands. As their promise to pay was pretty safe, they were allowed farms at the rental of six shillings and eightpence for every sixty acres.

The second class were the *Servitors.* They had been engaged in civil or military service there. Tainted by the air of the country, they were less favoured, and had to pay ten shillings rent to the Crown for every sixty acres, besides being bound on no occasion to let a plot of ground to a Roman Catholic tenant. But as those of proper principles could obtain grants direct at the third of a pound, they were not likely to take farms of Servitors at any advance upon the half-sovereign. Consequently, rather than have their acres untilled, the Servitors laughed at the law and engaged themselves in contracts with the Philistines.

The third class of *Planters* consisted of Natives, willing and ready to pay a rental of double that exacted from the

New Undertakers, foreigners to Ireland. But they were only allowed in districts open to inspection and control. No restriction existed among them as to race and faith. There thus grew up a large amount of old Irish in Ulster, after 1608, upon a tenure safer and more privileged than in any other part of Ireland. Old proprietors were thus enabled to gain security of homes.

The first class were exhorted to build castles on their grounds, and the second were expected to wall in their yards. While Scottish corporations were formed for investments in Ulster, London companies eagerly entered into purchases near Derry, &c. All were bound to make certain improvements, and import Protestant English and Scotch labourers ; but no parties broke their agreement more quickly than did the London Associations. These, for commercial reasons, entered into leases with native Irish and Roman Catholics.

In this way, the Ulster Plantation system failed largely in the contemplated object of absolutely colonizing the country with foreigners of the reformed religion. One effect of the weakness was seen as early as 1616, when a serious attempt was made to expel the Planters from Ulster.

Parts of Munster and Leinster were laid out in 1616 for similar *Plantations*. Of 66,000 acres between the Avoca and Slaney rivers, 16,500 were appropriated for an English colony, and the rest might be rented from the Crown by natives. No less than 385,000 acres were allotted them in Leinster, particularly in Longford, Westmeath, and near the coast. The same *Act* of James enabled old proprietors to secure land upon a satisfactory and permanent tenure. New grants by purchase took the place of doubtful or insecure titles, and Irish landlords were thus put under the sanction of English law in various provinces.

James, who from being a literary advocate of Presbyterianism, enthusiastically accepted Episcopacy, was not the man to grant facilities to the Presbyterian ministers who accompanied the Scotch settlers into Ulster. These were compelled, in the first instance, to receive ordination from the bishops of the Episcopal Church of England and Ireland before they could take churches. Emancipated afterwards from this thraldom, the Ulster Scots grew up ardent Presbyterians, as the Ulster English did Episcopalians.

THE GREAT ENGLISH PLANTATION.

The chief influx of English and Scotch, not in Ulster only, but over all parts of Ireland with the exception of Connaught and county Clare of Munster, took place after the Rebellion in the reign of Charles I.

Without doubt the main cause of that terrible conflict was the conduct of Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, whose government of Ireland was unjust and cruel, and yet who counselled his king to adopt toward the English the same over-bearing policy he was exercising toward the Irish.

It is a great misfortune to both countries that certain Irish politicians direct the hatred of their countrymen against the English for past injuries, without considering that the Wentworths of oppression laid their hands on England as well as Ireland.   The struggle for justice, and almost common humanity, was continued for centuries by the English against the same kingly and baronial power that so much grieved the Irish.

Charles made promises of relief to Irish Catholics, and broke them as readily as promises to his Protestant subjects. In that time toleration of adverse views about religion was as little understood in England as in Ireland.   But, while non-conforming Protestants were persecuted by the Church of England, they readily aided their own persecutors to strengthen the yoke upon the non-conforming Roman Catholics.   The latter were in so feeble a minority in Great Britain that no political danger could arise from their disaffection. In Ireland, however, where they formed the vast majority, whether of Irish or English blood, and where hatred to English rule had existed for centuries, the increased power of the crown to carry out laws of religious repression intensified the revolt of feeling.

An old writer, L' Estrange, illustrates the sentiment in England when saying : " The Roman Catholics began to rant it in Ireland and to exercise their Fansies so publickly as if they had gained a Toleration."   An order for the entire suppression of *Masshouses* was issued in 1633, and very naturally excited the population.

In that year Wentworth went to govern Ireland after his own wilful and despotic nature.   He had a grand *Plantation* scheme.   Selecting ground more essentially old Irish, as

Connaught, Tipperary, and Limerick, he undertook, as a lawyer, to employ *legal* means for the ejection of proprietors. Ingenious and unscrupulous lawyers were employed to question titles. As ' Gordon's History ' says, he " determined to subvert the title of every estate in many parts of Connaught." And, as Borlase expresses it : " All tenures (other than by king's service *in capite*) were void in the whole, and therefore disannulled whatever estates had otherwise past in the counties of Roscommon, Sligo, Mayo, and Galloway."

. This injustice touching the land, combined with the persecution for religion's sake, and the strong desire of Irish chieftains to make a supreme effort to save the loss of their feudal privileges, brought on one of the most bloody insurrections ever known. Borlase declared that the Rebellion of 1641 was " raised for the restauration of the publick profession of the Romish religion, the restitution of the Plantation lands unto the natives, and settlement of the present government into their hands."

The outbreak was on Oct. 23rd, 1641. Truly has Prendergast remarked that " each new plantation produced fresh rebellions."

At first, there was a hope that the Scottish settlers might sympathize with the insurgents ; for, though Protestants, they were known to have no special loyalty to England. The attack was to be made upon the lives and property of English Protestants. Warner writes : " That they might keep the Scots in that Province (Ulster), who *were very numerous*, from giving the English any assistance, they openly professed to spare, and they actually did at first, the whole Scottish nation ; and that they and the English Papists might live quietly with them." The Scots were not long spared from the fires and massacres that followed.

The *Confederates*, as they called themselves, were divided in counsel. The more moderate would have been satisfied with the appointment of two Roman Catholic Lord Justices, one of the old Irish stock, and the other of the old English. The O'Neil party were more radical in their views, and resolved upon the extirpation of their national and religious foes. Unfortunately, Pope Urban VIII. took the fire-brand side of the discussion ; and, in 1643, after the massacres had been long carried on, his *Bull* offered absolution to all

joining in the rooting out of English heretics. This reversal of Papal policy intensified the miseries of the conflict.

England's extremity was then Ireland's opportunity. Charles was engaged in dispute with his Parliament, and was accused of winking at the atrocities in Ireland for party purposes. Anyhow, for ten years the rebels did as they pleased. Horrible as were the crimes committed, the evil would have been greater had the Irish been united; but, as 'Duffy's History' says: "The two Confederate camps were in fact armed against each other." It is well added: "The Catholics were distracted by cabals in their counsels, and their armies paralyzed by the jealousies of their generals."

This disunion was the salvation of the poor colonists. Though fearful barbarities were wrought, even upon tender infancy, the cases were mostly confined to isolated districts. The towns held bravely their own against the rebels. Scotch and English forgot their mutual jealousies in this fearful struggle for life. Better educated and armed, the colonists were a match for several times their number, and kept the enemy at bay until the Parliament of England were in the position to send effective help.

The part taken by Cromwell and his *Ironsides* in the wars was characterized by that military skill, and that over-whelming energy, so effectively employed against the English royalists. He founded his policy upon the Bible. He esteemed himself the instrument of Divine vengeance against sinners, and assuredly longed to root out the Canaanites from the land. But he crushed the rebellion, and replaced the remnant of the Protestant colonists in their fired and pillaged homes. His vengeance was terrible. His apologists claim that his severity appalled his enemies, and stayed further bloodshed. He meant what he said; and, for once, the Irish had reason to believe the declared word of authority.

Cromwell was not content to pass through Ireland as a conqueror. He sought to prevent the recurrence of rebellions. In advance of his times as a Tolerationist, he dared not, whatever his private views, propose toleration to Roman Catholics. Any advance in that direction, though favourable to the peace of the land, would have been met by the English argument that Pope Urban VIII. had urged the extirpation of heretical Englishmen from Ireland. He might have conciliated

the Irish chiefs by a promise to allow the continuance of serfdom; but he who had fought to emancipate the people from lordly tyranny at home was hardly likely to promote the continued vassalage of poor Irish peasants.

As a pre-Bismarkian politician, he had decided opinions, and took prompt measures to carry them out, without much regard to toes pressed by his iron heel in the process. He deemed it necessary, for the good of his fellow-countrymen settlers, the good of the Protestant faith, and the good of Ireland itself, that the supposed impracticable party should be mainly exiled to the further west, and that the other parts of Ireland should be, as far as possible, retained for the Tribes of Israel who should pass over into this goodly land to possess it. He was a "Bag and Baggage" politician.

A grand plantation scheme was inaugurated.

As a preliminary act, the terrible laws of Elizabeth were enforced at last. There were heavy fines for absence from Protestant worship, and any priest found in the country after twenty days was to be treated as a traitor. A like reward was offered for the head of a priest as for that of a wolf. Many priests, convicted rebels, with the wives and children of rebel-slain, were transported to the West Indies, when not able to pay their own passage to France and Spain.

The landowners who remained, being unconvicted, though Catholics, were required to submit to *transplantation*. They were to shift from Ulster, Leinster, and the greater part of Munster, receiving compensation of land in Connaught and the part of Munster beyond the Shannon. The farms thus vacated were to be granted or sold to men more loyal in politics and religion. An additional hardship was inflicted when the unhappy transplanted ones, many of whom, though of English blood, had contracted Irish names, were told they must give their children English names, and cease to speak Irish.

Thus 808,000 acres of Connaught were given to be transplanted. The Parliament "Act of Settlement," in 1654, was gracious enough to affirm—"It is not the intention of the Parliament to extirpate the whole nation." The only declared reason for the Act was to keep the Protestant settlers together for self-defence.

A London pamphlet, published in 1654, is anxious to

show how justice was tempered with mercy in this trans-plantation; observing, the Act was "for the disposing of lands to the transplanted people in Connaught, to take special care of them, and their convenient accommodation and settle-ment, besides a general provision made by the same commis-sion for all aged, decrepit, sickly persons, that no such (though they have been in arms against us) might be put upon hard things." In many instances they were allowed time to gather their harvest, and wait for months afterwards.

When the landed proprietors piteously asked why they, and not the common people, were marked out for vengeance, they were told that the gentlemen were the active promoters of the rebellion, and that the poor farmers and labourers, as their abject serfs, were forced into outrage by their landlords.

The Commissioners were soon able to report that Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, &c., "have been en-tirely planted with English colonies." It is curiously added : "The present Irish inhabitants we found in them were gen-erally of an ancient English extract, though degenerated from the manners and interests of their ancestors' native country."

The *Irish* inhabitants of those parts were mainly Teutons, and not Celts. They were Danish and English. Their partial displacement made room for Teutons of a more decided character. And though these gradually amalgamated with the old Anglo-Irish, becoming Irish in their turn, the fact remains, that a very considerable portion of the *Irish* around the coast, and the neighbouring country, was practically *Saxon*—so-called in 1654. It is further manifest that many of the transplanted Irish were of old English origin.

The Irish proprietors were not all subject to the same severity of terms. Though the Proclamation declared the Act to be for "the better security of such parts of Ireland as were intended to be planted with English and Protestants," yet it speaks of proprietors being deprived of all, half, or third of their acreage, "and the value of the residue in such places in Ireland as the Parliament might appoint; and such as did manifest good affection should (if Roman Catholics) forfeit only one-fifth of their estate."

The order was imperative enough. The removal was on or before the date, May 1st, 1654. The penalty of death was to be the consequence of disobedience. But this

severity was not carried into effect. Those who went, and those who came, kept the roads lively enough. Hardinge notes the "moving mass of English, Scotch, and Irish itinerants in quest of houses and lands." To facilitate movements, the transplanted, when encumbered with stock, could get an extra allowance of land when preferring to leave the animals behind.

Altogether, 44,210 were thus removed. As these could not have all been land-proprietors, the figures must include their servants. In this exchange there was the decided advantage of the absolute freedom of the Irish serfs, and the secure tenure for land. The great mass of the Irish were not affected by the Act. They remained to become tenants or labourers to their countrymen or the incoming strangers.

Lands to be sold or granted were duly set forth in maps after survey by government. The heavy charges for this re-conquest of Ireland were met by land-grants to soldiers and others rendering service, but who were all supposed to aid in the Protestant settlement of the country. Many preferred the shorter transaction of disposal of their right and title, not unfrequently to Irish customers. Soldiers' lots were painted red upon the maps, and those to be sold to *adventurers* were in blue. This law was the death-blow of Feudalism.

Whatever the amount of purchase, the number of English and Scotch emigrants between 1654 and 1660 could not have been very considerable, as the country was decidedly unsafe after so severe a struggle. Assassinations were frequent, and incendiarism was common. Besides, large bands of TORIES were ranging the country, concealed by day, and committing fearful outrage upon settlers at night. Discreet men paused before taking their families among the wild Irish.

Sir William Petty, in 1659, gave a rough estimate of the population in Ireland. In Connaught he finds 79,680 Irish, and 7672 English, but no Scotch. In Munster there were no Scotch, but 14,143 English, and 139,139 Irish. Ulster had 40,571 English and Scotch, with 63,350 Irish. Leinster records were partial, giving 23,330 English and Scotch, to 132,200 Irish. Dublin showed 2321 English to 6459 Irish.

This estimate may be approximately correct. The English and Scotch formed then one-fifth of the population. Of the remainder, a very considerable number were of English

origin, and a much larger proportion, probably of Danish and Norwegian. When, then, we learn that in the reign of Charles II. a very great emigration to Ireland took place, we must conclude that the modern Irishman is of a composite character, and less Celtic than some thought.

It is a matter of marvel, as Prof. Huxley has shown, that districts like Tipperary, which received a special influx of quiet Englishmen and women, should have since become the very Irish of Irish in exuberance of spirit, if not of disloyalty. There must be surely something in the air, if not in the social and political surroundings, to cause this degeneracy, as it was called, of the English character, and make Tipperary as different from Devon as supposed Celtic Ireland is from Celtic Wales or Brittany.

Charles II., upon his ascension in 1660, was set upon to undo the work of transplantation. Two circumstances prevented any action : the British public would not allow a change, and the king wanted a share of the spoils. A few alterations were made. Some of the more decided Puritan adventurers and soldiers lost a third of their estates. But the Irish Roman Catholics, who expected some restitution, discovered the confiscated portion sold to new English adventurers. Yet the king was gracious to Irish visitors, and his well-recognized Catholic opinions gained peace for the land and reputation for himself. The very *Tories* were induced by Irish sentiment to suspend their ravages. The harmless introduction of the Irish *Harp* into the royal arms, in 1675, had more influence upon the sensitive Irish than many practical reforms might have had.

A change came when the avowedly Catholic James II. ascended the throne, in 1685. That monarch did set about justice to Ireland. He not only appointed Catholics to offices of trust, but disarmed all the Irish militia. In each court he set up two Catholic judges and a Protestant one. Alarm spread throughout the country. A return of the times of 1641 was predicted. Numbers of English and Scotch sold their farms, or closed their stores, to flee the country. The *Rapparees*, or halfpike men, took the place of the Tories in destructive violence upon settlers.

The storm burst forth in England. William of Orange was invited to the throne, and James went over to his friends

in Ireland to regain by force an English seat.   An organized massacre of all Protestants in Ireland, it is said, was to have taken place December 9th, 1688.   But the secret was not so well kept as on St. Bartholomew's day, and the Protestants were ready on the expected *bloody Sunday*.   William came to the rescue.   His people, for distinguishing their persons, mounted green boughs in their hats, while the Irish showed the white paper of French Bourbons.   The gates of Derry stood firm, the waters of the Boyne were shaded with blood, a ball took off the head of St. Ruth, and the treaty of Limerick followed.

Plantations succeed rebellions as well as precede them. As there was a Cromwellian settlement and a *Restoration* one, so was there a *Revolution* one.   Another vast confiscation of estates took place.   Another considerable emigration of English to Ireland followed.   At the sale of land in 1690 no farm could be purchased but by Protestant Englishmen.   A Roman Catholic Irishman might have two or three acres on which to keep his cow.

The English element of Irish population grew rapidly for a few years.   Penal laws of terrible severity were passed in the reigns of Anne and the early Georges, for the repression of Irish freedom.   The Church enactments were barbarous. Nothing was done to conciliate the country.   The Irish Parliament was a Protestant one, and its Irish members were mostly English and Scotch in blood, eager to place disabilities in the way of their countrymen, and acting as traitors to their own country.   The natural result ensued.   The main body of English and Scotch settlers, not connected with the Castle officialism, were rendered disloyal by the unfairness of their treatment, and the Rebellion of 1798 was as much a Protestant rising as a Catholic one.

It was reserved for our own time to do justice to Ireland. The *Union* established common interests with England.   Men ceased to be scorned because they had first breathed the air of Ireland.   Irishmen crowded to the best offices of trust and emolument in England and her colonies ; and, if *Home Rule* were granted to England, it would now have to be largely administered by Irish judges and by Irish statesmen.

THE END.

OUR NATIONALITIES.

II.

WHO ARE THE SCOTCH?

BY

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"*Who are the Irish?*" *&c.*

PREFACE.

THE object of this little work is to present in a condensed form an interesting ethnological question.

In these days of inquiry, the origin of nations is a natural subject for investigation. Knowledge in that direction may be more profitable than mere excitement of curiosity, or the formation of better founded views. It is a sad feature of all times that men are seen to quarrel and fight because of a difference in birth. The residence north of a river necessitates a hatred of one dwelling on the southern side. Descent from one *supposed* race excites the bloodthirsty propensities of such as imagine themselves of a different stock.

The war of races has entered the arena of practical politics. People have hated and fought because they *had been told* they were of varied parentage. If the researches of science do no more than show race prejudice to be as causeless as it is inhuman, something will be gained. They who trade upon this survival of barbarous tribal days deserve the indignant reproach of all true men.

Scotland has been no stranger to the war of races. In history, it has been *Scot* versus *Pict, Gael* versus *Norse, Celt* versus *Saxon, Highlander* versus *Lowlander.*

The struggle of Wallace and Bruce against the personal and unjust feudal assumptions of Edward I. was as honourable as it was heroic; but, as between two different peoples, Scotch and English, it had no meaning. The Border Wars, ostensibly carried on by two opposed races, were conducted by men of common blood dwelling on different sides of the Tweed.

Scotland, at the present moment, has peace within its border. One common Presbyterian faith has tended, beyond all other influences, to bind together a curious mixture of races. But when it is known that, in spite of some talking Gaelic and others English, the North is both Teuton and Celt, and the South is both Celt and Teuton, in the basis of population, a better feeling of brotherhood will be established. It must be confessed that the happy blending of peoples has brought the ardour of the Celt, the solidity of the Saxon, the spirit of the Norse, and the prudence of the Fleming, so as to constitute that foremost of all types—the modern Scotchman.

The inquiry into *Who are the Scotch?* may prove that the mixture of blood is more general than was once supposed, and may show that the very difficulties of distinguishing the remote parentage of families should induce more charity toward others, and more readiness to hail as brethren all who own one common *Father*.

LONDON, *June* 6, 1880.

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THE PRIMITIVE SCOTCH.

Who was the first Scotchman? What was he like? These are questions easier asked than answered. Some, who are satisfied with the present stage of civilisation, are not too anxious to pry into bygone times of national degradation. There are persons, it is said, who never had a grandfather. There are those, most certainly, who never speak of their grandfather, and resent any allusions to that worthy. In like manner, some Scotchmen of this century dislike a reference to their ruder forefathers of a century or so ago. Their pride of race, therefore, disinclines them to dwell upon the Scotch of those barbaric times when tailors were not required.

A certain school of anthropologists might assume that the first Scotchman grew, Topsy-like, in his own country; but people generally imagine he moved up that way from somewhere else. He may have reversed the modern procedure, and travelled northward from England. If Erin were then united to Scotland, he may have journeyed eastward. If Scandinavia and Albion were then one, he may have moved westward. We cannot easily fancy that he dropped down southward from Iceland.

It is possible to travel backward some distance along the line of Scotch races, irruptive, or supposed aboriginal, but not possible to get at the oldest inhabitant. He is now far, far beyond our ken. Judged after the fashion of other primitive men, he would not be attractive in his person or habits to us advanced moderns. Still, the

inquiry about him is as natural as it is interesting, and a visit to the splendid Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh will give an approximate idea of what sort of a person he may have been. There one may see traces of very remote times and very primitive people ; though, as Mr. J. Evans remarks, " there is no reason to conclude that we have as yet found the earliest traces of man upon the world, or even on the soil of Western Europe."

It is usual to credit the Celt with being the first possessor of Scotland. The learned author of *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* tells us that " the disclosures of British tumuli and chance deposits suggest strongly the belief that the Celtic Briton was himself an intruder upon older allophylian occupants." A visitor to Tasmania would see no coloured natives in the island, and might hastily suppose the English the first tenants of the soil. But a closer investigation would bring before his notice the memorials of tribes now absolutely passed away, and within the memory of the present generation. There is no denying the presence of the Celt in Scotland long ago, and there can be no doubt that he found dwellers in the island, as did the Aryans in India.

The Allophylian of Dr. Wilson was simply a non-Aryan. The Hindoo proper who descended into the valley of the Ganges from the north was an Aryan, and the coloured man, whom he distinguished as a demon, was an Allophylian. The Celts were Aryans, like most Europeans and some western Asiatics now. The pre-Celts have been termed Turanians by some, as if they were allied to the less civilised races of northern and eastern Asia.

Scotland in the allophylian days is thus sketched by Dr. Daniel Wilson :—" A continuous range of enormous forests covered nearly the whole face of the country. Vast herds of wild cattle, of gigantic proportions and fierce aspect, roamed through the chase ; while its thickets and caves were occupied by carnivora preying on the herbivorous animals, and little likely to hold in dread the armed savages who intruded on their lair." That was before the schoolmaster was abroad.

In entering upon the question of the original Scotchman, we need guard against that wildness of fancy which gives

many millions of years for man's sojourn here, and that old-fashioned notion that his cycle is but six thousand years. Dogmatism of assertion is not the mark of true philosophy. The wise and good Faraday even ventured to say—"The only one who ought really to be looked upon as contemptible, is the man whose ideas are not in a constant state of transition." He who refuses to advance when knowledge leads the way may regard himself as a conservative upholder of ancient landmarks, but is rather an obstructive in the path of progress. The Creator of this world never falsifies Himself; and the revelation of facts could never be opposed to His pleasure.

Mr. A. R. Wallace writes:—"The antiquity of the races thus discovered can only be generally determined by the successively earlier and earlier stages through which we can trace them. As we go back, metals soon disappear, and we find only tools and weapons of stone and of bone. The stone weapons get ruder and ruder; pottery, and then the bone implements, cease to appear; and in the earliest stages we find only chipped flints of rude designs, though still of unmistakably human workmanship." It is more than reassuring to read such words as these from Lord Dunraven:—"If we look back through the entire period of the past history of man, as exhibited in the result of archæological investigation, we can scarcely fail to perceive that the whole exhibits one grand scheme of progression, which, notwithstanding partial periods of decline, has for its end the ever increasing civilisation of man, and the gradual development of his higher faculties, and for its object the continual manifestation of the design, the power, the wisdom, and the goodness of Almighty God."

The physical aspect of Scotland itself has greatly changed since man has dwelt there. Professor Geikie has well described some of these changes. The Hebrides and Orcades, now so bare, had forests of big trees; submarine forests there are well known. The prevalence of ancient pines indicates a climate like Canada. "The tough resinous wood and thick bark of our bog pines," says he, "bear emphatic testimony to the signs of the seasons that nourished them." The true *Caledonia* of the Romans was north of the wall. Boethius talks of the *horrida Sylva*

Caledoniæ. His Scotch translator gives one reason for the loss of timber in Fife :—" Bair of woddis ; for the thevis were sometime sa frequent in the samin that thay micht na way be dantit quhill the woddis war bet down." But peat was early used, for David I, made grants of *petaries.* James IV. passed a law to restrain the destruction " anent the artikle of greenewood because that the wood of Scotland is utterly destroyed." The geologist adds :—" The severity of climate which had nourished the hardy Scottish pines began at length to give way." That may have taken place when the country was loosed from Scandinavia, by the sinking of land, and when greater humidity followed. He thinks the peats are but the wrecks of what they have once been. The Moss-Troopers would find their fortress gone, and even the Covenanters would be puzzled now to hide in moss holes.

The old terraces by the Earn and the Teith have had their historian in the Rev. T. Brown. These successive shores give no traces of the sea. " The terraces," he remarks, " lie up and down the valley, not horizontally, but according as the bed of the stream rises and falls " ; therefore, not like the Glen Roy roads. In Loch Lubnaig he noticed a terrace of 37 feet ; the highest would be the oldest. On the second terrace he discovered Roman and Druidical remains. All the deposits date since the glacial epoch, when Scotland was covered with ice, as Greenland is now.

Old canoes tell the same story of change. One was found, in 1780, 25 feet deep in the soil at St. Enoch's croft. The carse of Stirling has yielded several from a considerable depth. In Glasgow itself, and 300 feet from the brink of the river, one was got, in 1847, at a depth of 17 feet. It was 11 feet long, 27 inches broad, and 15 deep, made of a hollowed tree. Another was taken from the bed of Loch Closeburn, Dumfries. Others have been extracted from the carse of Falkirk. One lay under the Tontine and Trades' Lands 22 feet above high water. On this, Robert Chambers observes, " When the vessels foundered, and were deposited where in modern times they have been found, the Firth of Clyde was a sea several miles wide at Glasgow, covering the site of the lower districts of the

city, and receiving the waters of the river not lower than Bothwell Bridge." He further says, " Only fancy their primitive owners paddling across from the shore at Campsie to the beach at Cathkin, probably landing on the intermediate isles, now Garnet Hill, &c., and shoving off the canoes for a fishing excursion over the plains of Glasgow."

It was a long time ago that those primitive Scotchmen paddled their canoes over the site of Glasgow. The land did not so very suddenly change its level. Though nearly two thousand years since the Roman wall was reared from the Clyde to the Forth, little, if any, alteration in the relation of land and water has taken place there. Who can say how many thousands of years have passed since those oak-tree boats sank in the mud ? " This primitive fleet," said the author of *Prehistoric Annals*, " plied in the far inland estuary that then occupied the modern area through which the Clyde has wrought its later channel."

Those ancient inhabitants dwelt with some animals that are now extinct in Scotland. Their remains are seen with those of the red-deer, dog, hare, otter, reindeer, wolf, elephant, and *Bos primigenus*, or fossil ox. The reindeer died out in the country during the twelfth century ; the last wolf was seen in 1680 ; but the fossil elephant was discovered alongside of a human skull at the depth of 20 feet in Falkirk gravel. The fossil ox was a monster, with a skull a yard in length, and a space of three and a half yards between the tips of its horns. This is better authenticated than the Irish record of the *Four Masters*, which ran thus :—" A.D. 887. A mermaid of an enormous size was cast on the north-east of Scotland by the sea ; her *height* was 195 feet ; her hair was 18 feet ; her fingers 7 feet ; and her nose 7 feet ; she was all over as white as a swan."

In 1819 the skeleton of a whale was discovered, with a harpoon of deer's horn beside it, at a spot now 20 feet above the highest tide in the carse land, near the foot of the Ochil hills. Yet, as one writes, we know from the traces of the Roman road to the Forth ford " that no important change had taken place in the bed of the river, or the general level of the strath, during the era of

authentic history." In what age may this whale-hunter have lived? The geological changes indicate a great antiquity. Professor Flowers assures us that "many instances occur of gravel and implements also being found at such heights as could not be reached by any river now flowing."

The ordinary contents of so-called British Barrows are well known. The stone weapons preceded those of bronze, as the latter came before iron ones. The pottery commenced in the rudest forms, and grew to objects of taste. Articles of domestic use were limited indeed in primæval times, and ornaments were confined to bored stones, jet and horn. The barrows and tumuli reveal the objects handled in that remote part. As these contained burials of different times, down to comparatively recent historical eras, the contents have to be examined with care to note successive interments. Museums sufficiently illustrate the fact of succession.

Bronze weapons are of later date. Some are found in mounds, but fifty were recovered from the shell-marl bed of Duddingston Loch. The swords are seen broken, as if no further need for them existed. A bronze implement was got from a depth of five feet in the gravel of the Water of Leith. A lump of copper ore was seen in 1822 in Ratho-bog, near Edinburgh. It lay in 4 feet of blue clay, under 7 feet of sand, and 9 of moss. Space will not permit of saying much about urns, querns, &c. At Ormiston, an urn measured 10 inches across. One at Hahill, Banff, was 13½ in. high, and 13 across at the mouth. Another at Luffness, Haddington, was 5½ in. high, and 6½ diameter. Amber beads have been noticed with circular discs of gold in cists. Plates of shale and jet, with necklaces of beads, are not uncommon.

Flints refer to an earlier age, though coming down to a modern one. Some have affected to despise the evidence of flint weapons or tools; but Dr. Carpenter, in his Presidential Address, well remarked that, "what was in the first instance a matter of discussion, has now become one of those self-evident propositions which claim the unhesitating assent of all whose opinion on the subject is entitled to the least weight." Quite a manufactory of

spear heads and arrows was dropped upon at the Bin of Cullen, Elgin, by Mr. Bryson, who tells us, "nothing is to be found within an area of 20 yards square but flint flakes." In a cist near Port Ellen, Argyle, the flints along with a skeleton formed an heap of nearly 2 feet high. These are the *Elf-shot* of the Lowlands, the *Sciat-hee* of Gaels, the *Thunderstones* of Scandinavia. Dr. Wilson says, "they have been discovered in considerable quantities in almost every part of Scotland." Some are polished, others are mere splittings off the rock. There are weapons, flint stones, spindle whorls, and holed stones. Some were known as "purgatory hammers," with which the souls thundered at the gates of purgatory. There are perforated and grooved hammers of quartz; as those of Caithness, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, near a polished one of grey granite. Pestles occur in Orkney. A mica schist axe lay on burnt bones at Crichie, near Inverary. At Gilmerton, East Lothian, was one polished at both ends. One of polished green porphyry from a cairn at Daviot, was $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. A serrated flint arrow-head, in the Isle of Skye, was 4 inches in length. Similar barbed ones were found in Banff, Elgin, Forfar, Gretna Green, Peebles, Stirling, Dumfries, Lanark, &c.

Professor Flowers hints his belief that the flint weapons deposited with skeletons may have been intended for use in the spirit-world. Superstition has association with the flints—

> "These every herd by sad experience knows
> How wing'd with fate their elf-shot arrows fly;
> When the sick ewe her summer food foregoes,
> Or, stretched on earth, the heart-smit heifers lie."

In one boat, found 25 feet below the surface at Glasgow, was a polished stone. This was, according to Dr. D. Wilson, "doubtless one of the simple implements of the allophylian Caledonian to whom the canoe belonged, if not indeed the tool with which it had been fashioned into shape." Of some Oban remains, Professor Turner writes, "The association of flint implements with the human and animal bones points to a considerable antiquity."

Kitchen Middens illustrate the life of the Primitive

Scotchman.   They occur in Sutherland, Banff, Sea-cliff of
East Lothian, near Dunsappie Loch, by Arthur's Seat,
Loch Spynie, Orkney, Burghead, Cromarty, Inch-kielty,
Helmsdale, Dornoch Frith, &c.   These refuse heaps contain
shells and bones, with very few fish-bones, some rude
pottery, wood-ashes, bone pins, and stone weapons.   Many
of the shells are periwinkles.   One by the east coast is
150 feet long, 30 wide, and 15 high, showing a lengthened
residence of man there.   A vast number of flints, shells,
split bones of deer, &c., have been observed near the
remains of Hut-circles.

But we hasten to a notice of human remains, to discover,
if possible, the sort of people once in Scotland.   Differ-
ences of structure are pointed out in the ancient Broch
men.   The type of shorter and smaller pelvis is said to
exist still in the dark-haired, narrow-headed Hebrideans.
The oldest woman in Scotland, found well preserved in her
deer's skin deep in a bog, was described by General Sir J.
Alexander.   The short and bent-legged race is said by
Hector MacLaren to be seen still in the outer Hebrides,
whither they were driven by the Celts.   A skeleton 7 feet
long was taken from a barrow at Port Seaton, East
Lothian ; but the bones fell to dust on exposure to the air.
The remembrance of a squat, short-limbed tribe lives in
the Hebridean traditions of the Isle of Pigmies.   Borness
bone cave has revealed some odd forms.   In a cave in Oban
Bay some revelations of 1869 forced Professor Turner to
remark that "the tibia, femur, and humerus possessed some
peculiarities in form."   The squatty, broad-chested, long-
armed, bent-legged men of ancient Caithness were certainly
not Celts, but were, according to Professor Rolleston, more
like Eskimos.   In some parts of Scotland old bones present
the platycenemic or flat-shinned peculiarities.   We should
know more had not the peat in which skeletons have been
found proved so destructive to bones.

The skulls, however, form the chief subject of interest.
Much scientific discussion has been raised concerning the
Dolicho-cephalic, or long-headed ; the *Brachy-cephalic*, or
broad-headed ; and the *Kumbe-cephalic*, or boat-shaped head,
as to which was the most ancient.   The catalogue of
Scottish antiquities in Edinburgh gives the following sites

where skulls have been obtained:—Cockenzie, North Berwick, East and West Lothian, Harris Isle, Holm of Papa Westray in Orkney, Kinaldy, Dunrobin, Clashfarquhar, Largo, Cleghorn, Dunse, Evie, Kirkliston, Milton, and Kirkhill.

"The peculiar characteristics of the primeval Scottish type appears," says Dr. Wilson, "rather to be a narrow prolongation of the occiput of the cerebellum, suggesting the term already applied to them of *boat-shaped*." Peterkin describes it thus:—" The extreme lowness of the forehead and length backward present a peculiarity which may be interesting to phrenologists." The skull is equally narrow in the forehead and occiput, and the whole head is said to be small in proportion to the skeleton. Professor Rolleston declares that " the keeled mesial ridge and the lateral wall-sidedness given in the back view are often combined with a rapid tapering both forwards and backwards, from the plane of the anteriorly situated parietal tubera which suggests the comparison to a long and narrow boat." A broken skull from the Oban cave showed well-marked superciliary ridges, powerful lower jaw, and deep palatal arch. Mr. Huxley, who thought the old Irish head longer even than the old Scotch one, identified the cumbe-cephalic of the north with the *long-barrow* inhabitants of England. The cannibals of Keiss, of Caithness, had an extra long head. It was, perhaps, to some purpose that these disappeared before the broad-headed invaders. In the tumulus of Barra the skulls were short and broad. A cranium from Montrose has the old brachy-cephalic type. One similar to it came from a cist by Moray Firth. " The forehead," said Professor Busk, " was narrow, and the superorbital ridges very slightly projecting, although the frontal sinuses were well developed." When speaking of the Orkney aborigines, Mr. G. Petrie asks, " Were the squat skeletons with the short thick skull those of slaves or captives who had been slain and placed beside their masters? and have we in them discovered traces of an aboriginal race of colonists of the Orkneys, akin to the Fins or Esquimaux?"

Dr. Barnard Davis, the distinguished skull collector, has several references to ancient Scotch crania. Of a cromlech Hebridean he writes, " a thick, heavy, oval calvarium;"

another is described as "capacious and brachy-cephalic."
Of an ancient Orcadian he says, "large brachy-cephalic
skull;" of another, "oval dolicho-cephalic."   He observed
"a brachy-platycephalic skull of an aged man, with frontal
suture and very deep depressions."   From a St. Andrew's
grave he had "a very fine, large brachy-cephalic skull."
He refers to a "well-formed skull of a beautiful young
woman, having a rather long and delicate face and long
nasal bones."   From St. Andrew's also came "a small,
thick, and heavy brachy-cephalic skull of a man, having an
aboriginal aspect, found extended on the bottom of a rude
cist."   From Elgin he procured a "finely-formed skull,
with full occipital region."   But a cist from near Belmont
Castle, Perthshire, yielded one that received a compliment
—"This capacious and beautiful skull of an ancient Cale-
donian maid, rivalling in its eloquent proportions that of
the Greek of Blumenbach, exhibits great breadth and
height, and belongs decidedly to the brachy-cephalic series."
That was very different from the Shetland one described
by Professor Owen as resembling the worst features of the
Esquimaux and Australian.

Dr. Daniel Wilson has "evidences of the existence of
pristine British races prior to the Celtic, and also the
probability of these races having succeeded each other in
a different order from the pristine colonists of the north of
Europe"—that is, of Scandinavia.   Mr. J. F. Campbell,
of Islay, would call them Atlantean.   Mr. Hector MacLean
observes—"The Scotch Highlanders of the present day are
a commixture of several races, Keltic and Scandinavian,
and it would seem to me that the pre-Keltic races could
not have been fewer than three or four."   It was not
unreasonable for M. Alfred Maury to ask—"In spite of
so many disturbing causes, have some traits distinctive of
any of the primitive races of our country continued to
exist ?   Has the physical and moral type of each of these
races been completely effaced, or has it continued to exist
within certain limits, where it has been comparatively
unexposed to the causes of mixture and alteration ?"

How interesting it would be if we were able to indicate
in the *physique* and *morale* of the modern Scotchman the
precise elements for which he was indebted to the primitive
Scotchman !

THE BROCH-MEN OF THE NORTH-EAST.

The homes of the primitive races of Scotland have special points of interest.

While the earlier wanderers, driven upward by stronger tribes, were content for a while with the shelter of natural caves, a season of repose from attack would induce these Scotch savages to add a few comforts. The rocky recess might be strewn with skins and dried fern or heather, while the entrance must be rudely fortified with blocking stones. But Caledonia, by no means too genial in winter now, was colder in the remote past, as the Glacial Age was receding. Cave dwellings may be pleasant for Basutos in the sunny realm of Africa, but not for the inhabitants of northern Europe.

Some ingenious fellow suggested a sort of subterranean haunt, with less exposure to a north-easter, greater security from observation, and snugger for the huddled-up tenants. Inconveniently close, as well as cramped for space, ingenuity suggested the construction, at the end of the subterranean way, of a chamber, whose roof, rising above the surface, could be formed of overlapping stones or flags. This gave a dome-shaped room, in which a fire could be lighted. They who fancy the ancient Scotchmen were of the same race as the Esquimaux have an argument in their favour arising from the similarity of dwelling. One must go then to Greenland to study what were the manners and customs of the ancient Scotch.

Geology sanctions the theory of the cold of old, which compelled the people to provide against it in their habitations. Captain F. L. W. Thomas notices the fact, saying, "The long tunnel entrance is an Arctic feature, and, to my mind, is a proof both of the great age of these structures and of a change of climate."

The *Eirde* houses, or *Weems*, are seen in many parts of Scotland; the Gaelic word is *uamba*. They were, as Anderson points out in the green cairns, without ventilation or light. Generally these *Leabidh fholaich*, or hiding beds, are but about a yard wide, though sometimes many yards long. They have since been used as granaries, and,

later on, by smugglers for a cellar. *Eirde*, or earthen house, is a Hebridean word. The hypogeum, or subterranean way, brought one into a vaulted chamber. As, in some instances, a rude, uncemented, circular wall only remains, Mr. G. E. Roberts observes—"We may reasonably assume that the Highland dwellings were covered in from the inclemency of the weather by some rude roof of wattle or heather, supported upon poles." But often the entire roof is seen to be a series of overlapping flat slabs of stone, like those mentioned by Tacitus in Germany. From their shape they have been popularly known as *Ovens*, as Arthur's Oven in Stirlingshire.

Occasionally they are called *Pict Kilns*. In some parts they are *Druids' Houses*. One on St. Kilda has three low vaults. On Borera Isle there are two near together, one being devoted by tradition to a Druidess. The learned Toland notes the one belonging to the Druid, "who," he says, "'tis probable was not unacquainted with his neighbouring Druidess."

One crept in on all fours to the central chamber, which was sometimes as much as 20 feet in diameter, circular or oval. The passage was mostly lined with stones; in Aberdeen, of granite. One near Helmsdale, Sutherland, is 33 feet long. Not far from Dunrobin Castle is a vaulted room, 10 feet long, 4 broad, and 5 high. The hearthstone bears the mark of fires. Such retreats were supposed to have been adopted by ancient anchorites, who must have experienced the required mortification in such a sojourn. Mr. Skene esteems these *ovens* as perhaps the oldest vestiges of the sort now standing in Scotland.

After a time, these old Scotch folk found the subterranean passage unnecessary. "My own opinion," says Captain Thomas, " is that this race held possession for thousands of years, and that they developed with the improvement of the climate." Population increased, and families came together in clans. Thus were raised the *Hut-circles*. These are seen in Sutherland, Ross, Perthshire, &c. It must have been still cold then ; since, beneath the central hearthstone of some hut-circles, low, narrow galleries have been noticed ; as if a lower descent, in more cramped quarters, were needed sometimes.

The Rev. J. M. Joass, of Golspie, a thorough antiquarian, has recorded a remarkable connection with them. " I now find," writes he, " hut-circles and associated tumuli on almost every southward moorland slope that I examine, both in Sutherland and Ross. When I come upon tumuli, I am rarely disappointed in my search for the hut-circles, and *vice-versâ*." At Scotsburn, for instance, he saw one hundred tumuli and eleven distinct hut-circles. He observed *Lodges* of flat spaces girt round with stones. Each *lodge* was from 6 to 8 yards across; around the hearth-stone were the remains of ancient feasts.

Another circumstance attracted the attention of Mr. Joass. There were circles in pairs. Each would be, perhaps, 40 feet in diameter, but separated from its mate by 60 to 100 feet. It struck him whether they had any connection with a bit of domestic history alluded to by Dion Cassius, *wives in common*. In that case there would be a meaning in the arrangement of distinct huts for males and others for females.

In the Hebrides, where conservative ideas retain so firm a hold, there are many remains of different orders of ancient dwellings, not a few of which still furnish a home to the moderns. The pillared *Bo'h*, or Pict House, was a clumsy pile of stones, without mortar; the stronger and thicker, the more ancient. One of them in St. Kilda was known to be occupied by a family forty years ago. Tradition says that the *Each-uisge*, a sort of transformed water-horse, used to resort to these places. Some *Bo'hs* had arms diverging from a central beehive chamber.

The beehive houses, found also in Ireland, are known, too, as *Cloghans*. One at Udney, Aberdeenshire, is connected with an underground passage 60 feet long and 4 broad. Another is seen near Conan of Forfar. The house in the Highlands is the *Tigh*. In Lewis are fine specimens of *Tigh-dubh* cottages. One is 40 feet long by 14 broad, having wooden partitions, not employed, perhaps, by remote ancestors. The cattle are sheltered in the part near the door, the central space is for living in, while the further recess is for chamber and store. Some have yet no more chimney arrangements than were needed of old. In some cases, the walls being so thick, the beds are placed

in recesses of the walls; thus affording more ground space
for the cows. The Hebridean *Bo'hs* or *Bothies*, have very
low entrances, and the roof is formed sometimes all of
stone. The *Cleits* are pent-houses of stone, without
windows, and with overlapping stone roof. At present
they are used as stores, or fish-curing places. Pennant,
in 1772, spoke of houses in Sutherland, after the aboriginal
type. There was a rough stone wall round, but the roof
was of beehive shape, made of poles and wicker, but
covered with sods.

The persistence of old types is thus exhibited in the
Western Highlands, leading Captain Thomas to conclude
"that the immigrating Keltic or Pictish race largely mixed
with and adopted the habits of the aborigines, and that
the prevalence of custom has retained a method of shelter
suited to an arctic winter long after the necessity for it has
passed."

A further progress appears to have been made in the
erection of the *Burgh*, or *Broch*, or *Pict House*. Mr. John
Stuart, about the most competent Edinburgh authority,
writes:—"It may, perhaps, be allowed to conjecture that
the *Burgh* was a further development of the resources of
the early inhabitants. The chambers, which were at first
underground, and then built on the surface, but covered
over with earth or stones, were at last disposed in the walls
of round towers in tiers above each other." But the secre-
tary to the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland adds that
these are "almost peculiar to our country."

What, then, is this Scotch *Broch* or *Burgh*?

Sir Walter Scott describes one as "a pyramidal dovecot,
formed by a double wall, still containing within its thick-
ness that set of circular galleries, or concentric rings, which
is proper to all the forts of this primitive construction."
His description of the Mousa Broch, in notes to *Ivanhoe*,
is worthy of an antiquary. That one has some romantic
incidents about it. At the time when Norway ruled over
north-eastern Scotland, Bjorn Brynjulfson stole Thora
Roaldsdatter, and took refuge in Mousa; but, followed
by the king, he fled to Iceland. In the fourteenth cen-
tury, Earl Erland ran off with a willing captive, the fair
Margaret, and managed to make an ark and love-bower of

the old Broch.   But the lady's stepson besieged the place
with a strong force.   Erland had, however, duly provisioned
his fortress, which could stand hard blows, though not an
arrow could proceed thence in return, as there were no
openings when once the stone door was closed.   A compro-
mise was effected ; the truants admitting a priest to
solemnize the union.

The writer had the singular good fortune to be intro-
duced to the Broch mysteries by the learned parish minister
of Golspie, the romantic village that nestles beneath
Dunrobin Castle.

The journey was in the depth of winter, a plunge through
deep snow and slough, a scramble over rocks and cairns.
The Broch stood on rising ground.   There were two con-
centric walls of piled-up flat stones.   The space between
the walls was about two or three feet, but a considerable
area lay within the inner ring, though well filled up with
the bones, shells, and other refuse.   A strong stone door
secured the entrance.   If that were forced, recesses at
the sides, and an opening in the slab floor over the door-
way, gave defenders a capital ground for attack. Chambers
were made in the thickness of the wall on the ground floor,
while successive floors existed between the two walls.   A
dark and dreary abode it must have been at the best of
times, but wretched enough in winter.

Dr. Wilson has this account of another :—" Within the
space between the walls, a rude staircase, or rather inclined
passage, communicates round the whole, and a series of
chambers or tiers of interspaces, formed by means of long
stones laid across from wall to wall, so as to form flooring
and ceiling, are lighted by square apertures looking into
the interior area."   Others have separate chambers on two
floors only.   At Sandness and in Unst the chambers are in
the wall on the ground floor, and the galleries rise between
the walls.

The height of these rude towers may have been 50 or
60 feet; but the tops have not been preserved.   Many
are in such ruin as to be taken for, green *Howes* or tumuli.
The walls are seen from 8 to 12 feet thick, and the
diameter of the pit inside as much as 40 feet.   Whether
a roof existed or not is uncertain.   Mr. S. Laing says :—

"It seems rather as if the passages only between the circular walls had been covered in, and used as dwellings in bad weather or winter, the inner circle, which is 24 feet in diameter, remaining open." Occasionally there are found three, or even more, of the concentric walls, giving this fortified dwelling a prodigious solidity.

While in the extreme north they are rarely above 30 feet in diameter, some down south run as much as 150. Of seventy-four in Sutherland, only two retain their stories. Backies fort has three walls of from 15 to 18 feet each, and a centre of 26 diameter. There are three chambers in the wall of Carn-liath, near Dunrobin, of the dimensions 10×8, 10×7, and 11×7 ft. The central chamber is 28 ft. diameter, and the wall is 15 thick. The door is but 30 inches wide. That disposes of the supposition that the erection was for a cattle enclosure, since a beast could not well pass through.

The *Borg* or *Burgh*, *Brough*, or *Broch*, was a castle for defence, not for offence. It was a shelter from attack, a refuge in time of danger. It would seem that the point of fear was seaward, most Burghs being towards the coast. It has been said that they are well in view of each other, so that signals could be conveyed from the summit. The Caithness flags were admirably fitted for such a structure when no mortar was used, as the stones lay flat on each other, and could be wedged up. Mr. Horsburgh says :—
"There is not 2 feet difference in diameter between any I have seen in Scotland; but they are usually about 30 feet." He saw 20 feet of wall standing at the Dun Dornodilla.

On the Isle of Burray, Orkney, is one 65 feet diameter in all, with the outer wall 15. It had a subway to a sort of chamber—a well below the foundations. The jawbone of a whale was found in a recess ; the carcass had, doubtless been devoured by the inmates. The centre was full of bones of deer, &c. which may have been thrown out of the interior window cavities by the people at meals. The odour from such a receptacle of refuse mingled with the only air admitted to the Broch. But that was before the age of Inspectors of Nuisances. The Broch of Dunbeath has an oval chamber $12\cdot6 \times 6\cdot6$, and 13 ft. high.

Many of the so-called tumuli—of which there are 2,000 in Orkney, 100 in one parish—are nothing but ruined Brochs. The immense number, therefore, which must have been, is at least an evidence of the extent of the ancient population. Some bear evidence of extensive alteration in structure, while quite a large amount of them show occupation at successive epochs. This will account for the fact that while there are those having stone and bone ornaments only, others contain metal, both of iron and bronze; even Roman coins have been thence obtained. Decay from time alone is not sufficient cause for their disappearance. One of Cullswick, only a few feet high in 1822, was recollected as 23 feet high a few years previously. There are still fifteen in one parish, Fortingall. Peebles boasts of fifty-two. Some are like the Duns, Cahers, or Cloghauns of Ireland, near the west sea-coast.

Edwin's Hall, on Cockburn Law, Berwick, is 90 feet in diameter. Built of huge whinstone blocks, with small pieces to fill up the joints, the walls are from 15 to 19 ft. thick. In the outer one was a chamber 23 × 7 ft. A covered passage, 17 feet long, led to the building, which was first mentioned in 1764; the interior, called the Hall, is 56 ft. in diameter. The chambers in the wall are 12, 16, and 20 feet in length. The space between the three concentric walls is 7 and 10 feet; much above the average. From the *débris* of one, at the Laws of Forfar, a man confessed he had drawn 9,600 loads of stone. The Broch of Glenelg is still 30 feet high. Mousa, in Shetland, is 40 feet, though supposed to have been 50 originally. At the Tappock, Stirling, the wall is 20 feet thick, the inner diameter 33. It must have been of great height, judging from the mass of ruins. Caterthun is 27 ft. thick, with three concentric walls. Of one in the Vale of Strathmore, Sibbald wrote :— "It contains three distinct rows of apartments, which communicate by stairs, and are all lighted from within." The wall in some places is nearly 30 feet high. Coles Castle, Brora of Sutherland, is 160 feet round, with walls 14 feet in thickness. Brago Dun, of Lewis, has three hollow passages, for stories, between the walls. The wall of Dunpender Law is 20 feet thick for 1,000 feet long, 12 for 1,400, and less for 1,100 more. Tayvaelloch fort

of Argyle, is 60 ft. diameter. Dremhill, of East Lothian, has three walls. Bochastle, on the spur of Ben Ledi, has five concentric walls. The Duns of Argyle are numerous, and resemble the Irish ones. Echt, in Aberdeenshire, has five concentric walls enclosing one acre.

To Maclagan's magnificent work on *Hill Forts of Scotland* antiquarians are much indebted. But the learned author develops a curious opinion on the connection of Brochs and Druidic circles. Discovering in some walls of the Burghs massive stones with interstices filled with smaller pieces, he concludes that the wearing away, or partial removal, of the circular wall would leave the larger masses, which would thus constitute a so-called Druidic circle. The conclusive evidence for such a theory is wanting. The known *circles* have no such *débris* of fragmentary stones in their neighbourhood.

But that gentleman seems on firmer ground when assuming that the tumulus of Maeshow, the most celebrated of North Britain, is not a sepulchre, as commonly supposed, inasmuch as it has doors and lintel, while the doors have an arrangement for closing from *within*. As to ashes of the dead being found at Maeshow, he points out that such remains have not unfrequently been placed in the dwellings of the living.

One very odd form in Caithness has been noted by Mr. J. Anderson, called the *Horned Cairns*, having wing-like projections. "In the typical example," says he, "a double wall, or rather, a wall built against and in front of another wall, runs entirely round the whole mass of the cairn, giving it a form not unlike that of a starfish with four rays; while, in the long cairns, the outline is the same, but triply elongated in the centre part. Within this double wall, a circular wall encloses the chamber." Again he writes:—"The horns are defined by parallel walls, both of which face to the outside the one being thus built against the other, as it were. The distance from the face of the inner wall is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet all round." One at Wick is 240 feet long, with an expansion of the horns from tip to tip of from 53 to 92 feet.

Sir Walter Scott was quite interested in the Shetland Burghs. Their remains convinced him that they "tend

to show that the remote people by whom these Burghs were constructed, were a numerous race, and that the islands had then a much greater population than, from other circumstances, we might have been led to anticipate." In his *Pirate* he notes that Norna's dwelling, "had been fabricated out of one of those dens which are called Burghs and Picts' Houses."

The folks lived well then. There was plenty of game, fish, and shells, besides barley. The bones are seen split for the sake of their marrow. The abundance of deer's horns goes far to attest the great antiquity of the erections. The classical authors speak of the destruction of Caledonian forests ; but they must have been thick enough when deer were so numerous. Besides red-deer, there were the now fossil ox, the horse, the goat, the hog, the fox, the dog, and the seal, all brought to the aboriginal feast. But Mr. Laing, in his review of 45 Orkney Brochs, remarked the " singularly rare fish-bones." The finding of the bone of the Great Auk, a bird that has for ages been extinct in northern Europe, is another evidence of Broch antiquity.

The handicraft of man, in the oldest of these Brochs, is rude. Mr. S. Laing speaks of "stone and bone of extreme rudeness, and of excessively coarse hand-made pottery." The stone weapons he observed of a peculiar type. Stone drains, however, indicated higher intelligence than stone hammers and bone pins seemed to warrant. A few querns in some for grinding corn supposes some sort of cultivation. In several he found no fish-hooks, no harpoons, and but few weapons. As has been mentioned, the bronze swords there came from a secondary occupation of the premises, and notably by the Scandinavian Vikings.

But the Broch is not of Norse origin, as had been imagined. Worsaee, a Danish antiquary, distinctly affirms that there is "no resemblance whatever to the old fortresses in the Scandinavian North." Yet there is a strong family likeness to the *Nuraghés*, or Round Towers of Sardinia, of which no less than 3,000 are standing in that island. And, as Forbes Leslie says, "One property the Picts' houses and Nuraghés undoubtedly possess in common, viz., that their origin or erection is in no way elucidated by national tradition or authentic history." Picts' houses

they may be styled, though there doubtless long enough
before the Picts or Caledonians came to Scotland.   Dr.
Wilson, in *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, laid it down
that "they are the earliest native architectural remains
which we possess."

There is a tradition in Gaelic that the Fenian "Fingal,
king of heroes, had twelve towers in the winding valley of
the greyheaded stones" near Killin of the Grampians.
But the brochs were not indebted to the Fenians of Scotland,
wonderful as they were.   Captain Thomas writes : " I am
of opinion that the Picts' houses of the Orkneys are vastly
more ancient than the beehive dwellings of the west of
Ireland and Lewis."   He ascribes them to the primitive
inhabitants. Maclagan is " disposed to claim a very remote
antiquity for some of them."   This he founds upon the
débris left by the elements. "These primitive monuments,"
says he, " belong to times when no records were kept, when
man only knew how to satisfy his material wants, and was
ignorant of any means of transmitting his memory to later
generations.   And the more civilised races before whom
the Broch builders disappeared, have chronicled little or
nothing, except the stout resistance afforded to their own
invading hosts."

Some attempt has been made by Mr. Laing to arrive at
their age.   He sees that the Burgh of Stromness, Orkney,
has been partly carried off by the sea, and proves that the
rocky point on which it stood "must have extended at
least fifty feet further out."   Then he points out the hard
nature of the sandstone there, and adds—" Many castles
exist, perched on precipitous rocks overhanging the sea,
where we can prove from historical records that no very
sensible change has taken place for centuries."   On a
similar geological formation he observes the Burgh of
Breckness to stand, and says—" The age of the Burg is
the period required for the wasting of between fifty and
sixty feet of a coast-line of hard sandstone cliff."   History
speaks of Sweyn the Rover being lowered from the wall of
one to the sea, in 1150 ; yet " the ruins remain as Torfæus
described the castle 700 years ago."   The rock at Breckness
is hard Devonian. If scarcely an impression was made
at one place in 700 years, a considerable time would be

required to carry off fifty feet of the same kind of rock from the coast at another place. Allowing for special circumstances favouring the hammer of waves in the latter locality, it must be surely admitted that the Broch builders lived a good multiple of the years since the Norse rover was there.

Vitrified forts have exercised the minds of antiquarians. A glazed surface, inside or out, shows the mark of fire. As those in Ireland, of Londonderry and Cavan counties, were in the country settled by Picts, so tradition in Scotland associates the Picts with the Scotch forts. But Bohemia has at least a dozen of them, and the fire has evidently been employed to strengthen the foundation.

Vitrified Scotch forts are known more northward than southward, and westward than eastward. They were first noticed in print a hundred years ago. Pennant and MacCulloch thought them the rim of a crater. Others held they were for signal-fires; but Hugh Miller said, "The unbroken continuity of the vitrified line militates against the signal system theory." Then it was seen that the stone employed was of a gneiss character, in which the felspar would vitrify under heat. The learned Dr. Gordon of Birnie suggested to the writer, when inspecting a fort, that Bel fires may have originated the heat. It is possible that the fire was intentionally applied as a glaze, for no cement was used. An intense and long continued heat was certainly present.

On Barra hill of Aberdeen, which is a mile round and 670 feet high, a fine sample of this sort of fort exists. Noth of Aberdeen is 100 yards round, and 20 feet thick. Dunodeer is also in Aberdeen, having four walls 10 feet thick. Doune of Relugas is 170 ft. round. The Dun of Kessock, near Inverness, is securely cemented to the rock itself. Craig Phadrig, Dun Fion, and Dun Dhairghal, of Inverness, and Knock Farril of Ross, are well known vitrified forts. Dun of Criech is near Dornoch; Castle Finlay, in Nairne; Balbegno, in Kincardine; Barry, in Perth; Finavon (white water), or Oathlaw of Forfar, is 476 feet in extent, on a hill 1,500 feet high. Galloway, Kintyre, and Bute have some forts.

Sir A. L. Hay writes :—" The date of construction of

these remarkable works, or the races by whom they were
inhabited, is buried in mystery." Part of one was enclosed
in a palace of King Gregory, a thousand years ago. Mr.
Maclagan points out one evidence of their very great
antiquity—the decay of the hills on which they are built,
and the mass of *débris* about them. Alluding to those of
the Fair Beauly Loch, he justly adds :—" The three forts
must have been for the defences of the numerous circular
dwellings whose traces are all around." Of forty-four
examples, only four are known south of the Forth. The
vitrified forts certainly bear witness of a people and a
social condition very different to that appearing in the
opening scenes of Scottish history.

Remains are disinterred from the Brochs as from mid-
dens of different ages. The stone weapons of the lowest
are not associated with bone ornaments or pottery. The
Great Auk, found in Danish kitchen-middens, but long
lost to Europe, was the food of the Broch-men. Vast piles
of shells point to other means of sustenance. There were
the bones of the wild hog, and now extinct forms of the
horse, bull, and goat, but few fish-bones, and no sheep.
There is the reindeer, which is absent in Denmark.

Who were the people? Mr. Laing thinks they lived
"long prior to the general introduction of metals, or the
advent of any historical race." He considers them
aboriginal, saying, " We can hardly imagine a people
resting satisfied with such rude knives and arrows of bone
and sandstone, whose ancestors had brought with them
better forms and materials." The arrows were not even
barbed. Knox, the ethnologist, dates the race, " when
the German Ocean was scarcely a sea." But they have
disappeared as entirely as the Mound Builders of the
United States.

Skeletons and skulls have been unearthed, and submitted
to anatomists. The impression is that the men were short,
squatty, broad-chested, with long arms and bent legs.
Sir R. Sibbald may call them Scythians, but they were
assuredly not Celts. Professor Huxley has some curious
observations on the pelvis brought to him, which, says
he, " is not more like that of the ordinary European female
than it is like that of the ordinary European male." He

adds, "In the ordinary European pelvis, both male and female, the transverse diameter of the brim usually greatly exceeds the conjugate, or antero-posterior diameter. In this pelvis the conjugate diameter exceeds the transverse by about $\frac{3}{10}$ths of an inch." He would call the folks more Negroid or Australoid than Mongolian.

The skull, according to Mr. Laing, "is far more animal-like than that of any European race either known in history or hitherto discovered in pre-historic tombs of the iron, bronze, or later stone periods. If a line be drawn vertically over the skull from ear to ear, half the brain lies in front of such a line in any average well-formed European head; while the proportion is not one-fourth in the Keiss skulls." Many are very prognathous, with narrow, ape-like palates. Some are better than others. Dr. Carter Blake examined one skull from a horned cairn, and described it as "of great size and weight, the osseous structure being very dense." He found the orbits large, the forehead capacious, the parietal tubers broad, the inferior maxilla very large, and the chin excessively prominent. The facial angle stood at 80°. Professor Owen got a worse specimen, and remarked—"The lowest skull in the Caithness series of an ancient stone-period resembled that of a West African negro." He found a child's jaw had been broken for its dental pulp, not gnawed by beasts, and concluded the race to be cannibal.

The difference in the skulls has been accounted for on the supposition that the more ancient boat-headed inhabitants were invaded by a broad-headed race. Dr. Beddoe fancied some remains of an aboriginal type existed in the Shetland Isles, since he found on a visit there "a few black-haired people, of low stature, with features approaching the Finnish type, and a melancholy temperament." This would assume that some blood of the ancient Broch-men runs in the veins of the modern Scotchman.

THE GREAT STONE BUILDERS.

Scotland, like Ireland and England, can bear witness to the march of the great stone builders. These mysterious beings, by some called Druids, by others called Celts,

and by some, again, regarded as Antediluvians, left traces of their work from India to Cape Finisterre, and from arctic regions to the borders of the African Sahara. They set up huge stones, constructed circles of monoliths, suspended rocking-stones, and reared cromlechs. Though supposed of Druidical origin, our knowledge of Druidism itself is too vague to admit of any decision on the point.

The PILLAR STONES were sometimes memorials of events, but more remotely may have been connected with religious worship. The greatest object of reverence in India is not an image of any god or goddess, but a stone whose top is rounded off. Certain stones were, at least, treated with superstitious respect in Scotland until very recently, and a lingering feeling of mysterious awe for them is not quite extinct.

Among Standing Stones is the huge one in Abercorn wood of Linlithgow; the Clack-a-Charra of Onich, Lochaber; the Liddisdale of Roxburgh; the Catstane of Edinburgh; the Clach-sleuchdadh, or stones of worship; the Clacha-na-Draoiach, or Druid's stone of Speyside, 22 feet × 17 by 12; the stone of Tullochgorum; the Thrushel stone of Lewis, 20 feet by 16; the Kilpatrick, 11 feet high; the Clack-na-Tsagairt, or priest's stone, &c.

On the Black stone of Iona oaths were made. Water was poured on the Blue Stone in an islet near Skye to get a fair wind. The Dwarfie Stone of Hoy, Orkney, is hollowed out as if in three chambers, once the residence of a giant and his wife, or of a dwarf, or of somebody else. In size it is 32 × 17 by 7 ft. The Stone of Odin, near Stennis, was destroyed in 1814. On Sheriffmuir and Tweedsmuir are other such stones. Holed stones, as in Shetland and the Hebrides, enabled lovers to join hands in solemn contract, or warriors to swear an oath. Milk was poured through one in honour of saints, spirits, and brownies. An ordinance of the Church of Scotland in 1628 was passed to restrain superstitions practised with stones. Avenues of stones have nearly all disappeared. A remarkable example is preserved in Lewis Isle, at Classerness. There are two ranges of obelisks 7 feet high, and 6 feet apart; arms across give the look of a huge cross. The avenue of Kirkmichael, Perth, is 100 yards long.

CIRCLES of huge, unhewn stones have been mostly cleared away in *improvements,* and the remnant might have shared the same fate, but for the *Lubbocks* of the present. What they were for has puzzled many. Some regard them as the boundaries of old tumuli ; others, as the main binding block of a rudely-constructed circular wall. They have been thought primitive temples of worship, or the simple deposits of giants' quoits, as one sang—

> " Or left by the giants of old who played quoits,
>   When their game they forsook to attack the *potatoes.*
>   *Potatoes !* Sure the root was not then in its glory.
>   No matter—'tis as true as of giants the story."

In Maclagan's *Hill Forts,* it is said the circle was but an " unconnected structure of the dwellings or strongholds of our living ancestors, and were not their sepulchres, were not even temples of worshippers."

Those who think circles are merely Druidical temples may be reminded that Cæsar never associated circles with Druids, and that few circles remain in Celtic and Druidic Gaul. None can doubt, however, that circles, if not intended for worshipping in, became sacred places, and sites for sacrifice. Cattle were offered there long after Christianity came, chiefs were buried within the holy precincts, and such continued as cemeteries under Christian rule. Colonel Forbes Leslie believes in their religious character. " Will you go to the Stones ? " still means " Will you go to Kirk ? " One was once called " the auld Kirk of Tongh," Aberdeenshire. Moses is said to have " builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars according to the twelve tribes of Israel."

Among the Scotch circles are the following :—Cheviot circles, from 15 to 30 feet diameter ; Craigmore of Sutherland ; Helmsdale, 48 ft. diameter ; Achen-Corthie of Kincardine, the field of the circles, two concentric ones ; Graitney of Dumfries ; Leuchars of Aberdeen ; Cairney and Monymusk of Aberdeen ; Midmar, with two concentric circles ; Kintore ; Dunnottars ; Devenich of Kincardine ; Torphichen of Linlithgow ; the Hairstanes of Peebles ; Leys ; Iona ; Ballakelly ; Gritchreg ; Ballown Hills ; Kirk Maughold ; Dyces ; Kirknewton of Edinburgh ;

Gaithope ; Kirkbean of Kirkcudbright ; Blair-athol ; several in Perthshire ; Old Deer of Aberdeen ; Castleton of Roxburgh ; Aberlour of Banff ; Kreigness of Argyle ; Auquhorthies near Inverurie, &c.

There are six circles within a mile of Kiltarlity, Inverness. In Kintyre there are circles of 19 stones. There were a score of circles in the parish of Kirkmichael, Perthshire. The Ring of Brogar had over 60 stones, and a diameter of 340 feet. At Skene of Aberdeen 8 stones give a diameter of 34 feet to the circle. The Clachan of Inches, near Inverness, is of two circles, the inner one being of 28 stones and 40 feet in diameter. In Kirkcudbright at Tongland is a circle where only the tops of the stones show above the moss. Eight circles lie between the East and West Law of Fife. Several are in Glen Darragh, the Vale of Oaks. The Tryststanes is 135 feet diameter, and Lochrulton 170. Three circles form a triangle at Tongh, Alford, and Auchterless of Aberdeen. Near them is one at Tamnaverie, or Hill of Worship. The two concentric circles of Kirkmichael are 32 and 50 feet in diameter.

The granite standing stones of Torhouse in Wigton are 19 in number, and form a circle 218 feet round. Baldernoch of Stirling is 100 yards across, and Drumcrag of Arran is 30 yards. Two are in the Isle of Mull. Nine huge stones form one of 46 feet in diameter at the Hill of Fiddess. In Nairne there are flat, thin stones. They are to be found very commonly in Aberdeenshire and along the Grampians. At Auldern of Moray an inner circle is 60 feet across, and the outer 200. There are 2 ovals at Kiltearn of Ross. Ossian refers to the horrid circle of Brumo. There is often a fosse round some circles and a stone chamber in the centre. There are groups of 3, 5, 8, and 10 circles. Some Scottish shields are seen with 19 concentric circles, having a supposed allusion to the lunar cycle of 19 years.

Callernish circle, in Lewis, has a double line of stones from it in north, south, east, and west directions, forming a cross 270 feet by 27. The circle is 42 feet in diameter. The position was laid down from astronomical observation. The central stone is 17 feet high. Peat has covered most of the circle and avenues for 800 years. Tradition says it

was a place of worship. *Clachan,* or *The Stones,* is still the Highland word for a church.

The Standing Stones of Stennis, in Orkney, are remarkable. Some are 18 feet high. The diameter of the circle is 420 feet. Only one erect stone remains. Near is a half circle, leading some to say that it related to the moon, but the other to the sun. Sir Walter Scott is reminded of " phantom forms of antediluvian giants."

> " The hoary rocks, of giant size,
> That o'er the land in circles rise,
> Of which tradition may not tell
> Fit circles for the wizard's spell."

LOGAN, or *Rocking,* stones are but few now in Scotland. Religious zeal has overturned many of them because of superstitious rites connected with them. Nicely balanced, they moved, as it seemed, by special power. The Logan was the priest's standing-place, where supposed heavenly influence was received, and from which inspired utterances proceeded. It was also the Stone of Ordeal.

One at Kell Hill, Kirkcudbright, is 8 feet 9 inches by 5, weighing 10 tons. That at Kirkmichael of Perthshire weighs 3 tons, and has 26 vibrations in a foot at a touch. Not far from it, at Dron, one 7 feet by 10 vibrates in an arch of 2 inches. In Kells parish the Logan weighs 10 tons, and " it is so nicely balanced upon two or three protuberances that the pressure of the finger produces a rocking motion." At Stornaway one weighs 30 tons. Others are in the Hebrides, at Kells of Galloway, Craigs of Kyle, Cacha-brath in Iona, near Castle of Moyness, &c. Of one at Balvaird, or Bard's Town, Fife, Sir R. Sibbald writes : —" I am informed that this stone was broken by the usurper Cromwell's soldiers ; and it was discovered then that its motion was performed by a yolk extuberant in the middle of the under surface of the upper stone, which was inserted in a cavity in the surface of the lower stone." A splendid one at Auldern, Moray, 10 tons weight, moving 26 times, was broken up for building materials. Ossian's *Stones of Power* were Logans. Some thought elves and trolls erected them. Norden remarked, " theis stones were thus lefte at the general floude."

CROMLECHS, or DOLMENS, are structures of one cap-stone resting on several supporting stones. Ashes or skeletons being found in many, they have been thought graves of chiefs, saints' beds, &c.

> " St. Keven,
> If hard-lying could gain it, he surely gained Heaven;
> For on rock lay his limbs, and rock pillowed his head,
> Whenever this good holy saint kept his bed :
> And keep it he must, even to his last day,
> For I'm sure he could never have thrown it away."

Cromlechs are often found beneath tumuli or cairns, and have hence been thought to have all been once so enclosed. There is, however, evidence that they were not all sepulchral; some, at least, were devoted to other rites. They may have typified the grave and resurrection, and illustrated the womb of nature. But Mr. Maclagan's idea is that they are " in many cases merely the roofs of entrance galleries to round houses.'' He thinks the very massiveness of the *Cap* proves that it was intended to hold up great weights. This is an extreme view. One in Scotland is still " the sunken Kirk."

Not many remain; for, as Professor T. Y. Simpson remarked, "almost all the primæval stone circles and cromlechs which existed in the middle and southern districts of Scotland have been cast down and removed." Only two cromlechs are now found in the Lothians. Some are termed *Earth-fast*, when one end of the cap touches the ground; others are called *Primary*. Columbkille has six; half of them rest on five supporters. One is 13 feet high. Another has a cap of quartz 18 feet by 11, with a neighbour 13 by 11. Yeskenaby, the stones of Via, Sandwick, stands on two pillars; Torphichen, of Linlithgow, on three; Liddesdale, on three; Bonnington, on two; Wigton, on three; Old Deer, Aberdeen, on two; Park House of Aberdeen, on two; Kipps House, on three; Drumcrag, Arran, on three.

The cap of Baldernock's *Three Auld Wives' Lift*, in Stirling, is 18×8 by 7 feet; of Park House, 14 long; Clochodric at Kilbarchan, Renfrew, 22×17; Craigmadden, Stirling, 18×11 by 7; Bonnington Witches' stone, $11\frac{1}{2} \times 10$; Old Deer, 250 cubic feet. The grave of Ossian's Malvina is the Cromlech of Drumadoon in Arran. One is by the

circles of Kirkmichael; and the Druid's stone of Clocho-
dric is by Kilbarchan. Several are still crept through, as
with holed stones, by those anxious to avoid sterility.
Colonel Leslie fancies the *earth-fast* ones were for worship,
esteeming them " earliest of our heathen altars."

Who were the Cromlech Builders?

These were commonly supposed the Celts. Modern
ethnologists, especially the French ones, consider them
pre-Celtic by long ages. Leslie puts them in the fourth
epoch of the Stone Period. Professor T. Y. Simpson
settles the Celtic claims easily, by showing that central
and eastern Gaul, the land of the Celts, is without the
cromlechs, which abound in Scandinavia and Germany, as
well as in Barbary, where neither Celts nor Teutons lived.
They are numerous in the hills of India, where rude non-
Aryan tribes still construct them for worship. He con-
cludes cromlechs " much more widely diffused over the
earth's surface than the Celts." Fergusson, the architect,
deems them non Aryan.

CAIRNS and TUMULI, or rather the most ancient order of
these, are associated with cromlechs. When the stones or
earth had been removed, a cromlech has often appeared
below, with burnt bones or skeletons. But some are simply
memorial mounds. There is one of a serpentine form in
Argyleshire, which is hundreds of feet in length, by thirty
in breadth, and fifteen high, and that terminates in a cairn.
Tumuli have been opened at many places, with very similar
results, but evidencing very different ages of erection. It
is odd that the Saxon for tumuli is *laws*, the name given to
many Scotch hills.

Cairns of stones or earth have been found in all lands.
A *kœrn* is a heap of stones. In some parts they are known
as *fairy knowes*. They are the *hairstanes* of Peebles.
There is one of small stones at Linlithgow, and of large
stones at Liddesdale. Cairns are *Galgals* in Brittany,
answering to the Gilgal, or place of stones, in Palestine.
One at Lanark is 187 yards in base. Another of rolled
stones is 142 feet long, and 10 high. In Sarn parish,
Argyle, a cairn is 250 ft. round. In Wigtonshire, one has a
base of 460 feet, with 60 of height. The Clochodric of
Renfrew is 12 × 17 by 12 ft. There are several conical ones

in Edinburghshire.   At Blair Athol, one has a diameter of
100 ft., and once had some upright stones on the summit.
An elongated oval one is at Borradh.   Pitscandlie cairn has
two pillars on the top.   That on Craigmaddie Moor is
240 ft. round.   The traditional yarn is that a gentleman in
black had his lap full of stones, intent on mischief, but
was compelled by a godly man to drop them.   So numerous
are they, that a bard once sang in Ireland—

> " Every hill which is at Œnach
>   Has under it heroes and queens,
>   And poets and distributors,
>   And fair women."

There are forty-nine yet remaining in the valley of
Barnair, Wigton.   A group, a mile in extent, may be seen
near Culloden.   Past and present utilitarians have re-
moved thousands of stones from a single cairn, being
handy for buildings, drains, &c. ; this was the case at
Herlaw.   There is a white cairn at Knockman.   Knock-
kilgoill is the *hill of strangers' graves*.   Some are very
ancient, while others have been, rightly or wrongly, asso-
ciated with well-known battles, particularly with Norse-
men.   Some are chambered, and others have cists, containing
skeletons or burnt bones.

Tumuli may be said to include the family of cairns.
Sometimes great collections of manufactured flint tools
were scattered during the construction of the mounds of
earth.   These tumuli or *barrows*, called *byrig*, a burial
place, in Scotch, are richer in ornaments than those of
South Britain.   There are beads of glass, amber, clay, jet,
stone, &c. ; bracelets, collars, earrings, and tiaras of gold ;
urns, food vessels, and other articles of pottery.   Some
contain only stone implements, or the rudest earthenware ;
while others, more recent, have bronze weapons and vessels,
with iron articles in the most modern, down to the Roman
period.   The *Long* barrows are reputed older than the
Round ones.   There are skeletons laid out, or bent knee
and chin together.   Some bodies were but partially burnt ;
others wholly so, and the fragments enclosed in urns.   One
urn was 13 inches high.

The approach is generally by a sort of tunnel or passage

lined with stone, conducting to the central chamber of
death. There may be but one interment, or several cists or
coffins of stone slabs are recognised. In the large Cumbrae
of the Frith of Forth, one large cist was discovered with
five inferior ones, with partially burnt corpses of women
and children. Dr. Wilson and Mr. Phené are disposed to
think this one of many illustrations of that painful past,
when victims were sacrificed on the decease of a chief or a
priest. Many are so placed as to catch the sun at the
awakening. The food vessel often observed therein has
an evident relation to preparations for another life.

A fine tumulus, near Glassaugh, destroyed in 1756, was
60 feet in diameter, with earth over the pile of stones. At
Deerness is one 100 ft. diameter, and 16 high. Another is
36 ft. high. *Mildewne* means the *grave of a thousand*, and
is alleged to have received the slain of a battle in 1057,
when the son of Lady Macbeth was killed. That at
Rutherglen, Lanark, is 260 ft. round. At Kirkcudbright
is a mound 600 feet at the base. Some have a serpentine
form, as in Argyle, like the Ohio ones. Clava of Nairnside
has a long passage to a central chamber 12 feet long, with
a domed stone roof 9 high. The Barra barrow has a
central room, with seven other chambers, having skeletons
of men and dogs. Upon Queen Mary's Law is one 120
diameter. At Kilbride twenty-five urns were seen, placed
with the mouth downwards, and pieces of white quartz
underneath them. A bronze spear-head and ashes were
noticed in a round barrow at Halyhill, near Edinburgh.
A conical one at Newbattle, East Lothian, was 90 ft. round
and 30 high. An enormous tumulus is on the Moor of
Barclay, Kirkcudbright, being 890 feet round. Curious
shapes occur. Chalmers speaks of one with an "oblong
ridge, like the hulk of a ship with its bottom upwards."
Many mounds have been used for burials in various subse-
quent ages ; and so their contents partake of the period of
particular interments.

Maeshowe tumulus is the most celebrated in Scotland. It
is a mile from the great Stennis circle of Orkney, though
of much more recent date than the circle, as the stones
appear to have been partly stolen from it. A passage 53
feet long, formed of immense slabs, leads to a chamber 22

long, with its domed roof of overlapping stones, 20 feet
in height. There are several cells besides, as in that chief
of tumuli, the Irish New Grange. Over nine hundred Runic
characters have been counted in the Maeshowe chamber.
The mound is 90 feet in diameter, and 36 above the plain.
The cone has a circular ditch around it.

There may be no necessary connection between Tumuli
and Cromlechs, though the latter have been sometimes
found beneath, or even on the top of the mound. There
is some reason to believe that the grave-heaps are of a
much more modern date than the earliest forms of crom-
lechs, which later tribes chose to copy. The original
Dolmen builders were primitive people indeed.

Who were these Stone-men?

The Celts have commonly had the credit of such erec-
tion, and without reason, for they were not a building
race. As Celts were formerly living in Finland, Russia,
and Central Europe, east of the Elbe, it is somewhat
strange that there are few, if any, Dolmen in those
quarters. Captain Oliver thus treats of the tumuli
raisers :—" To whom are we to assign the origin of these
mounds? Their inception is probably due to the great
Mongoloid tomb-builders of Turan, viz. the Euskarian,
long-headed, swarthy, dark-haired Firbolgs, sometimes
called the *viri Bullorum*, with stone implements and
weapons."

The great master of Scottish archæology, Dr. Daniel
Wilson, treats the question of the builders of the great
stone monuments in these words—" We have no evidence
that these are Celtic monuments ; the tendency of present
researches rather leads to the conclusion that they are not,
but that they are the work of an elder race, of whose
language we have little reason to believe any relic has
survived to our day."

These few words express the opinion of leading anti-
quarians. There is a growing tendency to regard the
Celt as robed in the mist which Ossian casts around the
ghosts of heroes. We use the word *Celt* with little definite
meaning. If Celt mean the Highlanders and Irish, then
the cromlechs and circles were not reared by their ances-
tors, in spite of the Druidic sentiment so bound up with

Celts and circles. We must look to quite another people, with wholly different tastes, belonging to another age, and one vastly more remote than the day of Britons, Gauls, and Gaels.

THE STONE INSCRIBERS.

The INSCRIBED STONES of Scotland are certainly among the great curiosities of the country, with an interesting bearing upon the question of "Who are the Scotch?"

The inscriptions are of three very different kinds. Some are in Roman letters, of Latin language, recording the death of persons. Others are symbolical figures and shapes of another age. But what appear as the most ancient are the Cup and Circle markings.

The *cups* are usually little roundish hollows cut in stone, often having a dot in their centre. They are found only on one side of a stone, but are sometimes very numerous, and yet diverse. They are often in groups of from one circle to eight circles, being from 2 inches to 39 inches in diameter. The circle was complete, or open on one side to exhibit a groove or grooves, which may pass even through concentric circles. Sometimes a sort of horse-shoe is round a cup, or several such curves. Cups within one another seem involved in maze-like figures. Grooves may unite one centre to another, or appear like radiating lines from the outside. Concentric circles may form around a hollow, but with no groove issuing forth.

Though sandstone in some places may be the surface to cut, the very hardest quartzose and basaltic rocks are seen with these curious cups. Such stones are found in chambered graves, in cairns, or built into forts or sacred edifices. The variety of forms appears from one writer's estimate— 406 simple cup-like hollows, 86 cups with circle, 30 cups with two circles, 17 with three circles, 4 with four, 3 with five, 22 rayed circles, 16 ovals, 114 single circles, 32 of concentric circles, 10 of three circles, 6 of four, 4 of five, 68 semi-elliptical, 12 spiral. Along with that lot were 14 quadrilaterals, 6 triangles, 138 diamonds, 300 straight lines, 80 zigzags, and others of varying curves.

Besides many in Ireland, they are numerous in Scotland.

D

The magnificent museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh has a good collection, similar to the Duke of Sutherland's collection at Dunrobin Castle. Cup stones are seen at Moncrief and Craighall of Perth, Bruiach of Banff, Dunbar, Ballymenach of Argyle, Turin of Forfar, Graystone, and Holywood of Dumfries, &c. The Craig stone, 10 feet long, was found three miles from Edinburgh. The Rothiemay stone of Banff, 13 by 6 by 4 feet, bears sixty cups. Argyle is rich in the stones.

The object of these markings is not very evident. They were taken for archaic writing, magical or sacrificial tables, or Druidical emblems. Captain Oliver says : " When found merely in rows, they perhaps served as records of times and seasons ; when in groups, they may have represented constellations of the stars." This is much too high an estimate of primeval Scottish skill in astronomy. One the writer has seen in Brittany was thus thought a rude sketch of the Great Bear. An author considers they " bear a striking resemblance to the Mahadeo and Yoni marks." The writer was himself impressed with the same thought when in India. Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac, who noticed the likeness to Yoni marks, found enormous numbers in the Central Provinces, and attributes them to the Goala dynasty of shepherd kings, " who held the country before the advent of Aryan civilisation " ; that is, more than forty centuries ago. They are to be seen on Nineveh seals. Baron Bonstettin supposed them maps of archaic localities.

Professor J. Y. Simpson directed much attention to these *cups*. "That they were emblems or symbols," said he, "connected in some way with the religious thoughts and doctrines of those who carved them, appears to me to be rendered probable, at least, by the position and circumstances in which one occasionally finds them placed. For, in several instances, we have seen they are engraved on the outer or inner face of the stone lids of the ancient Kistvaens and mortuary urns. The remains of the dead which occupied these cists and urns were covered over with stones carved with these rude concentric circles apparently just as afterwards, in early Christian times, they were covered with cut emblems of the cross placed in the same position. Man has ever conjoined together things sacred and things

sepulchral." Certainly the cup-marks in Sweden used to receive offerings from peasants.

Who were the cup-markers of Scotland? Admitting later copies or imitations, there is reason to give a high antiquity to the first specimens there. Professor Simpson concludes thus: "The origin of the cup and ring cuttings may be still earlier than even the age of the earliest Celts, or of the Megalithic builders, for no doubt man attempted to carve and sculpture at a still earlier epoch in his history."

The cup marker belonged, doubtless, to very primitive days in Scotland. Some of his relatives or descendants may have furnished a meal to hungry Celts, the pioneers of a Celtic North British invasion.

Other inscriptions may easily be read, because in alphabetical character. England, naturally enough, has far more Roman inscriptions than Scotland. The Ogham writing, described in the previous work, *Who are the Irish?* was not so easily made out. Animals are sculptured upon stones, pillars, and ancient crosses. But the most singular marks, besides those of the cup and circle, are those which have been regarded as symbolical.

The Newton stone of Aberdeenshire is the most celebrated. In addition to symbols, it has an inscription which has puzzled the learned, and the interpretations of which have amused the vulgar. Dr. Mill, of Cambridge, declared it Phœnician, and read thus:—"To Eshmun (god of health): By this monumental stone may the wandering exile of me thy servant go up in never ceasing memorial." Dr. Davis, the explorer of Carthaginian ruins, got another Phœnician reading :—" A monument is placed (here). May the memory of the departed prove a blessing. He fell (in this) solitary place, and lay prostrate. Guard (the grave of) Atalthan, son of Pazach," &c. Phœnicians may have been among the ancient Scotch settlers, but their language must surely have a double meaning. Mr. Thomas Wright the antiquary, declared it debased Latin, and made out " His jacet Constantinus." Abate Ceriani was sure it was in the tongue of Palmyra. Mr. Westwood said it was Gnostic; Dr. Moore, Hebrew; Dr. Graves, Ogham; another, Egypto-Arabian; and one finally suggested a former Buddhist colony of converted Jews.

Boece gave his opinion of the old Scotch Inscribers :—
" Thay usit," said he, " the ritis and maneris of Egyptians.
fra quhome thay tuk thair first beginning.   For all thair
social besines, thay usit not to writ with common letteris
usit amang othir pepil, but ever with sifars and figuris of
beistis maid in manir of letteris sic as thair epithafis and
superscriptions above thair sepulturis schawis ; nochtheless
this crafty manir of writing be quhat stenth I cannot say,
is perist."

The *beistis* of Boece occur most on the old Scottish
crosses. Yet, if these were Christian crosses, why are such
inscriptions never seen outside of a limited area ?   There
are horses, cattle, lions, leopards, monkeys, serpents, fish,
birds, camels, and elephants, besides nondescripts, as cen-
taurs and monsters.   The Forres stone is the most interest-
ing of all for such illustrations of natural history.

As the cross, gaily ornamented with the involved, mazy
lines of the Runic knot, characterises many of these
stones, it has been assumed that they are all of Christian
origin.   But, as the pagan Scotch, not less than pagan
Germans, Scandinavians, and Celts, with pagan Mexicans,
Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Phœnicians, used the cross, as
Buddhists and Brahminists still use it, the age cannot be
gauged by the suggestion of Christianity.

It has been common to attribute them to the Northmen.
Tradition identifies many such illustrated monuments with
battles between the Norse and Scotch.   But Dr. Longmuir
says of a fine Speyside stone : " It has been supposed
that the stone was erected to commemorate the victory of
Malcolm over the Northmen ; but we are strongly inclined
to refer it to a much higher antiquity."   He truly remarks
—" These stone monuments may be considered the earliest
existing records of the ideas, and proof of the skill in art,
of the inhabitants of Scotland." And he adds—" It has been
supposed that these sculptured stones succeeded the rude
standing stones ; but the earliest notice we find of them
only shows that their meaning was then unknown."

Assuredly, if these pillars, stones, and crosses were so
marked in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, writers of
these times would not have been ignorant of the notion of
such inscribers who so much confined their attention to the
remote northern and eastern districts

Geometrical forms, as squares and triangles, are common. At Dumfallandy of Perthshire, there are sceptres, crescents, and double discs, in addition to elephants, &c. The *heart,* the *eye,* the *mirror,* the *spiral,* the *disc,* the *serpent,* the *egg,* and the *horseshoe,* are symbols easily recognised. The Z figure is both Gnostic and Buddhist. The *wheel* may be Time, the Solstices, or intellectual energy. The *comb,* so frequently seen, may refer to generation. The *crescent and sceptre* inscription has been thought to represent the moon. Both mirror and comb still survive at the Halloweens and the Highland weddings, for playful divinative purposes. The bow and sceptre may have connection with some worship. The horseshoe is not forgotten in luck even now.

Animal forms may have such a poetical meaning as would still be retained in the East, leading Colonel Forbes Leslie to say, " Some of these emblems indisputably, and all of them probably, are of Oriental derivation." The *Runic knot,* so commonly called Scandinavian, has been found *inside* of ancient tumuli, is very rare in Denmark, and unknown in both North and South Germany. The mystical writer Osburn considers "concentric circles, spirals, and other geometrical figures, are the last expiring efforts at lapidary ornamentation among degraded hordes of mankind just before their lapse into utter barbarism." In Scotland, however, the races before the Inscribers were certainly far from being civilised.

The *spectacles* symbol—two circles connected by a band— has given rise to much speculation among mystics. Sometimes this is crossed with an ornamental Z. The so-called *crescent and sceptre* is varied in form. The *crescent and spectacles* may be seen on 150 sculptural stones from the north-east of Scotland. The *zigzag* is Asiatic, says the architect Fergusson. The *serpent and spectacles* form a curious compound. The *spectacle* symbol was retained in after days, as it has been seen on an ancient silver ornament. It is not a little remarkable that the inscribed symbols are never found twice repeated in the same order ; a fact that gives increased importance to the supposition of an intelligent meaning. Of one symbol, Mr. J. Logan says, " I believe they are the springs or branches so important

in the ceremonies of Bardism."   And Colonel Leslie thinks these " simple emblems represented superior and mysterious powers recognised by a whole nation."

What was that nation ?   Was it British ?   Some fancy that the more modern specimens of inscriptions may have been done by the Caledonians.   The cross on them is no guide.   " The stone at the ancient Abbey of Deer," says Robertson, the antiquary, " may possibly be a rude cross incised on the reverse side of a heathen object of worship, when Bede the Pict, mormaer of Buchan, granted Deer to St. Drostan, A.D. 580."   Mr. Stuart, the learned Secretary of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, would give a long date to the inscriptions, saying, " We believe the earliest of these stone carvings are possibly anterior to the age of the Celt, mainly because they are found—though hitherto but sparingly—on cromlechs and dolmens ; and cromlech burying and building is *not* characteristic of the Celt."

The early *Inscribers* may have been a colony from the East, driven to the British Isles by home troubles, and, probably, destroyed by incoming hordes of rude barbarians.

THE CRANNOG PILE-MEN.

A few years ago considerable interest was excited by the discovery of ancient dwellings in Swiss lakes.   The retreat of the water one season disclosed to view the remains of piles.   These had been driven into the lake mud to support island wooden homes for a long-extinct race.   An extended search brought a number of these stockaded isles to light, and in half a dozen Swiss lakes. Platforms had been erected upon the piles, and wooden or wattle tenements were raised for the inhabitants.   A causeway, or road, raised upon piles, connected the Crannogs with the shore.

Further investigation brought information about the habits of these *pile-drivers.*   The mud yielded remains of their food, their weapons, their ornaments, and the animals which existed in their times.   It was known that in the Malayan isles of Asia, especially in Borneo, men still constructed dwellings in the water, having communication

with the land. When the Swiss relics were compared
with those dwellings still being constructed by the abori-
gines of those Eastern seas, the parallel was striking, and
the conviction grew that thousands of years ago a people
with similar architectural tastes existed in Switzerland.
Herodotus had a long story concerning a tribe in Thrace,
that in his day, 2,300 years in the past, lived upon plat-
forms resting on piles driven into the muddy bottom of
a lake.

Among other European countries once partially tenanted
by pile-drivers, Scotland was ascertained to have been so
favoured, though only of late were such structures under-
stood. As long since as 1812, Mr. J. MacKinlay found at
Bute what he thus described:—"The walls were formed
by double rows of piles four and a half feet asunder, and
the intermediate space appears to have been filled with
beams of wood." The bottom was filled up with moss
and turf, covered with shingles, as if for a floor. The
foundation was secured by a bank six to eight feet broad,
made of piles, filled in with moss.

Then it was recollected that old records spoke of wooden
castles, and these pallisaded islands were concluded to be
those referred to by the chroniclers. But this was too
far-fetched a conjecture, since history clearly establishes
the fact of Highland clans constructing wooden castles
for defence.

The Scotch pile-dwellings received the name of *Crannog*,
or *Crannoge*, from *crann*, a *tree* or *post;* and *og, young*—that
is, of saplings or branches. Sometimes the piles were
fixed in a sort of basement platform, or were supported
in their places by a number of stones thrown into the
water. Rude uncemented walls, in exceptional localities,
broke the violence of the waves. Occasionally, masses of
clay were cast into the lake for better holding-ground.

The Scotch Crannogs have in some cases remarkable
peculiarities, distinguishing them from any in Switzerland,
Italy, France, Germany, Denmark, and Ireland. The long
rows of huts on a platform are rather wanting. Few
dwelt in North Britain in that dismal past. Tribes,
sparsely scattered, hunted wild animals with their rude
weapons. But small as were the numbers, and plentiful

as was the chase, the grandest sport was the destruction
of human kind.   While some abode in caves, or built rude
fortresses of piled stones, others made their dwellings in
the water for safety.

A representative Scotch Crannog has been described by
Dr. Grigor.   It is in the Loch of the Clans, or Loch
Chlamant, in Nairneshire, and has considerable resem-
blance to a north of Scotland burgh, excepting that it is of
wood, and not of stone.   The spot selected was a rising
piece of ground in the lake.   The foundations were laid
below the level of the water, and effective means were
adopted, by the plugging of planks, to keep out the water.
The floor was the mud-bottom of the loch.   The walls
were of oak-trees, but the rafters inclined at the angle 25°
upwards, so as, says Dr. Grigor, "to form an upright
roof."   He adds, "To all appearance, the rafters started
from the ground in three tiers, having different angles
of inclination."   These, too, "were bound down by beams
crossing and recrossing in all directions, which imparted
greater strength."   One of the recovered timbers was
thirteen feet in length.   The north side, towards the old
lake margin, was made the strongest, as it would have,
necessarily, the most exposure.   Dr. Grigor properly
styles it "a primitive dwelling, with upright roof, covered
with turf."

Some have thought the Crannog was further protected
by a top casing of stones, to resist the action of fire
applied by the attacking foe.   How the family made a
descent to the chamber below is not very clear.   The Rev.
T. Maclagan, who has written so exhaustively upon the
forts of Scotland, compares the Crannog to a burgh.
"Rough undressed stems of trees," says he, "lined the
walls, roof, and floor of this building."   The room was
eighteen feet by sixteen in area.   It is further stated:
"Its roof is raised to about ten feet, and is formed of
beams springing from the stone walls at various angles."
The oak wood has been well preserved by the water.
The rough stones were flung in first to form a sort of
wall, and the openings between them and the timbers
were, most probably, well puddled with clay.   The tree-
stems inside kept up the roof.   A writer in 1608 speaks of

the " *cranokis* in the yllis " as *insular fortifications*. Mr. J. Stuart observes that " the rising of the level of the loch is a feature common to this with the Irish lochs in which Crannoges have been found."

The home of the period was far from being lightsome and attractive. But wants were few, and easily supplied. The greatest trouble was the exposure to attack from fellow-man. The Crannog family depended on superior skill and intelligence for protection against their more numerous and more barbarous land neighbours. A siege would not extend any lengthened period, and the stored stock of provisions would enable the inmates to remain closely in safety till the retirement of the beleaguers. About twelve inches of charcoal and burnt animal remains lay upon the floor of this dwelling below the water-level. Did the ancient inhabitants give rise to the many legends in Scotland and Ireland of beings in the guise of men with their homes in the lakes?

Dr. Grigor has another curious story connected with this Loch of the Clans, saying : " About 150 feet, in a south-westerly direction from this place, and in marshy ground, were found a great many pile-heads, no doubt the foundation of another Crannoge or lake habitation. An area of six feet in the centre seemed to have been laid with stones, three of which in the centre seemed marked with fire, and below them charcoal and bits of bone." It was a Crannog community.

Loch Dowalton has been recently drained by Sir William Maxwell for the exposure of another lake dwelling. In Wigtonshire one was raised upon an artificial island. The ground was always prepared or strengthened for the reception of the piles. At the Crannog of Loch Quein, Bute, there are the remains of two rows of piles, between which are a number of flat stones, as if stepping-stones to the shore. The Black Cairn of Beauly Loch is now visible at low tide. It appears to have been much after the same style of construction to be seen at Loch of the Clans. Already the process of destruction is going on, for a boatman confessed to his finding a beam ten feet long, which he pronounced quite fit for present use. The cairn level of this lovely highland lake has experienced some

changes. After the battle of Culloden, in 1745, many fled
to what was an island then. The land has since subsided,
and the salt wave now washes the sides of the cairn.
Bruce and his wife found shelter on one in Loch Tummel.
Keith MacIndoil was said to have his home on one in
Loch Lomond.

The list of Loch Crannogs, given in Maclagan's valuable
Hill Forts of Scotland, comprises the following localities :—
Loch Canmore and Loch Banchory, of Aberdeenshire ;
Fasnacloich, of Argyle ; Dhu and Quien, of Bute ; Loch-
maben, Sanquhar, Corncockle, of Dumfries ; Moy, Lochy,
and Beauly, of Inverness ; Orr, of Fife ; Forfar, of Forfar ;
Rutton, Carlinwark, Lotus, Kidner, and Barein, of Kirk-
cudbright ; Greenknow, of Lanark ; Cot, of Linlithgow ;
Eilan and Duffus, of Moray ; Loch of the Clans and
Flemington, of Nairne ; Tummel, Tullah, Earn, Rannock,
Achray, Frenchia, and Kinnord, of Perthshire ; Lomond,
of Stirling ; Brora, of Sutherland ; and crannogs Heron,
Mochrun, Barhapple, Barlochart, Barnzallie, Machermore,
Dowalton, White Loch Merton, and Inch Tuch Crindil,
of Wigtonshire.

Near a Crannog of Loch Na Mial, Mull, a canoe was
found. The water round one in Loch Tullah is 20 feet
deep. One was lately destroyed in Loch Torlundie.
Arisaig, of Inverness, was rectangular, 43 by 41 feet, with
much charcoal and bones. The piles were squared in Loch
Kierellan. St. Ternan, the Pictic bishop, was buried on
one in Loch Banchory.

The finding of a bronze armlet in one of the Wigton
Crannogs gives no certain clue to age of the original build-
ing, as successive tenants have gladly taken advantage of
this shelter in troublous times. The mark of cutting in
some timbers by a stone implement carries one further
back.

Who were these Crannog Scotch of those early days ?
From the evidences of various countries and ages, the
conclusion seems to be in favour of the idea that they were
a distinctive people, leaving traces of their progress in
these singular structures. Brace's *Races of the Old World*
has the following remarks upon them :—" They appear,
judging from their remains, to have entered Europe on the

north and east, following the courses of rivers, and the shores of lakes and oceans, roaming in hordes over Southern Sweden and Denmark, penetrating the vast forests of Germany and France, some tribes settling in the northern portions of Spain, and others, perhaps, passing over the channels to the British Isles."

It may have been so. Herodotus found some in what is now Roumelia, where their ancestors may have dwelt for many hundreds of years before. Doubtless, the Scotch Crannog pile-men had gained those loch homes ages prior to the day of the great Greek historian. The rivers of Southeastern Europe are still not ignorant of such architectural devices. But it is singular that the Indians of the sea lakes of South America, near the West Indies, should still build on piles, though so far from the pallisaded islands of the Eastern Archipelago of Asia.

THE IBERIAN SCOTCH.

Some ethnologists have doubted whether any of the old Iberians ever ventured so far north as Caledonia. The latter and lesser Glacial period, which did not rest heavily upon South Britain, was sufficiently *Greenlandish* to frighten off any human tenants north of the Tweed. If, then, the Allophyllian Iberians came from a warm climate, there would not in the remoter ages have been many attractions for them in a Scotch winter's mist. But, as so distinguished an authority as Professor Boyd Dawkins has pronounced in favour of the Iberian theory, and that the race left its mark at Oban, on the south-west coast, it is needful to say a word about that strange people.

The reputed home of the Iberians is Spain. Irish traditions bring the early colonists to Erin from Spain. The slightly made and rather dark race we call Iberian preceded the Celts in Europe, and are known as Allophyllian, in contradistinction to the Aryan population to which we and most of the Europeans belong. The union of the two in Spain originated the Celtiberian of Roman story. At present, the Basques of Northern Spain, and their brethren on the French side of the Pyrenees, constitute

the Iberians of Europe.   The Berbers of Northern Africa
are, doubtless, allied with them ; consequently, the so-
called conquest by the Moors, who were largely Berbers,
was a re-settlement of the country by folks of the original
stock, far older than the Gothic Spaniards or Celtic ones.
This is one of the curious revenges of history.

But, as the Gibraltar caves reveal a long-headed set of
aborigines, and remarkably like to those of the Spanish
dolmens, as well as British tumuli, Mr. Boyd Dawkins
concludes "that an Iberian or Basque population spread
over the whole of Britain and Ireland in the Neolithic
age."   As he finds so little change, both in Spain and
France, from contact with the conquering races, it may
be possible to discover in Scotland some remains of these
interesting and pre-Celtic visitors.   It is certainly not
celebrated for its black-haired and dark-featured inhabi-
tants ; though the best of French ethnologists are not
disposed to rate the Basque as much darker than the
Celt.

Mr. Hector Maclean is an avowed advocate for the
Iberian, with no manner of doubt about the identity of
the individual in modern Scotland.   It is hard indeed to
kill a race.   At one time or another, and after considerable
family intervals, the old blood crops up, and the son of
reputed Saxons reveals the lineaments of a more ancient
ancestry.   What says Mr. Maclean ?

"There are good grounds for believing that the *Caledonii*
of Tacitus were not entirely identical with those of sub-
sequent classical writers. Those large-bodied, ruddy haired
men, cannot certainly be considered as the ancestors of the
black-haired, brown-skinned, dark-eyed little people that
now abound in so many districts of the Highlands, and who
so much resemble the people of South Wales, the south-
west of England, and the west and south-west of Ireland.
This dark people are evidently descendants of races that
preceded the tall, yellow-haired Kelts."

As many Irish emigrants, called Scots, entered North
Britain twelve to fourteen hundred years ago, and were
even then a very composite nation, it is most probable a
considerable number of the recognised Iberian Irish accom-
panied the more modern Celtic Irish on their travels across

into Argyle and the Hebrides.   It is, however, a matter of question whether the Iberians of Scotland were not relatively far fewer in Scotland than in England and Ireland.

THE SCOTCH CELT.

The word *Celt* has given rise to much controversy. While the leading ethnologists — French, German, and English—are not agreed upon it, outsiders may well be puzzled to know what is a Celt.   Popularly, the French, Irish, Welsh, and Highland Scotch have been recognised as Celtic ; but English, Lowland Scotch, Scandinavians, and Germans have been distinguished as Teutonic.   Students of races now discover that the two lines are strangely confused.   Many supposed Celts turn out Teutons, and Teutons become Celts.   Some account for the difficulty by the theory of a wave of Celts overwhelming the earlier inhabitants of Europe, and then a wave of others more or less overwhelming or absorbing the Celts.   Mr. Howorth has clearly established the Celtic character of most of the tribes called *German* by Cæsar.

All this tends to check a very pronounced opinion upon the Celtic or Teutonic origin of a people.   It is not safe to assert positively upon the subject.   When we come to discuss the question of what distingishes the Celt from the Saxon or German, whether in character or *physique*, we are met with a great contrariety of views.   The former ought to be impulsive, and the latter staid ; but the steadiest French are the Celtic Bretons, and the lively Swedes are reputedly Teutonic.

What is a Celt ?   As Gaul was declared to be Celtic, French *savants* busied themselves to make a hard and fast definition, but have utterly failed in the attempt.   While one school would inclose nearly all Frenchmen in the Celtic net, the other would exclude the majority.   They cannot agree upon the basis of argument.   One declares the Celt to be short, dark, and small-handed ; another makes him out the contrary.   Cæsar, who nearly two thousand years ago saw the people less mixed than now, was so obscure, contradictory, or misinformed, that philosophers fail to

find decided views in his pages. Yet even he shows that
Gaul had at least three great varieties—Celt, Iberian, and
Ligurian—with marked differences. But both Gaels and
Cymry are detected in Gaul, as in Scotland.

Ancient writers confuse us. The Gauls, as described by
Cæsar, exactly resembled the Germans in the words of
Tacitus. Diodorus distinctly tells us, " The people who
dwell to the north of Marseilles are denominated *Celtæ*,
but those who dwell to the north of France along the
ocean and the Hercynian forest, as far as the confines of
Scythia, are called *Galatæ;* nevertheless, the Romans give
this name indifferently both to the true Gauls and the
Celts." He adds, " It is asserted that the Cimmerii, who
formerly ravaged all Asia, and whose name was corrupted
or contracted into *Cimbri*, are identical with the Galatæ."
Strabo, referring to the Germans, writes, " Their figure,
manners, and ways of life are such as we have described
in speaking of the Gauls." Tacitus alleges that the
Helvetians or Swiss were Gallic, and accounts for the
similarity of Gauls and Germans by supposing colonies of
the former passed eastward of the Rhine. The Titans,
called by Orpheus " our sires' progenitors," have been
thought old Celts. The Cimbri, identified as Celts, were
said to have had light hair, blue eyes, and tall figures.
Pausanias observed, " The practice of calling them Galatæ
came late into vogue, and in ancient times they were
called *Celti* both by themselves and others."

Continental writers have paid much attention to the
Celtic question. A statement of their views must be given
without any attempt to reconcile their differences. Most
Germans incline to regard the Cimbri of history as
Germans. But M. Henri Martin writes, " Not only were
the Cimbri *not* Germans, but they were Gauls more ancient
than the Gauls of the Danube." Bertrand and Thierry
would refer Celts and Gauls to the duality of the Gaulish
family. Then H. Martin exclaims that there were three
great immigrations of Celts or Gauls. Belloguet gives
the Celt " a milky-white skin, a lofty stature, a long
face, and very fair hair." He speaks of the long-
headed people employing the Celtic tongue, but the short-
headed having the Ligurian ; yet he gives the blonde,

long-headed race a lymphatic temperament. Holtzmann
is satisfied that Celts are German. Because Diodorus
declares the Galatæ to have blue eyes and tall forms,
M. Hovelacque will not have them Celts at all. He says
those light men of North-east Gaul, though speaking Celtic,
have no right to the name of Celt. Mazard contends that
the Greeks applied the word Celt indifferently to those
living in Gaul, whatever their tongue or race. Dr. Meyer
brings the Celts by two streams, the Baltic route and
that of North Africa. Dr. Lagneau shows proof "that
the Gauls and the Celts were primitively distinct, and
constituted two different peoples." Henri Martin has no
difficulty in calling the blonde and tall men Celts, and
thinks "the vanquished, the *brown*, have been Celtised by
the conquerors." Pruner Bey calls the Gauls Cymric-
speaking Celts. He perceives in the *rainure* along the
sagittal suture an identity between Celts, Dyaks, and
Negroes, in opposition to Germans and Romans.

M. Broca, the most prominent of French ethnologists,
is quite opposed to many in declaring Celts to be a dark
race ; so confounding them with the Iberians, as H. Martin
remarks. "The name Celt," says Broca, " is now on philo-
sophical grounds given to people who never went by that
name, and on archæological grounds to other tribes who
never spoke their language." He allows certain physical
transformations from their mixture with other different
tribes, but maintains that the Celts were "little, brown,
and brachy-cephalous populations, and that nothing can
authorise the calling of Celt the tall, blonde, and doli-
cephalous people who brought to them a new language
and civilisation." He regards the Celts as the conquering
few, and ends with declaring that the Celt is " not a race
which spread in Europe, but a civilisation."

English authorities must now be brought forward.
Professor Newman affirms the relation of our Celts to
the Umbrians and Sabines of ancient Italy, and says,
" The Latin of Cæsar abounds with intrusive Keltic ele-
ments." Knox writes, "To me the Caledonian Celt of
Scotland appears a race as distinct from the Lowland
Saxon of the same country as any two races can possibly
be." As, however, the Norse element is so strong in the

Highlands, the distinction is not quite so apparent. He indicates the two extremes of Celtic civilisation : " In Paris we find the one ; in Ireland, at Skibbereen and Derrynane, the other." Dr. Pritchard recognised in some Celts a Mongolian or Turanian form of head. Wilde considered the Celt "more globular-headed, light-eyed, fair-haired." Dr. Morton, of crania reputation, classes the head as "rather elongated, and the forehead narrow and but slightly arched. The brow is low, straight, and bushy ; the eyes and hair are light ; the nose and mouth large, and the cheek-bones high. The general contour of the face is angular, and the expression harsh." This is a well sketched picture. Dr. Barnard Davis, author of *Thesaurus Craniorum*, esteems the broad head the true form ; though Dr. Retzius found the long head most in Scotland. Dr. Meigs gets the type in a very long, clumsy, massive forehead—low, broad, and ponderous ; an occiput heavy and very protuberant ; orbits capacious."

Dr. Latham says, " It is in Gaul that we must look for the mother country of Kelts." The isolation of the Gaelic, he assures us, "creates the difficulties of their ethnology." Professor Rolleston notes an inferiority in stature and bulk among the black-haired type. " The doli-cephalic late Celt," he fancies, " differed probably from the inhabitants of these islands in the Stone Age in being light instead of dark haired." But it is his opinion that "the brachy-cephalic metal-using Celts are in date but of yesterday as compared with the troglodytic men of the continent." Lord Neaves, Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland, considers the Celts "a people of great intelligence as well as energy, if not also of considerable refinement." But he truly asserts that "the term *Celtic* is not well adapted to designate the primitive inhabitants of this part of the world." Dr. Daniel Wilson points out the want of sympathy between the two reputed Celtic peoples in Canada, French and Irish. Though thinking most modern Celts display the narrow rather than the broad head, he says, " Nearly all ethnologists are agreed in assigning to the true Celtic type of cranium an intermediate form." Dr. Beddoe believes we have no more settled the question by hair and eyes than the Romans did 2,000 years ago. Yet

he associates grey eyes with Celts. "Black eyes and black hair," says he, "are rare, except when Celtic blonde may be supposed to preponderate. Hazel and light brown eyes, especially when conjoined with brown or flaxen hair, belong usually to the Teutons." Red-haired Celts he sees most in Scotch Celts.

Mr. Hector Maclean, of Islay, calls the Celt of light or red hair Atlantean. The word *Gaidal* implies fair men. "The dividing of the ancient continental Kelts into two branches, the one Gadhelic and the other Kimbric," says he, "seems to me to be unsupported by a sufficiency of facts." He does not find much red or yellow hair in the Highlands, though the dark predominates in South Uist, and the man is rather prognathous. The long-headed Celts he traces in the Hebrides, Ross, and Sutherland; but the short-headed in Argyle, Perthshire, and the Northern Highlands. The first he thus describes:—

"The head is high and long, often narrow—the face is frequently long, and the profile is more or less convex— the lips are usually full, often thick, and more or less projecting; the chin and lower jaw are obliquely placed, and the contour of the lower jaw, taken from its junction with the neck, is but slightly curved, and looks often to the eye as if a straight line; the forehead, viewed in pro- file, gradually increases in prominence from the coronal region towards the eyebrows; region of the face, from the external orbital angles to the point of the chin, long—a characteristic of which the old Gael, Feinne, or Scots seem to have felt rather proud. The nose is frequently large and prominent; eyebrows prominent, long, slightly arched, sometimes closely approaching a straight line; cheek- bones large and prominent; eyes more frequently grey and bluish grey, but sometimes dark grey and dark brown; lustre of the eye strong, but tempered with a peculiar soft- ness of expression; hair reddish yellow, yellowish red, but more frequently of various shades of brown, of which yellow is the ground colour; sometimes, when it appears altogether black, a yellow tinge is discovered when closely examined; not unfrequently the colour is almost a pure red or yellow; leg and foot are usually well de- veloped; the thigh is generally long in proportion to the

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leg, the instep is high, and the ankle is well-shaped and of moderate size; the step is very elastic, and rather springing."

Of the Brachycephalic or broad-headed Celts, he writes :—" In these the head is broad and very square; the profile is straight, with broad and large cheekbones; the chin is frequently prominent and angular, or pointed; the nose is generally sinuous; and the lower jaw is always narrow in proportion to the upper jaw; the forehead is broad and square, sometimes rather flat; the face tapers rapidly from the cheekbones to the chin; hand square, with prominent finger joints; calf of leg large, thick, and strongly developed; foot and ankle well formed; legs generally short, and more or less bent; chest square and broad; lips lying usually close to the teeth; sometimes, but not often, prominent; complexion dark or sallow; skin swarthy or brown; hair reddish brown, red, and frequently dark brown, or black." He regards them as more fervent, but less impulsive, than the Dolichocephalic or long-headed Celts; having "great circumspection and forethought, strong passions and feelings, over which there is good control."

Language, as elsewhere mentioned, is an unsafe argument for race. The Celts of Asia Minor speak Turkish; the Celts of Italy, Italian; the Celts of Spain and France, an altered Latin; the Celts of Austria, German; the Celts of Greece, Greek; as those of England, English, of Ireland, Irish, of Wales, Welsh. This leads M. Broca to disregard language in race questions. Dr. Ebel, observing affinities between Gaelic and German, says they " point to a most special connection of these languages, the result of long continued amity, or of a very special relationship of the mind of the peoples." It is curious that the Celtic dialects of the east and south of Scotland have quite disappeared, like those of the north, middle, and southeast of England.

The Celtic names are sometimes very expressive and very poetical. One sad consequence of civilisation is the deprivation of sentiment in language. Colin is *beautiful;* Donald, *brown eye;* Duncan, *brown head;* Finlay, *white head;* Corrie, *narrow glen;* Glasgow, *the dark glen;* Kin-

naird, *high head ;* Arran or Arrim, *isle of sharp points,* &c.
Among Celtic places are Fife, Kinross, Argyle, Bute,
Dumbarton, Ross, Cromarty, Aberdeen, Culross, Cupar,
Dunfermline, Elgin, Tain, Inverary, Inverurie, Dundee,
Perth, Dunbar,.Kirkpatrick, &c.

Persons are difficult to identify by names. Conan the
red, Conan the black, Conan the tall, may be an example.
" It is impossible," says one, " to attempt the authentica-
tion or elucidation (except in very rare instances) of the
Celtic family history of the kingdom." Few surnames
occur before the twelfth century. Among the Celtic names
these have been mentioned :—Argyle or Oirirgael, Angus,
Albany, Arran, Athol, Bane, Buccleuch, Crooks, Carrick,
Cooper or Cupar, Douglas, Drymen, Drummond, Duff,
Dunbar, Ewen, Ewart, Farquhar, Fife, Ferguson, Gilchrist,
Gilmore, Graham or Greme, Galbraith, Gilfillan, Gow, Gunn,
Innes, Kinnaird, Logan, Lamont, Macarthur and other
Macs, Menteith, Malcolm, Pollock, Roy, Ramsay, Wemyss,
&c. Some names are double, one being the Celtic; as,
McElshender and Alexander, Hamish and James, McFetrick
and Fitzpatrick, McGurnaghan and Gordon, &c. *Mac* is
not always the son of a chief, but the abbreviation for
magnus, great.

For all ordinary purposes, it may be claimed that Cale-
donians, Picts, Gaels, Cymry, and Scots are of the Celtic
races, popularly so called. How far they were associated
with, or related to, Teutonic peoples, cannot well be ascer-
tained. As one party overran another, more or less de-
stroying the very existence of a foregoing nation, it is
extremely hard to discover what remains exist of any of
these several Celtic communities. In the chapter on the
Highlanders it will be seen that the difficulties are great in
the inquiry respecting the presence of Celts in the most
Celtic quarters, according to popular ideas. The abuse or
praise of a district for being Celtic is without much sense
on ethnological grounds.

THE CALEDONIANS.

Most people are agreed in opinion that, whatever races
dwelt in Scotland during remote ages, those found in the

country by the Romans were recognised as Caledonians. But there was the distinction between the Caledonii Proper, living more northward, and the Mæsatæ, to the south.

The Mæsatæ, known best to the Romans, because they were their subjects within the wall of Antoninus, are described as nearly naked and tattooed, having wives in common, subsisting upon roots and fruits, milk and flesh, but never partaking of fish, having many Celtic characteristics. Redpath's *Border History* says :—" In almost all these particulars, and also in their language, they resembled the Brigantes, with whom they appear to have been originally the same people." The name Mæsatæ was displaced in the third century by that of Picti, as Caledonii was by Attacotti.

The Caledonians were the natives of the *Celyddon* or *woods*, for Scotland was formerly a region of forests. The Highland word for a wood is *Cael doch ;* the Gaelic, *Gael-torch*, Irish *Galltarch*, means *woodlandish.* Scotland was known as Alban or Albyn in Columba's time. The Welsh Triads speak of the Gwyddelians in Alban. The Highlanders still retain the word Albinn, styling themselves *Gael Albinnich.* The *Alban bruigh* was the country of the yellow-haired, or light-coloured. Marianus Scotus refers to Albin becoming Scotia Minor in 1086. The real Scotia, the Scotia Major, was Ireland, whose name got thus transferred to North Britain.

The tribes of natives received Roman appellations, or Latinised forms of the aboriginal ones, though the position of these is not well ascertained. The smaller population north of the wall (not the English one, but that from the Clyde to the Forth) were in five tribes. When Caracalla made his celebrated treaty with the Caledonians, after the death of his father Severus, he relinquished to them all the country north of the wall, and so secured peace for a hundred years to the Romanised Scotchmen in the southern part of North Britain. The Taixali appear to have been toward Aberdeen ; the Novantes, from the Dee to the Irish Sea ; the Venricones, about Perth and Angus ; the Albani, to the foot of the Grampians ; the Ottadini, to the south-east ; the Gadeni, from the Tyne to the Forth, but

west of the Ottadini; the Dumnii, from Strathclyde to
Perth; the Horestii, about Kinross and Fife; the
Vacomagi, south of Moray Firth; the Attacotti, from
Dumbarton and Glasgow into Argyle; the Cantæ, of East
Ross; the Logi, of East Sutherland; the Carnabii, of
Caithness; the Cerones, of Inverness; the Epidii, of
South-west Argyle; the Catti, Catini, Mertæ, and Car-
nonacæ, of Sutherland; and the Selgovæ, towards the
Solway. The Damnii or Damnonii were said to extend
from the Forth to the Tay. The Catti or Chatti were,
also, in Germany; being, says Howorth, the distinguished
ethnologist, the generic name of the tribes dwelling in the
land of the Ubii. The Batavi, or ancient Dutch, were of
the Catti, and, therefore, a Celtic race.

The Caledonians north of the Forth were Germans in
the eyes of Tacitus. "The ruddy hair and lusty limbs of
the Caledonii," says he, "indicate a German extraction."
According to Boyd Dawkins, the ancient red-haired people
were dolichocephali with a prominent frontal development.
Broca, with peculiar views on the Celts, will not have
them Celts, but Teutons. Dr. Mitchell regards the freckle-
faced Highlanders their descendants. Chalmers calls them
Cumbrians. Hector Maclean deemed them more recent
than South Britons, and coming across the German Ocean.
He derives their name from *cal* or *gal*, *kindred*, and *donii*
(doine) *men*. Ptolemy thought them to belong to one of
the many Scotch tribes.

The ancient Caledonians were mentioned by Tacitus;
but, as Latham observes, "the details which we get from the
Life of Agricola are few. They fought from chariots, and
their swords were broad and blunt." But the story of
Dion Cassius, in the third century, is more ample. "Each
of these people," he said, "inhabit mountains wild and
waterless, and plains desert and marshy, having neither
walls nor cities, nor tilth, but living by pasturage, by the
chase, and on certain berries; but of their fish, though
abundant and inexhaustible, they never taste. They live
in tents, naked and barefooted, having wives in common,
and rearing the whole of their progeny. Their state is
chiefly democratic, and they are above all things delighted
with pillage. Their arms consist of a shield and a short

spear, having a brazen knob at the extremity of a shaft,
that, when shaken, it may terrify the enemy.   They use
daggers also, and are capable of enduring hunger, thirst,
and hardships of every description."

Where   are   the   Caledonians   now ?   The   author   of
Britannia after the Romans thinks they were all, or nearly
all, destroyed by the bands of irruptive Cymry, Scots, and
Saxons.   With such a conglomeration of races as Scotland
exhibits, it would be hard to drop upon a pure Caledonian.
Dr. Wilson fancies the modern Scot is very unlike the
ancient people, who must have had such small hands,
judging from their swords and daggers ; " the handles of
which," he remarks, ", would be straitened by the grasp of
many a delicate lady's hand."   This, too, would identify
them with the old Gaels of Ireland, a kindred Celtic
people, famous for the smallness of their hands.   The
modern Scotchman, like the modern Irishman, displays in
the breadth and size of his hand a Teutonic rather than a
Celtic origin.

THE ROMANS IN SCOTLAND.

This grand old race left their mark in Scotland.   There
yet remain the Roman camps, the Roman walls, the Roman
institutions.

As to their race influence upon the population, less
can be said.   They were settled only in the southern part,
and almost entirely as a military occupation, and not, as in
Britain and Gaul, as a colony of workers.   Yet one has
said, " Rome withdrew her legions, but she left her blood."
But Caledonia, in its Romans, had men from Iberia, Gaul,
Africa, Greece, and Scythia.   These, in alliance with the
Celts, produced a pretty mixed lot of descendants.

There are remains of Roman camps far beyond the line
of actual occupation.   We see Roman ruins at Paisley,
West Calder, Cleghorn, Netherley, Camerie, Ardoch, Inch-
tuthel, Cramond, Roxburgh, Caldshiels, Linlithgow, Dum-
barton, Burghead, Cupar, Greencastle, Invergowrie, and
many between the Forth and Tay where the warriors had
their headquarters.   A number of coins of the empire

have been found; as 600 in Portmoak bog, and many at Paisley, in the Lothians, Melrose, Aberdeenshire, Burghead, Forres, Tweeddale, &c.

The Roman wall was from Caer-riden on the Forth to Alcluid on the Clyde. Antoninus Pius made it 36 miles long. The wall of Severus, 72 miles long, was from the Tyne, near modern Newcastle, to the other side of England at the Solway Firth. That from the Forth to the Clyde was at first Agricola's earthen embankment, but made a wall by Antoninus. It was repaired by Carausius in 286, and is now popularly known as Grime's Dyke. Between these two walls was the Roman province of Valentia; but northward of the wall of Antoninus, up to Moray Firth, stretched the district of Vespasiana.

The Roman camp of Lindum, now Ardoch, had five ditches and six ramparts, with space for 28,000 soldiers. A formidable one was at Invergowrie, north of the Tay. But the conquests of Agricola were not retained. Vespasiana was seen to be neither profitable as an investment nor pleasant as a residence.

The Romans heard of about twenty-one tribes in Caledonia. The Damnonians of Strathclyde were said to have six towns: Vanduaria (Paisley), Colonia (Lanark), Coria (Carstairs), Alauna (near Stirling), Lindum (Ardoch), and Victoria or Comrie. Galgacus was declared to have been beaten at Victoria by Agricola.

Some of the memorials of Roman stay are very interesting. A stone was found, and sent to the college in 1694, which represented Roman soldiers with three naked Caledonian captives. Another stone bore an inscription, "To the Eternal Field Deities of Britain." It had been erected by the prefect of the Gaulish cohorts. Helena, the mother of Constantine, is said, by one tradition, to have been a native of Valentia.

The Romans treated the Valentian Caledonians well. By Antoninus they were granted even Roman rights. There is evidence of much culture and prosperity under that _régime_. The south of Scotland was rich, peaceful, and Christian. But the removal of the Romans subjected the enfeebled citizens to the outrage and violence of three warrior nations : Picts from north of the wall, Saxons

from the east and south, but Irish Scots from the west.
Before these, Valentia fell, and the Roman arts and
civilisation gave way to a long reign of barbaric disorder.

THE CYMRIC SCOTCH.

At the present time the Welsh appropriate to themselves
the appellation of the *Cymry*. But Scotland may lay claim
in some part to that distinction. Whether the Cymric
Britons were north of the Tweed before or after the Gaels
arrived there, no one can doubt that a large portion of the
inhabitants at the time of the Romans were what would be
popularly called Welsh now. As late as the Norman con-
quest of England, no small amount of Southern Scotland was
essentially Cymric. Professor Huxley boldly avows his
belief that all Scotland was originally of that blood, and that
the Gaels were intruders and foreigners.

Scotland has received so many successive layers of races
that language affords no inconsiderable argument in the
question of the Cymry. The word *aber* for river is Cymric,
as *inver* is Gaelic. Sometimes they come together, as Aber-
nethy and Invernethy. One Celtic authority, the Rev. Dr.
Maclauchlan, writes :—" The generic *aber* is in Scottish topo-
graphy found uniformly associated with certain terms purely
Kymric ; as, Aberuchill, Aberdour, Aberdeen, Abernethy."
It is never associated with a Gaelic word. There are no *abers*
in Gaelic Argyle, though found in Pictish parts of Ireland.
Mr. Skene fancies the Pictish to come between Cymric and
Gaelic. While there are no *abers* from Moray by Ness-loch
to the Clyde, there are thirty of them from this to the isthmus
of the Clyde and Forth. Yet there are six *abers* in Inverness,
seven in Perth, three in Banff, four in Aberdeen, two in
Stirling, three in Forfar, two in Fife, one in Sutherland, and
one in Kincardine. Skene sees no line of division between
the *invers* and the *abers*. " In Perthshire, south of the High-
land line," says he, " there are nine *abers* and eight *invers* ;
in Fifeshire, four *abers* and nine *invers* ; in Forfar, eight *abers*
and eight *invers* ; in Aberdeen, thirteen *abers* and twenty-
six *invers*. Again, on the north side of the supposed line
of demarkation, where it is said that *invers* only should

be found, there are twelve *abers*, extending across to the west coast." He doubts whether the words be a test of race; finding *invers* generally at the mouth of rivers, and *abers* where there is a ford.

Cymric names appear in *glen*, *loch* or *llwch*, *pol* or pool, *ard* or high, *alt* or cliff, *cefn* or back, *caer* or *craig*, pen, *tre* or place, *coomb* or *cwm*, a hollow. Taylor's *Words and Places* gives many illustrations of Cymric names. Vale of Clyde is like the Clwyd vale of North Wales. The Dee is in Scotland and Wales like the *Nith* or *Nithy*. The *Ochil* is Welsh. *Lomond* is a beacon in Welsh. Lanark or *Llanerch* is Welsh, and so is *Gowrie* or *Gower*. Father Innes and Chalmers are for the Cymric theory. Rhind thinks the Cymry came in from the south, and jammed up the Gaels in the north and west. The Cantæ of Ross were probably allied to the Cantii of Kent. The hills of South Scotland are regarded as Cymric, not Gaelic; but conversions were common. The Cymric *pen* became the Gaelic *kin ;* as Pencoed turned to Kincaid, and Caerpentaloch became the Gaelic Kirkintulloch. The Cymric *gwyn* for white became the Gaelic *fionn*. The Cymric *pen* softened to *ben*.

Within the historic period, the Cymry were pressed by the Gaels from Ireland on the west, and by the Saxons on the east and south-east. The Alban kingdom was north and west, Saxonia was to the east, but the Cumbrian Britons or Cymry were south of Glasgow during the age of our early Norman kings. Strathclyde, or Vale of Clyde, comprehended the Scottish part of the Cymric race. The line distinguishing Scotland from England was for centuries a fluctuating one. The ancient Cumbria or Strathclyde included what are now portions of both countries. It stretched southward from Loch Lomond and the Forth to below the Solway, and eastward from the Irish Sea to the Lothians. The capital was Alcluyd, or rock of the Clyde, the modern Dumbarton.

Strathclyde was formerly and pre-eminently the civilised part of Scotland. The Britons there accepted the Roman government, and shared in Roman culture. The ancient tribes of the Selgovæ, Damnonii, Novantes, Gadeni, and Ottadini, were mingled with the Romans as citizens. But when the Romans left in 410, the wilder tribes rushed through the wall upon the luxurious Strathclyde Britons, and

the Strathclyde kingdom had soon to contend with Northern
Picts, Southern Saxons, and Western Gaels. Numbers fled
the country, finding shelter in Northumbria, and even seeking
a home with a kindred people in North Wales. The Irish
invaders were the worse foes. Though the Cymry killed
Culen, king of the Scots, in 970, the battle of Vacornar,
five years after, sealed the fate of the Britons, and Strathclyde
was then added to the new and growing kingdom of the
Scots. Dunwallon, the last sovereign of the ancient race of
Scotland, became a monk in Rome, when Kenneth III. seized
his throne in 975.

Cumbria was conquered by the Saxon Edmund, in 943,
when King Dunmail was defeated, and the country was
bestowed as a fief of the Saxons upon the Scot Maicolm.
David I. was Earl of Cumbria before his accession to the
throne of Scotland, and increased his feudal territories by his
marriage with the daughter of the Saxon Waltheof, the earl
of Northumbria. In his time, about 1116, the south of
Scotland is said by one to have been inhabited "by diverse
tribes of diverse nations coming from diverse parts; of dis-
similar language, features, and modes of living, not easily
able to hold converse among themselves, practically pagans
rather than Christians." Constant wars had reduced north-
west of England and south-west of Scotland to this deplorable
condition. But the ancient people were known as *Walensis.*

Dr. Beddoe observes —:" South of the wall of Antoninus
dwelt several semi-Romanized tribes, whose nearest kindred
were the Cymric people of Cumberland and North Wales,
and who themselves long continued to glory in the name of
Cymry." But in the sequestered parishes of Kirkcudbright,
&c., this ethnologist saw some who resembled those described
by Llwyd in Flintshire. "Where the British or Cumbrian
element might not unreasonably be expected to be," said
Dr. Beddoe, "the people struck me as particularly tall, with
lengthened features, fair complexions, gray eyes, and darkish
brown hair ; a type, in some respects at least, resembling
that described by Llwyd as appertaining to the Welshmen of
Flintshire, who are undoubted descendants of the Strathclyde
Britons."

FENIAN SCOTCH.

Fenians in Scotland! Truly so; and many hundreds of years before treason was talked on Glasgow Green by modern Fenians. Ireland did not monopolise those distinguished people.

These bold pre-Milesians left a famous memory behind them. They conquered and held with firm grasp a great part of both Ireland and Scotland. Tyrants they were, but not vulgar ones. Superior in intellect and prowess to the older inhabitants, they were the very *Normans* of the period, and each man held himself a hero. They were a cultured band, for every Fenian was a poet. Before admission into the chosen ranks, he had to pass his examination in verse.

Whatever they were, their glory remained when they had departed. Their history is little known, and less understood. Some called them a militia to protect the shores of Ireland; but why then were they in Scotland, and in Cumberland of England? Without doubt they were a band of invaders. For a time more or less in alliance with native sovereign neighbours, they became weakened by intestine quarrels, and so fell before a combined attack of Irish and Scotch people. Few in number, essentially a military band, they were utterly destroyed on both sides the sea. But their poetry lived, and after poets sang the praises of heroic deeds, while tradition embalmed the memory of Fenians as if they had been genuine patriots of the Wallace and Hereward order.

All sorts of stories are told of them by Irish and Scotch bards of old. They were exalted into heroes of the Arthurian order. "The Finnii are," says Mr. Croker, "what the race who fought at Thebes and Troy were in Greece, Sigurd and his companions in Scandinavia, Dietrich and his warriors in Germany, Arthur and his knights in Britain, and Charlemagne and the paladins in France; that is, mythic heroes, conceived to have far exceeded in strength and prowess the puny beings who now occupy their place."

The romance of the Fenians, and the wonderful story of St. Patrick and the last of the Fenians, may be learned in the author's previous work, *Who are the Irish?* But what,

it may be asked, has Scotland to do with the Fenians ?
When the great Campbell clan of the Duke of Argyle are
called the *children of O'Duine*, who can doubt the Fenian
relation ? O'Duine was the patronymic of Diarmad the
Fenian.   That hero had run off with Grainne, the beautiful
wife of Finn.   Though she was restored a year after, the
husband had his revenge.   Knowing that the seducer was,
like Achilles, vulnerable only in his heel, he induced him
to measure by steps of his naked foot a great slain boar,
whose bristles Finn had discreetly poisoned.   The heel got
pricked, and the hero died.   But the following is his
portrait :—

> " Whiter his body than the sun's bright light,
> Redder his lips than blossoms tinged with red ;
> Long yellow locks did rest upon his head,
> His eye was clear beneath his covering brow,
> Its colour was of mingled blue and gray ;
> Waving and graceful were his locks behind,
> His speech was eloquent, and sweetly soft ;
> His hands the whitest, fingers tipped with red ;
> Elegance and power were in his form,
> His fair white skin covering a faultless shape,
> No woman saw him but she won her love."

Who after this would not admit the Fenian Scottish claim ?
But Scotch Fenian literature, judging by the Fenian stories
of Ossian, and the Highland ballads of Fenians, is not in-
ferior in quality, though it is in quantity, to that of the
Irish.   A Perthshire scene is thus described :—

> " Glenshee, the vale that close beside me lies,
> Where sweetest sounds are heard of deer and elk,
> And where the Feinn did oft pursue the chase."

It is in that same sweet vale that the tradition lingers of the
beautiful Fenian Adonis, ancestor of the Campbells, having
been buried.   His grave is still pointed out in the glen.
As late as 1684, Kirke's Psalter exclaimed, " Hail the
generous land of the Feinne ! "
    Fenian names are pretty widely scattered over Scotland,
though most abundant about Athol, Lorn, Glenelg, Lochaber,
and Loch Ness.   In a charter of Alexander II. one boundary
of the monastic grounds is indicated as being near " the well
of the Feinne."   Horsburgh writes :—" Fenian names occur
pretty often in the north of Sutherland, particularly near

Eriball, where are Craig Choril, from Chaoril, genitive of Caorill or Carril; Craig na Coulin, Cuchullin, Corrie na Coul or Cumhal, and near it Corrie-nuish-nach, which name long puzzled me, but I now believe it to be Coire-an-uisneuch, or usnoth; Ben Chiul, Ghuile or Goll, Fion na ren, Alt-na-Grhaine," &c.

The connection of Fenians with the Cruithne Picts is not obvious, though one old poem laments—

> "Alas! but it was not in the land of the Cruithne,
>   Of the Feinne bloody and fierce,
>   That thou didst fall, active youth."

It is easy to say that the Irish Scots, when they invaded Caledonia, brought with them Fenian traditions; but Mr. Skene, the competent authority, is of opinion that the Fenians were in both countries when they were very closely united, and long before there were Scots either in Ireland or Scotland. "We hold," says he, "that Scotland possesses likewise Fenian legends and Ossianic poetry derived from an independent source." Long before *Ossian* was published by Macpherson, stories of Fenians were current in Scotland. Was not Ossian's grave on the southern shore of Arran, near that of the brave Oscar? Does not tradition hallow the grave of Malvina, the lovely light of Lutha? Is not Fil-Finn the burial of Fin?

Bardic tales relate that the Tuath de Danaans, preceding the Fenians, came from the cities of Lochlan, possibly Norway, to the district of Dobhar in Alban (Scotland), and afterwards passed over to Ireland, subduing the Firbolgs, but subsequently were ruled themselves by the Milesians. The Bards add that the Fenians were found alike in Lochlan, Breatan, and Alban. Breatan was Cumbria, and a fine poem is extant of the Death Song of Curoi, who belonged to the Fenians of Breatan. Irish chroniclers affirm that the Fenians of Ireland, when attacked by the King of Ireland, sent for help to their brethren both in Breatan and in Alban.

There were, then, Fenian Scotch, whose blood remains in North Britain. "The mountain streams and lakes in these districts of the Highlands," says Mr. Skene, "are redolent of names connected with the person and actions of the Feinne."

PICTISH SCOTCH.

Not even the origin of the Basques has called forth such differences of opinion as that of the Picts. Along with Scots, they get a bad name for their treatment of Britons. Claudian sang—

> " The frigid North with Pictish blood wax'd hot,
> And drear Ierne mourn'd the slaughtered Scot."

But a citation of authorities about them illustrates the difficulties of history. Chalmers, in *Caledonia*, with Father Innes, and Palgrave, make them aboriginal Britons. Several think, with Colonel Robertson and Sir W. Betham, they were the Caledonians of the Romans. Pinkerton called them Germans. " The Picts were of a Gothic extract," said Sir R. Sibbald. Maitland's *Edinburgh* declares them the Gaels who fought the Romans. Buchanan considered them Goths. Many had them from Scythia. Maule, 1706, dates them from Scania. A. Maury thinks they differ from Celt or Cymry. Glennie does not see their British connection. Maclauchlan's *Scottish Highlands* identifies them with the Culdees. Burton's *History* knows them as Dalriads. Whitaker, Ritson, Garnett, and Taylor call them Cymry. Dr. Jamieson and others bring them from Norway. Latham writes :—" The British hypothesis will not account for the Picts of Orkney, nor the Scandinavic for words like *Peanfahel*." Professor Huxley says :—" The balance of evidence to my mind is in favour of their being a Teutonic population." But Dr. Macpherson sees only a *thief* in the word *Pict*, which others recognise as that of a blue painted-man.

Eumenius, about the year 296, referred to " Caledonians and other Picts." Chalmers, the historian, exclaimed, " That the Picts were Caledonians we thus have seen, in the mention of classic authors during those centuries." Ammianus Marcellinus, in 340, divided the Picts into Dicaledones and Vecturiones. Herodian thus described them :—" They were a warlike people, and loved to shed blood. They used a narrow shield and lance, and a sword hanging by their naked side, and made no use of coat of mail or helmet." The Council of Calcot, in Northumbria, 787, protested against Pictish painting. Pinkerton observes

that the ordinance "ascertains that they still remained a distinct race, probably the most numerous people of that kingdom, which then included Bernicia and Deira." Merddin ap Morvron, bard to a Pictish prince of the sixth century, wrote:—" I will foretell, before my tribulation, the Britons having the uppermost of the Saxons; 'tis the inspiration of a Brithwr (painted man)." *Picht* and *brith* were equivalent terms. Poictou, of France, was a Pictavia. The author of *Britannia after the Romans* says:—" The Pictones, being a small tribe, who (as I surmise) had preserved, in the very heart of unpainted Gauls, and down to the time when the Romans began to be acquainted with Gaulish topography, some vestiges of this horrid fashion, were called Brython or Brithon by their neighbours, and that not simply, but significantly and distinctively, as were the Picti of North Britain." Poictiers, famous for the Black Prince's victory, was once Pictonum.

Maule, in *Miscellanea Pictica*, says:—" Tacitus guesseth by their deep yellow bush of hair, and their large limbs, that they had their beginning out of Germany, but straightways after, and more truley, he attributeth al to the climat and positure of the air and heaven, which yealdeth unto bodies their complexion and feature." In fact, Vitruvius affirmed that " under the northern Pole are natives bred and fostered, big and tall of body, of color brown, with hair of head even and straight, and that ruddy."

Pictavia was a province of Roman Scotland. The country between the two walls was made a special province by the Emperor Theodosius; so " settling," says Father Innes, " on a more lasting foot, among the Christians of those parts, that order and apostolic form of government universally practised in all other Christian countries from their first conversion." But the Picts appear to have been north of these Romanised Cymry. Bridei, the first Pictish Christian king, was baptised 565. The change of faith among the Picts " seems not," says one, " to have changed their principles or much altered their customs." When Maximus, the rebel emperor, was advised by his Pictish ally to kill all the Scots, as they were a worthless race, he answered, " Know, barbarian, we Romans war not so; we come to save and civilise, and not to massacre mankind." Dr. Beddoe agrees with Chalmers that

they were Cymric Celts, "wholly un-Romanised, and there-
fore differing somewhat in dialect, and more in manners,
from their kindred in Strathclyde and Lochlan." There
were five tribes south of the Roman wall, in Valentia, and
sixteen tribes to the north of it.

Ireland was suspected by some to be the source of the
Scotch Picts. Tysilio asserts that they came before Severus,
and spoke Erse. Algernon Herbert remarks :—"They were
indebted to Carausius for their final establishment in the
island, and became the authors of horrible ravages therein."
The Vecturiones of Ammianus were reported as the Gwyddel
Fichti ; as vectorium implies a conveyance in ships. " The
Gwyddel Fichti were Irish," says A. Herbert, "who had
come over, by *vectura*, to assist the Caledones previous to
their campaign against Severus." They then settled down
in the Celyddon, and adopted the British tongue. Tradition
connects the vitrified forts with the Cruithne. "It is
obvious," adds Skene, "that this legend views the Picts of
Alban and of Erin as forming one people."

The Irish Picts, or Cruithnii, of the *Annals of Ulster*,
were the Picts of Scotland. There were Cruithne in the
north-east of Ireland, as there were in the south-west of
Scotland, and the former ruled the latter till 608. The story
is told, in the *Life of Columba*, of an incident in connection
with the invasion of Northern Scotland by Irish Picts.
The Culdee bishop gave many proofs of his power of second
sight. One morning he observed to his monks, "This day
an aged heathen, whose natural goodness has been preserved
through all his life, will receive baptism, die, and be buried
on this very spot." Soon after a boat arrived at the island
in the Hebrides. An old chief came forward, was taught
and baptised, but died almost directly after.

"The Picts were Gaels," says the author of *The Early
Races of Scotland*, "but being pressed on by British Celts,
and afterwards augmented by British emigrants, became
eventually, particularly in the eastern and southern parts of
Caledonia, not less Celtic, but to some extent British."
Hector Maclean, however, writes :—The Picts would seem
to have been originally the brachycephalous people whose
remains are found in the Round Barrows, and who were
driven westward by pure Kelts in Scotland."

The Welsh used the words *Gwyddil Ffichti*, a mixture of Gaels and another race. One Triad describes them coming from the sea of Llychlyn, which some consider Norway. Another speaks of Gaelic Picts coming to Albyn (Scotland) by the sea of Llychlyn.

The Pictish language has puzzled the learned. One word only remains, as quoted by Bede, though some others are conjectured. Ridpath notes that "history affords few examples of any nation which, with its language and almost every memorial of its existence, was so entirely extirpated as that of the Picts." Certainly the tongue is lost. The word *Peanfahel* refers to a place at the east end of the wall of Antoninus; *Scollofthes* and *Cartoit* are other Pictish relics. The list of forty Pictish kings from 451 to 842 is quite apocryphal. Yet Skene tells us that "the earliest part of the list is purely Irish or Gaelic in its forms." One writer observes "the most ancient repertory of the Pictish language is the topography of North Britain," and that it "may be found in the vernacular language of North Britain to this day." The Rev. Dr. Maclauchlan writes, "I call it Gallo-Cymbric"; and Skene says, "Pictish appears to occupy a place between Kymric and Gaelic."

The Pictish kingdom was overwhelmed by the Irish Scots in 842. Abernethy and Forteviot were their chief settlements. Picts and Scots, sometimes friends, more often foes, are styled by Chalmers "a congenial people, from a common origin," and were said to have "readily coalesced." Maule, who 170 years ago gave a list of fifty-three Pictish kings, tells a story about "after some disdainful words given by a Pictish gentleman to a Scot, they fell by the ears together so roundly that in a very short space there were about a hundred Picts killed, and about half as many Scots, which bred such a rancour in the Pictish stomachs." In one battle, "of 44,000, scarce was there one mother's child left." The conqueror, said Maule, "made rigorous laws for the extirpation of the Pictish name." Blease says the survivors fled to Orkney; but, repulsed there, were all drowned in Pentland (Pictland) Firth. Yet there were men called Picts who fought in the Battle of the Standard, 1138. So the truth about the origin and continuance of the Picts is not to be found.

F

THE GAELIC SCOTCH.

"The History of the Gaels," says Dr. Latham, "is that of an isolated branch of the Keltic stock." He admits that it cannot be found on the continent, and that, as to the Gaels, "no historical records throw any light upon their origin." M. Broca, however, discovers them still existing at Cornuaille, Brittany, in short, dark-complexioned, dark-eyed, dark-haired, round-headed people. He mentions M. Edwards as finding there that "the Gaels or Celts, properly so called, had a middle stature, arched forehead, receding toward the temples, the nose nearly straight and ending in a rounded lobule, the chin round, the head round."

A somewhat different picture is given of the Irish Gael by Mr. D. Mackintosh. He notes the head elongated backwards. He observes "large perceptive faculties, projecting ears, oblique eyebrows, low nose, in most sub-varieties turned up at the point, great distance between the nose and mouth, projecting mouth and jaws, retreating chin, in some of the Irish sub-varieties no chin." This not too favourable sketch received this addition in Connaught, which he fancies exaggerated Gaelic:—"The bulging forward of the lower part of the face, and recession of the forehead, are very much in the style of the negro profile." As, however, it has been shown, in *Who are the Irish?* that so composite a race could not be deemed Celtic Gaels, it will not do to admit the above portrait as that of the Scottish Gaels.

Sir Walter Scott retained the traditional idea of the division of Scotch into the Saxon and the Gael, with the types of FitzJames and Roderick Dhu. But the Gael has been usually supposed to have come across from Ireland as a Scot, and succeeding in devouring or absorbing the Picts or Caledonians. He has been called an aborigine by some, and an Iberian by others.

Gaels were light, say some, but dark according to others. Esquiros, finding the West Highlands contained many with black, straight hair, concluded the Gaels to be dark. Pike, who wrote upon the English origin, considered the Gaels a mixed and partly Cymric people. Dr. Gustave Lagneau

called the Scotch ones "Gaels of the mountains." In Brittany, he says, there are Breton Gallots or Golo ; and he distinguishes "the ancient Gaels speaking formerly Gallek or Gaelic from the Breton Kymris or Cambrians speaking the Breizal, a dialect of the ancient Cumbrian or Cymray." He detects in the Gallicians of North Spain, "descendants of Gaelic tribes emigrating from Gaul into Spain." Henri Martin, the learned writer upon Bretons, says :—"The name of *Galatai* employed by the Greeks came without doubt from *Gall tachd*, land of the Galls in Gallic language." Brace detects the Gael in France, where he is "found in the centre and east, has a flat head, forehead low and broad, face round and nearly square, nose small and short, or turned up, stature short, and figure thick."

The Gael or Gaidal was *fair man*, it is said. But Sir William Betham tells us : "The Irish ever called themselves Gael, and an individual man Gaelach, which last Cæsar Romanized into Celtæ or Keltæ. *Gall*, a stranger or foreigner, is a distinct and different word." The Gall-Gadelians of the Western Isles are declared the same as the Gall-Galls of the east coast of Ireland, who turned pagans and joined the Danes. Gall-oway was settled from Ireland. The Galloway Irish and Arygle Irish met in Strathclyde.

But were the Scottish Gaels merely Irish emigrants and invaders ? Many authorities favoured the idea. The Welsh Llwyd long ago contended for the originality of the Gaels. M. Belloguet boldly announced that they had been subdued by the Celts, and added, "We claim the honour of having first presented them to the world of *savans* as the true roof of our new genealogical tree." He styled them the short-headed. Mr. Hector Maclean believes Caledonia equivalent to Gaedheal, and concludes that "the name of Gael was not, therefore, introduced by the Dalriadic Scots, but was the name of the descendants of the pure Caledonii in the north-west of Scotland before their kinsmen, the Scots of the west, had acquired ascendency over the Picts." Mr. A. H. Rhind, also, thinks them the true original Caledonians, pressed northward by the inroads of Cymry from the south. He traces them in the Cornavii of Caithness ; saying, "The remnant of the Celtic nomenclature of Caithness, which has survived the

Norse conquest and other succeeding influences, does not exhibit a single specimen which should be regarded as indicative of Cymric presence." Old writers give eighteen names of districts, south of the Forth and Clyde, of which only six are in South Britain; sixteen of those on to the Moray, with six, also, south; but only two of twenty north of Moray can be claimed, says Rhind, as British.

Colonel Forbes Leslie, in his *Early Races of Scotland*, urges the priority of the Gael in Scotland over the Cymry Britons in the historic period. He refers to "the advancing British probably intruding on the Gaels, as the Gaels had intruded on some previous occupants of the soil, Celtic or pre-Celtic, who are unknown to history." The sympathy evinced by the Irish Gaels towards the Caledonians when troubled by the Romans, and the eagerness with which they advanced to their help, may be taken as an evidence of relationship. He admits that "the Gaels on the west were occasionally increased by emigrants from a kindred race in Ireland." This was long before the great Irish migration to North Britain during the sixth century.

The Gaelic language, said Mr. Crawfurd, is no sister tongue to the British Cymric. Bede declared the one as different from the other as Latin from Saxon. In Chalmers' *Caledonia* we read :—" It was a little absurd to doubt whether the people living in such ages (843 to 1097 in the Lowlands), under a Gaelic government and a Gaelic church (Culdee), with Gaelic kings and Gaelic chieftains at their head, were Gaelic ; it was still more absurd to doubt whether the people of a Celtic country spoke the Gaelic tongue." Without doubt it had driven out the Cymric speech as much as Latin displaced Gallic in Gaul. At the same time, that no more proves the Lowlanders to be Gaels than the Gauls Romans. " The science of language and the science of ethnology," Max Müller tells us, " have both suffered most seriously from being mixed up together." Gaelic is not like Welsh now ; but we are assured by Henri Martin that the most ancient texts of Gaelic and Kymric in France "show us these two languages less removed from each other than they are now."

The Scottish Gaelic is not Irish. The *g* of old Irish is *ch*

in the Scotch Gaelic. "This fact," observes Mr. Hector
Maclean, "leads us to infer that Old Irish is not directly the
mother tongue of modern Scottish Gaelic, but a sister dialect
of its mother tongue." The Scottish plural in *n*, though
rare in Irish, is common in Welsh. The English *w*, wanting
in Scotch, is known in Irish. That spoken in Kintyre is
nearer the Irish than the Skye tongue. There are two
distinct systems of orthography noticed in old Scottish
Gaelic : one is Irish, but the other is of a phonetic nature.
Mr. Campbell of Islay, a competent authority, warns us
that in Gaelic traditions names, customs, implements, &c.,
are subject to such radical changes as to be quite untrust-
worthy for dates and sequence.

In Gaelic, the *ao* has the sound of the French *u* ; *b* before
h is *v* ; *c* is *k* ; *d* before and after *e* and *i* is *g* soft ; *f* and *t*
before *h* is silent ; *m* before *h*, or *mh*, is *v* ; *s* before and
after *e* and *v* is *sh* ; *ph* is *f* to begin a word ; *gn* is *gr* ; *cn* is
cr. There are twelve diphthongs and five triphthongs. The
Gaelic numbers are uncommonly like Latin. Gaelic is rapidly
disappearing in Scotland. In Ireland, according to the census
of 1871, about 15 per cent. of the people spoke it. But
while about 1 per cent. did so in Leinster, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in Ulster,
there were 28 in Munster, and 39 in Connaught. In
Donegal county 28, and Mayo and Galway 56 per cent.
spoke Gaelic Irish. The numbers are much reduced there
now.

THE SCOTS OF SCOTLAND.

The ancient *Scotia* was Ireland, and the Irish were known
in early history as *Scots*. Who, then, are the Scots of
Scotland ?

Two very different stories are told about them,—that they
were original inhabitants, or that they were immigrants from
Ireland. Gildas, Bede, Ortelius, Richard of Cirencester,
Matthew of Westminster, Orosius, and Giraldus said they
were from Ireland. Colonel Gawler said the word *Scot* means
wanderer. The common account is that they arrived in the
sixth century, and gradually made themselves masters of
the Picts in the north, west, and centre in the ninth. But

the Rev. Dr. Maclauchlan proudly asks, "Is it by any means probable that a small band of emigrants landing in Scotland from Ireland in 503 could have been able, in the year 843, to overthrow a kingdom that had successfully resisted the Roman armies?" He further says, "There are differences between the Gaels of Scotland and those of Ireland which go far to cast dubiety on the Irish theory of the peopling of Scotland."

Then there is another theory—that the migration from Ireland into the west of Scotland had been going on for many hundreds of years, but that political difficulties in the Green Isle sent off more at one time than another, as in 503. Henry of Huntingdon somehow ascertained that "the Scots possessed themselves of Ireland in the fourth age of the world," whenever that was, and which may have given time for the emigration business. Fordun, in the fourteenth century, learned from the history of St. Brandan that there was a colony in the fourth century under Fergus, son of Ferquhard. The early Scottish kings were reported to be of the Irish northern Hy Niall line of chiefs. The Irish connection appears from the fact that when the Danes troubled the Hebrides, the relics of St. Columba were removed for safety from Iona to Derry. The Scots of history, who joined the Picts against the Britons, were probably Irish.

"The Scots," says Professor Huxley, "were Gaelic-speaking Irish, who speedily won a foothold in the Highlands, and have remained there ever since." But he admits those whom they conquered and "in great measure destroyed" were Celts like themselves. Dr. Beddoe supposes that "Scottish blood may have been introduced insensibly, and in the course of friendly intercourse, into even the remotest corners of Pictavia." Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, has no doubt about the Scots being Irish. He tells us that "the Scoto-Irish colonists overspread the Western Isles and Highlands," and that they "everywhere introduced their own language and customs." It is not a little curious that so late as 1542 those in the Lowlands who spoke Gaelic were known as *Ersch*, or Irish. Captain T. P. White says, "The Scots were originally an obscure community in a corner of northern Ireland." Father Innes, in his *History of Scotland*,

thought the Scots did not go to Ireland till about the Christian era, and adds :—" It follows in course that their first entry in and settlement in Britain must be yet posterior to that, since it is generally agreed that it was from Ireland that they came in immediately to the north of Britain."

But there are strong opinions entertained on the other side that the Scots were aborigines of Scotland, and, in all probability, that they settled in Ireland. Pinkerton held it so. Colonel Robertson saw in the Alban Gael a descendant of the ancient Caledonians. Mr. J. Anderson considers Chalmers very incorrect in bringing the Scots from Ireland. Sir Francis Palgrave speaks of "the aboriginal Britons of Strathclyle and Reged, whom we erroneously designated as Scots." Mr. Anderson points out that the Irish dressed differently from the Scots ; used the target, sword, and dirk, instead of the bow, spear, and javelin ; wore plaids, and not pantaloons and cloaks. The Rev. T. Maclauchlan urges the difference of language. This, says he, is "found in the vocables, accent, and grammatical inflections ; and so varying are these that it is not easy to conceive of them as having been one and the same speech even at the period of the Dalriadic settlement."

The Scot or Scuit was the Gael, Gaedal, Gaoidhil, or Feinn. Marcellinus, in 343, said he came from Scythia. Ammianus, 360, first notices the union of Scots and Picts ; Rust derives the name from *Sgiotach*, the scattered. "There were Albannaich in Caledonia," says Forbes Leslie, "and Cruithne or Cruinnich in Ireland before the name of Scots or of Picts appears in history." The Scots of Albany or Scotland called themselves *Gwyddel, woodlanders*—the *Gwyddelod* of the Triads. Gaedhel was said by the Irish to be one of the assistants of Fenius Farsaidh's school in the land of Shinar, and the arranger of the Gaelic language during the Tower of Babel period. The Gaidhels or Scots were said by Llhuyd to have passed through Britain on their way to Erin. Boëthius said the Scoti were Gaedeli. In the *Acts of St. Cadroë*, the Scots are traced to the river Pactolus in Greece, taking the name of Scoti from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, who emigrated to Ireland with her Greek husband. The name *Caledonii* was evidently superseded by the names *Scoti* and *Picti*. Because the Scuit has a settlement

in the north of Ireland, the Scots were said to have come from Ireland.

A connection, intimate and continued, did exist between north-east Ireland and south-west Scotland. There was Dalriada of the one, and Dalriada of the other opposite to it. In fact, Bede calls the district of Kintyre, Argyle, and Lorn the northern province of Ireland. Those on the Scottish side were the Dailriadha or tributary people, as they paid tribute to Irish kings. Niul the Great, about 375, was known as the lord of all the Scoti, and appointed the ruler over the strait. Some assert that the Dalriads were like Normans in England and the Irish chiefs of the Caledonian aborigines. Captain White's *Kintyre* is right declaring that " the title of Dalriads or Scots came to be applied indifferently to both sides of the water." The original occupants were Caledonians. Bede talks of the Dalreudini. Up to the eleventh century we hear of the kingdom of Dalrede.

Irish tradition takes a colony of Scots over to Scotland in the third century, under Carbry Riada and a daughter of Conn of the hundred battles. This originated the word Dalriada. It is certain that both sides of the Irish Sea were early united against the Scotch Cymry. Huxley credits them largely with the extermination of the Cymry or old Caledonians. Aidan, the distinguished king of Dalriada, and friend of Columba, died in 606. He claimed the independence of his land from tribute to Ireland at the council of Drum-keat in Ulster, 590. Archbishop Usher thus refers to the place :—" Neither Dalrieda, which till the year 840 was the seat of the British Scots, nor all Albany, did, immediately upon the reduction of the Picts, obtain the name of Scotia." Certainly no writer used the word Scotia for Albany, instead of Ireland, till the eleventh century.

The Scots, by Irish tradition, made their great settlement across the Irish Sea about 503. " In the beginning of the sixth century," says the learned Forbes-Leslie, " the Scots and Gaels in the western part of Caledonia received from Ireland an important accession, not so much in numbers as in influential leaders of the Scots, who thenceforth gradually increased their influence until they obtained supremacy, and gave their name to the country of Scotland." These leaders were Fergus, son of Erc, and his brothers Lorn and Angus.

The first occupied Argyle (Iar-gael, Ar-gail, or Ardgail, *noble Gael*) and Galloway; the others founded more northern kingdoms. These retained independence, more or less, long after; for Galloway was not subdued till 1160, and its last king became a monk in Holyrood Abbey. Lorn was absorbed in 833. Dr. A. Smith, however, contends that Lorn first arose under Aodh-Fionn, who became the Scot ruler of Dalriada.

Buchanan somehow got a list of Scottish kings, beginning with one Fergus, son of the king of Ireland, 330 B.C. Evenus II. reigned at the coming of our Saviour. Corbedus II. fought the Romans. Crathilinthus, he tells us, " purged the land from the idolatrous superstition of the Druids." Fethelmachus, 354, killed the Pictish king, and afterwards died in battle. In 357, says he, " the whole Scottish nation was utterly expelled the isle by the Picts and Romans, and remained in exile about the space of forty-four years." He speaks of several kings being strangled or poisoned by their wives, and maintained that the Picts were at length expelled out of the land. Our James II. ordered fancy portraits of his Scottish ancestors, which may be inspected by the curious in Holyrood Palace.

The contest between Picts and Scots was long and bloody. Kenneth II., in 843, united the two countries into one Albany; though parts of North, West, and South Scotland were independent. Bred was the last king of the Picts. " Kyned," says Wyntown, " browcht the Scottis owt of Egyle; and quhare that the Peychtis had before than thair dwellyng, he gert thame dwell, and wes thair king." The Irish Gaelic language supplanted the Cambro-British from that time to the end of the Irish-Scottish reign in 1097. Kenneth died at Forteviot, the Pictish capital, in 859. He was called *Rex Pictorum*.

Albany was the old name of Scotland. We first read of *Albanus* in the poem of *Albanic Duan*. *Albion*, says the Rev. J. Rust, " comes from *Alb* or *Alp*, a mountain or very high hill, and *I* or *Inis*, an island." It was the hilly island. *Alba* occurs in twelfth-century charters. Hoveden, in his account of the Battle of the Standard, in 1138, says the Scots' " cries of Albany! Albany! ascended to the heavens." Gaelic poets speak of *Albainn, Albannaich*.

The cruel and ferocious Galwegians, according to the historian Tytler, charged with the shout of "Albyn! Albyn!" The "kingdom of Alban" was founded by the Scot Donald in 889, who called himself king of Alban, not king of the Picts. At that time, Scotland excluded the Western Isles, Caithness, Strathclyde, and Saxonia south of the Forth. Edinburgh was not in Scotland. The *Saxon Chronicle* speaks of the English Edward, in 924, being "chosen for father and for lord by the king of the Scots, and by the Scots, and by King Reynall, and by all the Northumbrians, and also by the King of the Strathclyde Welsh." The kingdom of Scone, founded by Angus Mac Fergus, king of Pictavia, lasted to 760. The country of Scone was known as Cruithintuath or Pictavia.

The Kingdom of Scotia was inaugurated by Malcolm in 1005. It did not include the north-east corner, nor much of the west, but did include Morevia to the north, Laodonea, to the south-east of the Forth, and Cumbria.

The old Scottish blood is present, of course, more westward. The Scottish prejudice against fish existed long in the west, where the Skye men have suffered from famine, but scorned the fish. Three-fourths of the western names are Gaelic. The Scots of Galloway much approach the Irish in appearance, though the Scotch recruit generally outweighs the Irish one, and has a broader chest. The West Highlanders, as the Camerons, resemble Irish. Dr. Beddoe describes them :—"The men have the bony frames, the tight cheek-bones, prominent brows, and long noses, aquiline, sinuous, or curled upward towards the point, which I have observed in almost all the more Celtic districts of Scotland." Pritchard made his observations in the west, saying—"The principal characters in a great part of the Western Highlands have rather dark brown hair, uncurled, with a complexion not very fair, but with grey eyes." Beddoe writes :—"The physical features here differ markedly from those of their neighbours in the east. Light eyes prevail indeed, as they do throughout all Scotland, but dark grey and black are not uncommon, taking the place of hazel and dark brown. The hair is, on the whole, much darker. The frames are sparer, the foreheads and chins narrower, the cheek-bones more often marked. In the whole of this area the Irish

Galwegians may be supposed to predominate ; the evidence of the local names is strongly in favour of this view."

The hair question is a puzzling one. Dr. A. Campbell distinguishes four races in the West Highlands : first, the red-haired Teutons ; second, the fair-haired Scandinavians ; third, the brown-haired with long limbs ; and, fourth, the black-haired with short limbs. In the Upper Nithsdale and Kyle, Dr. Beddoe found forty persons of dark hair, instead of twenty-five as in the Lothians, which are decidedly Saxon. Professor Sullivan, of the Royal Irish Academy, observes :— "Judging from the ancient tales, the ruling classes in ancient Erin appear to have had the same prejudice against black hair that the Norsemen had. All who claimed to be of noble birth should have fair or rather golden-coloured, or, at least, brown hair, blue eyes, and a fair skin."

In short, the Scot, if a gentleman, was light in hair and complexion. The dark blood of Ireland and Scotland belonged rather to an aboriginal, pre-Celtic type. But the learned secretary of the Royal Irish Academy is so puzzled by the hair question as to come, at last, to this opinion :— "The more we investigate the origin of the Gaedhil, Britons, Gaels, Germans, and Scandinavians, the more we are led to regard them as essentially the same race, speaking a common language." He would not be so ready as some others are to *spot* the Scot among the Scotch.

ROUND-TOWER SCOTCH.

Ireland has not monopolised the so-called round towers, for Scotland has them at Brechin and Abernethy.

In the previous work, *Who are the Irish?* the question of round towers has been rather fully stated. While the great majority of authors have contended for their Christian origin, and have dated them from the eleventh or twelfth century, others find reason to ascribe them to a more remote period, and to a heathenish connection. Tradition says they were raised by dwarfs with the aid of magic. Such an opinion may be as reasonable as some other.

That they were Christian appeared, it was said, from churches being near them ; but old churches are equally

associated with Druidical circles. The towers had decidedly
better architecture than the churches, and the workmanship
was much superior. It is singular, too, that the foundation
so much resembles that of the Brochs of antiquity. A strong
argument is raised in favour of Christian origin from the
fact that Culdee monasteries were founded very early at
Abernethy and Brechin. As the Culdees retained many
Druidical notions, having a hereditary priesthood, there was
reason in attaching themselves to olden sites of reverence.
It is admitted, however, that, while the towers are of well-
fashioned stone, the structure of Culdee churches was of
wattle or rough timber.

As to age, Mr. Richard Rolt Brash says:—"I am led to
the conclusion that a *very ancient* Round Tower existed at
Abernethy; that at some period between the commencement
of the eleventh and latter end of the twelfth century it had
become ruinous, either from age or violence, and was then
rebuilt as a belfry, the proportions being altered, and the
door and attic windows considerably enlarged." It is well
known that several of the Irish towers were thus altered
and amended about the same time, or later on. The Pictish
chronicle refers to the one at Abernethy, giving the credit of
it to Nethan I., who reigned about 450. The upper half is
clearly more modern than the lower.

Abernethy was a royal seat of the Picts, and a bishopric of
the Culdees. The masonry of the tower is in courses, rising
to 72 feet. The first story is 14 feet 8 inches; the second,
11 ft. 8; the third, 13 ft. 2; the fourth, 12 ft. 11; the
fifth, 10 ft. 8. There are several openings; but the fifth
floor has four of them, with direction as the cardinal points,
and $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. The doorway is 6 ft. 7.
The other tower has seven stories, and a height of 86 feet 9
inches. The four top windows, of four stones each, measure
37 by 22 inches. The exterior diameter is 15 feet, though
12 at the top. The walls are from 2 ft. 5 to 3ft. 8 in
thickness. The doorsill is 6 ft. 8 from the ground.

The Christian relics are conspicuous in Brechin. There
is a cross over the door, and there are two crosses near the
middle of the door imposts. Two figures there distinguish
the tower. Gough considers them to be the Virgin Mary
and St. John; but Wilson regards them as St. Columba and

St. Serf, of the Culdees. One bears a crook, the other has an open book. One, at least, has a beard. Then there are curious animal forms by the sides of the door-sill. One has the head and proboscis of the elephant, but the claws of a lion. Another looks something like a horse. It is not the least improbable that the addition of figures came when the alterations were effected some seven or eight centuries ago.

History informs us that Kenneth III., in 990, gave Brechin "to the Lord"; in other words, to the Culdee monks. These, being married men, holding heretical sentiments, and profanely bequeathing church property to their wives, daughters, and nieces, were objects of horror to the orthodox and venerable Bede. Whether the Peyhts made the tower in one night, as currently reported, or some fire-worshipping Orientals raised it when stray visitants or colonists of Scotland, we have no means now to decide.

PRINCE ARTHUR A SCOTCHMAN.

The wonderful hero of the *Round Table*, though claimed by the Welsh as their own, is equally hailed by Cornishmen and by Bretons as their distinguished fellow countryman. Thanks to Mr. Glennie, Professor Veitch, and others, Scotland is now privileged to own Arthur as ancient lord and king. Whoever he was, if any one at all, the honour of his birthplace has been eagerly coveted and stoutly maintained.

It must be admitted that Arthur has not been forgotten in Scottish traditions. Arthur's Seat of Edinburgh is a witness of his popularity. His *oven* may be seen on the Carron, and was duly attested on a deed of the date 1292. His *fountain* in Clydesdale is mentioned in a grant of 1239. His *seat* at Edinburgh is noted by Camden in 1585, though the *sate* was named long before; another seat is in Forfar. His fountain at Crawford is cited in a document of 1393. Ben Arthur still rears his noble front at the head of Loch Long. There are several Arthur's *stones*. One is near Arthur's *fold* at Cupar Angus. His *oon* or oven was pulled down by Sir Michael Bruce in 1743, to aid in the building of a prosaic mill dam. As many as 139 Arthurian localities have been identified in the south of Scotland, the scene of

the hero's toils and trials.   Stirling, the ancient Snawdoun, has long been associated with his *Round Table ;* for the old poet, Sir David Lindsay, sang—

> " Adew, fair Snawdoun, with thy towris hie,
>   Thy chapell royall, park, and *tabyll round.*"

Then who can doubt that he still sleeps in the lovely Eildon hills ?   It was there where the horn waited long for the awakener of the hero and his knights of the Round Table, though the sword had to be drawn and waved as well as the echo made to ring.   What said Leyden ?

> " Say who is he, with summons long and high,
>   Shall bid the charmed sleep of ages fly ;
>   Roll the long sound through Eildon's caverns vast,
>   While each dark warrior kindles at the blast—
>   The horn, the falchion, grasp with mighty hand,
>   And peal proud Arthur's march from Fairy Land ?"

Arthur was pre-eminently the champion of the Cymric race, and the worthy object of the old Scottish peasants' devotion. Were they not accustomed—at least the gentle maidens—to go to the summit of Arthur's Seat early on a May morning, to gather the sweet dew there ? The march of intellect, or the later maidenly rising, has only stayed the spring pilgrims' feet since the beginning of the present century.

His twelve battles, copies of the twelve labours of Hercules, have been satisfactorily proved to have taken place in the south of Scotland, according to Mr. J. S. Stuart Glennie and Professor Veitch.   The first was on the river Glein. The next four were in Lennox.   The sixth was by the Bassas or Carron.   The seventh was at the wood Caledon ; the eighth, at Fort Guinnion ; the ninth, near the Legion city of Dumbarton, long-known as the *Castrum Arthuri ;* the tenth, on the Forth, near Stirling ; the eleventh, on the Mynyd Agned, or the Painted Mount of the Picts, at Edinburgh ; and the twelfth, Badon, on the Bouden hills of Linlithgow.   There he fought against invading Saxons, or the united forces of Saxons, Angles, and Northern Picts.

Was not his last conflict, of Camlan, decided on the Carron, in 537 ? Had he not before that given the Lothians to his traitor nephew, Modred ?   And who was Modred,

but the false-hearted Pictish king? His stronghold was Strathmore, of Glen Isla. At first, when helped by Saxons, he had defeated Arthur, king of South Scotland and Cumbria, and taken prisoner the beautiful queen, known in Scottish lays as Ganora, Vanora, or Wander, the Guinevere of South Britons. Was it all his fault that the lady loved her captor?

Her fate, according to Scottish legends, was far from Tennysonian. When Arthur regained possession of her, and heard her confession of attachment to his nephew, he ruthlessly, but in perfect agreement with those romantic times, ordered her to be torn to pieces. This was done at Meigle, near Glammis Castle, Forfar. There was she buried. A tourist of the past had the following record in his diary:— "Passed through Meigle, where is the tomb of Queen Wander, that was riven to death by stoned horses for nae gude that she did." There was once the sculptured story— wild beasts tearing her to pieces as she sat in her chariot. The queen descending childless to the grave, it is no wonder that no female trod upon the turf, lest she be as barren as Vanora.

The connection of Merlin, the friend of Arthur, with Scotland is of especial interest. Our poet-laureate has familiarised us with the story of the British magician and his fatal love for the arch sorceress, Vivienne. Merlin's poem, "The Avellanau," contains his famous prophecies. He sang much concerning the apple-tree of Caledon—that

> " Sweet apple-tree, and a tree of crimson hue,
>   Which grows in concealment in the wood of Celyddon."

His fabled grove, in which he loved the false-hearted fairy, was on the slopes of the Drummalzier Laws of Tweeddale. The famous thorn-tree still is there. According to the story, Merlin took the side of the pagan Cymry in the strife with the Christian tribes. After the fatal battle of Arderydd, Strathclyde united under Rydderch Hael, and Merlin retreated from the haunts of men. As Mr. Veitch puts it, " Merlin fled to the upper districts of the Tweed, the heart or centre of the Wood of Caledon, and passed the remainder of his life, reported insane, among the glens of the great broad hills then clothed in birch, hazel, and rowan."

There it was he was haunted by Vivienne, the Cymric Hwimdelau; which, being interpreted, is only the *gleam* or *sunbeam*. It was there he was met by the Culdee St. Kentigern, the Glasgow St. Mungo. Interrogated by the apostle as to who he was, savage in dress and haggard in mien, his reply was, " Once was I the prophet of Vortigern." In vain did the missionary seek to turn the heart of the desolate British magician. Deaf to all appeals, the prophet passed moodily onward, and was lost in the darkening shades of the woods of Caledon.

THE NORSE SCOTCH.

Of all the elements of population in Scotland, the Norse, or Scandinavian, has exercised peculiar influence in the formation of the national character. As distinguished from either Irish or English, the Scotch are stolid and cautious, but enterprising and intelligent. For such attributes they are surely more indebted to the influence of the Northman than to the Gael or Saxon.

When came the Scandinavians of Norway to Scotland? Some ancient writers refer to very early settlements, and long before the Norse went to Iceland about the year 900. The north-eastern corner was but a short distance from the bold headlands of Norway, though the islands were naturally the first objects of regard to the sea-loving rovers, who made conquests in Italy, Greece, and North Africa. As Rossi, they gave name to Russia, which they governed from 862 to the sixteenth century.

King Uven the Pict was slain by them in 839. One monkish record, however, gives 722 as the date of an invasion of Ross, when St. Maelrubha or Malrubius was slain. Another horde burnt one hundred men and women in a Culdee church of Ross. But the death of Uven was too important a fact to be passed by, since it opened the way for Kenneth the Scot to ascend the Pictish throne in 843. Harold Harfager of Norway subdued the Orkneys in 875.

The Danes proper were by no means so successful in Scotland as in Ireland and England. The Maormor or lord of Buchan repulsed them in an inroad at Cruden. They were, also, defeated in Angus and Moray. The honoured

monastery of Iona, however, was burnt by them, and the good Culdee family destroyed. In 907 they plundered Dunkeld, and Reginald attacked the homes on the Clyde. Constantine III. obtained effective help from the northern Saxons, and the battle of Tinmore brought the land rest for many years. In 961 they were beaten off from Banff, though the Scots king Iudulf was killed. They were driven from a settlement they had made at Burghead. Heathens as they were, barbarities were not unknown on the other side. The Christians of Gamrie erected a church on the field of battle, in token of gratitude to God, and utilised the skulls of the slaughtered Danes by building them into the walls. The same novel style of architecture was followed at Mortlach church in 1010. In the same spirit Christians fastened the flayed skins of Danes to the doors of churches.

A great battle was fought near Perth. Camus was defeated and slain at Camus Cross, Angus, tradition noting the site of his grave. A writer in 1620 states that a plough disturbed the repose of the Danish chieftain. The cist was exposed, and the skeleton of a gigantic man was seen within; but part of the skull had evidently been cut off by a battle-axe. At length a convention was entered into between Sweno the Dane and Malcolm II., by which an end was put to further irruption. Sweno died in 1014. The celebrated Forres Stone is popularly called after him. The Scotch and the Danes must have had amicable relations, when we find Malcolm lending aid to Canute against Northumbria.

But the Danes have left their mark in Scotland. Their names are found by the Forth, and along the vale of the Tweed. The Gordons and Maclachlans are said to be of Danish origin. Apart from settlements after conquests, there was much peaceful colonisation. It must not be forgotten that Northumbria once extended over a large portion of southern Scotland, and was greatly peopled by Danes, who conquered it from Saxons and Britons. The very *physique* of southern Scotchmen betrays this Danish paternity. The writer was once walking along the streets of Copenhagen with a gentleman, from North Britain, who loudly expressed his conviction that the folks were all Scotch there.

The Norwegians and Swedes, but particularly the former,

were the Scandinavians who settled in so many parts of the
north of Scotland, and who have left so many memorials of
their presence in the institutions of the country, not less
than in the manners and customs of its inhabitants.

Orkney and Shetland Isles were conquered in 875 by
Harold Harfager, king of Norway, who left Sigurd as its
Yarl or Earl.   Most of our information upon ancient Scandi-
navian doings is derived from *Landnamabok*, or *Book of the
Settlement of Iceland*, written by Ari Frodi, who died in
1148.   The Icelandic Sagas tell many a tale of Gothic inva-
sion, and give abundant illustrations of Gothic manners in
the rough days of old.

Orkney, the Orcades, Orkadia, or Orkenies, was said to
have been inhabited by the *Peti* or *Papê* before the North-
men came.   In spite of the long occupancy by Scandi-
navians, there yet remain some Celtic names of places.
Chalmers states that " the original settlers had long dis-
appeared before the epoch of the new colonisation by the
Scandinavian rovers."   It is by no means clear that such
was the fact.   A considerable population had once existed
there.   Elsewhere in this work, the story of the *Burgh* men
of Orkney is told.   But settlements of Northmen were there
from a very early date, since St. Columba met some of their
chiefs at the court of the Pictish king.   Shetland Isles are
more northern, and were formerly known as Zetland, Het-
land, Sketland ; *zet* is *separated*.

The *Hoy* of Orkney is an Old Red Sandstone hill, 1600
feet high, looking over the boiling eddies of the Pentland
Firth, dividing it from the Thurso shore of Caithness.   The
great Orkney Conglomerate, lying at the base of the *Old Red*,
is the debris of ancient granites, and is overlaid by those
grey bituminous flagstones sent to all parts of the world
from Caithness ports.

The Norsemen were not long content with these islands.
The very first Earl of Orkney, Sigurd, crossed the dangerous
firth, and added Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and Moray to
his dominions.   He is said to have held nearly the half of
Scotland, according to the tales of Sagas.   One gives credit
to Thorstein the Red for the conquest of Caithness, or Kate-
ness, the *ness* or promontory of the *Catti* people.   Suther-
land, or Sudrland, was certainly south of Orkney.   Though

the earls became Christian in 980, the circumstance in no
way affected their piratical operations. There were not mild
Christians at that time anywhere. In 1222, a certain Norse
bishop was thought rather hard when enforcing his tithe
rights; so his flock burnt him alive in his palace.

It was a son of the Sigurd who killed O'Brien at the
Irish battle of Clontarf, in 1014, that fought with Macbeth,
the warlike Thane or Maormor of Shakespearian memory.
Of him Chalmers writes : "He emulated the Scottish kings
in splendour, and equalled them in prowess." It was a
Harold of Caithness who gave his son as hostage to William
the Lion of Scotland. Upon the death of the father, the
young man was foully tortured to death at the castle of
Roxburgh, in 1206. It was a Norwegian widow who was the
first wife of Malcolm Canmore, the *Great-headed*, and the
mother of King Duncan. The so-called *Maid of Norway*
was the daughter of the Scottish Margareta, by Eric, king of
Norway, who subsequently married the sister of Robert
Bruce. The *Maid* was born in 1283. The Norse Earls of
Caithness and Sutherland were long independent of the
crown.

But Orkney and the Shetlands became part of Scotland
by marriage, and not conflict, the Norse being too strong for
the Scotch by sea. It so happened that Norway, Sweden,
and Denmark were united under one crown, when Christian
I., then reigning in Denmark, sent his daughter Margaret to
marry James III. of Scotland, in 1468. As cash was not
plentiful in the post-piratical days of Scandinavia, a balance
of 50,000 Rhenish florins remained unpaid of the lady's
dowry. To meet this, a mortgage of Orkney and Shetland
was effected with the Scotch king. But three years after
the Parliament of Edinburgh pronounced the isles irrevocably
annexed to Scotland. Overtures, however, were made from
time to time for the resumption of the proprietorship by
Scandinavia. In 1549 an assessment was made in the country
to raise the means of redemption, with interest. But the
mortgage had been effectually foreclosed.

The Hebrides or Western Isles were long held by the
Norwegians, who have left their racial marks there; for,
according to the good authority of the Rev. T. Maclauchlan,
one-third of the Hebrides is Norse still. Certainly, the

clans of MacLeod and MacAulay, of Lewis, are of that descent.

The last attempt to re-establish the Norwegian rule over Caithness, Cantyre, and the Hebrides was made by Haco in 1263. But storms compelled his retreat. A treaty was made with his successor, Magnus, in 1266, by which the Norwegians relinquished all further claim upon the Hebrides on payment of 4,000 marks.

Although the conquest of the Isles by the Scots from Ireland introduced another element of population, the Norse blood is still strikingly conspicuous in the Hebrides. But it is found that, while the outer ring of islands are more Norse, Mull and the inner Hebrides are more Scot. Dr. Beddoe and others attribute the great physical proportions of many Hebrideans to the persistence of the Norse type. In the Uist group, an examination of forty-six persons gave an average of 5 feet $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches for height, and 169 lbs. for weight. Skye gave an average of 5 feet $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Mull showed 5 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with 184 lbs. for weight. The dark-haired Hebrides, belonging to a more ancient stock, were decidedly the shorter in stature. Light-haired Norse are rather fewer in Harris and Lewis. Red hair is rare in the Hebrides. Almost every farmstead has a Norwegian name.

The Scotch tongue bears the impress of the Northmen's visits. " In Scotland," says the Rev. J. Earl, " the Norsk element shows itself substantial and undiluted, and it has taken possession, not only of the high places of the language, as Latin and Greek have done in modern English, but it has even made its way into the recesses of the structure, and tinged the vocalism of the words." The learned antiquary of Denmark adds this testimony in relation to a part far off from the Orkneys : " The popular language in the *Lowlands* contains a greater number of Scandinavian words and phrases than even the dialect of the north of England." Sir C. W. Dasent enforces this argument respecting the Lowlands. Professor Veitch calls attention to Norse remains southward, especially in Tweeddale, whither the words may have been carried from the Norwegian settlements of Cumbria and Dumfries.

Worsaae shows that a large amount of Scandinavian has since been swamped by overlying Gaelic. He finds much

Norwegian between the Esk and the Nith, though failing to realise Norse memorials on the east coast. He warns us that Norwegian works are constantly but most erroneously ascribed to the Danes. Dasent points out that for centuries two distinct streams of language flowed side by side in south Scotland; namely, the Anglo-Saxon and the Dano-Saxon.

Professor Veitch notes " the pure Scandinavian *son* or *sen*, in Anderson, Johnson," &c. Among other Norse words may be cited—*how* or *hay ; voe*, an inlet ; *quoy*, a field ; *ster*, as a termination ; *stack*, a steep rock in the sea ; *skerry*, a flat rock ; *wick*, an open bay ; *air*, an open beach ; *beck*, a farm ; *garth*, a farm ; *kell*, a spring ; *thorpe*, a village ; *with*, a forest ; *hope*, a haven ; *toft*, a field ; *fell*, a hill, &c. Places are named from the east ; as *Edsell*, from the Swedish Edsele ; *Monkland*, from Mokland ; *Nithsdale*, from the Norwegian Nissedale ; *Gordon*, from Gording.

Among proper names we have *Webster*, a webber or weaver ; *Wellwood ; Dempster*, from *Doomster*, a judge ; *Duncan ; Haldane ; Troil*, from troil, a fairy ; *Sutherland*, from Sudrland ; Johnson, &c. Sir F. Palgrave exclaimed : " Many are the Danish *Havelocks* in our ranks, undistinguished by that heroic name." The *thee* and *thou* of Orkney are Norse survivals. The Scotticisms of I *maun* and *can get*, are from the same source. Then come such familiar words as *bairn, carline, ken, fey, greet, sackless, speer, spaeman, fell, rig, firth, gill, haugh, dale*, and *gate* for *street*. Earl may well say, " This language is saturated with Norwegian symbolics to the very core."

The pure Norse was spoken in Scotland at the close of the seventeenth century. As the Icelandic is the nearest approach to the old Norse, the Lord's Prayer is given in that tongue :—

" Fador vor, thu sem ert á himmum, helgest thitt nafn : til kome thitt rike ; verde thimn vile, so á jördu, sem á himne : gef thu oss í dag vort daglegt brand ; og fyrergef oss vorar skullder, so sem ver fyrergefum vorum skulldunautum ; og innleid oss eige í freistne, helldur frelsa thu oss fra illu. Thviad thitt er riked, og mattur, og dyrd, um allder allda."

The Scandinavian type has been thus sketched by Mr. Hector Maclean :—

" Stature, various ; seldom low, frequently tall. Skin,

generally pure white, with fair and florid complexion.
Shoulders strongly and largely developed. Tall individuals
have long arms and legs ; mostly all have long arms. Hair,
flaxen and sand colour, from which it passes into various
shades of brown. Eyes, blue and bluish grey ; occasionally,
hazel and brown ; larger and more prominent than in the
Celtic type, but flatter and less lustrous. Eyebrows, more
arched, and not generally so prominent as in the Celts.
Profile, usually straight. Forehead, between round and
square ; well arched horizontally. Face, square or oblong,
else tapering in a curve towards the chin ; contour arched,
hardly presenting any angularity. Cheek-bones, broad and
flat. Nose, usually of average size, but seldom large, varying
from being slightly sinuous to being considerably aquiline.
Mouth, well formed ; sometimes small, seldom or never large,
with slightly pouting lips ; lips, however, sometimes straight,
and lying in towards the teeth ; often thin, but seldom
thick. Chin, often prominent, and nearly semi-circular in
shape. Lower jaw, strongly arched." The mental charac-
teristics he classes as " deliberative and cool."

Mr. J. Cleghorn has a good word for the Scandinavian
ancestry. As he finds such mostly in the east of Scotland,
he believes that " out of the eastern counties our most dis-
tinguished scholars have arisen." He adds, " On the east
we have three universities ; our religious revolutions have
had their rise there."

But he brings out the theory that men are much influ-
enced by the food question, as that is by the character of
soil. The rich boulder clay, bequeathed to the Moray men
by an ancient glacial era, yields splendid crops of extra
nutritious grain, and so builds up a finer human type,
physical and mental. Some poorer lands turn out miserable
material for porridge, to the serious damage of intellect and
muscle. In this way he tries to account for a singular
anomaly in the Norse land of Caithness. There, some
parishes are so depressed by bad soil, that the folks sink into
Gaelic speech ; while their neighbours, more favoured, rise to
talk the language of Shakespeare. This is his version :—

" In Caithness we have five parishes wholly English-
speaking—Wick, Canisbay, Dunnet, Olrig, and Bower, and
these on the east and north of the county ; the other five are

semi-Gaelic. To account for this difference, the usually assigned cause is that the English-speaking parishes were colonised by the Scandinavians. But the same people conquered and colonised the west country as well as the east; while their descendants speak Gaelic on the west and English on the east—languages not spoken by the invaders. In the west, the Gaelic begins where the corn-bearing soil ends; and in the south-west the same holds true.",

An old chronicle tells us "Cateness is beyond Scotland;" and many have observed the roundish tendency of head there, and the very *English* look of its inhabitants. Dr. Barnard Davis has, in his celebrated collection of skulls, one thus described: "A shorter, broad, oblong platycephalic calvarium of an old man, of Norse blood." M. Henri Martin regards the old tenants as "a race of iron." Aberdeen and Moray have not a little of the broad round face of an un-Celtic sort. The fishermen of Canisbay, in Caithness, said to be very Norse, gave an average weight of 169 lbs., and a height of 5 ft. 8⅔ in. Dr. Beddoe rates Caithness as having "generally large and handsome men." The greater lightness of complexion is a distinctive mark of the Norse. Such parishes as boast of Viking connection show more fair hair than the reputed Gaelic ones.

Of Orkney, Dr. Beddoe, in his examination of the physical exponents of race, thus speaks: "Their eyes, if not grey, are generally of a muddy hazel; their hair is of a more light than dark brown." The Shetland fishermen gave him an average height of 5 ft. 8 in., and a weight of 156¾ lbs., while the general population stood at 5 ft. 8½ in., and weighed 159¾ lbs. The prevailing hair there he quotes as "light yellowish brown." But he was astonished to find in Shetland a remnant of the aboriginal type. These had black hair, "with features approaching the Finnish type, and a melancholy temperament."

The Hebrides interested this distinguished ethnologist. In the Macleod clan of the Isle of Skye he recognised the Scandinavian. "It is evidenced," says he, "by the general roundness of their figures and features, the commonly brown hue of their lank abundant hair, the shortness of their noses, and less prominence of their brows." All this separated them from the Celtic type.

To the south, down in Berwick, Dr. Beddoe came again upon the distinctive Scandinavian traits. There were the large heads, the tall and bulky person, with light hair and eyes. But the contiguity to the coast of Northumbria, so extensively colonised by Norwegians and Danes, is quite sufficient to account for the prevalence of Norse characteristics in south-eastern Scotland.

THE ENGLISH SCOTCH.

Of all the races constituting the modern Scotchman, that which has come most to the surface, and which exerts the greatest influence, is that one called *English*, for want of a better word.

Whatever *English* may mean in England, it may be well concluded to be in Scotland a compound of the blood of Angles, Danes, Saxons, Flemings, Normans, and Norsemen or Norwegians. Let us hope that the better qualities of these allied Teutonic peoples were retained in North Britain. It must not, however, be forgotten that such qualities were originally somewhat modified by their contact with the characteristics of Strathclyde and Lothian Britons.

Scotland has been a battle-ground of races. According to some, the Gaelic Celts displaced some earlier tenants, but were in their turn wedged up in close quarters northward and westward by Cymric Celts from Southern Britain. Then came in Gothic or Teutonic Norsemen, Danes, and Angles. A Gaelic *speaking* people from Ireland, made up of many races, entered Scotland on the south-west, gradually extending their influence northward and eastward, till the Cymry were overshadowed in the north and west in the political rise of the Gael as the Scottish kings. Then came the intellectual contact of the Gael and the Saxon, or supposed Celt and Teuton, in the southern and more populous part of the country.

What was the result of this contact? The *Scot* lost his pre-eminence, and sank into the reputed barbarous Highlander, always at war with the policy of the kings of Scotland. But he had still the honour of giving his name

to the country and to the dynasty, though relinquishing his political power to the superior Anglo-Norman, and even resigning his very language to that of the Teuton in court, in commerce, in letters. The Scot was confronted in the west by the Teutonic Norsemen, while supplanted in the east by their kindred called Saxons, Angles, and Danes. He, the Irish Scot, the trampler upon the Caledonian, never afterwards came to the front in council or in arts as the ruling force of Scotland.

If the Saxons were foreigners, so were the Scots; and the former were the earlier settlers in Scotland. The Saxons, so called, were Angles, Frisians, Jutes, and Saxons proper. Their supposed home lay from the Elbe westward. The Saxons approached Scotland even in Roman times. Nennius heard that when some came over to Kent, others went northward, ravaging the coast as far as the Orkneys.

The Frisians, possibly ancestors of subsequent Flemish colonists, were known in settlements on the Forth, and had forts on the summit of the laws in the Ochills; in fact *laws* is the Saxon for *hills*. Their locations, called the Comgalls, were reconquered by the Picts. According to Skene, Frisians came to the Firth of Forth under their leaders, Octa and Ebissa, who, as Nennius says, fortified one of the rocky islands there. Others dropped down on Galloway, where they preceded the Scots. They made permanent homes in Dumfries, whose population still manifests Frisian characteristics. Being pagans, Kentigern or St. Mungo proceeded there to protest against their worship of Woden. Mr. Skene oddly enough connects these Frisian rovers of the Irish Sea with the Fomorian pirates of Irish legends, said to have come from Africa.

Angles came certainly as early as the fifth century, having conquered what was called *Bernicia* in Britain. Tradition says that Angles and Picts were engaged together in the battle of Mold against the Welsh in 429; that was before Hengist's reported invasion. They subdued the Tweed tribe of the Ottadini. The Northumbrian Saxons were Angles. They penetrated as far as the Forth in the sixth century, giving the Cymry of Scotland a terrible defeat at Caltraith, immortalised by the song of the bard Aneurin.

The Saxons carried Kyle, Clydesdale, and Carrick about the year 750. Egfrid, having invaded the northern Pictland, or Pictavia, in 685, was beaten at the battle of Dunnichen, near Angus, and killed in the fight. The victors marched unmolested southward to the Tweed. But the Teutons rallied, regained their positions, and slew the Pictish king Bredel, in 710. Curiously enough, the Saxons, joined to Picts, burnt Alcluyd, the capital of the Cumbrian or Strathclyde Britons, in 756.

A great check to Saxon progress westward was presented by the Scots. These invaders or settlers from Ireland made sure their footing in Argyle and Galloway before proceeding further east, where they met with eastern invaders. Here first the Saxon fought with the Gael in 584. As the latter were aided by the Caledonian Cymry, the Saxons were worsted, though they beat at Kirkinn, 598, and at Dawstane, 603.

The beautiful and fertile Lothians were Saxon in the reign of Oswald of Northumbria. Jedburgh was founded by Ecgrid, Bishop of Lindisfarne, in the ninth century. Lothian, or Loudian, was known as *Saxonia*, the country of Saxons.

In the reign of David the First an address was made to his faithful subjects, " Scotie et Laudonie." Hume, the graceful but not too accurate historian, was mistaken in saying " Lothian was *entirely* peopled with Saxons, who afterwards received a great mixture of Danes among them," as there were many Caledonian Britons there.

Lothian was, in fact, a part of Northumbria, which in those days extended up to the Forth. When the Danes settled among the Angles of Northumbria, they brought a considerable influx of their nation into Scotland. Athelstan had both Lothians and Northumbrian Danes against him at the battle of Brunanburgh, on the Humber. After his victory, he invaded Scotland in 934, overrunning Lothian, and spoiling Edwinesburgh. Edgar, in 971, surrendered to Kenneth III. his interest in the country ; he hated the Northumbrians of Lothian, and had found an ally in the Scottish king. As the Lothians, however, were Saxons in the main, Edgar stipulated that the Scot should permit the free observance of Saxon laws

and customs there. The Lothians were not then made part of Scotland. The Northumbrians lost their king or earl, Uchtred, by assassination, and his brother Eadulf, a less warlike prince, thought it prudent to gain a peaceable neighbour by presenting that portion of his northern dominions to the Scottish king Malcolm III.

By this act, in 1020, Malcolm gained the fine title of *Most Victorious*, and Scotland was extended to the Tweed.

Edinburgh of Lothian was founded by Englishmen, and was an English town for 400 years. Some had said that, as *Dunedin*, it was the city of the Scot Aidan about 570, and that *Dun-edin* meant "top of the castle," or facing the castle. But we know that no Scot had then advanced to the Lothians. As to the derivation, Maitland, the historian of Edinburgh, shrewdly writes: "All who deduce the origin of this castle or city from either of the above-mentioned names have but a sorry foundation to build their Dun-edin on." Camden fancied *Edin* was a wing, and *burg* a castle, and that the place might have been mistaken for the winged castle of Ptolemy.

But the town is Saxon, and is Edwin's castle. In the charter of David I. to the monks of Holyrood, reference is made to land in his town of *Edwinesburg*. Edwin of Northumbria raised it. The celebrated *Catstane* near is traditionally held to be over the tomb of Hengist's grandfather. Edinburgh became the capital and seat of Parliament in 1436, though having a charter from Robert I. in 1329. It was 1,000 paces long in 1600. A very comfortable and patriotic reflection is made by the Edinburgh historian, Maitland, eminently soothing to the national spirit. "It is more honourable for us," said he, "to attribute the foundation of Edinburgh to the English than to our ancestors, seeing 'tis thereby shown that we either took it from them by force or compelled them to give it up by treaty." Ethnology was no science in Maitland's day, and so he may be excused not knowing that his own ancestors were English.

The Teutonic invasion of settlers, not soldiers, was a remarkable one. For hundreds of years there was a wonderful state of unrest in the world. The present age

is called one of movement. Men hurry to and fro, emigrating throughout the earth. The English have the reputation of being the most easily set in motion. But what comparison can be made between the exodus of a very small proportion of our population now, and that of whole tribes and nations in the early Christian centuries? One is awe-struck at the sight of these migrating hordes, with waggons, stuff, and little ones, following each other in search of homes. What caused the unrest? Some say Charlemagne's cruel crusade against the Saxons sent a plague to British shores. But what made the vast region from the heights of Tartary to the forests of Central Europe resonant with the ceaseless tramp of emigrants? Was it a catastrophe of nature rendering districts waterless and sterile, a mighty confederacy of warriors, or a psychological epidemic? We may never know the cause, however sought by curious anthropologists. But we do know that to that unrest Scotland was indebted for its collection of races.

The Teutonic immigration was as sudden as universal. Chalmers observes that "Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Normans, English and Flemings, settled in *every* district of Scotland." A find of ninety silver pennies of Athelstan's occurred in so out-of-the-way a place as Islay. The English early swarmed along the eastern coast from Cromarty to the Tweed.

There are two very distinct eras of Saxon visits—the first, in the fifth and sixth centuries, continuing less or more afterwards; and the second, of greater political interest, during the eleventh and twelfth. But the ethnologist Knox has reason to assume a more ancient date for the earliest settlements; saying, "The Saxon of England must have occupied eastern Scotland and eastern England, as far south as the Humber, long prior to the historic period, when the German Ocean was scarcely a sea." That presents such a geological period as to include Saxons among the Primitive Races of assumed Celtic Caledonia.

The Rev. T. Maclauchlan, among the ablest of Scotch historians, believing himself a Celt, is naturally anxious to uphold the dignity of his supposed Celtic Highland ancestors, and exposes to scorn the English proclivities of some

of his countrymen. "To be an Anglo-Saxon is," says he, "in the eyes of many, to be a being of a superior order altogether." Yet, if so, it is a question of *so much the worse for the facts.* He may have had a little sympathy for the islanders of Lewis in their onslaught, in James VI.'s day, upon some unhappy Fifemen who attempted a settlement there. He remarks : "The *Gaelic* population could not endure the new settlers whom the *Saxon* colonisation had introduced among them, and every opportunity was taken to vex and annoy them." The annoyance was robbery, bloodshed, and extirpation, which was hard on Fifeshire. But the Gaelic-speaking dwellers of Lewis were largely Norsemen, and the islanders still betray in feature their Teutonic origin.

It is better to use the word *English*, as applied to this immigration, than *Saxon*, which is so liable to misconception. *Saxon* includes Angles, Jutes, and Saxons ; *English*, all these, with Danes and Normans. It was the composite *English*, largely Teutonic, but far from ignoring the Celtic basis of British, that came in as a flood upon Scotland, changing the whole system of law, religion, and customs.

The Normans, or Anglo-Normans, of better racial qualities than Saxons, had the chief part in this transformation. As Froude says, "They were born rulers of men." Not unmixed with the pre-existing Saxon and Celtic inhabitants of Neustria or Normandy, they had so rapidly increased as to swarm off to Scotland not less than to England, carrying with them that native energy and intellectual elevation, in addition to superior culture obtained on the continent, which brought them to the front in North Britain. In Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, they are called "the new race whose presence was so beneficially felt in Scotland." They were styled in old Latin charters *Frances*, being from France, though neither German Franks nor Celtic Gauls. Wherever they went, they set the court fashions in dress, appearance, manners, and ideas. Always united with Saxons and Danes in Scotland against the Highlanders, they came in for the finest land-grants when restless northern and western chiefs gave Scottish kings the happy opportunity for confiscations. In this way it

was that almost all the Highland gentlemen now can claim Normans, and not Cymry or Gael, for ancestors.

Certain Scottish kings were especially devoted to the English. It was natural that Malcolm III. should be so, since the Northumbrians set him on his throne securely. The so-called *Scoto-Saxon* kings, reigning from 1097 to 1306, were warm friends to the Southerners. Jealousy of the Norman conquerors of England, not less than intimate relations with the Anglians of the north who so stoutly but vainly resisted William, disposed the Scoto-Saxon kings to stand by the Saxon. But intermarriage, the influence of Saxon preachers, and the dread of Highland chiefs, also helped to win rulers to that side.

Malcolm III.'s marriage with the sister of the gentle Edgar Atheling, kinsman of Edward the Confessor, was an important racial act. Malcolm's brother, Donald Bane, was the last of the line of Scoto-Irish kings, claiming the sympathy of Celtic Highlanders and Islanders, but not the Lowlanders, as he expelled Saxons from his court. Upon the accession of his brother, already known for his partiality to Englishmen, the northern chiefs rose in rebellion, massacring or driving forth the Normans and Saxons already settled among them. That did not strengthen the liking of Malcolm, the first of the Scoto-Saxon line, for his Celtic subjects. When Edgar fled from fear of the Conqueror, he naturally went to Scotland, taking his mother, Agatha, and two sisters with him. One sister became a nun, the other married Malcolm Canmore, or big-headed Malcolm.

Through the favour of Malcolm, and because of the oppression of William the Conqueror, immense numbers of Saxon and Danish English families crossed the Border, and became Scotch. A rebellion of the Celtic Picts gave Malcolm means to bestow lands upon the fugitives. The removal of the court from the west to Dunfermline in 1066 increased the Gaelic discontent. The king, in 1070, made war against William in the interests of Edgar, the Saxon heir to the English throne. But the Norman came up, compelled Malcolm to do him homage for Scotland, and to resign his son as hostage for good behaviour. Upon his death in 1093, a rising of Irish-Scots took place, in order

to put a son of Donald Bane upon the throne. A Norman
writer of the period termed the Galwegians *absolute savages*.
But, as Tytler indicates, the hatred of the Celts to the
Saxons was "manifested by the constant rebellions of the
Galwegians and northern Scots."

David I., the hero of Holyrood, long a hostage in Eng-
land, and for some time lord of Cumberland, cherished a
great attachment to Englishmen before he succeeded his
brother Alexander I., who had such a conflict with the
Highlanders and Islanders, and who had married a Saxon
lady. David, on his return to Scotland, is said to have
been accompanied by a thousand hungry Anglo-Normans,
to be duly provided for in the north. It was remarked of
him, "in civil affairs, David chiefly employed his English
barons." In 1138 David assumed the Dragon of Wessex as
his standard, thus more distinctly identifying himself as a
Saxon. In fact, the old English chroniclers always regarded
the Scottish kings as the true heirs of Anglo-Saxon rights.
When James VI. became king of England, while the Irish
were delighted at their new ruler being of Irish-Scottish
origin, the Saxon Englishmen rejoiced that the legal
descendant of Edgar Atheling had come to revive the
Saxon dynasty in London.

William the Lion was equally a warm patron of English-
men. His father, Earl of Huntingdon, was the grandson of
the Saxon Waltheof of Northumberland. William claimed
Northumberland as his right of birth, and assumed the
lion rampant of Northumberland as the future arms of
Scotland to attest his claims.

The old Caledonian Picts and Irish Scots were quite
indignant at the part the Scottish kings took in the race
question. It is a fact that, from the dawn of the real
history of Scotland proper, the sovereigns always took the
English or Saxon side in direct opposition to the Irish or
Celtic ; they were for the Lowlander, and not for the High-
lander. They were so from 1060 to the Union with
England. It was not the Scoto-Saxon line alone, of the
eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, that favoured
the Saxons ; but the Bruces and the House of Stuart
were not less compelled to withstand the restless, revolu-
tionary men of the north and west. "The struggle,"

observes Chalmers, " between those two races of men, which began, as we have perceived, during the reign of Alexander I., continued till the battle of Culloden decided the contest in 1746."

Macbeth's story is connected with that earlier War of Race.

There was a certain Lady Gruoch, granddaughter of King Kenneth IV., murdered by Malcolm, who ultimately became sovereign. The lady was unfortunate enough. The foes of her house slew her brother, and attacked her home. She managed to escape with her babe ; but her husband, and fifty of his friends, were consumed in their Highland wooden castle. She fled to her nearest neighbour, Macbeth, Maormor or lord of Ross and Murray, distinguished for brave and popular qualities. He became her second husband, espoused her cause, and assumed his rightful heirship to the throne by virtue of his wife. Duncan's death at Cawdor, or at Glammis, followed, and Macbeth, the favourite of the clergy of the period, reigned in 1039.

The Maormor of Fife, to the south, was Macduff, of reputed Saxon origin. At first he espoused the side of Macbeth. Afterwards he decided upon calling in the Lothian Saxons of Northumbria against his Highland neighbour. The war was strictly one of Celt against Saxon. At last, the Southron won, and Macbeth was killed at the battle of Lumphanan in 1056. Of the fate of his wife, tradition and history know nothing.

The story of the Saxonization of Scotland may be illustrated in an account of one who got a grant from the king. The land was waste, as most land then was in the north. He introduced Saxon workmen, improved the estate, settled a Saxon village, and built a church, which he conveyed to the monks of his old Durham home. " This," writes the author of *Caledonia*, " is an accurate representation of the genuine mode by which the English colonization of Scotland was begun and completed ; a baron obtained from the king a grant of land, which he settled with his followers, built a castle, a church, a mill, and a brewhouse, and thereby formed a hamlet." According to him, " the policy of the Scottish kings during the Saxon dynasty, prompted

the building of castles, in convenient sites, for bridling the
Celtic people." Then, also, "the settling of every addi-
tional religious house may be considered as the plantation
of a new colony of a Teutonic race amidst the Gaelic in-
habitants of North Britain." Holyrood Abbey was filled
with English monks; but then the people of Edinburgh
had been English long before. The monasteries of Scotland
were almost all of Anglo-Norman establishment, and had,
therefore, English tenants. But we learn that as early as
1174, "the towns and burrows of Scotland were inhabited
chiefly by English."

James I., another hostage to England, and for eighteen
years a privileged captive in Windsor Castle, became
sincerely attached to his southern friends. A great poet,
he was one day upon the turret top, listening to the birds'
"hymnis of love," when he cast his eyes earthward, and saw
in the garden below "the fairest and the freschest young
floure," ever known. The sight was to him "joye without
measure." The flower was Lady Jane Beaufort, grand-
daughter of John of Gaunt, the bold son of Edward III.
He plucked the flower, and returned to Scotland with her
as his queen in 1424. Often did he regret his captive home
of peace when tried in his attempts to tone down his restless
chiefs. One of these, the Earl of Athol, was rewarded
with a red-hot coronet of iron, on which was inscribed,
"King of Traitors."

Tytler calls attention to the contempt in which the Septs
of the north and west were held. Speaking of Earl Mar's
expedition against the Highlanders in 1411, he says, "His
experience had taught him to consider a single knight in
steel as a fair match against a whole troop of *Ketherans*."
The historian mentions "powerful chiefs of Norman name
and Norman blood," who, in 1427, "penetrated into the
remotest districts, and ruled over multitudes of vassals
and serfs, whose strange and uncouth appellatives pro-
claim their difference of race in the most convincing
manner."

At first, a natural jealousy between Norman and Saxon
existed in Scotland, though soon dying out in a land where
they were both on a level in the sight of the law. Tytler's
history thus testifies to the fact: "In the period of 120

H

years, between the accession of Alexander II. and the
death of David II., the Norman and Saxon populations
became so intimately blended together as to appear one
and the same people ; and their superior power and civiliza-
tion had gradually gained, from their fierce competitors
the Gaels, the greater and fairer portion of Scotland."

It may appear surprising that Anglo-Normans there
became so thoroughly Scotch, and so anti-English, that,
instead of any sympathy with the head of their race, the
monarch of England, they should display the sternest
opposition to his rule.   But that is not more astonishing
than that Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland became
violently anti-English, and the stoutest rebels against
Anglo-Norman rule, while their descendants have been
foremost in the ranks of subsequent revolutions.

English, even Saxon settlers, in Scotland lost connection
with their countrymen south of the Border.   Their children
forgot they were Saxon, remembering only that they were
Scotch.   An undetermined line made of one people two
Saxons.   In no part of history is this so well illustrated as
in the Scottish struggle against the English Edwards.
Saxons and Normans, Angles and Danes, united in the
closest bonds to support the honour of their adopted
country.   They, and but few of the Celtic Scotch, fought
the battle of freedom against the overweening pride and
feudal tyranny of Anglo-Norman kings.

The great heroes of Scottish history, Bruce and Wallace,
were of English origin.

WALLACE was descended from Waleys or Walense, of
English-Norman family, who left England to settle under
the Stewarts of Renfrew.   A grant of land was obtained
at Ricardton of Kyle, whence the house was known as the
Wallaces of Ricardton.   Subsequently, one of the race
was enabled, by a lucky marriage, to get possession of an
estate in Craigie.   Sir William Waleys, or Wallace, of
Ellerslie, came forward in 1297 as the advocate of the
independence of Anglo-Norman rule in Scotland, and
against the domineering of Anglo-Norman rule from
England.   The Celtic Scotchmen took no manner of inter-
est in the question, for Wallace represented the party of
Anglo-Scots that had virtually triumphed over the real

Irish-Scots and Caledonians. He was opposed by a strong party of his fellow Anglo-Normans, who espoused the cause of the Edwards. He was betrayed in 1305 by one of his own blood. The Wallace monument, near Stirling fittingly looks over the fine region in which the Saxon and Norman Scots had supplanted the true Caledonian Britons, the original holders of the soil.

The BALIOLS, who claimed the throne of Scotland, were merely foreigners and new-comers in the land.

, There was a knight of Bailleul, or Baliol, in Normandy, whose son secured a property in Yorkshire from the Norman conquerors. It was the son of this Yorkshire Norman baron who built the celebrated Barnard Castle of Durham, and who was so fortunate as to capture the King of Scotland in 1174. John de Baliol emigrated to Scotland in the reign of Henry III., having married one of the three rich co-heiresses of Galloway, the daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon, of royal descent. By this marriage he secured an ample acreage in Scotland, and became soon after one of the Regency during the minority of Alexander III. Dying in 1268, his son John Baliol was one of the thirteen competitors for the throne of Scotland, by virtue of his mother Dervergoil, the daughter of Huntingdon, who was brother to King William the Lion. ·

BRUCE, the competitor of Baliol, claimed the throne, as descended from a younger daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon. But he, like Baliol and Wallace, was of English origin.

The Brusi were Scandinavian in ancestry. The brother of Rollo the Northman built the castle of La Brusee, near Volagnes, in Normandy. A descendant came to England with the Conqueror. One Robert de Brus, or Bruis, became a companion of Prince David, afterwards David I., when he was at the court of our Henry I. When David became sovereign, the Englishman was presented, in 1124, with a rich Scotch wife, and fine lands in Annandale, becoming a naturalized Scotchman. But when the king took the side of Matilda against Stephen, Brus resigned his lands to his second son, and took part in the war in opposition. At the Battle of the Standard, 1138, he took prisoner his own son, then fighting with David; but

Stephen generously sent the young man back to his mother. The son married the natural daughter of William the Lion. Another son marrying the second daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon, gave his family a royal connection. A marriage with the Countess of Carrick made the Bruce an Earl of Carrick and the father of twelve children. One secret of the success and popularity of the Bruces was their great liberality to the Church.

Bruce and Baliol submitted their claims, as did others, in the prescribed legal manner, before the feudal lord, then Edward I. of England. Bruce was the first to claim the ear of Edward, prepared to accept his decision. Had the king's interposition been simply an exercise of feudal right, and not an undue pressure of lordly views, no national difficulty would have arisen; but abusing his legal rights, he justly provoked resistance from Scotland. Alexander II. and the Scottish Parliament had given a preference to Bruce as heir. But both admitted Edward to be their *Over-lord*, as the other Anglo-Norman kings had been over Scotland from the time of the Conqueror.

It was no easy matter to decide between the two. According to Sir Francis Palgrave, the great constitutional historian, " Among the Scoto-Pictish monarchs the canons of succession in the royal family were extremely vague and undetermined; and, although monarchy became more settled under the Scoto-Saxon line, still every demise would, as far as we can judge of the policy of such communities, occasion a vacancy of the throne in the strictest sense of the term." Seven earls made the choice. So were there seven lords Electors in Persia, in Germany, in France, &c.

He justly acknowledges the improper conduct of Edward, which brought war between the two countries, and which, in a racial sense, was injurious to the further Anglo-Normanizing of Scotland. It arrested the progress of the Saxon domination of Scotland, and once more raised the old Celtic proprietors and inhabitants into notice and political power. In all probability, but for the precipitancy and injustice of Edward I., the Saxon and Anglo-Norman moral conquest of Scotland would have been as complete as that in England over the Celtic race.

The English influence became all commanding from about the year 1000. It gave something more than speech to a court—it gave men who could govern, and laws which were more in harmony with a progressive age. It did more than this—it gave to Scotland a religion—the faith of civilised Europe. Irish Culdeeism, the creed of Columba, if not of Patrick himself, a strange compound of Druidism and Christianity, retired to the cold shade of official neglect before the advent of the more scholarly ecclesiastics from Rome, supported by the power and sympathy of continental Europe. The heterodoxy of Ireland and the Hebrides, so exciting the ire of the Venerable Bede, gave way to the universal Church of Europe, by the force of Saxon argument in the palace of Scottish sovereigns. By their act and deed was Scotland, before isolated in the political world, brought into the European family of nations. The destruction of Culdee monasteries by the Danes, and the alienation of Scots from Ireland, hastened the change. The literature, once wholly Irish, had become English, and paved the way for Romish influence. The kings were shown that their true interests lay in the renunciation of Celtic Culdeeism. The pious Saxon queen of Malcolm hastened the conversion.

The English names mentioned in very early Scotch Chartularies of abbeys and monasteries, especially include the following :—Avenal, Aynsley, Berkeley, Burnet, Boswell, Bisit, Baliol, Brus, Corbet, Colville, Campbell, Edmondston, Falconer, Fraser, Gifford, Grant, Gourlay, Graham, Haig, Herris, Hay, Ker, Keith, Lindsay, Lundies, Lockhart, Lascelles, Livingston, Muschamp, Manteland, Maul, Maners, Mowberry, Moncrief, Mulcaster, Marischal, Maxwell, Noble, Orms, Percy, Quinci, Redel, Ros, Ruthvin, Ramsay, Somerville, Soules, Seton, St. Clair or Sinclair, Stewart, Thirlstone, Warewic, Wallace, &c.

The Rev. T. Maclauchlan, defender as he is of the Celtic, admits that even clans of Highlanders are called after Normans. "Thus there are," says he, "the Gordons, the Frazers, the Chisholms, and sundry minor clans, all without any trace of a connection with the Celts, and originally, without doubt, of purely Teutonic blood. These families possessed large sections of what is now called the

Highlands, and formed continual intermarriage with the
natives." To these may be added as English all the
Border clans.

A glance at other names may be useful. The chief autho-
rities consulted have been Chalmers's *Caledonia*, Logan,
Maclauchlan, and the author of *Norman People*. Where
practicable, the date or reign of the settlement is given.

Agnew, from Aigneaux by Bayeux, Normandy ; *Andrews*,
or Andreas ; *Abercrombie*, a barony in Fife ; *Abernethy*, an
abbot of William the Lion's reign ; *Abthane*, Saxon, 1098 ;
Anderson, son of Andrew ; *Anstruther*, from Norman
William de Camdela ; *Arbuthnot*, Hugo de Aberbothenoth,
William the Lion ; *Ayton*, eleventh century ; *Brewster*,
Saxon brewer ; *Bermingham*, from Warwick ; *Bard*, *Burt*,
Bayard, *Baird*, Norman, William the Lion ; *Balfour*, from
Siwald of Northumberland ; *Baliol*, Norman, from York-
shire, twelfth century ; *Baillie*, from Baliol ; *Bruce*, from
Brus of Yorkshire, twelfth century ; *Bell*, from Bello,
Norman, David I. ; *Bonar*, Norman, Bonare, William the
Lion ; *Bryce*, from Bruce ; *Berkeley*, from Gloucester to
Mackiston, twelfth century ; *Byset*, William the Lion ;
Burnet, *Burnard*, Saxon, 1128 ; *Buchanan*, Bouchanane ;
Barton, from Lancashire ; *Barclay*, eleventh century ;
Blair, thirteenth century, William de Blair ; *Bethune*, or
Beaton, from French Flanders, twelfth century ; *Bogue*,
Norman ; *Borthwick*, Saxon with Edgar Atheling ; *Boswell*,
Bosville, Norman ; *Boyd*, Boyt, first died 1240 ; *Boyle*,
Boyvil, thirteenth century ; *Breadalbane*, or Broad-albin,
came in 1067 ; *Brechin*, William the Lion ; *Brisbane*, or
Birsbane ; *Brodie*, to Elgin, thirteenth century ; *Brown*,
Broun, of Cumberland, eleventh century ; *Barr*, Norman
Le Barre ; *Briley*, from Broilly, twelfth century.

Chambers, de Camera, Norman ; *Cumming*, twelfth
century ; *Campbell*, Campo-bello, Norman, twelfth century ;
Corbet, from Shropshire to Teviotdale ; *Carlyle*, with the
first Brus ; *Carmichael*, 1350 ; *Cheyne*—de Chien, 1250 ;
Chapman, Saxon pedlar ; *Chalmer*, chamberlain of King
—William the Lion ; *Chatteris*, from Chartres, twelfth cen-
tury ; *Cockburn*, Colbrand ; *Colquhoun*, Norman, Alexander
II. ; *Colville*, twelfth century ; *Constable*, Count of the
stable ; *Cooper*, Cowper, from Cupar ; *Copeland*, Saxon ;

Cranston, Saxon Craenston ; *Crawford*, Norman ; *Crichton* —de Creichton, twelfth century ; *Cunningham*, Konigham, King's house, first twelfth century ; *Calder*, twelfth century ; *Cameron*, Norman Cambronne ; *Cheynes*, Norman, 1220 ; *Douglas*, Flemish family, twelfth century ; *Dundas*, William the Lion ; *Dalhousie*, Dalwolsey, Isle of Wool, or Ramsay Isle ; *Dalgleish*, Dalglise, or *de l'église* ; *Dalmahoy*, barony, first in thirteenth century ; *Dalrymple*, Saxon Dahl and hrympel ; *Deloraine*, of Lorraine ; *Dempster*, Doomster, Norse for judge ; *Denistoun*, Anglo-Norman ; *Don* or *Down*, Saxon ; *Drummond*, from Northumberland ; *Duncan*, Norwegian ; *Durward*, doorkeeper ; *Elliot*, English ; *Elphinstone*, Saxon Elfynyston ; *Erskine*, Areskin, twefth century ; *Ewing*, anglified form of *Ewen*.

Frazer, Gilbert de F., 1109, once Frazil, French *fraizes*, strawberries ; *Fullarton*, from Shropshire, twelfth century ; *Finlater*, *Fin de la terre ;* *Forbes*, Forbois, wild wood ; *Falconer*, David I. ; *Fletcher*, *fleche* arrow ; *Foulis*, Norman Feuilles ; *Gordon*, in Berwick, Norman, twelfth century ; *Grant*, Norman, 1200, in Inverness ; *Gifford*, Norman ; *Glendinning* from de Glendouwyn, Alexander III. ; *Gladstone*, Gladstanes, Saxon ; *Greig*, David I. ; *Guthrie*, fourteenth century ; *Gray*, from Gray, near Caen ; *Graham*, William de, to Lothians, David I. ; *Gilbert* ; *Hamilton*, de Hameldon, thirteenth century, son got barony afterwards called Hamilton ; *Hays*, de Hay of Lothian, twelfth century ; *Haig* or *Hagg*, Saxon *wood ;* *Hall*, Haldane, Danish Halden ; *Halliday*, *Halyburton*, *Hay*, Norman ; *Hepburn*, from Hepborne in Northumberland ; *Heriot*, Saxon ; *Herries*, Norman, twelfth century ; *Hope*, Saxon leeside of hill ; *Huntly* ; *Inglis*, *Ingle*, fireplace ; *Jamieson*, son of James ; *Jardine*, W. de Jardine, 1150 ; *Johnson*, *Johnston ;* *Ker* or *Car*, thirteenth century ; *Kemp*, Saxon ; *Kennet*, *Ken*, *Ker*, from Lancashire ; *Knox* or Knock, from Utred, Earl of Northumberland ; *Keith*, from Saxon Warius.

Leith, Norman de ; *Lennox*, from Saxon Arkell of Northumberland, eleventh century ; Alwyn, his son made Earl of Levenax or Lennox ; *Lindsay* from Walter, Anglo-Norman, twelfth century, came from Essex ; *Lauder* from Lavedre, 1056 ; *Lockhart*, Lockard of twelfth century ; *Logan*, Robert de, thirteenth century ; *Lumsden*, William de

Lumisden, twelfth century ; *Lyell*, from de Lisle ; *Maitland*, Norman de Maltalent, twelfth century ; *Macaulay*, ancestor twelfth century ; *Matheson* from Matthewson ; *Maule*, Norman, 1100 ; *Maxwell* from Maccus of Northumberland ; *Melville*, Norman, Male, twelfth century ; *Menzies ; Macduff*, from Doun ; *Maners*, Norman ; *Morville*, twelfth century ; *Mitchell*, Saxon Michel ; *Montgomery*, from Roger de Mundegumbrie's grandson, twelfth century ; *Muir*, More, Moore, from David de More, twelfth century ; *Napier*, who bore the napery or tablecloth at court ; *Newell ;* Neville, *Noel-Norman ;* Nesbit, from a Saxon's land ; *Normanville*, twelfth century. *Oliford* or *Oliphant*, 1140, from Winchester ; *Oswald*, Saxon ; *Orr* of Renfrew.

Preston, priest's town, first twelfth century ; *Percy*, of Northumberland ; *Rutherford*, Norman, 1140 ; *Ramsey*, island of rams, David I. ; *Reid*, red ; *Riddel*, Norman, David I. ; *Roger*, twelfth century ; *Rose* or *Ros*, from Yorkshire ; *Ruthven*, fourteenth century, from Saxon ; *Rattray*, 1050 ; *Scott*, about 1110 ; *Semple*, Sampol or St. Paul, 1200 ; *Sules*, David I. ; *Somerville*, Norman, 1130, introducer of Dunmow flitch of bacon, of Somerville, near Caen ; *Seton*, Seyton ; *Says*, Norman, David I. ; *Sharp*, de Escharp, David I. ; *Shaw*, William de, 1296 ; *Sinclair*, St. Clair, Santo Claro at Roslin, David I., founder of Earls of Caithness ; *Skene*, de Skeen, eleventh century ; *Snell*, Saxon, sharp ; *Spence* or Spens an inclosure ; *Spottiswood* grant in Berwick ; *Stoddart*, or Standard ; *Strachan*, Walderus de Strachane, 1100 ; *Stewart*, Walter FitzAlan of Shropshire made steward of Scotland by David I., founded English monastery at Paisley. Robert the Stewart, grandson of Robert Bruce, by his daughter Marjory, succeeded the childless David Bruce, 1371, and became the founder of the Stuart line ; *Trail* or Tyrrell ; *Umphraville*, twelfth century ; *Vaux*, or Vass, Norman, eleventh century ; *Wallace*, Walys, Anglo-Norman, died 1204, one Waleis, Mayor of London, 1300 ; *Westgarth*, old Saxon ; *Webster*, a webber or weaver ; Wellwood ; Wemyss ; Wishart, from a Norman called Guishart from his slaughter of the Saxons ; *Wardlaw*, Saxon, with Edgar Atheling.

There is no mistaking the Saxon characteristics in Scotland. Words were changed from Celtic ; as Eymouth,

from Inver-ey ; Clydesdale, from Strathclyde ; Craigtoun, from Balnacraig ; Cairnfield, from Achnacairn ; Blackwater, from Uisge-du ; Highhill, from Bein-ard ; Mickle-rig, from Drummore ; Littletown, from Baile-beg ; Micklewood, from Coile-more, &c.

The persons are found Saxon still in many parts, and more Saxon than seen in England. The Saxon yellow or sandy hair, in opposition to darker Celtic, gives quite a character to the Scotch. If Macintosh and others be correct in estimating the Celtic population of the Scotch at only 150,000, a reason is found for the preponderance of the Saxon English type, along with the Norse Teutonic, in North Britain.

The Registrar-General for Scotland in the last census report gives an ethnological sketch. " All that portion of Scotland which we have described as the Lowlands," says he, " with the single exception of the county of Caithness (*Norse*), may be described as being inhabited by that mixed race to which the term Anglo-Saxon is now generally applied."

The English element is not confined to the Lowlands, though five sixths of the population are there ; it penetrated, as may be seen in light complexions and hair, far into the Highlands. The sandy hair is Saxon. The lightest English hair is in Norfolk and Suffolk, where the Saxon type is strongest. But Mr. D. Macintosh distinguishes the *Saxon* as round-faced, with few projections of form, and regular features, giving the prominent features, oval face, and narrower head, to the Frisian neighbours of the Saxons. The Angles appear to have been less rounded than the Saxons. The skull of Robert Bruce, discovered at Dunfermline in 1819, was very like that of a Saxon prizefighter, being " a large brachycephalic (*broad*) skull of a man of more than middle life, with a long, broad face, and a recedent forehead."

No anthropologist has given so lucid an account of Scotch types as Dr. Beddoe.

He found, of course, less Teutonic blood to the north than to the south of the Dee, with narrower heads and faces. " I think," says he, " there is less of the broad, round, burly Saxon form in the greater part of Fife than

there is in Angus." He believes the Teutonic element of both counties, especially in eastern Fife, greatly indebted to the commerce of the country with the *Easterlings*, or Flemings, from the other side of the German Ocean. He observed in the Central Highlands larger, taller, and lighter men than in the western Highlands, where dark and slightly-made Gaels predominated.

The growing Saxonisation of the north struck him. He said "that continual northward movement of the Lowland gentry, exemplified in the history of the families of Dunbar, Lindsay, Oliphant, Sinclair, Keith, Gordon, Maule, Menzies, Cumyn, Burnet, Fraser, and many others, implies the settlement of many of their south-country vassals and dependents on the lands newly assigned to them." It is his opinion that "the gradual and steady Saxonisation of the Northern Lowlands must have been tolerably complete by the close of the thirteenth century." Dumfriesshire and its contiguous counties seemed eminently Saxon to him.

Between the Borders and the Forth he is on purer English ground, though the heavy Scotch brow is not obvious now in Eastern Saxon England. The Danish blood came in with vigour upon Southern Scotland, as Northumbria, which once reached to the Forth, was eminently Danish. In the Lothians, he observes that Saxons are "somewhat mingled with Scoto-Picts." The Picts were the original people, and the Irish-Scots had begun to come in on them from the west. But upon the Annan, the faces told him that the "Dano-Saxons must have been crossed with Strathclyde Britons."

On the Merse of Berwick he came in contact with a grand race, described as stalwart and healthy in a remarkable degree. A number of them being examined gave an average of 5 feet $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, with the shoes, and weighing 199 lbs. Their hair and eyes were generally light. The prevailing types he classes as Anglian and Scandinavian. There was very little of the Celtic aboriginal left there.

Other observations of Dr. Beddoe may be added. Taking the Lothians and the Borders, he has these remarks :—

"The people seem generally tall, large and muscular ;

their outlines of face and figure are rounded, particularly in the forehead and chin; the nose varies in form, but as a rule is short and straightish. The heavy, overhanging brow and deep-sunk eyes which, with the high cheek-bones, are generally sufficient to mark out a Scotchman from among a group of Saxon Englishmen, are in this district comparatively rare. The prevailing complexion is fairer than in any other district I have visited; the eyes are in the majority of cases blue or light grey, but hazel is not an uncommon colour. The hair varies from light yellowish red and flaxen yellow through divers shades of brown." It is of such a part of the Lowlands he writes: "It is probable that Teutonic blood is as pure here as in any part of North Britain." How senseless was the war on the Borders between peoples identical in blood!

The completeness of Saxon substitution for the Celt in the far north is illustrated by the ancient *Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*. "The influx of Southerns," it is said, "which was so remarkable a feature of Scotch civilisation from the reign of Malcolm Canmore downwards, set most strongly over the wheat-growing plain of the Moray, and before the end of the thirteenth century Celtic tenures and customs had disappeared."

THE FLEMISH SCOTCH.

The industrious, plodding, and intelligent people of Flanders, now Belgium, were the English of the middle ages for commercial activity and emigrating enterprise. England admits the benefit derived from the Flemings, who introduced the woollen trade there. Scotland is pre-eminently indebted to that people for the creation of fisheries, and the origination of the shipping trade. It is in their settlements along the east coast, especially in the Forth, that the first real development of commerce became apparent in North Britain.

Under the names of Flemings, Easterlings, Frisians, &c., may be comprehended those dwelling on the south side of the German Ocean, in what we know as Belgium, Holland, and on to Hamburg. As Teutons, they were

allied to the Saxons and Scandinavians, and opposed to the
Celts of the north and west.   They had a great reputation
for energy and love of freedom.   Some of the very best
elements of character in the Scotch are due to the ad-
mixture with this people, and, more, from the influence
they exercised upon all with whom they came in contact.
" From the Friso-Anglians," says Brace's *Races of the Old
World*, "have come especially the patient industry, the
sound practical sense, the solid courage, the love of con-
stitutional freedom, and the spirit of industrial enter-
prise."   Scottish history shows that the kingdom of Fife
and the country up to Aberdeen have given the largest
contribution of intellect, public spirit, learning, and
patriotic independence to make Scotland what it is.

Chalmers declares that in the early days the Flemings
were "the great traders of the European world."   Silvio,
afterwards Pope Pius II., left on record : " From Scotland
are imported into Flanders hides, wood, salt-fish, and
pearls."   What the merchants gave in exchange may be
gathered from Pinkerton's words : "The meanest articles
of manufacture, horse-shoes, harness, saddles, bridles, were
all imported ready-made from Flanders."   Having all the
trade to themselves, they were naturally troubled when
Edward I. interfered with Scottish affairs.   They had no
fear of competition from the Scotch, but wanted not to
be crushed by English shipping.   When, therefore, a treaty
of commerce was entered into between that monarch and
the Flemings, in 1297, the latter expressly stipulated that
they should have a continuance of free trade with Scotland.
The Scotch, thanks to the Flemish settlers themselves,
who thus became Scotchmen, were able afterwards to hold
their own at sea, and a commercial treaty with Flanders
was effected in 1429 that was to last for one hundred
years.

Malcolm Canmore, who married a Saxon princess,
and broke off from the old Celtic polity for the more
humane and progressive one from the south, has the credit
of inducing some Flemings to settle in his kingdom.   In
1158 he placed a party in possession of a portion of unruly
Moray, and a rebellion of chieftains was the consequence.
The rebels lost life and land, to the further increase of

Flemish freeholders under the crown, who knew how to render obedience and pay charges. Malcolm IV. introduced many to Berwick and the east coast. Others took up their quarters at St. Andrews and further north-east in the reign of David I. In the charters they are named *Flamingis.* Among their signatures to chartularies are Douglas, Gordon, Loreiner, Baldwin, Leslie, Murray, Innis, &c.

The great Douglas family, figuring so largely in Scottish history, is of a Flemish house. One Theobald, the Fleming, came over in the early part of the twelfth century. He obtained lands in Douglas water, in 1150; and, according to the fashion of the day, assumed the name of the estate, being called the *Douglas.* Collecting some of his own countrymen, he united them to some of the original tenants of the district, and formed, according to the fashion of the day also, a new clan—the *Douglas.* We read of a distinguished man at the end of that century, known as William of Dufglas, who was a true Friskin from the Flemish side.

The Earls of Wigton are descendants of the Flemish Baldwins. In the age of David I. many Friskins had grants in Moray, alongside of the Flemish Innes race. Lands in Sutherland, forfeited by the rebellious Earl of Caithness, in 1197, were bestowed on a Fleming, Hugh Freskin. His son assumed the name of *Sutherland,* the ancestor of a princely house. The Earls of Murray are from the Fleming who took the name of Moravia, afterwards Moray, from the estate conferred on him by the Scottish sovereign. Many Burgons and Leslies settled about Aberdeen. The banishment of Flemings from England by Henry II. in 1154, gave Scotland what are styled "a far more civilised people than the Gaelic inhabitants." The Dicks or Dykes, the Bethunes or Beatons, and other old names, came over from Flanders in the twelfth century. One Berrowald took the name of Innes from lands in Moray given him by Malcolm IV. The great Comyn family are derived from the Comines of Flanders. The Freskins of the Bothwell blood arrived in David I.'s time.

It must not be supposed that the Flemings were favoured by the Scotch kings on account merely of their skill in trading, their wealth and commercial influence.

It was rather from their prowess in war, their commanding presence in an age of turbulence, their administrative ability in government. Sovereigns felt they could rely more upon them than upon their countrymen. "So many Flemings," remarks the author of *Caledonia*, "settled in Scotland, that they obtained a right to be governed by their own law. This principle of Scottish jurisprudence was recognised as late as the reign of David II." They resented the injustice and tyranny of the old Celtic laws. Disorders in Flanders itself, not less than the support of Scottish sovereigns, favoured the settlement of large numbers of these industrious people. "They settled," says Chalmers, "in every district of North Britain, from the Tweed to the Solway, to the Clyde and the Moray Firth ; and their posterity formed innumerable respectable families at the conclusion of the Scoto-Saxon period."

Intermarriage with other races in Scotland has somewhat obscured the broad distinction of the Flemings there, but no small amount of evidence remains of their presence. Aberdeen, to this day, displays the broad, round, and rather flattish face observed in Flanders or Belgium. Dr. Beddoe writes, "It is often to be met with. All along the eastern shore the race-marks follow one. The fishermen of Eyemouth are very fair, and very Dutch-like still." The same is said of the fishing inhabitants of Newhaven and the Edinburgh coast. "There is a great resemblance," remarks Beddoe, "between these people and the fisher-folk of Portel, who are generally believed to be of Flemish or Dutch descent ; and I have observed a similar type to prevail among the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Antwerp." There is distinct proof of a colony of Easterlings at Buckhaven, and parts of Fife.

The mental and moral qualities of the old cautious Flemings have been bequeathed in such force to Scotland, that the eastern Scotch are proverbially canny, prudent, patriotic, and honest, as well as intelligent, beyond the generality of the nation. Chalmers is led to exclaim : " When we see the blood of the Flemings defending, with such magnanimous perseverance, the country which had given them settlement, who would regret that he owed his origin to that accomplished and spirited race ? "

THE FRENCH IN SCOTLAND.

The intimate relations existing for some centuries between the French and Scottish courts might have left ethnological traces in North Britain. As far as migration was concerned, they of the poorer oaten land were more ready to leave home than the dwellers of vine-clad hills. Numbers of Scotch went to France, with sword or pen ; but few Frenchmen ever stayed in Scotland.

The Gaul was not attached to the Gael, whether in Ireland or in Scotland, and had little sympathy with Saxon Southrons. Marriages in royal houses are less from love than policy. James I., in 1428, sent his daughter to the Dauphin of France, covenanting to forward with her a fighting force of 6,000 men, to be despatched in a French fleet. James V. was so attached to France, that he got two wives there, one being the mother of Mary, Queen of Scots. The ancient alliance of Scotland and France arose from a common dread of England.

Little change in the population of Scotland took place from the French connection. Edinburgh owes to it the institution of many storied houses, and the convenience of *flats*. Pinkerton styles the connection, " an alliance written with the tears, and signed with the blood of Scotland." At one time so large a number of French troops were in Scotland, that patriotic fears for national independence were naturally excited. It was during the Regency of Mary of Guise, widow of James V., and mother of Mary Queen of Scots, that this occurred. An unfortunate dispute about the marriage of the child princess led to a war with England, when 10,000 Scotch fell at Pinkey. This drew more closely the cords that bound Edinburgh to Paris, and 6,000 Frenchmen arrived in 1548. With Gallic impudence, they treated with undisguised contempt their ruder North Britain friends, and actually turned out the Leith inhabitants to enable them the better to fortify themselves in this port of Edinburgh. This roused the ire of the Scot.

Religion aided the patriotic struggle. The Regent Queen, her daughter, her favourites, and the French allies,

were all followers of Rome. The nobles and gentry of
Scotland were rapidly accepting the principles of the
Reformation. To yield to French influence would be
bowing to the Pope. The Lords of the Congregation
attempted a change, but their forces were driven for shelter
to Stirling. The Scots were no match for the skilled
warriors from Gaul. In despair, an appeal was made to
the Protestant Queen Elizabeth to send the English fleet to
Leith. The Queen Regent died brokenhearted; and her
French countrymen had to leave Scotland.

THE IRISH SCOTCH.

The ancient and modern immigration of Irishmen has
been so continuous and so large, as to lead some writers to
ascribe the main nationality of Scotland to an Irish origin.
But, as elsewhere shown, the old British Caledonians of
the hills were not Irish, nor were the Northmen and Saxons
of the Lowlands.

The chapter on the Irish-Scot of the early historic period
tells the story of the migration of that people across from
Ireland before and in the sixth century. There is abundant
evidence of a stream setting in that way after the establish-
ment of the Scottish kingdom in the ninth century, not-
withstanding the breaking asunder of that political con-
nection of Erin and Albin which once existed. The
constant faction fights of Hibernia drove many sufferers
for shelter over the way, and friends in that pre-*Rowland
Hill* condition of society managed to communicate news,
and draw other members of a family thither. The very
attachment of the early kings to their ancestral home
prolonged the migration fever.

The sympathy of religion was a great tie between old
Ireland and old Scotland. Rome had little or no hold
upon either, though Norse and Saxon-Christians con-
formed to all the ordinances of Popes. The common
Culdee faith, in clear opposition to the claims of Rome,
was cherished in Erin till its conquest by the Normans,
and almost as long in North Britain. The gradual Saxoni-
sation of Scottish sovereigns led to their acceptance of more

orthodox ideas and dimimished their interest in the brethren of the Green Isle. Still, the connection was not severed. The restless Irish became the instruments of Scottish policy, being stirred into rebellion whenever Scotland was involved in war with England. In the time of Robert Bruce, Ireland very nearly became a province of Scotland. Under the invasion by his brother Edward, Ulster was secured, and the prince was crowned, at Dundalk, King of Ireland. The English Government applied to the Pope for aid. He sent forth a Bull excommunicating all Irishmen taking the Scottish side, and commanding all bishops to bless the English army. Thus favoured, England reconquered, and Edward Bruce was slain in battle.

The Highlanders, largely affected by the Irish migration, continued their association with the Sister Isle long after official recognition and interest ceased. But the wild clans of the west gave so much trouble to the central government at Edinburgh, often getting Irish help in their contests with the Scottish kings, that Irishmen became more than ever offensive in the sight of respectable Scotchmen. It was not likely that the Scotch regarded with favour a people ever ready to join rebel-marauding clans in the desolation of the prosperous Lowlands. The introduction of an army of Irishmen by Montrose, when he fought against the Scottish Parliament, intensified the hate of loyal and Protestant Scots.

A more peaceful, but far more important immigration of Irish has taken place within the last forty years, which threatens, according to the fears of some politicians, to be a second Irish conquest of Scotland.

The facts published by the Registrar-General of Scotland, in his Report accompanying the *Census* Returns for 1871, might well alarm many sober-minded, prudent Scots. "The Irish," says the Report, "are the most numerous aliens in Scotland, amounting to 207,770 persons, or 6·184 per cent. of the total inhabitants. It must be remembered, however, that the Irish as a race are much more numerous in the population, probably amounting to at least 400,000, for the numbers given above only include those who were born in Ireland."

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"They have," it is further said, "penetrated to every county in Scotland, even to the inaccessible and barren shores of Shetland; while, in the six counties, five of which are on the western side of the island, and nearest Ireland, the proportion of Irish born in the population exceeds the mean of Scotland (!). Thus, in Ayr, 7·806 per cent. of the people were born in Ireland; in Wigton, 8·373 per cent.; in Dumbarton, 10·469 per cent.; in Lanark, 13·298 per cent.; and in Renfrew, 14·428 per cent. were Irish born." At the same time, the mean births for all Scotland only stood at 6·280 per cent.

The towns are in some cases greatly multiplying their Irish numbers. Though Aberdeen proportion was only 0·883, Perth 3·568, Leith 3·735, and Edinburgh 4·078, yet Paisley had 9·749, Dundee 11·931, Glasgow 14·320, and Greenock 16·558. With such surprising fecundity, the Irish promise soon to fill the land. Though England is so united in many ways with Scotland, the English born did not come to one-third the amount of the Irish. If the census of 1871 told such a tale, what may not be expected ten years after! Well might an Irish leader in Glasgow lately boast of his power to turn an election there.

A Scotchman already is pretty composite as to race, though some predict that in fifty years' time his Irish blood will be in excess of any other. The Registrar-General, who doubtless supposes himself a Scotchman, and free from the taint of Irish contact, is by no means jubilant at the prospect before his thrifty, intelligent, and Presbyterian brethren. He dates the inroad from 1820.

"During that year," says he, "an invasion or immigration of the Irish race began, which slowly increased till it attained enormous dimensions after 1840, when the railways began to be constructed over the country. This invasion of Irish is likely to produce far more serious effects on the population of Scotland than even the invasions of the warlike hordes of Saxons, Danes, and Norsemen. Already, in many of our towns, do the persons born in Ireland constitute from 5 to 15 per cent. of the population; and, if we include their children born in this country, from 10 to 30 per cent. of the population of these towns

consist of the Irish Celtic race." Registrar-Generals are not supposed to be ethnologists, able to discourse about Celts; but this gentleman has a patriotic horror of the Irish. This is his mournful conclusion :—

" As yet the great body of these Irish do not seem to be improved by their residence among us; and it is quite certain that the native Scot who has associated with them has most certainly deteriorated."

THE HIGHLAND SCOTCH.

Such a halo of glory has been shed around the Highlands and Highlanders by the delightful writings of Sir Walter Scott, that it is difficult to approach the subject with calmness; prosaic investigation is dazzled by the brilliancy of fiction. It is as difficult for an historian to make out the Highlanders as it was for a Lowland farmer to penetrate the Trossachs in search of his stolen beeves.

As to their origin,—they are Celts and Teutons; they are Picts, Scots, Saxons, Norwegians, Danes, Normans, in addition to the basis of primitive pre-historic nations. They are therefore sufficiently heterogeneous. As to their language, all tongues more or less yielded to that of the Gael. Why the Gael, from Ireland chiefly, should have displaced previously-existing dialects, while his brethren elsewhere, even in Ireland itself, should have accepted Saxon speech, is not a little curious. As to their habits and ideas, the influence of the Norsemen, especially in superstitions, was not less powerful than that of the invading Gaels upon Highlanders.

Because Highlanders are of so many shades, a distinguished modern ethnologist refuses to acknowledge them as a people. He declares that they are the *ne'er-do-wells* of other races. Outcast Irish, rebel Northmen, banished Saxons, conspiring Northumbrians, restless Lothians, unyielding Normans, intriguing barons, hunted freebooters, decayed gentlemen, and loafers of all orders, undoubtedly found refuge in the glens of the Highlands. The Bruces were no friends to hill-men, and were rougher than the Stuarts to them. Tytler speaks of the earlier

kings " granting a royal commission to one or other of the northern *Reguli* (chiefs), who were ever prepared under the plea of loyalty to strengthen their own hands and exterminate their brethren." David II. improved upon this. When troubled by any clan, instead of sending an army up to them, he sent a herald to a neighbouring clan, authorising the chief to make war, and engaging to grant legal possession of all lands belonging to the offending tribe. This highly immoral system of executive justice was so effectual that the very excitable Highlanders were reduced to a prompt display of awed propriety.

The LORDS OF THE ISLES, sovereign princes in the west, though called commonly Irish Celts, were largely Norwegian. For a long time they maintained independence of the Scottish kings. The contest was considered a sort of race one. The Norse had amalgamated with the Picts and Scots, in opposition to the so-called Saxon monarchs of Scotland. The new power rose in the twelfth century under Somarled, who had married the daughter of the Norwegian king of the Isle of Man and the Hebrides, and his son succeeded to the control of half the isles by right of his mother. On the fall of the Norwegian dynasty in Man, in 1266, the Lords of the Isles assumed absolute sovereignty.

In the thirteenth century the lord married an Irish princess, and twenty-four Irish chieftains came over with her. This renewed the connection between western Scotland and Ireland, and increased the Irish influence in Scotland against the Saxon dynasty. It was a Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, who burnt Elgin in 1402, though he afterwards set up a cross as a compensation for his cruelty. But that which broke the power of the western tribes was the terrible battle of Harlaw, fought between the Lord of the Isles and the king's representative, the Duke of Albany, on July 24th, 1411.

> " And mony a ane may mourn for ay
>   The grim battle of the Harlaw."

The Rev. T. Maclauchlan calls it "the final contest for supremacy between the Celt and the Teuton." Burton's

History says : "It will be difficult to make those not familiar with the tone of feeling in Lowland Scotland at that time believe that the defeat of Donald of the Isles was felt as a more memorable deliverance even than that of Bannockburn." But the final conflict between Highlander and Lowlander, Celt and Saxon, was at Culloden in 1745. The completion of Highland sorrow was the removal of men for deer.

The Highland clans or tribes are most of them of comparatively recent origin. Many of them are of Danish and Norse or Norwegian descent, especially in Caithness, Sutherland, Moray, Ross, and the Hebrides. Equally certain is it that other clans owe their existence to Norman and Saxon barons and gentlemen. These got grants from Scottish monarchs, and took up with them many of their own people ; who, mixing with the residents, ultimately took a name as a clan.

The same thing occurred in Ireland. The ancient Irish had septs, clans, or tribes, with an ancient, unwritten, Brehon law. The Celts came, found this state of affairs, and adopted it. The Danes came, and in their settlements organised themselves after the same fashion, accepting the Brehon law and the Irish tongue. The English settlers, for at least four hundred years, went over to Ireland, fell into septs, with or without the Irish, and became to an almost universal extent, away from Dublin, Irish in habits and language.

It is quite a mistake, however, to suppose that the *Tartan* distinction of clans existed in early times. The ancient writers are silent upon it, and comparatively modern letters from the Highlands fail to speak of it. Bishop Leslie's story, in 1578, has no description of the dress. The same may be said of John Elder's defence of the Highlanders, in a report to Henry VIII., in 1543. One part of this may be quoted :—

"Howbeit the babilonical busseheps and the great courtyours of Scotland repute the forsaide Yrishe Lordes (*of the Highlands*) as wilde, rude, and barbarous people, brought up, as they say, without lerninge and nourtour, yeit thay passe theame a greate deal in faithe, honestie, in policy and witt, in good ordour and civilitie ; ffor wher

the saide Yrish Lordes promise faithe thay keepe it truely be holdinge up of ther formest fynger."

The *Slogan*, or war-cry, varied with the clan. It was " The High Hill " with the Mackenzies ; " Rock of Alarm," the Grants ; " Black Rock," the Macphersons ; " Rock of the Raven," the Macdonalds ; " Loch Sloy," the Macfarlanes, &c. Some Slogans referred to localities, while others repeated the name of the clan ; as, " A Home ! " " A Douglas ! " &c.

Some clans are professional in their origin ; as, the *Gows*, or Smiths ; the *Fletchers*, or arrow-makers ; the *Mac Intyres*, or sons of the carpenter. Others are derived from places or remarkable men, or the qualities of founders. The *Mac* prefix generally refers to *son* or descendant. Quite a number of clans obtained appellations from Christian saints, showing the age ; they have usually *Gille* before the name of the saint, signifying *servant*. *Gill-Andreas*, says the Rev. T. Maclauchlan, means servant of St. Andrew ; *Mac Gille Sheathain* (the Macleans) is the son of the servant of St. John ; *Gil-Christ*, servant of Christ ; *Gillies*, *Gilliosa*, servant of Jesus ; *Gil-more* ; *Gilfillan*, servant of St. Fillan ; *Mac Gilleabhra*, servant of the eternal Word ; *Mac Gill Fhaolain* (Mac Lellan), son of the servant of Faolan ; *Gil-bert* (Gillabrid), servant of St. Bridget ; clan *Chattan*, from St. Cattan ; *Mac Gilleachatain* (ancestor of the Macphersons), servant of St. Cattan. *Malcolm* is the servant of St. Columba ; *Mac Nab*, son of the Abbot ; clan *Mhuireaich*, son of Murdoch.

The clan Chattan includes the Macintoshes, the Macqueens, the Macphersons, the Macgillivrays, the Macphails, the Shaws, the Macbains, &c. Gregory in *Highlands and Islands of Scotland* " has them originally in Lochaber, though settled at Badenoch in the time of Bruce. He finds their chief getting a grant in Lochaber from the Norwegian Lord of the Isles ; that district being claimed by the Chamerons, a feud arose between these clans, and lasted 300 years. The Chamerons were originally connected with the Chattans, though separated in the fourteenth century.

The clan Leod was of Norwegian origin, and consisted of two branches. The Siol Torquil were the Macleods of

Lewis Island; and the Siol Tormod were the Macleods of Harris Island, originating in the fourteenth century. They were fierce Norse foes of the Scotch monarchy, and were most barbarously treated by the later Scottish kings; yet 700 joined the Pretender. They were a rough lot, suffocating 200 Ranalds in a cave one day on Eig Island.

The clan Gillean were in four branches, derived from the sons and brother of Lauchlan Maclean, who lived about 1350. It was a MacLean chief of the Hebrides who, after a domestic quarrel, had his wife exposed on a rock that was covered by the tide at high water. The clan Ian Vor included the Macdonalds of Colonsay, of Sands, and of Largie, as well as the earls of Antrim. The clan Ian Abrach, of Glencoe, a branch of the Macdonalds, were from John the Bold, of Isla, in the time of David II., and were more Norwegian than Celtic. The clan Ranalds of Lochaber had for their ancestor Allaster Carrach, third son of a Lord of the Isles, about 1400; and the Siol Gorrie, from another son. The clan Allaster of Kintyre were from the grandson of Somerled, first Lord of the Isles. The reader must accept a brief statement respecting the principal Highland clans as a conclusion. The Celtic name does not imply a Celtic origin.

Theobald the Fleming took the name of Douglas from his grant, 1150. The Cambels (Campbell) are noted first in a charter, 1266; being, says Chalmers, of Anglo-Saxon lineage. The Stuarts come from a Shropshire knight, Fitz Alan. They purchased the hereditary office of Steward of Scotland, and gained the right to the throne by a marriage with Robert Bruce's daughter. The Macquaries are from Alpin Gorbred, celticised to Mac Gofra. The Kintyres, Maclauchlans, Kennedys, Macauslanes, Macdonalds, Macredes, Munroes, are Irish. The Macalisters, says Logan, date from the thirteenth century; the Macintoshes are of the twelfth; the Urquharts, about the year 1306; the Ogilvies, from Gillichriosod, 1120; the Skenes, 1296; the Macaulays, of Norway, 1300; the Logans, Normans, 1150; the Macarthurs, 1400; the Macgillivrays, 1000; the Macivors, 1150; the Macleans, Irish-Normans, 1250; the

Macnials from Nigellus Og, 1300; the Macqueens, Norse, 1450; the Macgregors, or Alpines, 1100; the Sinclairs, Norman, 1140. The Sutherlands are Norse and Flemish. The Elliots, Scotts, Grants, Frazers, Hamiltons, Maxwells, Mathesons, &c., are English.

Whatever their origin, the Highlanders have left their mark in modern British story. As soldiers, they have proved their courage on many a battle-field, in support of British interests. No one dare raise the finger of scorn against a Highlander now. And however thriftless and idle they may have been in Scotland of old, under bad laws, the Highlanders have achieved in our colonies a reputation and success in the paths of industry second to no others.

ANCIENT LAW AND ORIGIN.

In the investigation of this very difficult problem—the origin of the Scotch—some have fancied that a considerable light is shed upon it by observation of the ancient laws of Scotland. But here again we are met by conflicting authorities. One will make them purely Irish in origin, another declares them essentially Saxon, while a third, like Mr. J. Anderson, asserts their likeness to Welsh.

The Aberdeen Register tells a curious story of the towns owning security by attaching themselves to powerful nobles who fought for their allies. There are many records of the sad doings of " Clannit men " fighting whenever they met in the Aberdeen streets. The magistrates in vain proclaimed laws " quhilkis thay are not hable to put to executioun, be reasoun of the gryitnes and power of the pairties." The Royal Act of 1580 was " against sic personis within burght as wrangouslie personis or defendis ony actionis or caussis in jugement, and upon thame thet tynes the play within burght."

James I. put laws into the Scottish tongue, though Latin was then employed in England. David I. incorporated boroughs first; but only Royal Burghs sent members to Parliament. The Burghs of Barony were

those held of barons. Parishes were not settled till the thirteenth century, being called in the previous century to this *shires*, from the Saxon *seir*, a division. Sheriffs, another Saxon institution, were first recognised in the thirteenth century. There was no representation for counties till 1587. Entails were unknown there in the seventeenth century. The Thistle, as a national badge, was first mentioned in a poem of 1503. James IV. wore one when he sat for his portrait ; but there was no Knight of the Thistle till the seventeenth century.

The Saxon law meant Roman ; which, says Creasy, " was never permanently lost in any country in which it was once established." There was nothing barbarous in Saxon charters. But the old Saxon right to sell and give land, or dispose of it by will, was afterwards modified by feudalism. The head of the district, known as *Toshach* by Celts, became, according to the Cawdor Book, "under the Saxon name of *Thane*, hereditary tenant." The Norse or Scandinavian *Lawting* was the court of Orkney and Shetland. Sir Walter Scott refers to the " Udallors, the allodial possessors of Zetland, who hold their possessions under the old Norwegian law, instead of the feudal tenures introduced among them from Scotland." The *Ting* was a Norse *gathering*, or court.

The older Celtic forms claim the chief attention. The Irish system of government is apparent there. The Law of Tanistry, relative to chiefs, is identical in both places. The Tanister, heir to rule, appears at installation with a wand, when the chief has a sword. The office was elective in one family. The new law of succession, that of eldest son, was opposed to the law of Tanistry, and occasioned many feuds. The Celts were equally opposed to female succession. The *Maor* was a baron, and the *Maormor* a great baron. The *Brehon* law of Ireland prevailed in Scotland. For particulars of this, the reader is referred to the previous work, *Who are the Irish ?* The English system of liberty gradually made its way in Scotland, to the displacement of Celtic-Brehon customs, which favoured chiefs, but kept the rest in bondage.

SCOTCH DRESS.

A few words upon this subject may be interesting to some. The oldest dress known is one of deer's skin found round a body six feet in a bog. Leather continued long in use. Woollen dresses used to have their material manipulated with black oil from fish-livers. Spinning was in exercise among many of the more primitive races.

Men, in remote Caledonian times, either roamed without the impediment of dress, when weather permitted, or indulged in breeches—that queer-looking garment that raised such laughter among Greeks and Romans. The *briogas* fitted close. The *triughas*, pronounced *trius*, was a pantaloon and stocking in one piece of cloth. The round bonnet, the *boined* or *cappan*, is very ancient. In 1521, the Highlanders wore the *trouse*, coming to the middle of the leg ; a mantle, and a shirt stained with yellow saffron. Not troubled with stockings, they were called then "red-shanks." Some put on skin shoes, the hairy part outwards, and received the appellation of "rough-footed Scots."

An old chronicle speaks thus of western Scotch : "They wear marled cloaths, specially that have long stripes of sundry colors. Their predecessors used short mantles, or plaids of divers colors, sundry ways divided ; and among some the same custom is observed to this day ; but for the most part they are broun, more near to the color of the hadder (heather), to the effect when they lie among the hadder, the bright colors of their plaids shall not bewray them." A tempting lover is made to sing—

> " Bra' sall the setts o' your braid tartans be,
> If ye will gang to the North Highlands wi' me."

The word *tartan* is said to be the Gaelic *tarstin* or *tarsuin*, for *across*. The *breacan feile* was a chequered covering. Belted plaids were common. The *kilt* or *sail-beg* was the little plaid, and was not in use among the Caledonians. The *purse* or *sporan* was once small and plaid. Several pockets were afterwards added, with a *dorlach*, or wallet, on the right side for meal. The Culloden

plaid or kilt was nine feet long with a fringe of two feet. The Pict paint was said to have been retained in the plaid distinctions. Chalmers says: "The variegated plaid was introduced in later times;" but Mr. Logan's *Scottish Gael* contends that "the plaid which the clergy wore is popularly believed to have been used by the Druids and Culdees."

Some time ago a work, called *Vestiarium Scoticum*, dated 1571, professing to speak of Tartans, was said to have been discovered in a foreign library. Therein were described the Tartans of twenty-three great clans of the Highlands, eleven of lesser degree, and thirty-nine on the Border or in the Lowlands. The silence of writers as to the existence of such a work of the sixteenth century aroused suspicion. The *Quarterly Review* condemned the manuscript in 1847. Sir Walter Scott found many absurd mistakes. He thought he had traced the Edinburgh origin of the work—"the counters of one of the great clan-tartan warehouses"—which might be supposed to desire "to multiply to the utmost new and splendid patterns." Assuredly, the magnificent plates of tartan costumes in Logan's *Highland Clans* cannot be wholly mythical in origin, though somewhat beautified and romancified. The *kilt* is comparatively modern there.

The Scottish females did not indulge in the nude display that pleased their rougher mates. They prepared the *breeks* and plaids. The colours were of vegetable origin. The black came from a sort of water-lily; the grey, from moss; a rich brown, from crotul; green, from goatsbeard; fawn, from madder-root; yellow, from heather, &c. Ossian speaks of garbs "like the bow of the shower." The *airisaid* was a white plaid with coloured stripes. Men and women dressed much alike at one time. The *kirtail* was a gown and petticoat in one piece, and close-fitting. The *wylicot* was an under petticoat.

The ancient ladies were fond of the veil system, wrapping their heads in plaids. James II. protested against this covering of the face on moral grounds, as it gave such facilities for intrigue. The Act of 1457 ordered—"Na woman cum to kirk, nor to mercat, with hir face muffalled or covered," under penalty of forfeit. As Romish authorities could not conquer the sturdy dames, Protestant

divines attempted the work. We hear of a session in
1643 giving "the bedall five shillings to buy ane pynt of
tar to put upon the women that held the plaid above their
head in the church." This tarring process must have
diverted the male worshippers, and excited the wrath of
the female ones. A poet exclaims—

> "Should women walke lyke spirits ? Should women weare
> Their wynding sheets alyve ? Wrapt up, I sweare,
> From head to foot in plades, lyke Zembrean ghostes,
> Which haunt in groaves and shades."

A *kirch* of linen was worn by married women over their
foreheads, as nuns wear now. While the married put on a
mutch cap, the maidens gathered their hair in a roll.

The Rev. J. Buchanan, writing from Lewis in 1790, has
a fine sketch of old garbs. "The *arrisats*," says he, "are
laid aside, being the most ancient dress used. It con-
sisted of one large piece of flannel that reached down to
the shoe, and fastened with clasps below, and a large
silver brooch at the breast, while the whole arm was
entirely naked." Again : "The *breeid* or *curtah*, a fine
linen handkerchief, fastened about married women's heads,
with a flap hanging behind their backs, above the *guilechan*
or small plaid, is mostly laid aside." Goldsmith was so
taken with the northern ladies, as to exclaim : "I insist
upon it, and will give him leave to break my head that
denies it, that the ladies are ten thousand times fairer and
handsomer than the Irish." Could one help, therefore,
singing—

> "Oh, weel I love the tartan plaidie !
> Blessings on the tartan plaidie !
> The heart's ne'er cauld beneath its fauld,
> An' aye I'll love the tartan plaidie."

THE END.

OUR NATIONALITIES.

III.

WHO ARE THE WELSH?

BY

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"Who are the Scotch?" &c.

PREFACE.

The Welsh are a patriotic people, but they are not a homogeneous one. Unity of race is not essential to love of country. The French are patriotic, though a strange jumble of nationalities, once separate and hating each other, but now in one bond of amity. Past racial difficulties are soon forgotten in one common sorrow, or one common interest.

The early history of Wales is more obscure than that of Ireland. The most ancient story, however, is but a record of strife. Districts felt their origin was various, and patriotism was shown in wars with neighbours of other fatherhood in race. Gael, Teuton, Cymry, and Silurian, they recognized their difference in blood, and proved it on the battle-field.

Happily, that dark day has passed, and all now born in Wales are willing to hail one another as brother Welsh. A strong hand was laid upon the country, and the incongruous parts grew together. It was so in France, in Spain, in Italy, in Russia, and in Germany. Power has been the cement of opposing races.

In Wales, as in Scotland and Ireland, a portion of the inhabitants retain a Celtic speech; but Celts, Saxons, and Scandinavians, as well as the more ancient Iberians or Silurians, unite in speaking the old dialect. In all the three lands the race cannot be identified by the language. While

some families of the oldest Welsh stocks talk English only, a
large number, whose forefathers were Teuton, Norse, or Irish,
now converse in Cymraeg.

To trace the course of the different peoples constituting
Welsh has been the object of the writer.   While authors of
highest authority have entertained such opposite views on the
question, it would be presumptuous for him to suppose he
had found out a royal path. He wished simply to give those
of little leisure the benefit of his reading, and in a form
accessible to all.   That the investigation should disturb long
existing prejudices may appear a misfortune ; but sentiment
founded on error or misconception is, in these inquiring days,
bound to be disturbed. The cause of Truth is too sacred to be
impeded in its career by local feeling unsustained by reason.

It is a matter of sincere congratulation that the Welsh, as
diverse in race as the Irish, have the good sense and Christian
spirit not to erect an artificial and unmeaning barrier of so-
called Celt and Saxon. For those elements of character
constituting a prudent, orderly, virtuous, and happy nation,
the Welsh may boldly challenge the whole world in com-
petition.

Acton, London, W.
        January, 1881.

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WHO ARE THE WELSH?

THE PRIMITIVE WELSH.

OLD Welsh traditions say, that when the Cymry came to Britain they found only wild beasts there. As other invaders of lands have described the people there before them as demons or brutes, the Bards may have meant to flatter the little bright-eyed, dark-haired men they found in Wales by the use of such reproachful terms. But some Welsh Triads say distinctly enough that the Cymry came peaceably to an uninhabited country.

Traditions are of little value to history, since almost every nation claims either to be born of the soil, or nurtured and led thither by the gods. Hu, the leader of the Cymry, was the Sun, the object of their worship and following. As successive races have appeared in other regions, so Wales received wave after wave of immigrants. A Cymry-speaking people came, as others had come before them. That they succeeded in fixing their speech there no more proves them the first-comers than that the Gauls, who surrendered their tongue for Latin, came to France after the Romans.

The Cymry, or any modern representatives of Wales, cannot claim for their ancestors the title of *Primitive Welsh*, but are simply conquering invaders and foreigners. Who, then, were the earlier men of the grand hills and soft vales of Wales?

Geologists point to two leading formations in Wales—the Silurian and the Cambrian. The former prevails in the land of the Silurian tribes, the dark little men who made so stout

a fight against the Romans. The Cambrian rocks are seen beneath the Silurian, and are therefore older, typifying a people more ancient than the Silures. But recently there is the scientific announcement of the discovery of other geological strata beneath the Cambrian ones. These pre-Cambrian walls aptly illustrate the fact that there were Welshmen of whose existence history is ignorant, and who have only just been made known to us by their relics in the soil.

It may be thought strange that only one language survived to our day. But, as the many widely different races of Russia speak Russian, as the commingling peoples in the States adopt English, it is not wonderful that one Celtic tribe spread its speech in Wales. As our knowledge of Cymraeg is but limited, as the Welsh of a few hundred years old is so very different from that now spoken, how know we how much of the Silurian language is mixed up with it? Prof. Rudler, at the Swansea meeting of scientists, ventured further back, believing that "the roots of the Welsh may reach far down into some hidden primitive stock, older, mayhap, than the Neolithic ancestors of the Silures." Such a thought helps us to reduce the claims of one dominant race, and regard the relics left by antecedent inhabitants.

Some may assume for the one Welsh the highest possible antiquity. The learned Arch-Druid, Myfyr Morganwg of Pontypridd, who, following tradition, thinks the Cymry the original settlers, admits much to support Prof. Rudler when saying that his language "contains the very names used by our ancestors for their flint implements." But the Triads distinctly refer to proofs of an advanced civilization among the followers of Hu Gadarn, who were, assuredly, with their supposed Druidical light, a considerable advance upon stone chippers. If Welsh, then, contain words belonging to such a practice, they came into it from a more primitive stock.

Prof. Rhys, the highest living authority on Welsh, has been examining such names as Epidium and Epidionakron on the map of Ptolemy, the one being an island between Scotland and Ireland, the other being the Mull of Cantyre, and he traces them to the Epidii race. The Welsh *Mynyw* is the Menapia of south-western Wales, though the name occurs, also, for a race in Ireland and on the Rhine. Mona, Menai, and Mynwy (Monmouth) have, also, struck his attention. "So I

conclude," says he, " that these names are vestiges of a non-Aryan people whom the Celts found in possession on the continent and in the British Isles." In his work on *Welsh Philology* he thinks it not probable that the Celts arrived in sufficient force to exterminate those they found there; " consequently," he adds, " it may be supposed that in the course of ages the conquered races adopted the language of the invading race, but not without introducing some of their own idioms."

The ground is now clear to take up other evidences of a pre-Celtic population. The inquiry is a pleasant pastime; for, as the antiquarian Bishop of St. David's says, " The question of the primeval occupants of a country is among the most directly and purely interesting of any which its present inhabitants can entertain."

Fairy stories have been associated with ethnology. It has been thought that thus the record of older races was maintained. Welsh miners have still whisperings of the *coblyn* (goblin), meaning *knocker*, from his solitary work with his pick. He is described as half a yard high and very ugly. When speaking of the *Tylwyth Teg*, or fairies, Wirt Sikes tells his readers, " There is a well-authenticated tradition of a race of beings who, in the middle of the sixteenth century, inhabited the wood of the Great Dark Wood (Coed y Dugoed Mawr) in Merionethshire, and who were called the Red Fairies. They lived in dens in the ground, had fiery red hair, and long strong arms, and stole sheep and cattle by night." While some have deemed these but outlaws, others recognized the remnant of an inferior tribe.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who told so many curious Welsh tales in the days of our Henry II., had a romantic narrative given by one Elidorus, a priest, of some youthful adventures.

Elidorus met in a Gower forest two little men, who conducted him along dark paths into their concealed country. " These men," said he, " were of the smallest stature, but very well-proportioned in their make. They were all of a fair complexion, with luxuriant hair falling over their shoulders like that of women. They had horses and greyhounds adapted to their size. They neither ate flesh nor fish, but lived on milk diet, made up into messes with saffron. They never took an oath, for they detested nothing so much as lies.

They had no form of public worship." He got hold of two words of their language : *halgein*, for the Welsh *halen*, salt ; and *ydor* for *dwr*, water. The young priest may not have possessed the truth-telling qualities of the little heathen.

Long ages must have passed since man first dwelt in Wales, if we are guided only by tradition as to changes on the earth's surface. Triad sixty-seven tells the following tale : " In process of time the sea made inroads upon the land so that Môn (Anglesea) became an island. In the same manner Orc (Orkney) was broken up, so that it became a multitude of islands, and other portions of Alban and of the land of the Cumri became islands." This would hardly be the conception of a British scientist in pre-geologist days. However vague the notion, tradition had, in all probability, handed down the story of rise and fall of certain districts, though recognized only as the effect of overwhelming waves. It is idle to give a computation of years, as some have ventured to do, especially in the talk of hundreds of thousands since comparatively recent changes.

Cardigan Bay has furnished a text for geologists and chroniclers. A Triad records the destruction of sixteen towns in a lovely country by the sea. A certain lady of the olden times had been guilty of a foul murder, to revenge which the waters came and overtook her in the midst of a banquet, drowning her subjects with her. Though Welsh chroniclers attach this incident to parties living, or said to live, in the fifth century, it was, doubtless, of much older date. Ptolemy's map gives the Bay about the same as we see it. Yet out far at sea are the remains of ancient stone embankments. Seithenym, or some other man, may have broken down a dyke, and let in the sea to drown the low country in revenge for an injury.

Holyhead, now separated from Anglesea, was probably connected with it since human settlements there. Tradition records the catastrophe in the name yet retained—*Sands of Wailing*. Then there is the *Traeth Mawr*, or Great Sand, of North Wales. An estuary existed there at no very distant period, it may be supposed, from the rocky knolls being still styled *ynys* or *island*. Giraldus wrote six hundred years ago about forests out at sea. Raised beeches southward are said to date from the early Flemish days. Forests sank near

Tenby when the people used stone tools. A similar change may be seen at Manorbier, the birthplace of Giraldus Cambrensis. Sunken forests are, also, known near Kidwelly. Heather roots are dredged up near Caldy island. All round Pembrokeshire, at very low tides, ancient land is seen, yielding remains of the oak, fir, elk, red-deer, and the graves of man. As a similar exposition is known on the opposite Cornish coast, we are confronted by the thought of the union of the two shores even in man's day.

The Welsh caves, in which there is evidence of human beings dwelling with animals now extinct in Britain, bear a similar testimony as to changes of level. Geologists say that after the Glacial Period Wales was submerged at least thirteen hundred feet, and that it was after the rise that the second Glacial Age took place. The Welsh caves trace tenants of an order bespeaking not only a continuity of land, but a difference of climate in that part of Britain, when man had to contend with elephants, mammoths, hyenas, and hippopotami.

In all probability the first people who came to Wales experienced a much colder climate than Welshmen know now. There was more land when Wales joined Cornwall, and probably Ireland, and when, possibly, Britain was connected with France, if not with Belgium. Though bone records of the early population are few and not very conclusive, we turn to man's works in stone for information about Primitive Welsh.

Flint weapons and tools, or tools which may be used as weapons, according to General Lane Fox, are the earliest memorials of man's existence. They are found in every continent, and in nearly every country. Even Egypt, with a civilization of at least six thousand years, has chips of rude flints to tell the story of its savage days. Wales can show similar handiwork of its earliest races. They are in the form of stone hammers, pounders, grinders, diggers, cutters, borers, whetstones, rubbers, spindle-whorls, flakes or daggers, axes, cups, discs, celts, &c. The material varies according to the district; for where there are no flints other stones must be used.

Hugh Miller says, " Man in the savage state is the same animal everywhere." Franklin Peale, in *Stone Age of the Human Race*, writes, " If, like the gorillas, baboons, orang-

outangs, he were without them (the flints) he would be less a
man than a brute." Dr. Barnard Davis speaks of " the same
stone instrument, made everywhere by the same number of
strokes, and given exactly in the same direction. There must,
therefore, have been the same wants, the same powers and
capacities, the same skill, and exactly the same taste, or the
same desire for the beautiful, with exactly the same mode of
gratifying it."

Hammer stones, plain or perforated, were seen in the mines
of Cardigan, in Pembrokeshire, Anglesea, Holyhead, Corwen
of Merioneth, Caerdeb, in hut circles of Holyhead, Old Geir,
&c. One, a foot in length, came from Amlwch Parys mine,
and mauls of from 2 to 40 lbs. weight from Llandudno copper
mine. Celts, which look like chisels or gouges, occur at
Neath, at Dwygyfylchi, Llangwyllog, Old Geir of Anglesea,
Llansilin, &c. Some, like dumb-bells, may have been sinkers
for nets or lines. Grinding stones, or *polissoirs*, were found
near Aber of Carnarvon. A perforated stone axe 8 in. long was
obtained from Llanbrynmair. Spindle-whorls were seen at
Ty Mawr. Flint flakes, serving as knives and scrapers, are
much more common. Evans's '*Flint Implements* mentions
flint-finds in the Vale of Clwyd, Gower, Neath, Carno,
Plinlimmon, Tenby, Hay, Llanelieu, Harlech, Pentrefoelas,
Llanaber, Bangor, &c. Some are well trimmed, others are
rough arrowheads. Such flints are found, as in Anglesea,
where no flint rocks exist for many miles round.

Wales has not yielded many illustrations of bronze. A
dagger was brought from a tumulus near Selattyn of Denbigh,
and from Ffestiniog of Carnarvon with burnt bones and
flints; a chisel from Trefarthin of Anglesea; celts from
St. Botolph of Milford Haven, Carno, and Brecon; a spear
from Stackpool. A spoon-like bronze was dug up at
Penbryn and Llanfair. A number of bronze weapons near
Powis Castle appeared like a stock-in-trade. The *Bronze Age*,
says Prof. Rolleston, was before the Roman era. In his
opinion no metal occurs in Long Barrows. The use of
bronze involves the working of tin streams.

The pottery of Welsh cairns and barrows is very similar to
that observed in other European burial-places. That of the
Stone Age led Dr. Barnard Davis to exclaim : " The pottery
pleads for the unity of the human race much more power-

fully and rationally than the metaphysical arguments with which this doctrine is usually sustained. It shows that man in the same state is everywhere the same."

The antiquity of the race using bronze or flints is not easy to decide. There are existing peoples still possessing only stone implements. There are others just emerging from that state to the manufacture of metal ones. In Wales, the flints preceded the bronze, and the latter was certainly in use long before the Romans came, or iron was known. It has been usual to ascribe the metal productions in these islands to the visit of the Celtic tribes, as they brought such knowledge from the more cultured lands through which they passed. Broca and other French anthropologists join English ones in the opinion that the Stone Age was pre-Celtic.

The flints indicate two ages,—as they are found simply chipped, or polished ; in the last state an advance of civilization is made apparent. A hundred worked flints were found in a cist, or stone coffin, at Gwatchinai of Anglesea, and in another cist of Goleuern Cairn, Merioneth. But rougher ones, and of a character distinguishing them from the tools of the ordinary stone age, have been seen at Llanegryn, Merioneth, and a few other places. These are termed *Palæolithic*, or early, in opposition to the *Neolithic*, or new. The ancient graves containing pottery, however rude, are of Neolithic age ; but no pottery has ever been associated with Palæolithic flints in Europe.

While, then, Wales had Celts using bronze implements, and other races before the Cymry that indulged in polished stones only, the country had, at a far earlier period, a much ruder population, more savage than any race now known in the world, and much lower in the scale of being, though still members of the human family. These, and these only, were the true aborigines of Wales.

There are two ways by which we gain some acquaintance with the Welsh of the ancient times,—cave exploration, and the examination of tumuli or graves.

The caves were the retreat of primitive Welsh when the climate compelled the wild men to seek shelter. A rampart of loose stones protected the entrance. In subsequent times, when man had advanced to the erection of dwellings, caves were still resorted to, but only in the extremity of danger.

It is thus that cave exploration brings an acquaintance with human art in different stages of progress. There are seen relics of recent, mediæval, Saxon, Roman, Celtic, and pre-Celtic periods. Still, the accumulation of earth and bone deposits went on, and the deeper the diggings the more remote is the age of the find. Beasts as well as men strayed in, or their carcases were dragged thither for undisturbed repast. But the remains of those animals which are now extinct in the country would not be presented among the relics of Roman or even Celtic visitors to the cave, any more than the bones of an ordinary ox or tame sheep would be detected alongside of a Palæolithic implement. The sequence is well maintained, except where special circumstances had disturbed it.

That which has helped explorers more accurately to determine the order of deposition has been the formation of stalagmites on the cave floor. Lime-water trickled down through fissures in the rocky limestone roof, and left an ever-increasing accumulation of lime in the form of stalagmites, as other accretions in the shape of stalactites are suspended above. When bones or tools were dropped, they were thus covered up, and safely imprisoned in that rocky embrace. Some interruptions may come in the way of calcareous deposits, but the lower bed of stalagmite may reasonably be supposed to contain more ancient relics than the upper bed. In this way a cave gives a reliable succession of human remains.

For the story of Welsh cave-exploration we are mainly indebted to Professors Boyd Dawkins, Huxley, Hughes, Busk, and Flower. The principal caves explored are Towyn y Cabel, Yale of Denbigh, Perthi - Chwareu, Cefn and Plas Heaton of St. Asaph, Penally of Pembroke, Caldy Isle, Ogle of Tenby, Paviland and Oxwich of Glamorgan. A brief notice of the *finds* in these must now be given.

Pontnewydd, near Cefn, St. Asaph, had very primitive-looking flints, the cut antler of a red-deer, a skull, and some very peculiar shin-bones. The bones of the extinct ox, the goat, hog, and horse showed the nature of the food of the ancient race that dwelt in the cave. The human bones, by their stain, and by adhering to the tongue, were regarded of great antiquity. In the Cefn cave were found the remains of the rhinoceros, cave-bear, hippopotamus, and the extinct elephant, with the handiwork of man. The cave of Long-

berry bank, near Penally, indicated much more modern date, as it contained decent pottery. That of Yale exhibited the peculiar shin-bones. The cave of the Elwy Valley contained the Celtic ox, horse, dog, human bones, and charcoal. In Plas Heaton, the hyena, reindeer, glutton, and cave-bear were seen with man's arts.

Gower is rich in such caves. Mr. Benson says, " All the known bone-caves of Gower, viz. Spritsail, Paviland, Minchin, Bacon Hole, Caswell, and the Mumbles appear to be about the same height above the sea, and to have been raised at the same time." Woods beneath Swansea Bay, however, exhibit the action attending a subsidence of the coast. In Bacon Hole, the rhinoceros, bear, and mammoth found a final resting-place, but in association with wrought flints. Pottery was obtained in Porteynon. Paviland cave had flints, charcoal, the tusks of the mammoth, and a skeleton with ivory ornaments. Oxwich Bay cave, 12 miles from Swansea, contained the elephant and the rhinoceros. Long Hole turned up many flints with extinct mammalia.

Tenby museum was an interesting place of study to the writer. The collections have been judiciously made, and are properly tended. The Naples of South Wales is worthy of all honour for having such a museum. It is on a plane with the excellent local libraries of Swansea, so rich in Welsh lore. Tenby caves are only approachable at low water, but are full of interest. The Black Rock, Hoyle, Longbury, and Ogle caves should be visited by tourists. The men and animals using them lived when the Bristol Channel was a plain, and Caldy Island a hill upon it. Hoyle's cave displays these materials in successive diggings :—breccia and stalagmite, red cave earth, black earth, worked flints, pottery fragments, ashes, bones of men and beasts. Mr. Laws thought some bones fell in from a burial-ground above. In the north cave of Longbury, beneath black mould, were found flints and bone needles, with bones of man and the Arctic brown bear. There were five skeletons of men, and four of women and children. The bear was much larger than any existing species. In Black Rock cave the reindeer, urus, woolly rhinoceros, and auroch or European bison, were found. The *bos longifrons* of the caves was the ancestor of the small shorthorned Welsh cattle. The Fairy Chamber of Caldy Island had the woolly

rhinoceros, Irish elk, mammoth, lion, bear, hyena, cave tiger, hippopotamus, reindeer, auroch, cave wolf, and a wild horse with a disproportionately large head. Many mammoth calves appear to have been dragged in thither by cave hyenas. Perthi-Chwareu cave, Llandegla, Denbighshire, displayed on the surface a refuse heap belonging to historic ages, but below that a remarkable collection of human and animal bones.

Wales in those times must have presented quite another aspect, when its forests resounded with the roar of the lion, and had the tramp of the now extinct species of elephant, the rhinoceros, and the mammoth. The Cymry never met with such beasts on their migrations, and yet there is no doubt that the Primitive Welsh hunted such creatures; as there is no doubt the Primitive French warred with mammoths, those monstrous animals of a pre-historic period, and actually left a scratched sketch of their antagonists. A worked flint was picked up as it lay beside a rhinoceros in a cave. Human bones are seen in juxtaposition with the bones of these long extinct forms. How long ago it was when Wales was a field of battle between man and these formidable beasts, who can tell? That it was before the sea flowed between Wales and Devon, when the river Wye flowed 300 feet above its present course, may be accepted as sufficiently long ago to satisfy the most enthusiastic believers in the antiquity of Welshmen.

These Primitive Welsh belonged to the dolicho-cephalic, or long-headed variety, though some were mecisto-cephalic, or pear-shaped, when viewed from above. They were short in stature (5 feet), with an oval face, and not prominent cheek-bones as the Celts have. They were by no means all of inferior intellect, savages as they undoubtedly were. Prof. Busk observed of some skulls from Perthi-Chwareu : "Oval form, symmetrical, with a rather prominent occiput;" "forehead, though not high, is vertical." He saw that the frontal sinus was small. Prof. Huxley terms the remains *River-bed.* Bodies were found in the contracted posture presented in other ancient burial-places. The bones are very thick, and are supposed to indicate great muscular power. The orthognathic or straight-jaw skull was noted at Perthi-Chwareu, though assumed to be less ancient than the remains at Cefn. The ortho-cephalic skull betrayed a fair average capacity.

The platycnemic tibia, or flattened leg bone, repeatedly observed in the Welsh caves, was a decided peculiarity, which some assume to be the attribute of an early race. The shin-bone was more compressed than now. This condition is conspicuous in the gorilla. Not known in Belgic caves, it is recognized in early inhabitants of Cro-Magnon. While the older proportion is as 273 to 1000, it is 625 to 1000 in the newer; or, as Prof. Busk says: "The length of that portion of the antero-posterior line, which is behind the transverse line, is to that of the exterior as 274 to 1000." This may, it is stated, "arise from an unusual antero-posterior expansion of the bone, either in front or behind the level of the inter-osseous ridge." He regards this platycnemism as "betokening remote antiquity."

Some of the crania are declared to belong to the River-bed or Palæolithic order. Prof. Hughes identified the flints of Pont Newydd, near St. Asaph, with those of Le Moustier, which are extremely ancient. He compares the forms with those of Dordogne and St. Acheul; and finds them similar in the position of the bulb of percussion, &c. A man's molar tooth, found in breccia under a yard of yellow cave earth, with the rhinoceros and other forms, "looks quite as ancient as the rest," says Busk. "It is of very large size, and in this respect exceeds any with which I have compared it, except one or two from Australia or Tasmania." The skulls, in some instances, says Pritchard, resemble the Mongolian.

These old Cave Welsh are thought by some to be, from inferior organization, Irish Firbolgs in race. The Rev. Dr. Oliver speaks of the *Hord Gaeli*. Sir Gardner Wilkinson simply styles such *pre-Celts?* The people were, probably, as ancient as the reindeer bone engravers, whose works were found in French caves by M. Lartet, and which discovery is well called by Prof. Broca, "an historical fact of great importance." Prof. Flowers has an exalted conception of the remoteness of the Palæolithic age, separated, as he believes, by a vast interval from the Cave, or archaic, period. While the great Cave-hunter, Boyd Dawkins, does not contend for the advanced antiquity of man, assumed by some anthropologists, he fancies that the earliest Welshman came a long while ago; seeing "a great degree of probability that he emigrated into Europe along with the pleistocene mammalia of the pre-

glacial age." That would cover ground beyond the dreams of the most imaginative chronicler of old Welsh families.

BARROW WELSH have been generally esteemed less primitive than the Cave Welsh. Men had advanced a long way when raising barrows, tumuli, or mounds over their dead. They had by that time more pleasant quarters than cave dwellings, and were organized into tribes of some established government. Barrows in Wales are not upon the gigantic scale perceived in England, nor do they appear to have been so plentiful.

It has been usual to class these mounds into *Long* and *Round;* the former being, by their contents, the older. In Long Barrows we have stone and bone implements, with some little rude pottery; but in the Round ones the tools are better made, and metals are introduced. Some may be as recent as Roman days, or else have been used for secondary interments, as the coins of the emperors of Rome are found there. But while others even contain Saxon coins, the evidence of so-called secondary interments seems strengthened.

The dead are either preserved as skeletons, or are recognized only in the burnt bones of funeral urns. The prior system was that of doubling up the body, knees and chin together, after the fashion of ancient Peruvians or modern Australian aborigines. We fail to determine any orientation in the mode of deposit, as remains lie in all directions. Sometimes the corpse was in a rude chamber, or stone cist coffin; and often with nothing but soil surrounding it. The latter class of tumuli or barrows have a covered way of stones, provided with small side chambers, or chapels, for the reception of the departed; and the whole then covered with earth, or earth and small stones, forming a *cairn.* In this way cromlechs, hereafter described, are discovered beneath the raised pile of the Carneddau or cairns.

The Roman law prohibited the piles of earth or stone over the dead, but some other nations beside the Celts and Teutons indulged in the practice. The *cist, kist, kistfaen* or *cistvaen.* is the Welsh *bedd hetrual*—the stone chest or coffin of old, by no means always found under a mound. That at Llandyfriog, of Cardiganshire, is an illustration; the sides and ends are upright stones, and the corpse lay on the flag

below. Sometimes it assumed the shape of a regular crom-lech ; which, according to Logan, may be a Punic word signifying *bed of death*. The great cromlech of Plas newydd revealed charcoal and human bones. Yr Ogof at Bryncelli-ddu was a long grave. The slabstone passage is 19½ feet long, 3 broad, 4½ feet high. One chamber, hexagonal in form, had huge slabs for sides. A curious stone pillar, partly polished, stood apart, as if for worship, and not for a prop. Under Moel Faben cairn, near Bangor, in the neighbourhood of many hut-circles, was a small cubical cist of six flat stones. The Carneddau or cairns, like barrows, are often called after persons, as Honech, without reason. Cairn Crig y dyrn, of Trelech, Carmarthenshire, is 60 yards round, having on the top a flat stone three yards long. The stone cairns on the summit of Moel Trigarn, Pembroke, are large — one being 85 feet long ; but one at Hengwm, Merionethshire, is 150 feet in extent. There are curious carneddau on Barry Isle of Glamorgan.

The earthen tumuli of Crugiau Cemaes have not been opened. The Virgin's grave, containing ashes, is at Cellau, near Lampeter. Tumuli are rather numerous in Carnarvon-shire. One at Gorsedd Wen, Denbigh, is ascribed to a son of Llywarch Hen. There are barrows on the Hill of the Shepherd, Denbigh ; at Moel Hiraethowg ; Carewbeacon, near Tenby ; Plas Newydd of Anglesea, as well as at Cwm Cerwyn, Lettardston, Plumstone, Balston, Vrenny Vawr, and Fishguard in Pembrokeshire. At Crug Las there were eight tiers of bodies. One in Pembroke is 64 feet long, 35 broad, and 4 high. Park Cwm, Penmaen of Gower, is 60 by 50. Its entrance faces the south. There was a central passage 17 feet long, with two chambers on one side and two on the other ; a score skeletons were seen crouched up within.

By far the most wonderful story of a Welsh grave is associated with the name of Bronwen the Fair, aunt of the brave Caractacus. The ashes of this body were declared to be those found in an urn or *Cwrg*, in 1813, in a tumulus on the banks of the Alaw, Anglesea. It is written in the Mabinogion, or collection of old Welsh tales,—" A square grave is made for Bronwen, the daughter of Llyr, on the banks of the Alaw, and there she was buried." In digging into a cairn beside that stream an urn, mouth downwards, was

seen full of ashes and half-calcined fragments. Sir Richard Colt Hoare was there at the find. As the urn was sent to the British Museum, Prof. Owen has given an account of the bones. "These," said he, "belong to an adult, or nearly adult, female; they are from a body that has been burnt. One portion of the cranium has not been subject to the action of fire." At once this was concluded to belong to the fair and ill-treated Welsh wife of Matholwch, king of Ireland, about whom old bards had a romantic story.

Some, like Prof. Ramsay, were ready to credit the pretty tale, and many a sentimental sigh has been breathed at the sight of the urn. The Anglesea explorer of barrows, Stanley, declares that the tomb "must be assigned to a much earlier period than the days of Bronwen the Fair." Mr. Franks, the museum expert, decided against the comparatively modern character of the urn. General Lane Fox pronounced against the theory of "the tumulus on the banks of the Alaw in Anglesea, attributed to Bronwen, sister of Bran the Blessed, the father of Caractacus, A.D. 50." This is, however, "proved by the contents to belong to a period long prior to history."

These ancient graves contain urns of burnt bones, or skeletons either extended or doubled up. Although the simple burial was the earlier mode, burning took place when burial was still practised. M. Leguay remarks that "we cannot establish a difference in the stone period between incineration and burial. Some preserved the bodies because they were those of their chiefs, whose memories they venerated; the remains of the greater number were, however, burnt." The urns in which the ashes were deposited differed much according to the age. The pottery was often sun-burnt, and rudely ornamented. One, eight inches high, found at Moel Faben, near Bangor, was imperfectly baked. A very beautiful urn 16 inches high, with a snake-shaped band, was taken from a grave on Breselu Hill, Pembroke. Urns and skeletons together were seen at Carewbeacon of Tenby. Dogs' bones have been placed with those of men in urns of Anglesea, &c., that the hunter and his faithful companion may go together to the other field of chase. A specimen from Tomen y Mur, Carnarvon, was $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and 11 across. Some at Porth Dafarch of Holyhead, were 18 high. A flint knife or flake was brought from an urn in Llangollen. A wooden

bodkin lay with the burnt bones in another. An urn in a carnedd of Fishguard, Pembroke, was a yard in height, and held a cup. A small urn was laid inside a larger which had been lined with fern leaves; probably, the little one held the remains of a child.

Cups are found in graves. One was placed beside the urn called after Bronwen. Some are styled drinking-cups, and are often seen within an urn. They are from six to nine inches high, and rather contracted toward the middle; some are elaborately ornamented. *Incense cups*, so called, have puzzled antiquarians. While some esteem them thuribulæ, to hold perfumes or unguents, others fancy they were fire-cups or chafers. Another view is that they were suspended above the corpse, since the base is much adorned. One at Bryn Seiont of Carnarvon, has an incised ornament, and a sort of cross at the bottom. Fine specimens have been got at Llangollen, Nantglyn, Bryn Crug, Llandyssilio of Pembroke, Holyhead, &c. They are usually from two to three inches in height. But *food vessels*, found holding remains of provisions, run from four to six inches. They are seen at the head or foot of unburnt corpses, and have a small foot or stand. A good specimen is now in Tenby Museum.

The bodies found at Cefn cairn had polished stone weapons beside them, and the bones of animals which furnished the tribe with food. Prof. Boyd Dawkins observes : "This ancient race is proved by the remains to have been pastoral rather than dependent on the chase, their principal food being the domestic goat, the shorthorn, the horse, and hog. They are also proved to have been Neolithic." Prof. Busk noticed something like the celebrated specimens of deformed skulls in France, as he speaks of "a well-marked depression across the middle of the occipital bone, which appears exactly as if it had been caused by the constriction of a bandage." He considers that "the Perthi-Chwareu bones belonged to a race characterized by the proportionally rather large dimensions of the cranium." Comparing it with one from the Orkneys, he concludes it "distinctly different from that of the Mew-slade skull, in which the vertical region is somewhat flattened, as is the case with several Anglesea crania." Many are seen with the peculiar platycnemic tibia bone.

Barrow-men are regarded as less ancient by far than cave-

men. Though Dr. Thurnam is positive about the Long
Barrow being older than the Round, Dr. Carter Blake is of
opinion that "the state of materials at our disposal precludes
any generalization as to the prevalence of a brachy-cephalic
(broad) type of skull in the round barrows." Prof. Flower
and Prof. Huxley have discoursed on the calvaria from the
tumulus of Towyn y Capel, Anglesea. The chapel in that
sandy bay was dedicated to St. Bride or Bridget, who was
said to have sailed thence for Ireland on a piece of green turf.
The tumulus of sand had five tiers of graves, with no remains
of weapons, but perfect skeletons of large size. Analogues of
Kitchen Middens are to be traced near the sea in Merioneth-
shire.

Who were the Barrow-men of Wales?

Those who had thought the first inhabitants to be the
Cymry had no difficulty in answering the question. While
some tumuli exhibit marks of civilization, even to the con-
struction of metallic articles, others are seen destitute of any
such tokens of progress, displaying only the rudest forms of
pottery and stone implements. This fact would seem to
imply that a vast extent of time passed, during which rough
savages were gradually converted into partially civilized
people, or that several successive races, in various stages of
advancement, had made old Wales their home. Ireland, which
in all probability had the same ethnological history as Wales,
was evidently in a higher condition of civilization than its
neighbour during a remote past. Its traditions of Nemedians,
Danaans, Firbolgs, and Milesians refer to the waves of
population there. Wales had, doubtless, much the same
experiences in pre-historic days. The barrow-folks of Wales
have been identified by authors with these or similar races.
Whether they were Celts or not cannot be determined.
Henri Martin calls the Danaans a branch of the first Celtic
emigrations. Captain Burton is satisfied that the raisers of
stone circles and cromlechs were not Celts, since these mega-
lithic remains are seen in Corsica, Palestine, India, and Africa,
where history never placed Celts. But as barrows often
contain such stone edifices, the conclusion would be that,
though British Celts may have copied their predecessors in
such erections, as Saxons raised them after, they were not
the originators of that style of structure in Wales.

Those who are disposed to recognize only existing types as representatives of the past, fancy the long-skulled men live on in the Silurian or Iberian race of Welsh; especially as they are seen in the older barrows, as they were stone men, and as their crania show a mildness and regularity not distinguishable in the more forcible and rough formation of bronze men, who may be assumed as the newer Celts. Dr. Beddoe is pleased to associate fair hair with short heads, and dark hair with long ones, both in Wales and Western England. Dr. Basil Jones, Bishop of St. David's, thus expresses the views of many: "It is probable that our antiquarian discoveries will one day prove that neither Gael nor Cymry were the first inhabitants of these islands."

The FORTS of the ancient Welsh have been confounded with the Roman camps on the one hand, and Irish *duns* on the other. Some were on sites afterwards occupied by Romans, Danes, and modern Welsh. The hills of Breselu, Pembroke, and other places exposed to invasion from the sea or land, were fortified. *Dinas* is one word applied to such forts: as Craig y Dinas, Dinas Odiulle of Vortigern, Dinas Dinorwic of Carnarvon, Pen Dinas of Aberystwyth, and Dinas Bran by Llangollen. They are also *Caerau*: as Caer Helen of the Conway, with three precipitous sides; Tre'r Caeri, 10 miles S. of Carnarvon; Caer Crwyn, which is vitrified by heat; Caer Caradog; Caer Drewyn by the Dee, a rectangular enclosure of loose stones, sometimes called the *Gair*. *Caer* is probably derived from the Latin *castrum*, a camp. Then they may be styled *Castells*: as Castell Collen of Radnor; Castell Corndochon; Castell Seion, 135 feet by 180, of uncemented slates, near the Conwy; Castell Heinif; Parc-y-Castell, St. David's, of stone and soil, 146 feet by 118; and Castell Coch.

The forts are also *Carns*: as Carn Goch on the banks of the Towy; Carn Abii of 60 acres; Carn-y-Gwyddel, or castle of the Irish, near Merthyr; Carn Llechart; and Carn Lhaid. Carn Goch of Carmarthen, near Dynevor, is of two camps; one is 2000 feet by 1600, the other 500 by 350. There are remains of many dwellings at the foot of the rock. Some are called *Raths*, after the Irish forts; as those near Haverfordwest. One has an inner camp within an exterior

vallum, with lofty aggers and deep fosses. Cliff Castle Rath
at Little Haven, Pembroke, is an earthwork. Llangurig has
such an earthwork. There are ditches and aggers near Fish-
guard, and at Bullybear of Pembroke. One near to Smurton
is 402 feet diameter, with an inner court of 307. Carraig
Cennin is four miles from Llandilo. Dynevor, on the Towy,
had an old fort on its rocky summit. It commands Towy
Vale.

There are British forts at Benni, Talgarth, Pipton, and
Penycrug in Brecon; Llanlugrad and Twyn y Parc of Angle-
sea; Llanberis; and Catherthun, of great strength. Pen
Gweryn, or Pen y Caer, is the summit of a fort near Cerrig-
y-Druidion, held by brave Caradoc or Caractacus against the
Romans; the walls are 6 feet thick. Clawdd-y-Milwyr, the
warrior's dyke, in Pembroke, from cliff to cliff, is 200 feet long.
Clegyr Foia is 264 feet by 106. A chain of forts from
Garnvawr to Penyrhiw is described in Fenton's *Pembroke-
shire* as "vast ramparts of loose stones." Entrenchments
were often triple. Morlais Castle was on a British fort site.
Blight and others say the western forts were erected by Gaels,
being so like those in Ireland.

HOUSES of olden times remain in the shape of rude masonry,
or rather of piles of stones without cement. The general
system of a village was the erection of an irregular outer wall
of stones and sods, with an aggregation of circular huts in-
side. The whole would have much of the appearance of a
Zulu kraal. In some cases the village was under the shelter
of one of the forts, to which the inhabitants would fly in case
of trouble; for the universal habit of primitive man was war
with his fellows, or with beasts. Tribal distinctions fostered
wars, as they developed a patriotism which meant hatred and
ill-will to all outsiders, with a readiness to attack others to
prove the national sentiment. In most instances the village
was situated on the warmer slope of a hill, or in the position
for a good look out. It would be also within signal sight of
another gathering of the same tribe, or of a clan whose friend-
ship was advantageous to mutual safety.

Welsh *Cloghauns* resembled those of the Cornish and
Irish. The tenements were bee-hive in form, the upper part
being probably of wood, heather, &c. There are remains of
hut circles to be seen near Harlech, Stackpole, Barry Island,

Arthur's Stone of Gower, Stourhead of Pembroke, Pen Dinas, Llanllechid of Snowdon, in Anglesey, and in Holyhead. One collection in Merioneth extends 150 feet across. That on Llanllechid mountain, near Penrhyn slate quarry, has an enclosure 142 feet by 121. In the centre is a grand circle 28 feet diameter. There are 42 huts, mostly easterly in aspect, to be distinguished in that village, some of which have communication with each other, and have a rude system of drainage. A hut may be 6 to 15 feet in length, and is rather oval or irregular than round. The walls are of stone blocks a yard or so thick, but without mortar. Deposits of bones and wood ashes are observed within.

The *Cyttiau Gwyddelod*, or *Irishmen's huts*, as the old villages of Wales are usually styled, afford traditional evidence of the residence of the Gaels in that quarter, and, it might be said, bear testimony to the conviction of the Cymry that they are more recent Welshmen than the Gaels. The argument may be met by the assertion that such huts belonged to Irish pirates, who plagued the coast so much after Roman days. But they are of the character pronounced in other places really primitive. The conviction grows that the Hon. W. Owen Stanley is correct in saying "the people who first inhabited these huts were not the Irish rovers, but the aboriginal race of men who first peopled Anglesey." That in some of them copper axes have been found only proves they have been tenanted by successive races, because of their convenience and defence, or that spoil was deposited therein.

The *Cyttiau* of Holyhead contain 50 huts, which are generally elliptical, or even horseshoe, in shape. The fireplace was a large flat stone, under which sometimes a subterranean passage has been seen. There are four hut clusters in different parts of Holyhead. A wall of defence round 16 huts is observed near the Menai passage. The finding of Roman coins in them shows they were used by the conquerors when they crossed the Strait. In some parts of Wales they are known as *buarths* or *pens*, being employed to keep sheep and goats in now; in others, the term *summer residences* has been applied to them. Even in that distant period there was cultivation of cereals, for stores of fodder for winter or siege use were placed therein. Traces of ploughing are often met with in out-of-the-way places, and

have been attributed by tradition to the Irish or *Gwyddelod*, to fairies, to giants, &c. The elf furrows on the summits of hills in the Highlands of Scotland were attributed to the fact of some pope having cursed Scotland ; but, having forgotten to include the hills in his malediction, the people resorted thither to get a crop for the porridge.

The CRANNOGS or *Crannoges*, lake dwellings, may safely be included in the list of ancient houses, as they were residences not less than forts.

Though described in *Who are the Scotch*, it may be stated that they are found constructed of wood, or of wood and stone, on artificial embankments raised in the water. Sometimes a causeway of stones or pier of wood connected the crannog with the shore. However uncomfortable these *Pfahlbauten* of the Swiss, or pile dwellings, for the family lived below the water level, there was shelter from attack of ruder foes. Illustrations may be noticed in Wales. At Llyn Savathan of Brecon such an island is 90 yards round, the highest point being five feet above water level. The piles, 60 in number, have been driven four feet into the shell marl bottom. "They have been," says the Rev. E. N. Dumbleton, "disposed in segments of circles, the stones being heaped inside them, and thus saved from being torn away by the waves." The lake itself is five miles round. Tradition says there was once a city, which is now lost in the lake. Bones of the pig, horse, sheep, and deer found among the stones declare the habits of life. Some rude pottery also occurs.

The crannog of Lake Llangorse of Brecon is at the northeast angle, 130 yards from the shore. Reeds and faggot wood are well bound together for a foundation, on which there is a layer of mould and split bones. A sort of platform yet remains. A judgment as to the antiquity of the tenement may be formed from observation of remains of old feastings, bone fragments among the ashes. Two sorts of horse, the wild boar, red deer, ass, and the lost ox, or *bos longifrons*, had been consumed by the inmates.

The boats of the period have been perpetuated in the coracles still used by the native fishermen of the Towy and other Welsh streams, though boats of hollowed trees have been recovered from river or lake beds. Lucan, Pliny, Gildas, and others speak of the coracle, curach, or Saxon

ceolæ. Camden said they were covered with horse's hide, pitched and tarred. Being easily carried, we have the Welsh proverb, "A man's load is his coracle." The description given by one a century ago applies to the present day. He said, "They are generally $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 4 broad; their bottom is a little rounded, and their shape is exactly oval. These boats are ribbed with light laths or split twigs, in the manner of basket-work, and are covered with a raw hide or strong canvas, pitched in such a manner as to prevent leaking. The men paddle them with one hand and fish with the other, and, when their work is finished, bring their boats home with them on their back." A party so laden look like a procession of turtles, when in front of the observer.

The ARTS of the primitive Welsh of various races were rude enough in the commencement, though displaying increased taste as the ages rolled on, and as the people came in contact with more advanced scholars. They are credited with but limited cooking powers. Like some American savages, they knew not how to boil water by putting the fire under a pot, or their kitchen utensils would not stand the fire, so they had to bring the water to a boiling point by pitching in heated stones. Traces of this stone boiling were detected in a hut circle of Anglesey. There were burnt stones lying about, and the inner surface of rude pottery was coated with carbonaceous matter, as if deposited by charred stones thrown into water. Mr. Way thus notes a Mona stone grain-crusher, but not a mortar: " Its upper surface was considerably hollowed out in the course of grinding; an oval rubber, measuring 12 inches by 5, flat on one side and convex on the other, lay near it."

Ornamentation in savage life is usually the property of the superior sex, and descends, or ascends, to the other sex with the advance of civilization. Necklaces and bracelets were in vogue in very early times, though made of strung beads, pieces of bone or jet, teeth of animals, &c. Bone came in before metal. A miner's pick was found to be the antler of a deer. Glass was in very early use, as well as amber, for beads. These were, doubtless, for amulets as well as adornment. Amber beads, says the author of *Flint Implements*, came in with the bronze age. Ancient gold ornaments were far less known in Wales than in Ireland, judging by the

finds. Stone crystals, jasper, agate, and lumps of iron pyrites served some former lovers of the beautiful. The *Glain*, or serpent's stone, was a bead of varied colours and patterns.

Torques for the neck, if not also for armlets and head ornaments, were in their simplest form pieces of twisted gold wire, with bulbous ends. They are seen round the necks of Greeks, Persians, Phrygians, and Etruscans, and were given as rewards for valour by Romans and others. The Gauls and Britons were specially devoted to the use. The first notice of any is dated from Harlech, 1692. It is described as " a wreathed rod of gold about four feet long, with three spiral furrows, with sharp intervening ridges, running its whole length to the ends, which are plain truncated, and turn back like pot-hooks." Serpents' heads formed often the ends. One at Caerwys is said to have been sold for £400. Livy speaks of a Roman who found 1470 of them in Gaul. Dio Cassius refers to a large one worn by Boadicea. In the Welsh poems are tales of the battle of Cattaeth, in which 363 chiefs appeared with torques. One of 12 ounces weight was recovered near Cader Idris. Annular torques, or torcs, were rings twisted on a string. Solid torques are more modern. Beaded ones were in imitation of rows of beads. A monster one was found at Yscieviog, near Holywell, lying on a rock just beneath a thin surface of earth. It was sold to the Duke of Westminster for a hundred guineas. The funicular torques are like a rope, with bulbous or spiral ends. One is seen like the vertebræ, or the spine, of a fish. Silver torques were known in North Wales. Gorgets, hammered plates of gold for the ladies' necks, were seldom known in Wales. The Welsh wearers of golden torques were styled *eurdorcogeau*. The Welsh *tynu torc* means to contend for the mastery.

A breastplate of gold, sold for £60, was taken from a skeleton in a barrow or grave at Vaynor, removed to make way for a road. But the golden corselet of Mold has a stranger history. A certain rise was believed to be the grave of a giant, and was known as the Goblin's Hill. In 1833 a person beheld the ghost on the summit, with a golden breastplate displayed. The story was told, a search was made, and the gold ornament was obtained. It is too thin for defence, and was, perhaps, sewed on to the dress of the prince, or giant. As some may doubt the vision, the *Archæological Journal* has

the following statement :—" The Dean of St. Asaph confirms the story of the apparition, having been made acquainted with the person who beheld the spectre clad in gold." The corselet was about a yard and a quarter long, but weighed only 17 ounces. Some regard it, from its pattern, of Etruscan origin, though found in Flintshire. About 300 beads were seen with the skeleton. Hundreds of cart-loads of stones had to be removed before the *lorica* or corselet was obtained. With it something like worsted remained, bits of corroded brass, pieces of bones, and much black dust. The corselet was embossed, not perforated. Esteemed to be worth over £20 00, it is now deposited in the British Museum

WELSH STONE-BUILDERS.

In Wales, as in England, Scotland, and Ireland, there are many huge stones set up for monumental purposes by men in very ancient times. Some stones stand alone as pillars, others are ranged in circles, while the rest, when not in cairns, are seen as cromlechs.

Single blocks, known in Brittany as *menhirs*, have been in most instances broken up for road mending, or used in building. In Wales they are the *meini*, or stones, *maen* being the singular form. Curious names and traditions were often attached to them. There was the Goblin Stone of Cynwil Gaio ; the *Maen Dewi*, or Druid's stone ; the *Maen Cetti*, split by the power of St. David ; *Maen Hîr*, near Lampeter, 13½ feet high ; the *Dealbh Maen*, or statue stone ; the pillar near Harlech, 16½ feet ; the *Carreg-y-Diddos*, or stone of shelter, by Llanuwghllyn ; St. Cadvan stone, at Towyn ; the staff of St. David, 8 feet high, by the door of the cathedral ; the great stone of Byrfaen, in Cardigan ; the holed stone of Gwrna ; the Meini-hirion of Anglesey, &c. At Llandyfrydog, Anglesey, one looks like a humpbacked man. Tradition says it was a man turned to stone as he ran off with the Church Bible on his back. There are three stones by the Pool of Three Grains ; so called from three grains of gravel a giant shook out of his shoe when going to drink there. Menhirs are few in Carnarvonshire. There was the Maen Terwyn, or boundary stone ; the Maen Hir, or grave stone ; Maen Pentan, or memorial stone ; the Maen

Gobaith, for travellers. The Triads remind us of the
Gwyddon Ganhebon, "on which were read the arts and
sciences of the world." The reader of Scripture need not be
reminded of stones set up by the patriarchs and others. The
pillars should be *upright stones* in Deut. xii. 3.

LOGAN, or ROCKING, STONES, the *maen llog,* are still found in
Wales, though mischievous men have destroyed most of those
erected. They are so nicely suspended on one another as to
rock with a slight shake. The *Maen Sigl* is a shaking stone.
The most celebrated is at Pontypridd, of South Wales, the
residence of the venerable Arch Druid, Myfyr Morganwg, and
the centre of attraction still on the festivals of the modern
Society of Welsh Druids. The Maen Sigl of St. David's
Head is thus described by an old writer: "I can move it,
though six men should stand upon it, with less than the
strength of one of my hands." One in 1774 remarked, "It's
shaking was certainly a *lusus naturæ.*" A dismounted one
on Orme's Head is known as *Cryd Tudno,* or Tudno's cradle.
The *Buckstone* is on the Monmouth side of the Border. That
on Dinas Dinorwg weighed a dozen tons, but could be moved
by a little child; it was broken up for cottage walls.
Arthur's Stone, of Gower, once rocked. One by Scwd-Wladis
Fall, Vale of Neath, was thrown down by railway navvies for
Sunday amusement.

STONE CIRCLES have not the magnitude in Wales which
may be seen in England. The Meineii Hirion, on the Hill of
the Druids, near Penmaenmawr, North Wales, has a diameter
of 80 feet; the stones rise from three to five feet. The Buarth
Arthur, at Llanboidy of Carmarthen, was 60 feet across, but is
now gone. There are two circles near Trecastle, Brecon, one
of which is 245 feet round, having 22 of its 35 stones
remaining. There is one at Nant-y-nôd, near Aberystwyth,
and another at Aber, in Carnarvonshire, which has over 30
large stones. That near Bryn Coch is nearly gone. Nevern
of Pembroke is 50 feet diameter. There are also circles near
St. Byrnach's Well, Pembroke; two near Snowdon; Clenenney,
with 38 stones; two in Merioneth; Mar Cross, Vale of
Glamorgan, and at Druman Hill, Neath.

The Bardic circle, *Cylch ambawr,* was the greensward
enclosing circle. There was the *Gwyngil,* or circle of refuge;
the circle of concord, &c. Some ancient Welsh churches

were placed in old circles of stones, as at Berachie in Scotland. Avenues of stones led to some circles, as at Abury in Wiltshire and Carnac in Brittany. One near Benton, Pembroke, is 10 feet wide and 14½ to the outside of the two lines. The winding course of these stones has been traced for 2250 feet, though only 53 were seen in 500 feet. Sir Gardner Wilkinson remarked, "I have seen sufficient to claim for South Wales an avenue of unusual length and importance." One is noticed near Arthur's Stone. Camden's avenue at Meinau Gawr has disappeared.

CROMLECHS form an important feature of Welsh landscapes to the lover of so-called Druidical remains. A cromlech consists of one huge table stone resting upon two or more upright stones. Usually found under a barrow or sepulchral mound of earth, it may be sometimes seen on the summit of the mound, or standing alone without appearance of ever having been covered up. Sometimes noticed with one end of the table upon the ground, the cromlech has been termed *earthfast*. A *long* cromlech may have several slabs for covering, and so form a long passage to a tomb, or be itself the receptacle for the dead, whose remains are found in small chambers on either side of the passage. The sides of an ordinary cromlech may be open or closed up, leaving occasionally a hole of entrance or exit.

Anglesey has still two dozen cromlechs remaining. The table has been called an altar, a sloping stone, a cap-stone, chrom-luahh, or consecrated stone, or diaulmaen, devil's stone. "Most of the cromlechs in Anglesey," observes the Hon. W. O. Stanley, "appear to have been originally chambered cists covered over with a mound of earth." The word *cromlech* has exercised many philologists. It was first seen as gromlech in a work about 1600. It may be *grymlech*, stone of strength ; *cœremluach*, devoted stone ; *awgrymlech*, augurial stone. The *llechau* are the large flattish gravestones ; *llech* is a gravestone. Lhuyd says *leach* is a pile of stones in memory of the dead. Hugh Prichard declares it *vaulted* grave. Bishop Morgan, 1588, used the word in the sense of caverned recess.

The Bodowyr of Anglesey is on three legs, the broad end of the cap resting on two of them, though two other pillars are not in use, and two lie down. The cap is 11 inches by

3. Bodafon's table is 11 by 7 inches; Maen Llwyd, 10 by 8; Ty Mawr, 11 by 8; Clynnog, 8 by 6; Bryn Celli Dhu, 11 by 6½; Capel Garmon, 14½ by 12; Llanfaelog, 12 by 9; Henblas, 18 by 15½; Pant-y-Saer, *earthfast*, or resting one end on the ground, 9 by 9; but Plas Newydd is 12 by 12, and 4 thick. The supports differ in number and height. Plas Newydd, the vast double cromlech, is on 5 stones, 3 to 5 feet high; Henblas is on 3, Gaerllwyd on 3, Presaddfedd on 2, Llanidan on 5, Llanfaelog on 4, Bodowyr on 5. The space inside is 7 feet by 5½ at Bodowyr, and 8 by 6 at Pant-y-Saer. Uprights are seen beyond the cap-stone, as one of 13 feet and another of 10 near Henblas cromlech. Many are of granite; but Henblas is of limestone, Trefor of chloride schist, Plas Newydd of limestone, Bryn Celli Dhu of grit, and Llanfaelog of porphyritic breccia. A fine double cromlech in Anglesey was thrown down in 1800. Coetan Arthur, or Arthur's Quoit, is at Lligwy, near Moelfra, of "Royal Charter" memory, having a cap 16 by 13, and resting on 10 stones once, 5 now.

Pembrokeshire has many remaining. There, at Pentre Evan or Pentre Ifan, is one of the finest in the world. It stands so high that several men on horseback may pass together beneath its top-stone. George Owen, two centuries ago, wrote, "The stones whereon this is layd are soe high that a man on horseback may well ryde under it without stowping.— There are seven stones that doe stand circle wise, like in form to the new moon, under the south end of the great stone.—I thinke that the true etymologie is *Grymlech*, that is, the stone of strength." There are many in Breselu hills of Pembroke. Llanwnda, earthfast, of basalt, has a cap 13 feet by 9½; Manorbier cap is 18 by 9; Llech-y-Dribedd, 8 by 3½; Trellyffaut, 7 by 6; Benton, or the Hanging Stones, 9 feet high, 10 by 8½; Pentre Evan, 18 by 9; Tref Culhwch, 15 by 8; Gilfach Goch, 14 by 8; Longhouse, 16 by 9¾; Coetan Arthur, of St. David's Head, 11¾. Tref Culhwch is on 9 stones; Trellys on 2; Longhouse, 6; Castle Martin, 2; Llech-y-Dribedd, 3; Newport, 4; Manorbier on 3; and Nevern on 3. There are cromlechs at Llandruidion, Penbery, St. Elves, St. Lawrence, Mathry, Glandwr, Llanungar, Tre-llys, Llech-faen, Llandegai, Strumble Head, and Fynnon Druidion of Fishguard.

Glamorganshire boasts the Duffryn Golych, or Vale of Worship, not far from Cardiff, with fine monuments in the parish of St. Nicholas. One cromlech there has a cap 19 feet by 11; another is 22 by 9; Lythian's cap is $14\frac{3}{4}$ by 10, on 3 props, one 9 feet high. One side is a stone 11 feet long, and another 10; the chamber enclosed is 8 feet. St. Nicholas had one prop $11\frac{3}{4}$ broad, and another 13. The Worlton near Dyffryn House, is on 3 uprights, with a chamber 9 long, 6 broad, and 6 high, open to S.E. One of its side-stones is 12 broad, and the cap is 14 by 10. Tinkins has a roof 22 by 15, resting on 4 of 7 pillars, with a chamber 18 by 15, and 6 high. Glamorgan has also one at Marcross, and another at Llanedern having a cap 16 by 6. One is styled in Welsh *Stone of the Bitch*, a supposed Druidical appellation.

Gower peninsula, the Flemish home, has the magnificent Cefn Bryn, or Arthur's Stone; *cefn* meaning *backbone*. Situated on the highest land, it is a mark for seamen. Tradition says the cap was a stone in Arthur's shoe, which he threw out. The obstruction is 14 feet long, $6\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and 3 to 7 high, weighing 30 tons. Some think its millstone grit material was brought all the way from Kidwelly, 16 miles north. Once on 12 stones, now on 9, only 4 touch the top. The cairn on which it appears, and under part of which it was once buried, is 70 feet diameter. Tradition says the stone top once rocked to a touch.

Carnarvonshire has a prominent cromlech, Aberdusoch, near three others. Dr. Nicholas remarks, "All the cromlechs known in Carnarvonshire are located in the peninsular part of it, and, as is common in other parts of Wales, and throughout Britain and the Continent, not far from the seashore." The cap of the ruined Llandegai is $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 5; Llangian, or Yr Allor (the altar), 12 by 10; Lligwy (Arthur's Stone), 16×13, on 10 stones; Allor Moloch of Llansantffraid, near Conway, 11 by 10, 24 tons weight. Two tall pillars rise above the cap. Its chamber is 8 by 7 feet.

Carmarthen has Clawddmawr and Gwal y Vilast. Parc y Bigwrn is now gone. Dolwelym of Llanbordy has a cap $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 8, resting on 6 stones. It was once called Bwrdd Arthur, or *Arthur's Table*. Llanbedrog is down. Cardiganshire has Llangoedmor, with a cap 10 feet long. The Giantess's Stone, Llech y Gowres, on 4 stones, is 5 feet high.

The Numerary stones are near Neudha. Llangoedmor is a leaning granite cromlech; it is 26 feet round. Denbighshire has one at Llanrwst, with a cap 14 by 12. Capel Garmon has a passage 4 yards long, used now as a stable. Brecknockshire has Llan Hammwich, on 3 stones, with a cap 8 by 4. Maen Illtyd, called after a Welsh saint, is on 3 pillars. A ruined one shows a cap 14 by 7. One is at Talgarth. Merionethshire is rich in cromlechs. A double one is between Harlech and Barmouth, by 2 circles. Bryn-y-vaal's cap is 16 by 7, on small stones by a circle. There are also several other cromlechau, as Ardudwy, Corsygedol, Dyffryn, and Gwern Einion. Corsygedol is double, on 6 stones. The larger cap is 13 by 12; and one part leans much more than the other.

Such are the megalithic, or great-stoned, remains of Wales. The question is, What have they to do with the origin of the Welsh? Who were the builders? Why did they raise the pillar stones, the logans, the circles, and the cromlechs or dolmens?

Stones were set up as memorials before as well as after the days of Jacob and Joshua. Such pillars belong to no one race. Logan stones are not confined to Britain. Circles, in like manner, are seen in many lands. Cromlechs, also, prevail from the hills of India to the Straits of Gibraltar.

What was the object of their construction? Some say to the memory of the dead, and others think to the service of religion. As, however, ceremonies relative to the departed are intimately connected with the future life, the object may be styled twofold. That stones were worshipped of old is well known. In India, to this day, the Brahmin priests anoint the pillar stones of worship. Circles were associated with piety, though they may have been placed at the foot of a tumulus or cairn. Even when Christianity was established, churches were often placed within these old sacred spots. In like manner the cromlech has been esteemed a religious object, and as in some relation to pious mysteries.

It has been usual to call all these megalithic monuments by the name of *Druidical*, as it was assumed that they were erected by the Druid priests. Circles may have been used by them for Gorseddau or meetings. The Triads are silent about them, not even speaking of cromlechs. A later age

developed the idea of their association with the mysteries. The *Dyffryn Golych*, or Vale of Worship, was consecrated by their presence. But they were no more Druidical because called after Druids, than Christian because some were named after saints. At the present time, a suggestion that Druids had nothing to do with their erection would be resented as heretical. Some, as Dr. Basil Jones, Bishop of St. David's, question whether they were ever used by Druids at all. He cites the classical tales of these distinguished philosophers of northern Europe, and though the accounts of Greeks and Romans are but limited, they are, he considers, "sufficient to make their omission of all mention concerning megalithic temples and altars important in the way of negative evidence." Statements which identify the open, yawning cromlech with supposed Druidical ideas of Ceridwen's cauldron are to be received as poetry. All the leading anthropologists and antiquarians are indisposed to call the stones *Druidical*.

The cromlechs or dolmens, though sometimes open to the eastward, are by no means always so, or else the orientation would suggest a religious idea. The opinion of the Rev. W. C. Lukis is the pretty generally received one now, viz., "All cromlechs, of whatever form, are the stone chambers of sepulchral mounds or barrows, which still exist or have existed." That at Capel Garmon, near Llanrwst, is an illustration. It is enclosed in a carnedd or tumulus. There is a lane 12 feet long, leading to a circle of stones, and to a cromlech of three chambers in a line. "All such stone chambers," says Mr. Lukis, "whether called cists, kistvaen, dolmen, or cromlech, are or were subterranean, in the sense of having been enclosed in a mound."

This view is not held by all. General Lane Fox, and there is, perhaps, not much higher British authority on such a subject, contends that there are cromlechs which have never been covered. Bonstettin supposes these, called *standing cromlechs* in Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*, were in places where soil was difficult or impossible to obtain. Mr. Blight calls attention to the fact of pillars being set up near a cromlech, as at Llansantffraid, and remarks, "The presence of the two great pillars may be considered an obstacle to the ready acceptance of the theory that all cromlechs were covered with earth." There are, too, instances of cromlechs on the

summit of mounds. Mr. Tite, President of the Society of
British Architects, is joined by Mr. Moggridge in supporting
General Lane Fox.

The truth probably is, that while cromlechs in a general
sense are simply sepulchral, there are some which are not so.
In the search for bodies, or deposits of ashes, open cromlechs
have rarely yielded such remains. The *earthfast* ones, or
demi-dolmens, with one end purposely resting on the ground,
have been regarded as non-sepulchral. Those found closed
up with stone sides, but having a hole left for the exit and
return of the wandering soul, may be simply burial-places.
The open ones were, in all probability, associated with wor-
ship, as they still are by megalithic builders among the abo-
riginal hill tribes of India. The Hon. W. O. Stanley, famous
for his antiquarian researches in Anglesey, is of that opinion.
Yet the slabs bear no evidence of having been used as altars,
especially for the consumption of offerings by fire. Rust's
Druidism Exhumed, and other works by the defenders of
Welsh Druidism, assume the use for sacrifices.

Even if it be said that these stone edifices were reared by
Druids, we are no nearer the settlement of the "origin"
question, since we need discuss the origin of the Druids them-
selves. This is a much more puzzling subject of inquiry than
"Who are the Welsh?" It is, at the same time, one of great
interest, and one on which the writer has been engaged for a
number of years. The inquiry belongs to the important,
though too often derided, subject of Druidism, one form of
ancient religion which has descended, more or less altered,
down to our own day. Cymraeg reading students may be
referred to the published writings of the octogenarian Welsh
scholar and poet, the Arch-Druid, Myfyr Morganwg, of
Pontypridd, South Wales, for further particulars. Those
outside of the Cymric speaking sphere have not yet been
deemed worthy of the lessons from so able a teacher, but
must wait the labour of translators.

The author of *Cyclops Christianus* makes these megaliths
post-Roman in age, while others ask a time of thousands of
years. It is significant that cromlechs are still being erected
in the hills of India by half-civilized tribes. Mr. E. L. Barn-
well, a well-known antiquary, writes—" They are the oldest
structural relics of man, and may be pre-Celtic." Certainly

they occur in classical lands, in regions reputed civilized for three or four thousand years or more, and in all such cases bear marks of far greater antiquity. In Wales, without doubt, they refer to long ages past.

The contents are not wholly a safe guide, as secondary interments have taken place in circles and cromlechs, bearing memorials of widely different dates. Thus it is that even unpolished celts have been taken from among tools of bronze, and even of iron. It is as easy for M. Henri Martin to call the builders *true Celts*, whatever they were, as for others to say *pre-Celts*. Bretons regard the places as the abodes of fairies, issuing thence at night to dance upon the graves. Usually they are called *giants' graves* or *giants' houses*. Welsh traditions give stories of the giants Brutus the Trojan found here and destroyed. They have been the resorts of transformed human beings, who have become wolves and other beasts at magician command.

M. Bertrand believes the Dolmen or *table* raisers were a conservative people of Asia, who, resisting invasion, moved westward over the north of Africa in one stream, and over Europe in another. These have naturally been confounded with the Celts. But these stone remains are found in lands where no Celts have lived. They abound, however, not far from the coast. This would seem to imply a foreign race, visiting, and perhaps civilizing to some extent, the inhabitants, and utilizing their labour in the erection. But these may have been Allophylian, and not Celts or others of an Aryan origin. Our sources of information are too few and too confused to enable us to decide on the race of Welshmen who erected stone circles and other so-called Druidical monuments.

TROJAN WELSH.

Among the many curious stories told by the old Welsh writers as to the origin of their race, one relative to their descent from Troy is certainly remarkable.

The Triads, products of various ages, but chiefly of the feudal days, tell of different races, though dwelling more upon the Cymry, a people whose modern name suggests narratives of no ancient historical date. As in Ireland, so

in Wales, the people indulged in most romantic stories as
to their antecedents. As, unlike in older nations, their
writers do not introduce their gods, we can at once pronounce
the tales to be at least since the conversion to Christianity.
Certain Christian connections with the details prove a com-
parative recent invention of the fable.

As with Irish, so with Welsh, these creations of fancy
relative to their origin are often associated with nations
celebrated in history. Ireland claims affinity with Egypt,
Assyria, and Greece; while Wales sympathizes with the
classical residents of eastern " summer lands." Only since
the revival of learning by the more educated clergy could
these ideas have become popular with writers, who were
almost wholly monks and priests. Homer has exerted great
influence on Alexander the Great and Mr. Gladstone, it is
said; but that effect was not wanting in old clerical quarters.
If Greeks were not well known in the west, Latin authors
were profuse in representations of Trojan heroes. In many
respects was this effect seen in Western Europe, and Wales
was no exception to an interest in Troy. In the ninth and
tenth centuries, when the final separation of the Eastern and
Western Christian Churches took place, Greece and Greek
fell into disrepute in Europe, which may in some measure
account for increased interest in Troy, the typical foe of
Greece.

The Welsh story is the simple one of Brutus, son of the
heroic Æneas of Troy, coming with a band of refugees from
the burning city of Asia, and finding a home in Britain.
There, after expelling a ruder race, they made a lasting settle-
ment. But other accounts say that Brutus was grandson
of Æneas, and came here after founding a town in Gaul.
Some other chronicler reported that Brutus was a Roman
consul who first conquered Spain, and then Britain. Mark
the Anchorite, who wrote the *History of the Britons*, said
that " the Britons were those who sprang from the family of
Brutus." Enderbie's *Cambria Triumphans*, written 1661,
has full particulars of the giants living in Wales when
Brutus came from Troy. His nephew killed one named
Gogmagog, who "exceeded all the rest in bulk and robustious-
nesse." He was thrown down the rocks, according to tradition.
Enderbie says, " I have heard some say that in Glamorgan-

shire there is a place which the inhabitants in their mother tongue called Cwymp y Cawr, which is as much as to say, The Gyants fall or overthrow."

This fable is but a version of the Triad one concerning the summer land of Defrobani in Asia, near the Hellespont, or close to old Troy, though sometimes identified with Thrace and the site of Constantinople. The land of the Turks was the reputed father-land of the Welsh, and the reputed Turks across from Constantinople, who are really descendants of Trojans, are held the brethren of Welshmen in all but faith.

Whence came this romantic story? It is embalmed in the pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth, to whom, so many hundred years ago, we are indebted for the story of the Welsh hero, Arthur. But Bede, nearly a thousand years before us, heard the pretty tale, and is the first author known to have credited it. Giraldus Cambrensis, who had a large development of the organ of wonder, narrating any amount of Welsh miracles, had no doubt about Troy. He distinctly traces to that source the name of *Cambria*, which, says he, "was so called from Camber, son of Brutus; for Brutus, descending from the Trojans by his grandfather Ascanius and father Silvius, led the remnant of the Trojans, who had long been detained in Greece, into this western isle."

Certain Welsh MSS. consider Camber as the son of Prydain, the son of Aedd the Great, King of the Cimbri before reaching Cambria. They call Æneas by the name of Annyn, and tell us that "Annyn of Troy had the territory of Cambria, lying between the Severn and the Irish Sea." That story clearly dates from post-Norman days. Others say that Cymryw, son of Brwth (Brutus), first made laws and kept cows. But minor differences matter little, since the leading idea was Trojan. Then we have Dauid Powel, who dedicated his work on the *Historie of Cambria* to Sir Philip Sydney, in 1584, having no scepticism about Wales being derived from "the noble race of the Troianes." Besides, is there not even yet the survival in the Welsh game of "Troy," a sort of hopscot, among boys and girls? Are not the *caerdrioia*, or stone mazes, still the walls of Troy? Does not a Welsh historian, the Rev. R. W. Morgan, declare, "The descent of the British people from Troy and the Trojans was never disputed for fifteen hundred years," and that *Isle of*

Brutus was the " common name of the island in old times " ?
He adds, " It has always been consistently maintained by
native authorities." He has no difficulty in the account of
Anchises marrying Gwen (the Celtic Venus), daughter of
Jove, King of Crete, and having the son Æneas, or Aedd
the Great of Britain.

Although Rice Rees gives a caution when he says, "Most
writers are contented to commence the history of Britain with
the invasion of Julius Cæsar," and Wright, the British an-
tiquary, pronounces early Welsh records "entirely worthless,"
yet many hug with affection the ancient legends. Recently,
Mr. R. N. Worth read a paper on Plymouth, not Totnes,
being the probable place of landing in this mythical Trojan
invasion. He notes the high antiquity of the Brutus Stone,
and the connection of the story with the *Hoe* of Plymouth,
though sceptical as to an actual Brutus. At the same time,
supposing the Trojan story an historical fact, and not a string
of beautiful myths, it would be safe to pronounce with Mr.
Wilkins, "If refugees from Troy found an asylum in Spain,
which, according to Justus, they did, and in Gaul, according
to Ammianus Marcellinus, why not also in Britain ?" Why
not ? especially when the several authorities only speak the
traditions concerning a lost people supposed destroyed several
hundreds of years before. A similar sentiment connects the
Welsh in some minds with the ten lost tribes.

But there is a way of accounting for the legend, which is
unfolded by Mr. Coote in his *Romans in Britain*, and which
has strong elements of plausibility. As there is no smoke
without fire, it is not wise too hastily to abandon traditions
as senseless, since not a few grains of truth are often hidden
therein. Mr. Coote first sets out with this principle : " A
theory of national origin is always meant to apply only to the
dominant people of the country." Discovering the invention
or special propagation of the legend about the tenth century,
a time of severe contest with Saxons, a German race, he sees
a *raison d'être* for the story. It was to set off the superior
claims of the native people as opposed to English. As he
contends for the essentially Romanized condition of Britain
at that epoch, and that the mass were absolutely Roman
coloni, speaking the Latin tongue, he recognizes the Trojan
narrative as that accounting for the origin of the Roman race,

supposed descendants of the Trojan Æneas, son of the King of Ilium. Hence he concludes that "the proprietary of Wales, when they invented or countenanced this theory, knew perfectly well that they were of the Latin race."

The romantic identification of the Welsh with the Phœnicians, with whom so many places claim affinity, in spite of the odium attached to their Canaanitish blood, may have an alliance with the Trojan story. Æneas is always represented as a wanderer by sea, and the Phœnicians were the sailors of antiquity. Mr. E. Croggan finds a connection with Lycia. He sees the Lycian *cin* and *res* like Welsh *cyn* and *rhi*, and speaks of "a community of language existing between the Britons and the early inhabitants of Greece, and which, in a singular way, associates Britain and Lycia, the Delphic legend saying that Olen, the first prophet of Phœbus, was a Hyperborean, whilst the Delian myths say that Olen was a Lycian." Did not Asurbanipal of Assyria help Gyges of Lycia to drive away the Kimmerii? Lycia was neighbour to Troy. The so-called *Turks* of Lycia rank with Egyptians and Chaldeans for antiquity. But philology is not a safe guide to ethnology.

These traditions of Troy are not unlike those of the Cymry. In both instances a civilized people came from the East, under distinguished, because Divine, leaders, and encamped in Wales. Both stories are pretty. The glory of the Byzantine empire might well be reflected in a band of emigrants from the Bosphorus. But poetry is rather a frail basis for history.

IBERIAN WELSH.

The first reliable historical notice of the Welsh is from the pen of Tacitus, who records the existence of a dark, small race, whom he saw in the Silurians. He wrote, "The brown complexions and curly hair of the Silures intimated that the ancient Iberians had passed over from Spain, and had occupied that part of Britain." These gave the Romans no little trouble, and they were far from being savages. So very distinct from the rest of Britons, as described by Cæsar and others, living among the mountain fastnesses of Merioneth, Radnor, and Glamorgan, the Welsh of Siluria might well attract the notice of the legionaries. Tacitus bears witness to their heroism, saying, "Our veterans were slaughtered, our

settlements burnt, and our armies surrounded ; we then con-
tended only for our lives." Caradoc or Caractacus was their
leader. Though Tyssilio's Welsh chronicle knows nothing of
him, mediæval writers have left us a speech of the hero. He
is made to say, " Remember the valour of your forefathers,
Cassivelaun, Tudor the Red-haired, Gronw the Terrible, Roderick
Broad-face, and Madoc Stout-hand, who made Julius Cæsar
turn his back on our island." Although the Romans
observed several distinct varieties of people in Britain, these
dark Welshmen were unlike the reputed Cymry or Gaels.
Who were they ? Being so very dark in skin and hair, the
Silurians were pronounced by some to be of Phœnician origin.
Tradition came in aid to this hypothesis, for there were
not wanting stories of the visits of Phœnicians. But that
departed nation of merchant traders has been credited with
all sorts of things by writers upon very slight founda-
tion. That the dark Welsh, like the dark Irish, were never
much given to the sailor's craft is a proof that they were
hardly Phœnicians.

The Silures of Wales have been almost universally associ-
ated with the Iberi, or Iberians. They were not Celts, either
in Wales, England, Scotland, Ireland, France, or Spain,
wherever they have been recognized. They may have been
called Black Celts, but were truly before the Celts came into
those countries. In all cases but in North Spain they speak
the language of their conquerors ; for Welsh Silurians use
Cymraeg, as Cornish ones do English, and Aquitani do
French. Tacitus pointedly declares the Silures were like the
Iberi of Spain, whom we now recognize as Basques. The
Rev. R. Garnett says, " Ancient writers uniformly represent
the Celts as intruders from the eastward upon the Iberians."
Prof. Rudler, before the British Association, asked, " Does it
not seem probable that the early, short race of long-skulled,
mild-featured, stone-using people may have been the an-
cestors of the swarthy Silurians of Tacitus ?" He then
proceeds, " As the Silures were to Britain, so were the
Aquitani to Gaul —they were the dark Iberian element."

Mr. Grant Allen, in a recent *Fortnightly* magazine, referred
to a " primitive, dark-skinned, and black-haired nation, known
as the Euskarian (Basque), who probably migrated into
Britain shortly after the close of the last Glacial epoch.",

Some style the modern Iberian as Kelt-Euskarian, from the mixture of blood. The authors of that valuable work *Crania Britannia* incline to think that those in Wales may have come from the England side when the Belgæ or Celts invaded Britain. Camden, Niebuhr, and Lappenberg adopt the Iberian idea. It must be recollected that the Celts, as Henri Martin observes, "have neither destroyed nor expelled the anterior population," though he admits that "the vanquished, the brown, have been *celtised* by the conquerors," even to the adoption of their language. Jorandes, in an old Latin work of the sixth century, notices the dark-haired people. The Welsh bards often use the epithet of *dhu*, or dark, to men.

Dr. Thurnam declares the Iberians of Wales to be only representatives of others not, like themselves, confined to the extreme west of the island. Messrs. Davis and Thurnam report, "The earlier British Dolichocephali of the Stone period were, we think, either derived from the ancient Iberians or from a common source with that people." While Prof. Huxley detects Australian affinities with the ancient stone men, Prof. Vogt would bring Iberians from America by way of the lost *Atlantis*, "the connecting land between Florida and our own continent, which in the middle Tertiary period was still above the water." Greeks and Latins often spake of the lost Atlantis, and the Atlantidæ. Strabo is careful to say that both Celtica and Belgica differed from the Silures.

Prof. Boyd Dawkins has done much for Welsh ethnology. He deems Silures, Iberians, Ligures, and small, dark Etruscans "ethnological islands isolated by successive invasions." They were driven westward by the Celtic and Belgic Britons. "The Basque-speaking peoples," says he, "are to be looked upon as a fragment of the race which occupied the British Isles and the area west of the Rhine and north of the Alps in the Neolithic age." It is not then surprising to find him writing about "small, swarthy Welshmen, with long head and Iberian *physique*." Again, he says, "The broad-headed, dark Welshman is identical with the broad-headed, dark Frenchman (Celt and Iberian), and the Welsh people may be defined, ethnologically, as principally Celt and Iberian."

Welsh Cymric traditions come here to the rescue. There

are many stories about the *Tylwyth teg*, or little people. Fenton's *Pembrokeshire* calls to mind the small weapons of mixed metal found at Llandyssilio and other places along with very elegant, well-baked, and glazed urns. It follows with the "supposition for inference, that inhabitants of diminutive stature existed among the Celtic tribes at a prehistoric period." No one, of course, can imagine the pure Iberian blood to be flowing in any individual Welshman now, though, according to a well-known law, the true development of the old stock may occasionally appear.

M. Broca, the prince of French ethnologists, fancied the Iberians of Spain and France came over from Africa. No difficulty of passage formerly existed, since it has been ascertained that within the period of man's residence there was no Mediterranean Sea, though extensive marshes may have stretched from what is modern Europe across to Africa. If the hippopotami and elephants could find their way to Germany, France, Russia, and England, men and women, whose remains are there associated with the bones of those quadrupeds, could easily traverse the intervening space, though such long ages ago. M. Broca saw such a dark race in Brittany. While 36 cantons of 78 inland ones are dark, only 6 of 48 are so in the maritime cantons. The short and dark are older than the tall and fair, who came by sea. He styles them non-Belgic, as South Britain at least was Belgic. M. Henri Martin writes, "The brown, little, thick-set type, vulgarly called Breton, is in my opinion that of the race anterior to the Breton; but the true Breton type is taller, thinner, with long visage, blue eyes." The latter are Celts proper.

The Welsh may well pride themselves upon their high antiquity. But it is not the Cymric Welshman, but the Iberian one, of the eastern and south-eastern hills, who is the old inhabitant. M. Guibert, who finds the Welsh Cymry as immigrants in Brittany, regards the earlier stock there as Iberian. M. Vembergue exclaims, "If the Iberians be not a Phœnician colony, they must have formed, as it were, the vanguard of all the great migrations from the East."

One objection is on the score of language. The supposed Iberian Welsh, or Silurians, spoke Cymric, and not Basque. But philological evidence is open to suspicion, and it is well

known that whole nations have lost their mother tongue, and have adopted that of their conquerors; while in other cases the conquerors have relinquished their own speech for that of the new land. Prof. Huxley sees no remains of Basque language in the Iberians of Wales. Dr. Hyde Clarke, on the contrary, does not believe in its extinction there. "The river names," says he, "although they have received Celtic explanations, and many of them are Celtic, yet include many which are to be found not only in the Celtic area, but beyond it in the Iberian area. This class of names, whether in the Celtic or Iberian bounds, is justly to be separated as Iberian." Prof. Rhys finds several words in Wales pre-Celtic, or Silurian. Prof. Rudler says "relics of a pre-Keltic, non-Aryan people have been detected in a few place names in Wales."

The Basque tongue, Euskaldunac, is agglutinate, and therefore non-Aryan, though the great majority of words in a dictionary show no Turanian ancestry. It has a similar construction with the Dravidian of India and the native Australian dialects. They all have syllables of relation, joined to primitive words. It is curious, however, as carrying out Dr. Hyde Clarke's views, to compare *axe* with *aizcora, pick* with *aitzurra, knife* with *aizttoa,* and *scissors* with *aizturrac : aitz* is a stone; *aizttoa,* a little stone. All Europe was once doubtless Turanian rather than Aryan. Celts, Teutons, and Latins are Aryan. Prince Lucien Bonaparte, a great linguistic authority, sees no connection whatever between Euskaldunac and Cymraeg. Prof. Max Müller classes the Basque as Turanian. There can be no mistake about the difficulty of its speech, since tradition says a certain dark gentleman studied it for seven years, and only learned three words. Our phrase "By Jingo!" is said to be derived from the Basque deity Jinkoa. Strabo said that the Iberi had poems 6000 years old.

Basques are changed by contact with other races, though the old dark blood is often distinguished. "The tendency to a dolichocephalic type in the Basques," says Thurnam, "is derived from the ancient Iberians, and the brachycephalic admixture is Gaulish." The small Bretons and Irish, the dark Aquitanians, the Kabyles and Berbers of North Africa, and the Guanches of the Canary Isles, are of Basque kindred.

The caves of Spain, France, and the British Isles reveal a formation of skull somewhat similar to the Iberian. Hence the learned Thurnam calls the Barrow people *Iberian*. Some associate the old Ligurians of Southern France and Northern Italy with the Iberian. The Iberians answer somewhat to Hector Mac Lean's *Atlanteans*. The Rev. F. Thackeray thinks the Silures "exhibited marks of a Spanish origin, and were probably the descendants of those who had come over with the Phœnicians and Carthaginians to work the tin mines of Devonshire and Cornwall." Solinus of old expressly termed the Scilly Isles *Silurian*.

The Silures were, says Jones's *Brecknock*, "in the whole circuit of South Wales, or Deheubarth," under one leader. The word *Deheubarth* means the right hand part, and included Hereford, Radnor, Monmouth, Brecknock, and Glamorgan. Mr. Donald Clark says *Silures* in old Celtic is *Southerner*. Pliny would include more than Deheubarth, for he says Ireland was but thirty miles from the Silurian country. This would comprise Dimetia, or Pembroke. Pinkerton classes them into Dumnonii and Demetæ. Tacitus puts the *Silures* opposite Spain, thereby including Cornwall.

There can be little doubt that all the west of England and the south of Wales, if not more land toward the interior, should be regarded as Siluria. Though the classical writers knew the Silures in that region, they had no knowledge of the Cymry. The natural conclusion is that the Silurians or Iberians, now represented by the little, dark Welshmen, are the oldest existing race in Wales, and, though now speaking Cymraeg, were long before the Cymry there.

Prof. Boyd Dawkins puts the case very clearly, saying, "At the present time you have merely to go into the market-places of St. Asaph or Denbigh, and you will see small, dark Welshmen, with black eyes and hair, contrasting in every point with our ordinary ideas of Welshmen." He hesitates not asserting, "The small, swarthy Welshman of Denbigh-shire is in every respect, except dress and language, identical with the Basque inhabitant of Western Pyrenees." Dr. Latham thus gives the Silurian type :—" Eyes and hair black ; complexion dark, with a ruddy tinge ; chiefly found in South Wales." But he adds, " At the present moment the inhabit-ants have florid complexions and dark hair." The author of

Words and Places remarks, "The ethnologist readily identifies the short-statured, dark-eyed, dark-haired Silurian race, which is so powerful in South Wales and the west of Ireland, with the Gascon or Basque type of the Pyrenean region." Mr. Moggridge, J. P. of Swansea, has this capital sketch of the neighbouring Iberian Welsh :—" Eyes bright, of dark or hazel colour ; hair generally black, or a very dark brown, lank, generally late in turning grey ; head middle-sized, well formed ; face oval or triangular ; cheek-bones high ; countenance exhibiting cunning and sharpness ; average height 5 feet 8 inches; build slight, well formed; females in early life fresh-complexioned and handsome."

Dr. Beddoe, to whom the anthropologist owes so much, has not passed over the Iberian Welsh. Looking at the Paris collection of skulls, he remarked, " The form of M. Broca's Basque crania was very much that of some modern Silurian heads." When on the Danish Isle of Moen, he met with one he thus describes :—" Swarthy, his eyes dark and obliquely set, his hair dark, thick, and curly." Seeing a likeness to some primitive skulls of Borreby, in Moen, he asks, "Was he, in truth, a descendant of that ancient tribe ?" But he declares that the man could have passed quite unnoticed in South Wales. When in Ireland he found the like people ; observing, " Near the battle-field of the northern Moytura, in the hills between Roscommon and Sligo, dwells a dark-haired race, more often dark-eyed than that last spoken of, and to my eye resembling the South Welsh pretty closely. These may be Iberian, or they may be Finnish, or relics of the Firbolg." Beyond the coast, in Wales, he discovered a "prevalence of dark eyes, surpassing," says he, "what I have met with in any other part of Britain." Of one part of South Wales, near the coast, he observed 54 light eyes, 9 neutral, and 34 dark ; but in the interior, 32 light eyes, 15 neutral, and 35 dark. English and Irish mix with Silurians at the coast. He gives the Iberian an ovoid-shaped skull, "with a dark, almond-shaped, and often obliquely-set eye, quite Turanian in character, with arched and oblique eyebrows."

As to the dark eyes of the Welsh, the Rev. T. Price, some fifty years ago or more, settled it to his entire satisfaction that this feature arose from the practice of using coal fires. Dr. Nicholas in *Pedigree of the English* has this statement :—

"The short and stout build, the round and comely physiognomy, dark and curly hair, and dark eyes, giving a type of countenance almost Jewish, so often to be met with here, powerfully suggests a foreign origin." In Ireland this led many to ascribe a Spanish origin to some in the west. In Wales the dark feature has been thought to be from a migration of some of the *ten lost tribes*.

Interesting speculations have been raised upon this supposition, and pleasant dreams have been cherished about the discovery of the chosen people of God amidst the hills of Siluria. A difficulty here has arisen. The great majority of hunters for the Jewish blood in Britain have preferred to adopt the Saxon type as the descendant of the lost tribes; a few have inclined to the Celt, and some have advocated the Cymry. Thus Celts, Saxons or Teutons, and the more ancient Iberians, are all alike selected for their supposed identity with Israel. In Europe, America, and Asia about three hundred millions have been ranged by one or another under the head of heirs of Abraham; there can then be no objection to include less than a million of Silurian Welsh.

The dark-eyed Silurian or Iberian is the typical Welshman. He has the Welsh fire, energy, poetry, and enthusiasm. He it is who has displayed patriotic fervour, from the days of his great ancestor, Caractacus. It is his lofty soul that has dignified the noble Cymraeg, his adopted and his honoured tongue. Wallia is his native home, and the object of his faithful and loving devotion.

CELTIC WELSH.

The great difficulty is in the selection of a *Celt*. When writers persist in calling so very composite a people as the Irish by the name of *Celt*, as they do that conglomeration of different races known as French, how can one pick out a Celtic Welshman?

Language will not help us. The fact of so many Welsh speaking Cymraeg no more proves them Celts than the Latin tongue in Spain proves the people Romans. Sufficient account is not taken of alterations by time and circumstances. Dr. Ebel, comparing Irish and German, cautions us that their affinity "points to a most special connection of those languages, the result either of long-continued amity, or of a very special

relationship of the mind of the peoples." Why the conquering Normans did not give their language, while Romans and others did, is not so very clear. Why the Goths of Spain, Franks of Gaul, Danes of Ireland, Scandinavians of Russia, Tartars of India should have accepted the tongue of the subdued is not more satisfactory than instances of the opposite character. Almost all Irish, Scotch, and Welsh, together with all in England, speak the English language; but that no more proves them all Saxon than the speech of Erse or Cymraeg makes the Danish, Saxon, Norman, Flemish, and Iberian races there to be Celts. If we adopted Prof. Rudler's dictum, all difficulties would be at once removed, and the contest of Celt and Saxon be lost for ever. He would use the term only linguistically. "The Kelt," says he, "is merely a person who speaks a Keltic language, quite regardless of his race." Another wise remark he makes, worthy of consideration :—" History and tradition, philology and ethnology, archæology and craniology, have at different times given widely divergent definitions of the term."

Adopting his view, Dr. Beddoe, the anthropologist, declares that the terms Kelt and Keltic "have ceased to convey a distinct idea to the minds of modern students." The utter confusion one gets into by an investigation of so many different views concerning the race is sufficiently repellent to keep most readers from the inquiry. Classical writers had no definite opinions upon ethnology, and threw terms about without much consideration. Cæsar, a most observant man, does distinguish Gaul into three leading divisions, as to blood —Celt, Iberian, and Belgian. But, as Mr. Howorth shows, many German tribes described as Teutons were really Celts, and *vice versâ*.

Gaul is generally regarded as the mother land of the Celts of the British Isles. The ideas of French anthropologists, therefore, ought to command the first attention. The Celtæ of Cæsar, says M. Broca, were a mixture of Celt and Iberian. He differs from most in regarding the Celts as small and dark, that is, what others call Iberian. Henri Martin and the others make the Celts tall and light. Bertrand and Thierry find a duality in Celts and Gauls. Martin realizes three distinct immigrations of Celtic races in the country, the Gauls proper coming from the Danube. Pruner-Bey, while

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considering the old Celts to be tall, says that "the Gauls, as shown by recent researches, belong to that Celtic branch speaking Rimraig." Hovelacque makes the little, brown Celts meet the tall and blonde Belgæ or Galatæ between the Danube and the Dnieper. These tall, blue-eyed men he esteems to have no right to the name of Celt. Bertrand believes there were no true Celts on the shores of the Mediterranean before 400 B.C. Mazard is convinced that the Greeks applied the same appellation to all Gauls, whatever their origin. D'Anville says that the name *Celtica* was bestowed on all the northern part of the world by the ancients. Henri Martin's true Celts are "those tall blondes with blue eyes who brought into Europe the Celtic language and civilization." Broca is sure that no ancient writer puts any Celts in Britain. He seems to doubt whether the word should be applied to any people, though having no doubt that the conquering Celts were inferior in numbers to the people they conquered. He is of the opinion that the word is most improperly used, and he ridicules the Irish, who, by hearing themselves *called* Celts, "are ever pleased to cry now that they are issued from the Celts." He correctly enough records that "the name of *Celt* occurs only at a relatively late period, and but in Central and Western Europe."

Who, after a perusal of French opinions, can venture without hesitation upon the inquiry into Celtic Welsh?

The Welsh are accustomed to call themselves Celts because they speak a Celtic language, and believe they are the descendants of the ancient Britons. Of the first there is no question, though speech by no means constitutes race. The second remark is a mere assertion, about which there are great contrarieties of opinion. It has been usual to class the Cymry as Celts. But the difficulty lies in picking out the Cymry among the varied conditions of the Welsh. If the descendants of the ancient Britons, we have first to determine from which race among these Britons they have sprung. Cæsar had to do with the Belgæ of South Britain, usually allowed to have much Teutonic blood. But that question must be consigned to the next work, on "Who are the English?"

The Celts have been divided into Brythonic, or *High*, and Goidelic, or *Low*. The Cymry and Breton are included in the first; the Erse and Gaelic in the other. As to Welsh,

Coote writes, "There has been a *consensus* on the part of the learned to take the word to mean the Kymric Celts." Outside of our isles, Gauls, Umbrians, Samnites, Latins, Sabines, Etruscans, and many Germans, Swiss, and Austrians have been placed among the Celts. Prof. F. W. Newman, in *Regal Rome*, says that vocabularies "suffice to establish that at least one of the stocks of population, out of which the mixed Roman people was made up, spoke a language so much akin to Welsh and Gaelic that we are justified in extending the term *Keltæ* to embrace this Italian tribe." Umbrians and Sabines were Kelto-Italian.

The old Celts were described by Herodotus as being great talkers, laughers, and orators. He calls them "children of the nascent world, with large, humid frames, fair skins, and light hair, with elastic energy." Max Müller writes, "The Kelts appear to have been the first of the Aryans to arrive in Europe." Rhys fancies the Druids existed before the Celts were divided into Gaels and Britons. Hieron of Syracuse had 30,000 Celts in pay. They were so mixed up with Scythians in old stories, that Welsford's *English Language* remarks the two "were merely different names to the same people." The Rev. Isaac Taylor, in *Words and Places*, believes in the "wide extension of the Celtic race at some unknown pre-historic period." He finds "hardly a single Celtic word meaning stream, current, brook, channel, ford, or flood which does not enter largely into the river names of Europe." But this reason obliges Capt. Burton, the traveller, to question the report of their derivation from Asia. While eighty per cent. of European streams are Celtic, he discovers no Celtic names of Asiatic waters. On the contrary, he learns from history that they invaded Asia from Europe.

English and American ethnologists are no more agreed than the French in the conception of a Celt. Mr. J. W. Jackson regards the Celts as the intellectual race of Europe, though used up now as a pure and unmingled race. Dr. Morton, the craniologist, sees the head "rather elongated, and the forehead narrow and but slightly arched; the brow low, straight, and bushy; the eyes and hair light; the nose and mouth large, and the cheek-bones high." He considers them tall and athletic. Dr. Beddoe calls attention to the cross of dark, round-headed Ligurians with fair-haired and long-headed

Celts. Knox's ethnology states them to be "in stature and weight inferior to the Saxons; limbs muscular and vigorous; torso and arms seldom attaining any very large development—hence the extreme rarity of athletæ amongst the race; hands broad; fingers squared at the point; step elastic, springy; in muscular energy and rapidity of action surpassing all other European races." Prof. Boyd. Dawkins gives them broad heads, blue eyes, and light hair.

It is not easy to recognize the Welshman by this description as a Celt at all. If the Irishman be accepted as such, the other, nationally, is hardly so. The Rev. W. Basil Jones is led to say, "There appears greater proof of connection between the Welsh and the continental Celts than between the latter and the Irish." Yet in Gaul the Celt is described as tall and light. The so-called Celtic characteristics are plain enough in the north-west and south-west of Wales, where tradition places the Gaels, but they are by no means so obvious in other parts, although the Cymraeg is spoken.

Once admitting the Welsh to be a remnant of Celtic Britons, controversy is at an end. But as that is rather assumed than proved, we are left undecided. If the Cymric Celts came from Celtic Caledonia, or from Celtic parts of Gaul, one portion at least of the Welsh would be Celtic. But for the Silures, the real old occupants of most of the provinces of Wales, we are certain that they were not Celts, as the description of them answers to the account of Iberians, a prior race. All that can be confidently affirmed is that the Welsh, since English knowledge of them, have spoken a recognized Celtic language. We cannot doubt the Celtic origin of a number of the inhabitants of the country, taking that view of the Celt which is ordinarily received by ethnologists, especially with the remnants of the ancient Dimetæ of the west and Ordovices of the north, who were known to the Romans.

THE GAELIC, OR IRISH, WELSH.

As the Irish are accustomed to speak of themselves as *Celts*, and the English to speak of themselves as *Saxons*, so, with as little ethnological correctness, do the Welsh speak of themselves as the *Cymry*. But as a large portion of

Ireland is Teutonic, and of England is Celtic, so is a good proportion of Wales found to be of Gaelic origin, like some western parts of Ireland and Scotland. This may seem to detract something from the reputed Cymric character of Wales, but historic and scientific truth demands that the so-called Erse element there be recognized not less than the Iberian, Flemish, and Saxon-English. The Gael, though placed in opposition to the Saxon in Scotland not less than in Ireland, is possessed of noble instincts, and has contributed no little energy and chivalry to the national character in all the British Isles. It is no dishonour for Wales to own the blood of the Gael.

The Cymry of Wales believe themselves the superior, and are tempted to despise the Irish Erse. It is not so very certain that their difference has been owing to anything more than circumstances. Both of Celtic beginning, they probably started forth at different times from their Asiatic Aryan home. Prof. Rhys philosophically shows that " we forget how different the circumstances were under which they have lived from the days of Julius Cæsar to our own." The Cymry of England, Wales, and Scotland came under Roman influence, while the Gael did not. The former also felt more of the influence of Saxon and Norman, and of the civilization emanating from the Church of Rome.

The Gaels were in Wales as in Scotland. The Welsh have contended that they themselves were the descendants of the original British inhabitants, and that the others came to Cambria from Ireland as plunderers. Their authors admit that the Gael had settlements in the country, but that they were subsequently driven out again by the Cymry. The struggle between the two is certain enough, and Welsh records describe a number of distinct Irish invasions. Thus we learn from old Welsh MSS. that Irish Picts were slain in 294 ; and it is stated, " In 339 many of the Irish banditti were taken and burnt alive." Again, " In 400 the Irish Picts came to Cambria, but were driven back beyond the sea to their original country." But another quotation is more remarkable, and is very suggestive : " In 430 the Irish Picts made a descent on Anglesey and Arvon, and *were joined by the Irish of these countries.*" Other invasions are noted later on ; as in 913, 972, and

repeatedly in the 11th and 12th centuries. Yet Welsh princes in their constant internecine conflicts were glad to hire the Gaels to help against home foes. Irish Gentiles, as they were called, helped the Welsh against the Norman invaders, as they had against the Saxons before. They were rightly called *Gentiles*, because they destroyed so many Welsh churches and monasteries, though themselves nominal Christians.

The Gaels, Gwyddil, or Gwyddelians were said to have been driven out of Wales on several occasions. The MSS. of Iolo declared Arthur gave Gower to Urien Rheged for delivering the country, and slaying all the foreigners. Caswallawn Law Hir (Long Hand), about the year 500, performed a like feat. He is said to have fought them at Cerig y Gwyddyl (the Stones of the Irishmen), in Môn. At Carn y Gwyddel, near Merthyr, a great battle was decided. The chief Welsh stories are connected with the overthrow after the Gael has been 29 years there one time, and 129 at another. It is singular that 29 was a mythical number of the Bards. A fairy, says Nennius, fascinated a British hero for 29 years, and 29 ships sailed against the fabled glass towers. Then 1, 2, 9 added make 12, the solar number. Welsh Triads speak of "the hosts of Ganfael Wyddel, who came to Gwynedd, and were there 29 years, until they were driven into the sea by Caswallawn the son of Beli;" after which a pestilence arose from the dead bodies of the slain. This was between 450 and 500.

The hero who wrought wonders was Cunedda Wledig, who slew all Irish but the nine. The grandson of Cunedda delivered Mona, or Anglesey. The *Genealogy of Testyn* has grand stories of the Cunedda. The Irish leader, Serigi Wyddel, was killed, though afterwards canonized. But there is just another side to the story. There is more than a suspicion that the assumed deliverer was an invader, and that the conquest was but the Cuneddian migration; although the MS. says, "They are now become quite extinct in this island, although they still entirely possess Ireland, where they are termed Gwyddelians." It is curious to find the old Watling Street, from Dover to Holyhead, called *Sarn Gaolach*, or *Irish Causeway*, in ancient times.

The Gwyddelod means the Irish to this day—the word

signifying *strangers*. The Rev. Rice Rees has no doubt that the Irish Picts, the Gwyddel Ffichti, " occupied the whole of North Wales as well as the Dimetian counties (Pembroke, Cardigan, and Carmarthen) of South Wales." Certainly a large proportion of the Welsh saints, as Brychan, &c., were sons and daughters of Irish kings. Patrick himself is claimed by the Welsh for a countryman, and there are 18 St. Bridgets in Wales. The Irish *kil* for church is found as well as the Welsh *llan* there ; as, according to Taylor's *Words and Places*, Kilcwm, Kilsant, and Kilycon in Carmarthen ; Kilgarran and Kilred of Pembroke ; Kilkenin, Kiluellon, and Kilwy of Cardigan ; and Kilowen in Flint.

The stone of St. Dogmael, near Cardigan, in Ogham and Latin writing, is supposed to be over the grave of a Gwyddel chief. Near Harlech are ancient dwellings known as Muriau Gwyddelod, or Irishmen's walls. The Cyttiau 'r Gwyddelod, or Irishmen's huts, are rude stone ruins of Holyhead. There are the Dol - y - Gwyddyl of Montgomery, the Waun - y - Gwyddyl and Llwyn y Gwyddyl of Radnor, the Llwyn Gwyddyl and Pont Gwyddyl of Pembroke, the Twll y Gwyddyl of Glamorgan, &c. There are over forty Gwyddels in Wales: 5 in Anglesey, 6 Carnarvon, 1 Denbigh, 5 Merioneth, 1 Montgomery, 3 Radnor, 9 Cardigan, 4 Pembroke, 5 Carmarthen, 2 Glamorgan, and 2 Brecknock. According to tradition, that people had foxes for dogs and polecats for cats ; but it is not unusual for one race to stigmatize the conquered as savages.

Taliesin places them among the three wrathful races—

> " Romani, Brython, Gwyddyl,
> Disturb the borders of Prydain,
> And contend for the sovereignty."

He also sings—

> " Let us make great rejoicings after exhaustion,
> And the reconciliation of the Kymry and men of Dublin,
> The Gwyddyl of Iwerdon (Ireland), Mon, and Prydyn,
> The Cornishmen and the Clydemen."

The Triads note " the race (*al*) of the Gwyddyl that are in Alban " as one of the three refuge-seeking tribes, " without arms." The Gwyddyl Ffichti came as an invading tribe by

the sea of Llychlyn, and the Gwyddyl Coch o'r Iwerddon as one of the three treacherous invaders. The Red Gwyddyl came from Ireland. The Picts of Scotland once called themselves the Albanach Gael. The word Gael is modern, and may mean *fair-haired*. The Triads spoke of Irish as *red-haired*. But Dr. Margoliouth derives the word from *Gaer*, *strangers*. The Milesians, like Gaels, were said to be of fair skin and brown hair. Skene writes that the Gaelic race in its full extension at that period included Prydyn, or North Britain, and Mona, or Anglesey, as well as Ireland. Prof. Rees thus defines the boundary of the two opposing races :— " We find the seaboard of Wales in the west possessed by the Gaels or Gwyddyl, and the Cymry confined to the eastern portion of the principality. A line drawn from Conway to Swansea would separate the races." The Cymry held Powisland and south-eastward Gwent, but the Gaels had north-westward Gwennedd and Anglesey, as well as the south-westward Dyfed province. The work on the *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd* is full of curious observations.

Which had the priority of residence in Wales? But the settlement of that question by no means exhibits the aborigines, since Gael and Cymry were both invaders from a distance, gaining a footing in this mountain land by the conquest of earlier people. Fierce wordy battles have been fought upon the question of priority. The leading Welsh writers, who cherish the national idea that they are Cymry, echo the opinion of the Rev. R. Williams, M.A.: "I am quite satisfied that the Irish Gwyddel were interlopers." That chivalrous advocate is certain that "the Cymraeg was the first language of Britain," and also "the language of Ireland." He would thus not only displace the Irish from Wales, but from Ireland.

Unfortunately for the Welsh patriots, English, Scotch, and Continental ethnologists incline the other way, and view the Cymry as interlopers upon the Gwyddel. Freeman's *History of St. David's* thinks there is " reason to believe that it (Menevia, or Western Wales) was tenanted in part, even after the close of the Roman period, by a certain Gaelic population." But the historian Pearson remarks of the Cymry, " As they did not penetrate into the mountains of the northern principality till the fifth century after Christ, it is possible that the

kindred Erse and Gaelic tribes, whom they dispossessed, were more anciently settled in the country." This is a heavy blow to Cymric supremacy. He is not alone in the notion of the comparatively recent advent of the race, who are said to have subdued Wales, Brittany, and Cornwall after the fall of Rome. Colonel Forbes Leslie, an able antiquarian, recognizes "the advancing British probably intruding on the Gaels, as the Gaels had intruded on some previous occupants of the soil." Sir William Bethan held the same opinion. The able D. D. Wilson of Scotland, Worsaae of Denmark, and Thierry of France endorse the view. The Cymry, according to *Words and Places*, "came as conquerors, and in numbers they were fewer than the Gaels whom they found in possession."

But some Welsh writers seem drawn 'thither by the logic of facts. The Bishop of St. David's, Dr. W. Basil Jones, fancies the Cymry, when driven west by Saxons, drove out the Gaels from North Wales. Brecknockshire was one of the last strongholds of the Gwyddel. The several Irish invasions, therefore, might be called the attempts to regain their lost homes. Mr. E. Owen, referring to the notion of the Firbolgs being the raisers of stone cloghaum houses in Ireland, adds then, "It cannot reasonably be controverted that they occupied Wales previous to the advent of the Cymry." It is most probable that the Ordovices of the Romans, dwelling in North Wales, were Gaels. Lhuyd, or Llwyd, over a century ago, contended for the priority of Gaels on philological grounds; saying, "As the words *Coom, Dore, Stour, Taw, Dove, Avon*, &c. in England confess that they are no other than the Welsh *Cwm, Dwr, Ys Dwr, Tav, Dyvi*, and *Avon*, and thereby show the Welsh to be the old inhabitants, so do the words *Uysk, Lwch*, and several others make it manifest that the Irish were anciently inhabitants of those places." The Rev. R. Williams and others endeavour to show that the Irish words are changed Welsh ones. This involves the question of common race. The Gaelic *ben* is the Cymric *pen*, *dun* is *dinas*, *lough* is *llwch*. The Welsh *wysg*, a current, is like Irish *uisge*, water. *Whiskey* is from *uisge-boy*, *yellow water*.

The Archdeacon of Cardigan acknowledged that the Gaelic showed "a far greater corruption than the Cymraeg of the primary language." Dr. Latham sees a difficulty in the

ethnology from the isolation of the Gaelic tongue in Europe.
Zeuss, in *Grammatica Celtica*, believes the difference greater
in the two languages than between Scandinavian and German.
Manx, of the Isle of Man, which remained so long distinct, is
nearer Gaelic than Cymraeg. The Gaelic, says Zeuss, "had
separated from the old Celtic or Gaulish before its inflected
forms had begun to break down and decompose." Mr. Donald
Clark turns our attention to this old Celtic, "an original and
a very different language from the vernacular Gaelic now
spoken in the Highlands." He considers that Welsh and
Gaelic did not borrow from one another. Pronunciation has
materially changed the tongues. Old Celtic is mostly in
compound words. Even MSS. of the twelfth century can
hardly be deciphered now by Gaelic scholars. The first
Gaelic dictionary appeared in 1780, and its author claimed
the tongue as that "spoken before the Deluge, and probably
the speech of Paradise." Mr. Donald Clark traces the word
Gael but 400 years back, through Gaoidheilge, Gaoidheilg,
and Ghaelic.

In Newman's *Regal Rome* we read, "Latin words retain
only secondary meaning where the primary ones are mani-
fested to the Irish Gaelic." The energetic Canon Bourke of
Tuam sees the priority of Irish in the retention of *s*, which
is converted into an aspirate in Welsh; as *halen*, salt, from
the Irish *salan*, *havail* and *samail*, *hen* and *sean*, *hé* and *sé*.
"In its plastic power and phonetic fecundity," says he,
"Irish-Gaelic possesses, like its primitive Aryan parent
tongue, not only the virtual, but the formal, germinal develop-
ments of dialectic variety." The Rev. R. Garnett, British
Museum, shows that in having a genitive and dative the
Gaelic so differs from the Welsh; and he remarks, "The
general tendency of the Gaelic, as compared with Welsh, is
to drop the nasal sound."

The *Quarterly Review* for 1850, treating of the subject,
says, "Others again who observe how the South Wales
features, after being interrupted in North Wales by an inlet
of the Cimbric or more northerly type, reappear in Anglesey,
may rather suspect that a refluent Gaelic wave has been
thrown back from Ireland upon the north and south extrem-
ities of the principality. This latter assumption is counten-
anced not only by the philological observations of Llwyd, but

by certain Welsh traditions that fall within the historical period." The Bishop of St. David's wrote, "The Welsh have an obscure tradition of an earlier race whom they drove out or made slaves of." But this may rather refer to the little, dark Silurians than the fiery Gaels.

Observations on the Continent confirm the impression of the superior antiquity of the Gwyddel or Gadhelic race. In Taylor's *Words and Places* are these words: "The most numerous people of primeval Germany were of the Gadhelic branch. They were not only the most numerous, but they were also the first to arrive." He remarked the Cymricized character of many Gaelic words, and added, "From the topographical distribution of these names, we infer that the Gaels arrived from the East, and the Cymry from the South."

The Irish, or rather Gael, have long been in the land of Wales. Some venture to think certain national peculiarities of softness and politeness, amounting to a deficiency of candour, may be attributed to that blood. The migration from Ireland to Western Wales was the occasion of a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, in 1523, from one R. Gruffithe, complaining of the "gret aboundance of Irisshemen." He thus goes on: "And the kings towne of Tenbye is almost cleane Irisshe, as well the hedde men and ruelers as the comyns of the said towne." In fact, he saw in two little parishes during one night a couple of hundred new arrivals. He then piteously exclaims, "And of treuthe, in all the said circuete there be foure Irysshe agaynste one Englisshe or Welshe." Another, writing in 1603, says, "As for Irishemen, they are so powdered among the inhabitants of Rowse and Castlemartyn (in Pembroke), that in everye village you shall find the thirde, fourth, or fifth householder an Irisheman." These industriously engaged "in making aquavitie (whiskey) in great abundance, which they carry to be sold abroade the country." In 1554 it is recorded that many wild people called Gwyddelod lived in dens of Merioneth, and stole sheep.

A Gwyddel colony was seen near Lampeter of Cardigan. This farming band occupied a district four miles long beside the Tavy. The people are described as having brilliant teeth, bright eyes, high features, with a clear red and white complexion,—"large and powerful men, with a look of restless energy about them," and much feared by their Welsh

neighbours on account of their wild blood. A writer in 1859 adds, " They are an impetuous but warm-hearted race ; they are much intermarried among themselves, and seem to acquiesce in their comparative isolation as a distinct people." Borrow, in *Wild Wales*, describes a similar folk. He heard near Ruthyn that the Gwyddelod, since their arrival a few years before, had nearly driven away the equally roving Gipsiaid. A Welshman afforded this account of them : " savage, brutish people, in general without shoes and stockings, with coarse features, and heads of (red) hair like mops." He found them talking among themselves the " Paddy Gwyddel." Yet Gwylliaid spoke Welsh, and are called a " tall, athletic race with red hair." Mr. Jelinger C. Symons notes the Cochion or red men of Pencarreg in Carmarthenshire, and others in Cemaes of Montgomery known as *red fairies*.

Dr. Beddoe and others have seen the Gaelic population in North Wales, and referred to the intermarrying of the race. Woodward attributes "the non-Kymric features (of the north-west) to the remnants of the Gaelic population." Dr. Prichard distinguishes the same. The Rev. W. Basil Jones is not alone in his discovery of *Vestiges of the Gael*. Mr. Stevens, the historian of Merthyr, detects the signs in the under part of the face projecting even in South Wales. Mr. D. Mackintosh speaks of the prognathous upper jaw, but retreating chin and forehead, the large mouth, high cheek-bones, brown hair, projecting eyebrows, yawning nostrils, short nose, and the great distance between the nose and mouth, as Gaelic-Irish types of Anglesey.

M. Broca, late President of the Paris Anthropological Society, wrote, " In the midst of our variously - mixed populations (*in France*) M. W. Edwards was able to discover the principal distinctive characters of these two great Gaulish races (Celtic and Kymric). The Gaels, Galls, or Celts, properly so called, had a middle stature, the forehead arched, receding towards the temples, the nose nearly straight and ending in a rounded lobule, the chin round, the head round." Henri Martin notices that " there were among the old Celts tribes who already bore the name of Gauls ; as the Gallicians of Spain, and the Gaels of the British Isles." Dr. Lagneau assures us that the Bretons " distinguish still

the ancient Gaels, speaking *formerly* Gallek or Gaelic, from the Breton Kymris or Cambrians, speaking the Breizad, a dialect of the ancient Cambrian or Cymraeg." The other and older Bretons have relinquished Gaelic for French. It is hardly necessary to say that the Gaelic origin of Wales is still perpetuated in the French appellation of the country— *Pays de Galles*, land of the Gael.

Tradition, in spite of the Triads of the Cymry, often asserts the priority of the Gael in Wales. One of the most ancient chronicles in Saxon days, the *History of the Britons*, by Mark the Anchorite, in referring to the settlement of both Ireland and Wales from Spain, says, " The sons of Liethali obtained the country of the Dimetæ (West Wales) and the provinces Guoher and Cetyueli, which they held till they were expelled from every part of Britain by Cuneda and his sons." This old British authority thus asserts the antiquity of the Gael in Wales.

There is then no doubt of the existence of Gaelic blood in the constitution of the Welshmen, especially in the north-west and south-west, beyond the region of the Silurian Iberians. The enormous immigration of the Irish into the iron mines and other industries of the south during the last thirty years has considerably increased the so-called Irish-Welsh in the country, and has, in parts of Glamorgan, effected great social changes. There are those who affirm that as the Gael in Scotland seem bent on a reconquest, by settlement, of that land, so do the Gael seem likely to swamp in numbers the self-styled Cymry of Wales.

THE CYMRY WELSH.

The Welsh literature is far more famed for the praise of the Cymry than Irish is of the Erse, or Scotch of the Gael. At an Eisteddfod, poets chant the glory of the ancient race, exulting in the tongue they hail as the speech in which Adam told his tale of love to Eve.

Most Welshmen also associate the Cymry with Druidism. The old people held the old faith, the oldest people held the oldest faith. The sacred inheritance of antediluvian piety fell to the care of their forefathers, and was embalmed in the rites of Ancient Druids, the earliest of priests, the primitive

teachers of religion.   Such an identity brought flesh and
blood to the racial skeleton, and raised the enthusiasm of
Welsh above the lofty pride of Jew.   The honour was so
great, the privilege was so dear, that the sons and daughters
of Cymru might well boast of their brilliant past, might well
delight in the noble hills of Cambria.

  Who were the Cymry?

Previous investigation prepares us to receive, to some
extent at least, the notion that other races than this one dwelt
in Wales.   There is little doubt about the Gael there, and
none about the dark Silurian.   Who then are the Cymry?
and why do Welshmen of the present date so quietly ignore
the very existence of others but Cymry?

  This devotion to an ethnological idea is not confined to the
Welsh.   A people across the Channel are proud of the name
of *French*, though it bears the memory of their lasting
conquest by the German Franks.   The Irish, of peculiarly
mixed blood, delight in being called *Celts*.   America, the
gathering of all nations, wishes to be considered *Anglo-Saxon*.
The descendants of Greek and Roman colonists, of Thracians,
Trojans, Phrygians, Lycians, Gauls, Kurds, Armenians,
Sclaves, Syrians, Jews, Arabs, Chaldeans, &c. are to this day
styled *Turks*, because a handful of warlike iron-workers from
the Altai mountains succeeded in overturning the Caliphs of
Bagdad.

  The first thing to discover, if possible, is the origin of the
word *Cymry*, plural of *Cymro*.   Horace Mac Lean attempts to
clear the ground for us, saying, " It would be wrong to take
the Cornish and old Welsh as the exact representatives of
the ancient British languages.   The Welsh do not call them-
selves Britons, but *Cymry*.   In Cornish they are called
Kembrion, while the Britons are called *Brethon*."   But we
have to recollect, as the Rev. B. B. Woodward tells us, that
"all history resolves itself, for the Welsh, into the one
question of Saxon or Kymro, and is discussed with the
hardly suppressed fire that blazed out into insurrection again
and again in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries."   The
inquiry must then be prudently conducted.

  The word *Cymry* is modern.   No classical writer knew
it.   It was hardly known to the Britons or Saxons, since it
is not mentioned by Gildas, by Nennius, by Bede.   Geoffrey

of Monmouth and Richard of Cirencester, monkish writers of the middle ages, are the first to teach us the word. Whitaker thinks it came after the Saxons, when the Welsh " threw off their former appellation (Wallia) entirely, and have ever since distinguished themselves by the general appellation of *Cymri*."

The *Penny Cyclopedia* gives the meaning of Cymry as *primitive ;* Pearson's *History* as *federation of people ;* Jones's *History of Wales* as *first race ;* Rev. D. Margoliouth, the Hebrew for *priest of an idolatrous system ;* Dr. Charnock, *dwelling near the sea.* Prof. Silvan Evans traces it to *Cyd,* the *d* being changed to *m* for assimilation with the following *b* (like the *n* of its Latin cognate, *con*), and *bro, country,* the old form of which is *brog.* This would make the word to mean *fellow countrymen.* Others say *cyn* is first, and *bro* is people. Prof. Rhys, the prince of modern Welsh philologists, says, " The name *Kymer* was derived from the word *compatriot,* and pronounced contracted, *Kymer.*" Many bring it from *Gomer,* and many more from the *Cimbri.* Donald Clark, who calls it *Gymr,* assures us that the word is not that of a people at all, but of a language. Dr. Thurnam finds *Cumbri* in *Ethelwerd's Chronicle,* 875, but adds, " That this is the same as *Cymry,* the name of the Welsh, is an entire assumption." The *American Cyclopedia,* dated 1878, thus concludes the matter : " The origin of their name *Kymry* has been long discussed, but no generally admitted result has been attained."

Our western countrymen bow to their Triads. These old verses, in *threes,* are of various dates, though all of Christian days. While a very few are allowed by some authorities to be as ancient as twelve hundred years, the very great majority may be set down to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though writers of some eminence see no Triad of greater age. Originating in the so-called *Dark Ages,* many Protestants would at once consign them to oblivion or contempt. Yet those times have been greatly slandered, since a glorious light of literature and art shone therein. The very mythological jargon of the Triads displays much learning, and their deep metaphysical mystery has excited much astonishment. As a narrative of vulgar facts, however, they are of little service. Their faint glimmer of truth

is but an *ignis fatuus*, the following of which is no safe road
to knowledge.

But what say the Triads ?

" The three Social Tribes of the Isle of Britain.   The
first was the nation of the Cymry, that came with Hu the
Mighty into the Isle of Britain, because he would not possess
lands and dominions by fighting and pursuit, but through
justice and in peace."

Now, nothing can be simpler.   The Cymry came as
strangers, with no more warlike propensities than Quakers.
Hu the Mighty was the precursor of William Penn as to
virtuous motives.   But the travelling Cymry could not help
having noble aspirations, since their leader was none other
than the deified Sun of the Heavens.   Hu the Mighty
really governed the solar system.   But that tradition, how-
ever else explained, throws a shade of suspicion over the
record being other than a myth.   Let us read further.

" And none have any title therein but the nation of the
Cymry.   For they first settled (upon it) ; and before that
time no man lived therein ; for it was full of bears, wolves,
beavers, and bisons."

They might well come peaceably when there was nothing
but a ferocious beast to oppose them.   The Triad is open to
another interpretation.   In their supreme scorn of the people
of Wales before them, the Cymry did not recognize them as
human, but as wild animals of the chase, to destroy whom
would be quite compatible with justice and peace.   When
the Aryans came over the snowy peaks into India, they
found no men there, but only demons.   These were driven
into forests or to the mountains, forming to this day the
black aborigines among whom Christian missionaries have
recently gained such triumphs.   Iberians, Gaels, and much
older races of Wales were but dumb brutes in the eyes of the
Cymry, as they tell us.   Some say the word translated
beaver should be *crocodile*, and that called *bison* ought to be
put *prominent oxen*.   But that we leave to Cymric scholars,
who, like Gaelic ones, are very far from agreeing in
interpretations.

" Before it was inhabited," says another Triad, " it was
called *Clas Merddin*, the sea-girt, green spot ; after it was
inhabited it was called *Y Vel Ynys*, the honey isle ; and after

the people were formed into a commonwealth by Prydain, the Isle of Prydain, or Britain."

This is another version, ignoring Hu the Mighty, who led them forth, and giving credit to Prydain for their civilization. But another Triad, 97th, speaks of " Mordal, a man of the sea, the mason of Ceraint, son of Greidiol, who first taught the race of the Cumri to build with stone and lime, at the time when the Emperor Alexander was subduing the world." But what says another of these Triads or poems ?

" The three primary tribes of the nation of the Cymry— the Gwentians, or the men of Essyllwg ; the Gwyndydians, or the men of Gwynedd and Powys; and the tribe of Pendaran Dyved, which comprehended the men of Dyved, and Gwyr, and Caredigion. And to each belongs a particular dialect of the Welsh."

Here Gwent may include Monmouth, Glamorgan, &c. ; Essyllwg, Siluria ; Gwyndydians, the Ordovices of the Romans ; while Dyved, Gwyr, and Caredigion embrace Dimetia of Pembroke, Gower, and Cardigan. Pendaran is held as the title of the prince of Dyved.

But, as Freeman the historian observes, " we must find out by what right the modern Briton claims an exclusive ancestry in the first defenders of our soil against the Roman eagle." The Triads refer to three Social Tribes, of which the Cymry formed the first and chief. What were the second and third ?

" The second was the tribe of the Lloegrwys (Lloegrians), that came from the land of Gwasgwyn (Gascony), being descended from the primitive nation of the Cymry. The third were the Brython, who came from the land of Armorica, having their descent from the same stock with the Cymry. These were called the Three Peaceable Tribes, because they came by mutual consent and permission, in peace and tranquillity ; and these three tribes had sprung from the primitive tribe of the Cymry, and the three were of one language and one speech."

It would not require much acumen to detect the modern character of this Triad. About the Brython, from Armorica or Brittany, there is little difficulty. But while the Lloegrwys have been hailed from Norway by some, or classed as Llugwyr with the Ligurians of South-Eastern Gaul and

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Northern Italy, the Welsh commentators usually class them
as Lloegrians from the banks of the Loire, in Middle Gaul.
This is not a little remarkable.   The Loire country had a
race of Iberians, that were, therefore, like to the little, dark-
eyed, dark-haired Silures of South-Eastern Wales, who were
certainly not Celts, as the Cymry claim to be.   There is a
tale told of King Riothimus, who fled to the Loire from the
avenging sword of Arthur, and perished with 12,000 Cymry
in a battle with the Visigoths.   A writer in the *Cambro-
Briton* thinks " the Ottadini were perhaps descendants of the
Lloegrwys."   He adds, " The Welsh name was Gododini or
Gododiniad, implying the inhabitants of a region bordering
on the coverts."

Anyhow, the Triads speak with no uncertain sound about
the Cymry being the first comers.   To please the Welsh,
then at war with the English Edwards, and to astonish the
conquerors from London, the Welsh writers of the period
made the best story they could for their people.   The
Athenians of old, an unmistakably emigrant race, were fond
of binding their hair with grasshoppers to show that they
were aborigines, or children of the soil.

Wonderful stories are told of the land from which the
Cymry came.   But among these the tale about India has
singular attractions.   It is of post-Christian origin.   The
Bards speak of the Flood, and the ship of Nevydd Nav
Neivion.   Two people were therein, the Dwy Van and Dwy
Vach, the man of God and the woman of God.   This vessel
of course had been built in Britain.   It was useful to enable
Hu the Mighty to lead back the hosts to the White Isle of
the West, the old place.   Hindoo legends refer to the White
Isle of the West.   A Triad mentions the divine man and
woman, " who escaped in a decked ship without sails, and
from this pair the island Prudain was completely re-peopled."

Another Bardic story relates to the progress of the Cymry
from Umbria of Italy.   Three tribes made their way over the
Alps.   They stayed for a long while on the banks of the
river of Eddies, the modern Rhine.   They afterwards reached
the Slow river (Avar), and gained the Bright river (Loire) on
their way to Gascony.   A portion travelled on to Armorica
(Brittany), the land on the Upper Sea, but the mass found
their way to Britain over the Hazy Ocean, which Londoners

recognize as the German Ocean, the source of their fogs. All will admit, with the Rev. R. W. Morgan, that "this account is a very striking one."

The Bard Taliesin, supposed dating from the sixth century, or some one writing in his name, has left these singular lines:—"Roving as exiles, though driven abroad, undismayed were they, ere yet Lhudd the Learned, sovereign of the White Island, was reconciled to Lefelis, in order to oppose the Roman chief." This rather helps the theory of those who bring the Cymry into Wales *after* the Roman era. Another poem of the reputed Taliesin runs as follows:—

> " A numerous race, fierce they are said to have been,
> Were thy original colonists, Britain, first of Isles,
> Natives of a country in Asia, and the country of Gafis;
> Said to have been a skilful people, but the district is unknown
> Which was mother to those warlike adventurers on the sea,
> Clad in their long dress; who could equal them?
> Their skill is celebrated; they were the dread of Europe."

Some say Gafis was Cadiz, in Spain; others identify it with Kaffa of the Crimea. The Asiatic ancestry has been found in the Summer Land near the site of Constantinople. The three Banded Tribes of the Triads were called after Caswallon Law Hir, or Calwaladr the Blessed; Rhiwallon, son of Urien; and Belyn of Lleyn. The foreign troublers of the Cymry, those who were not conquered as the Roman-ized Silures were, are thus described in the Triads:—

" The three Invading Tribes that came into the Isle of Britain, and who never departed from it. The first were the Coraniaid (Coranians), who came from the country of Pwyl; the second the Gwyddyl Ffichti (Irish Picts), who came to Alban by the sea of Llychlyn; the third the Saeson (Saxons)." The Coritani (Coranians) were said to have arrived in the time of the brother of Cassivelaunus from Asia. Llychlyn is termed the *sea of pools*. Pwyl is variously stated by Welsh writers to be Poland, Holland, &c. That Triad is of no great antiquity or value.

The three Refuge-seeking Tribes are described as those "who came in peace, and by the consent of the nation of the Cymry, without weapons or violence." They were styled by the Bards Celyddon, Gwyddelian, and Galedin. The

Celyddon have been supposed the Caledonians of the Romans, and who were in all probability not a different race from the ordinary Briton. The Gwyddelians have been detected in the Irish of the Scottish Highlands, though hardly a refuge-seeking people. The Galedin were thought to be the Flemish of South Wales, colonists of the twelfth century. Such a Triad also is of no great antiquity or value.

On the whole, therefore, we may safely conclude that the Welsh authorities of old teach us little or nothing, and are by no means so clear and reliable as the old Saxon chronicles. The Triads are poems, but poems as difficult to understand as those proceeding from the oracles of Delphi. The enthusiastic archdeacon of Cardigan regarded the Triads as "utterly free from the myths, figments, and barefaced falsehoods to which the Hellenic Greeks, Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Indians, &c. refer as constituting the only records of their national origin."

Firmer ground appears, according to some persons, when we go to classical writers, and trace the Cymry through the Cimmerians or the Cimbri. Here we come to prose, and to reputed historical records. The Cimmerians and Cimbri were no ghosts to the ancients, but veritable plagues, desolating their homes, and destroying myriads of lives in some highly civilized regions. There is no doubt of the existence of such people of old. If the present Welsh assumption of Cymric race be allowed, there only remains the question of identifying the Welsh with the Cimmerians or Cimbri to be satisfied with the Cymry as to antiquity and origin. Can this identification be substantiated?

Reasoning from the assumption that all the world was re-peopled from the three sons of Noah after the Deluge, about 2300 years before the Christian era, not much difficulty is experienced by some persons in tracing the origin of races. Puzzled awhile to account for *Blacks, Yellows,* and *Reds,* they seem safe in getting one of the three sons of the patriarch to stand ancestor for any of the *Whites.* The Welsh belong to that colour which Noah favoured. Besides, the Welsh Bards distinctly connect their nation with the planter of the vine, thus betraying the Christian time of the writers.

Who could Hu the Mighty be but Noah, their ancestor? The three Pacific Tribes he led to Wales would thus appear

to be his three pacific sons. The Triads conclude that the ark-builder was the Hu. It is true he is made to appear as the sun, or God; but then it has ever been the fashion, it is said, to deify Noah. That the genealogies of the Welsh, like those of the Hebrews, mounted up to Noah is enough to satisfy some persons that they were direct from Noah, who could be no other than the mythical Hu the Mighty, or that Hu was the Celtic for Noah. It does not sound the same, but it has been explained by others that the Chaldean Noah was even called Xisuthrus. Roberts's *Druidical Remains* says, "Hu was the god of the Druids; as such he has always been acknowledged by the Cymry." Some do argue that the Triad writer got his notions from the Holy Scriptures, and not from any national traditions at all. The first man and woman escaping from the bursting of the Lake of Floods in "the Bald Ship," as told in a Triad, is very like the story in Genesis.

Because Japheth was the eldest son, and the Cymry were the oldest people, it was quietly assumed that they came from his loins. Gomer was the selected line of descent, and Welshmen to this day delight to be styled the sons of Gomer. Their historian, the Rev. R. W. Morgan, declares of that race, "It is the primogenital family of mankind;" and, therefore, true Gomerians, or Gomeridæ. Several eminent writers have endorsed the idea; but ethnologists generally fail to realize the evidence respecting the Gomerians. Josephus, who assumes as he exaggerates, writes, "For Gomer founded those whom the Greeks now call Galatians." As these were what we now term Celts, making an inroad into Asia Minor, Josephus has been accepted as sufficient authority for calling Galatians by the word Gomerians. As Cymry are Celts, they must, therefore, be Gomerians. There was a tribe known as the Gomarai on the south side of the Caucasus.

But *Cimbri* and *Cimmerians* have come far more prominently and plausibly into the arena of Welsh controversy, convincing most Cambrians of their close connection with the Cymry.

History has much to say about these, who have been usually considered the same folks. Greeks and Romans knew nothing of Cymry, Celts, or Gomerians, but recognized Cimbri and Cimmerii or Kimmerii. Arrian and others were ready to

associate the latter with the Keltæ or Keltoi. The Cimmerians of the Crimea were supposed the same as those afterwards seen as Cimbri of Chersonesus Cimbrica, now known as the peninsula of Jutland in Denmark, by no means esteemed as Cymric in our day. Another home was in the Crimea. Thierry and Sharon Turner tell us of their belief that these Cimbri were Gauls, since the northern invaders of Italy were Cimbri. Niebuhr, Arnold, and Rawlinson incline to trace Cymry to Cimbri.

The Cimbri, who slaughtered 80,000 Romans at the battle of Arausio, 105 B.C., were said to have been totally destroyed by Marius four years after. All the accounts of them point to a German character rather than a Celtic. They were tall, fair, blue-eyed, and light haired. They were in association with the Teutones, who had flaxen hair. Cæsar, Strabo, Pliny, and Tacitus make them Germans. Cæsar says the Belgic Atuatici were descended from the Teutones and Cimbri. Canon Rawlinson may be correct in saying of Cæsar, "I do not consider him much of an authority on ethnology." Certainly Celts were rather like the Cimbri, since the Romans employed them as spies in the war. Sallust, Appian, Diodorus, and Dio Cassius thought the Cimbri were Celtæ. They certainly came down on Italy from about Bohemia, which some imagine was Celtic before being Teutonic, though afterwards overrun with Sclaves. Several writers refer to the Cimbri having blue eyes and yellow hair, not the characteristics of modern Cymry in Wales.

Plutarch has a sketch of the Cimbri. He represents them as living "in the northern ocean, in the very ends of the earth." With a Roman horror of their invasion, he adds, "As to their courage, spirit, force, and vivacity, we can compare them only to a devouring flame." Their warlike aspect is thus drawn: "Their helmets represented the heads and open jaws of strange and frightful wild beasts; on these were fixed high plumes, which made the men appear taller. Their breastplates were of polished iron, and their shields were white and glistening. Each man had two-edged darts to fight with at a distance, and when they came hand to hand they used broad and heavy swords. Their forces injured no man's property; they neither pillaged the fields nor insulted the towns."

Here we have a noble race, highly civilized, and warring after the approved modern methods. Whoever they were,—tall, handsome, blue-eyed, fearless, and magnanimous,—it would be hard to identify them with any dark, cunning, cruel Asiatic people, and not very easy to class them alongside the reputed Cymry, who are mostly dark, stout built, and not tall. Juvenal certainly did not connect the Cimbri and Britons when he sang, "Than whom neither the terrible Cimbri nor the Britons," &c.

The learned Prichard wrote, "I think the Cimbri were Sclavonians. That they had as little to do with Cimbric Chersonese as the Teutones had to do with the Dutch, I am sure." Again, "Who the Cimbri and who the Teutones were are points which complicate numberless ethnological investigations. They complicate those of the Cambrian Welshmen, the Cumbrians of Cumberland, the Belgæ, the populations of Jutland or the Cimbric Chersonese, the Cimmerii, the Crim Tartars," &c. Where Prichard is so cautious it is scarcely well for others to be so sure. Dr. Thurnam, who took much pains to investigate the origin of the word Cymry, says, "It fails to be indissolubly connected with the Cimbri of ante-Christian times." Dr. Woods makes the Cimbri a Gothic people, not Celts, and no descendants of the Cimmerians.

The Cimmerians, says Zeuss, were not Cimbri. Others, who recognize the latter as German, and the former as Celt, may have the same opinion. All admit that the first were known long ages before the others. But there is so much romance surrounding the Kimmeroi or Cimmerians, that the Welsh, or any other people, may be excused seeking an alliance with them.

Homer, in the *Odyssey*, has the earliest reference to these ancient people. He sang thus : "And he arrived at the boundaries of the deep sea, where the people and the states or realm of Cimmerian heroes resided." Some have placed them, therefore, beside the Archipelago Sea, or Sea of Marmora, identifying them as Asiatics. Heroditus, living 484 to 447 B.C., speaks of their invasion of Asia Minor 150 years before his time, but declares that the Kimmerioi came out of Greece into Asia. The Cimmerian Bosphorus divided Asia from Europe. Thierry thinks the tribes dwelt between the Black Sea and the German Ocean. The district of Kertch of the

Black Sea is supposed to be the Celtic *Crych;* and Chalybos near Sinope to be derived from the Welsh *cael,* to get, and *llab,* ironstone, being famous for iron mines.

Heroditus is not alone in making the Cimmerii an irruptive people, troubling their neighbours. Strabo wrote, "The Cimmerians, according to Homer, and prior to his own age, made incursions over the whole country bordering on the Bosphorus as far as Ionia." They were certainly early in Dacia and Thrace. Heroditus heard much of their colonization of the Crimea, where tombs of their kings existed, which displayed much golden adornment; but from which lovely retreat they were driven by hordes of Scythians. As Lydia of Asia Minor was once called *Mæinia,* ardent Welsh philologists have translated the word as *meini,* the Druidical stones. Claiming for the ancestors of the Cymry the erection of cromlechs, &c., it was not so difficult to make Cimmerians out of the ancient Lycians.

Sharon Turner, the historian of the Saxons, accepted the old notion of the Cimmerians being ancestors of British tribes, and remarked, "It is peculiarly interesting for us to consider the immigration of the Cymry." He is pleased to confound the Cimbri with the Cimmerians, so as to bring the more ancient race nearer to British days, by way of the Cimbri. But Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* reflects more modern views in the following conclusion :—"Mere resemblance of name led some of the ancients to identify the Cimbri with the Cimmerians in Asia. This supposition has justly been abandoned by all modern writers." Yet Dr. Nicholas, in *Pedigree of the English,* thus speaks of the Cymry :—"They had from early times obtained a commanding position among the other Celtic tribes of Britain. They seem by pre-eminence to have been called by the old ancestral name CIMBRI."

A new form of the Cymric controversy has arisen out of Assyrian discovery. A tablet is said to bear this sentence : "The tribute of Yahua ab-il Khumry (or Khumree)." The Nimroud obelisk was at once brought into court as testimony to the Oriental origin of the Cymry or Kymry. The Cymry chief was a roving warrior 670 B.C. The word *Gimiri* excited much interest, being identified with *Sacæ.* But Canon Rawlinson settled the doubt by the statement that

the "ethnic name of Gimiri occurs in the cuneiform records as the Semitic equivalent of the Aryan name Saka." It is a mere transcription in another tongue. The Gimiri of Assyria, identified by some with the Cimmerians, are mentioned in history as being conquered by Gyges, king of Lydia. One Tuispa, head of the Khumry in the days of Esarhaddon, is very naturally credited with being an ancestor of Welshmen.

But here a difficulty springs up. The Sacæ have been usually regarded as Saxons, though Heroditus tells us that the Amyrgion Scythians were called Sacæ by the Persians, wearing trousers in opposition to the prevalent Oriental dress. Albinus, a contemporary of Bede's, assures his readers that the Saxons were none other than the Sacæ. Sharon Turner thought the same, and said the Sakai were Scythians. Rawlinson, who finds the Sacæ "spread from the steppes of the Ukraine to the mountains of Wales," is still puzzled about the continuity of the people; observing, "Whether at the same time these Gimiri or Sacæ were really Cymric Celts we cannot positively say." But he takes them to Wales. If Sharon Turner be right, the Sacæ must be the Saxon, and not Celtic, Welsh. *Cambria Triumphans*, 1661, declares the Cimbri were ancestors of the Saxons, through the Sacæ of Asia.

The Cimmerian origin of the Cymry is not proved. Though philologists have been able by some slight changes of letters to make words prove all sorts of conflicting theories, they have no help here; for Rawlinson admits, "Of the Cimmerian language we know absolutely nothing beyond the single word Cimmerii." He might have added that we are not sure that this word is not belonging to another people. Whilst most authors bring the Cimmerians out of Scythia, Heroditus brings the Scythians from Tartary to replace the Cimmerians in the Crimea. Mr. Howorth, who knows more about that part of Asia than any other modern historian, refuses to see any connection between Cimmerians and Cymry. Pearson's *History of England* is rather severe upon the Welsh legends of Cimmerii, saying, "The resemblances of names are delusive, and the tradition can only be traced to a late century, when the vainglorious clans of West England were anxious to establish a connection with the distant and splendid Byzantine empire."

A religious question has been imported into the Welsh Cymric controversy. An attempt is made to show that the Welsh are of Jewish origin. But this is not extraordinary, for certain writers seem anxious to include *all* the various white nations as descendants of Hebrews.

The Assyrian text of the Khumri is at once seized by the Rev. Dr. Margoliouth, and appropriated to this service. It is Hebrew, says he. It means "priest of an idolatrous system." Yahua ab-il Khumry he reads as "Jehu, son of Omri." Omri, king of Israel, consummated the idolatrous system of the Ten Tribes. *Beth Khumri*, or House of Omri, he notes in 1 Kings xvi. 24. It was, then, Samaria that was the ancient Khumri state and people. The Cymry, therefore, were from the province of Khumri, and, consequently, belonged to the Ten Tribes. The author of *The Heir of the World* has no manner of doubt about it. Abraham was to be heir of the world, and the British are modestly said to rule the earth. The author, after referring to the invasion of Khumri by Pul of Assyria, calmly concludes, "The Cymry were a portion of the Ten Tribes of the house of Israel."

The Ten Tribes and their wanderings have given rise to several pleasing romances, besides the Book of Mormon. Lord Kingsborough found them in Mexico; others in Afghanistan, India, China, Siberia, Africa, North America, Germany, or the British Isles. Hogstrom was sure the Laplanders were descendants of the tribes. How Celt and Saxon, or black and white, can be so derived is a greater miracle than their recovery. The Bible gives a very plain statement, but one too simple to be generally received. It tells of the part to which the portions of the Ten Tribes were removed. This may be recognized as the land of Semitic people, of kindred races, of descendants of Abraham's Chaldean relatives, with whom, though under another government, they readily commingled, and among whom their children are still to be found.

The Apocrypha, and not the Bible, has been cited as containing a reference to a rambling forth of the Ten Tribes, though Josephus acknowledged they were in his day where they had been ever since their exile. The story, as told in the second book of Esdras, thirteenth chapter, is said to affirm positively the migration of the Ten Tribes to the Euphrates

on their way to Britain. Dr. Margoliouth dates this soon after Nebuchadnezzar's time.

Esdras, it seems, had had a troublesome dream, and sought an explanation. He saw an eagle, with twelve feathered wings and three heads, rise out of the sea, and rule over earth. The feathers played a remarkable part in the dream, as well as did one of the heads. A lion came upon the scene. After a long harangue to the eagle, announcing his destruction, the roarer witnessed the burning of the bird. Esdras was much disturbed, and besought the Highest for an interpretation. The eagle was shown to be the kingdom Daniel had once seen, and the lion was the Anointed the Highest had "kept for them and their wickedness." The prophet then spent seven days in a field, at the command of an angel, eating only the flowers and herbs thereof.

At the end of that week of fasting and humiliation, he was favoured with a second vision about a man who came up out of the sea, and a multitude from the four winds of heaven gathered to contend with him. The man on the mountain vomited fire, and consumed them all. He then came down, and called to him a peaceable multitude. This dream is explained to refer to the Son of the Highest, who should stand on Mount Zion. After tormenting the evil ones who had presumed to attack him, Esdras was told that "he shall destroy them without labour by the law which is like unto fire." Following this are the verses relating to the subject.

"And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him ;

"Those are the ten tribes, which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea the king, whom Salmanazer the king of Assyria led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, and so came into another land.

"But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt,

"That they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land.

"And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river.

"For the Most High then shewed signs for them, and held still the flood till they were passed over.

" For through that country there was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half ; and the same region is called Arsareth.

"Then dwelt they there until the latter time ; and now when they shall begin to come,

" The Highest shall stay the springs of the stream again, that they may go through ; therefore sawest thou the multitude with peace."

Is it quite safe to accept this dream of the apocryphal Esdras as a proof that the Ten Tribes went to Britain ? Is there any proof of the Ten Tribes, if either Celt or Saxon, being renowned for peaceable qualities ? Did they keep the statutes in the new land ? Though it has been assumed that they were the Druids of Britain and Gaul, was their religion of a Mosaic character ? Was not the assumed reverence for stones more of the patriarchal custom ? It is quite possible that the monkish author of the Welsh Triad about the Cymric settlement may have read Esdras, and so obtained his idea of a peaceful multitude. But that the Celts or Saxons had to fight their way in Europe and in Asia is a fact patent to all readers of history.

In Wilson's *Israelitish Origin*, which assumes that "Israel's grave is the Saxon's birthplace," we have the ethnological difficulty of its being the Celt's birthplace, since it is said, "Their designation as Cymry tells us of their idolatrous Omri organization, worship, and priesthood, rather than of their relation to Gomer." This is not after the dream of Esdras. Bishop Titcombe's *Anglo-Israel's Post-bag* contains some curious materials. It is asserted concerning the Cimmerians, "one of the main divisions of which race has always borne the name of Cymri as its special designation." He has no doubt of the identity of "the Cymry of Wales with the Cimbri of the Romans." But he is evidently not quite sound on the Jewish character of the Cimmerians, since he assumes that when these people were hard pressed by the Scythians, 660—630 B.C., they were joined by some wandering Israelites !

By the help of philological and historical assumptions, it would not be impracticable for some persons to realize that the Welsh were simply emigrant Israelites, though of the "idolatrous Omri organization." There are devout and even learned men who are so blinded by patriotic egotism, that they will eagerly compass anything to connect their own nation with that of the Chosen Tribes of Israel. Their zeal is not

altogether appreciated by the more orthodox Jews, or by other
Christian races that are left out in the cold of the Gentile world.

The Hebrew language has been identified in both Gaelic
and Cymric. The Rev. Hugh Rowlands thought he detected
a thousand Hebrew analogues. Fifty years ago, as we are
told, Irish peasants found little difficulty in reading a Hebrew
Bible when unable to procure an Irish one. A Welsh
gentleman informed the writer that he was able to make out
Hindoostani with ease from his knowledge of Cymraeg.
But it is not generally supposed that Hebrew is like
Hindoostani, and many see a wide difference between the
Semitic and the Indo-European or Aryan tongues. Others
discover a likeness to the Greek. Lhuyd, a hundred years
ago, pointed this out. In the numbers there is a great
resemblance, and more than in Low Celtic or Teutonic. "In
Cymric," says Pike, "when compared with Greek, we find
not only the same root, but the same root in the same form."
This is held to be a confirmation of the view of the Triad
that the Cymry came from Deffrobani, in Greece. Hecatæus
said that when the Hellenes visited the Hyperboreans, they
left offerings bearing Greek inscriptions. Cæsar assures us
that the Druids used Greek letters. Some conclude, there-
fore, that Britons learned to write in Greek before leaving
the region round Constantinople.

Latin, again, has been largely found in Welsh. The Rev.
W. Williams gives a list of eight hundred such words,
though he attributes them to the Roman occupation of Wales.
Then *Ieuan* declares that "there is in the Latin a far
greater number of words whose principal roots are discovered
in the Welsh than can be found in the Greek." He gives
over seventy Latin words beginning with the letter *C* which he
can trace to Welsh roots. Some, again, are equally luminous
upon the alliance with Phœnician, Lap, Etruscan, and other
languages. The Rev. R. Garnett compares *quinquefolium*
with Welsh *pumdalen*—from *pump*, five, and *dalen*, a leaf;
petorritum, a four-wheeled carriage, with Welsh *peder*, four,
and *rhod*, a wheel.

The Cymry tongue is maintained as the mother one, that
in which Adam and Eve conversed. There is a noted Welsh
saying, "As long as the world lasts the Kymric tongue will
be spoken." It is very far from being lost. Bishops and

clergy of the Church in Wales are now pretty commonly
preaching in it. Eisteddfodau keep up the study of it.
Still, not a few Welshmen are bold enough to advise their
countrymen to give up the tongue, that has no literature of
value, for the English, which has the learning, and in which
business is transacted. Carlyle laments the loss in many
ways by the retention of Cymraeg. He thus gives his
experience of the country : " *Dim Saisenaeg !* (No English)
from every dyke side and house corner. I think the first
thing the poor bodies have to do is to learn English."

Welsh enthusiasm for their native speech is well illustrated
by the remarks of *Meirion* in the *Cambro Briton :* " I have
computed that there are about 8000 simple verbs in the
Welsh tongue, to each of which may be put twenty different
prefixes, to give some particular characters of time or action.
This increases the number to 160,000 ; and these may be
conjugated five different ways generally by inflexion, as in
the learned languages, or by auxiliaries, as in the English ;
and this makes the real number of Welsh verbs, if there was
occasion for so many, to amount to 800,000 ! "

It is admitted that the Welsh of the day is far more
unlike old Welsh than modern English is unlike the old
English. The earliest Welsh grammar was published at
Milan in 1567, and in London in 1621. The Archdeacon of
Cardigan finds the Veneti, Britones, Britanni, and Cymry
spoke the Cymraeg. Thierry and Broca maintained that
Cornish, a Kymric tongue, must have been that of the
British, and therefore of the continental, Belgæ. Hovelacque,
in the *Science of Language*, lays it down that the Welsh are
the same as the Gaulish, though declaring, that such are the
changes which have occurred, that all trace of case endings
in Kymric have well-nigh disappeared. Referring to the idle
dreams of the Cymry about their language, he says, " Such is
the vitality of national prejudice when fostered by ignorance."

The Bards tell wonderful stories of the heavenly origin
of their alphabet. Tradition affirms, says Ab Ithel, that
" Einigau Gawr saw three rays of light, on which were in-
scribed all knowledge and science. And he took three rods
of mountain ash, and inscribed all the sciences upon them,
as it should seem in imitation of the three rays of light."
Another version has it that Menw took the three rods out of

the mouth of the giant Einigau. These three lines constituted, by a variation of arrangement, all the letters of the so-called Druidical alphabet. This arrow-headed writing was used in notchings upon the wooden staves, *Coelbren* or *Peithynen*, otherwise the Log Almanac or Tally. Some think the Coelbren was employed when Henry IV. prohibited the Welsh having books. There were ten original letters, though eighteen after our era, subsequently raised to two dozen. The original letters, taken from the mouth of Einigau, as Cadmus took his letters from among the teeth of a dragon, were *a*, *p*, *c*, *e*, *t*, *i*, *l*, *r*, *o*, *s*. Lhuyd tells us that in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries the alphabet was identically that of the Irish and early Saxons. There was no *k*, *j*, *q*, *w*, *y*, or *z*. It is odd to find Montgomery folks making such frequent use of *n* as a final letter, and putting the past tense in *d*.

Was the Cymry language like the Gaelic? This is a question not easily settled. Adelung, Zeuss, and other grammarians notice a great similarity. Prof. Forbes declares them essentially different, since a Gael cannot read a verse in the Welsh Bible. Yet the Rev. R. Garnett discovered that in 270 Irish words 140 were Welsh in sense and origin, 40 were cognate, and only 50 were peculiar to Gaelic. Dr. Owen Pughe, who maintained Cymraeg was Sclavonic, would not appeal to Ireland. Prof. Rhys notes as two separate groups of languages the Brythonic and the Goidelic. He sees "no historical evidence for extending its application beyond the limits of Wales."

The words *inver* and *aber* for river have been asserted to be a division of Gaelic and Cambrian. But some Celtic authorities now place both as meaning the same thing, foot of a river. Mr. Donald Clark of Glasgow speaks of both having the same root. He writes, "*Iochda ramhin* (nether river, viz., low end of river), which came to be pronounced Iabher (Inver) and Abher (Aber), a prefix to the names of places, viz., the foot of streams." *Aber* is seen in East Scotland, but *inver* in West; yet there are four Welsh *abers* in Argyle, the prominent seat of the Irish. Mr. L. Maclean accounts for some differences of old :—" The circumstance of writing having been in early times a continuous string of letters without a break occasioned a slight difference when

this string came to be apportioned into words. This accounts for the main distinction between the Irish Gaelic and that of Scotland. The final letter of a vocable in the one oftentimes becomes the initial in the other."

Few are disposed to doubt the high antiquity of the Cymraeg language. The Rev. Duncan J. Heath, in a letter to the writer, concludes that the people using it "broke away from the other Aryans earlier than Greeks, Teutons," &c. He adds, "The peculiarity is that their conjugation of the verb is very evidently managed by taking in the personal pronoun." After comparing several instances, he feels constrained to affirm that "our present Welsh has preserved much earlier forms than any other existing Aryan language." The Rev. R. Garnett writes, "The entire want of *cases* in Welsh, Cornish, and Breton is a mark of antiquity exhibited by no other European tongue in its original condition."

But admitting the likeness of Welsh with Cornish, Low Breton, and Gaulish, if not with the Celtic Irish and Scotch, we cannot help asking, with Prof. Rudler, "Are we quite safe in concluding that all the Keltic-speaking peoples are one in race ?"

We are not sure that the Welsh Cymro, as he styles himself, is allied to the Briton, the Armorican, the Erse, the Gaul. Language is not a real test of race. We cannot announce the Welsh as a very ancient and original people because they happen to speak an ancient and original tongue. All who speak Russian are very far from all being Sclavonians. Greek was once employed among Jews, Syrians, Arabs, Egyptians, Phrygians, Carians, Cilicians, and other opposing nationalities, but that did not make them Greek in race. Hovelacque properly remarks, "There is no such thing as a French race, but rather many races speaking French." English settlers in Ireland during hundreds of years accepted the Irish language without becoming Celts. Several French philologists regard the Cymraeg as like to the Walloon or Belgian, of a race after Celts ; "allied to them," as Hovelacque says, "in speech, but not in race."

French writers have interested themselves greatly in the Welsh Cymry question, because of Gaul. But the wide differences among them indicate the difficulty and uncertainty of the subject, upon which some persons are so complacently·

satisfied. It is natural for German authors, from a patriotic point of view, to claim the ancient Cimbri of Germania as Teutonic, and not Celtic, Germans. They would be quite disposed to hail the Cymry as fellow-countrymen, and deliver the Welsh out of the hands of the Irish Erse, who claim them for compatriots. Some French, however, as Perier and De Jubainville, agree with them about the German blood of the Cymry. Perier traces his Cymric French countrymen distinctly to the German frontier. Henri Martin, on the contrary, is indignant at such a supposition, exclaiming, " Not only were the Cimbri not Germans, but they were Gauls more ancient than the Gauls of the Danube." Broca distinguished the brown Celts from the blonde Kymri, while Martin contends that they are the same people, though the latter were the last comers. Broca describes the Cymry as tall, fair, and blonde, with blue eyes, long head, broad, high forehead, and strong chin. Such a description by no means accords with the popular conception of a Welshman.

Brittany has always had charms for the people of Wales. A connection of some kind was ever believed in, though which was the parent stock was not made clear to those just over the way. The similarity of tongue alone was sufficient to bind them. Yet the love was all on one side, for the Breton has no sympathy toward his heretical Protestant neighbour.

Brittany, formerly Armorica, the *land by the sea*, was once the country of the Veneti. These were well civilized, for Cæsar refers to their chains of wrought iron, and others note their fleets of ships. Some classical authors call them a Phœnician colony. Tacitus finds a resemblance between their speech and that of the Æstii (Esthonians) of the Baltic. Good coins were made by them. Yet many French writers will not hold the Bretons to be Celts, as some Gauls were. Celts are light and tall, say they, while Bretons are dark and short. As Henri Martin observes, " It is impossible to confound the Bretons with the Gauls of the Danube." He draws, however, an important distinction among the population, one quite obvious to all who visit the country. " The brown, little, thick-set type," says he, " vulgarly called *Breton*, is for me that of the race anterior to the Breton; but the true Breton type is taller, thinner, with long visage,

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blue eyes." The latter are Celts, and are best observed in the canton Guerande. It strikes most people that the Silurian Welsh are more like the older Bretons.

The Veneti of Brittany were evidently a superior race, and well cultured. Whether indebted to Phœnician shipmen for their civilization or not, they had a powerful fleet when they contended with Julius Cæsar. Their connection with Britain is thus named by Strabo: " The Veneti fought at sea against Cæsar ; they had made their disposition to prevent his passage into the Isle of Britain because they were in possession of the commerce of that country." The Emperor Napoleon, in his *Life of Julius Cæsar*, pays this compliment to the Veneti : " This people was the most powerful on the whole coast through its commerce and its navy. Its numerous ships served to carry on a traffic with the Isle of Britain. Possessed of consummate skill in the art of navigation, it ruled over this part of the ocean." Assuredly the British merchants who enjoyed this trade were not quite the rude savages some prefer to regard them. The Veneti, though enterprising and brave, were treacherous and cruel. Their treatment of Roman envoys was punished by Cæsar in the destruction of their Senate.

The Bretons are thus shown to be of very mixed blood. M. Martin, however, protests that the Breton Celts " are true Celts, more numerous in our Brittany than in Wales." In *Florus* the following passage may be read : " The Cimbri, exiled from the extremity of Gaul by an inundation of the sea over their territories, went in search of places to settle in wherever they might find them."

The ethnological history of Brittany is as puzzling as that of Wales itself. Our present interest in it is the relation it bore to Welsh emigration. Mr. T. Wright, the able expositor of Romano-British antiquities, thus puts the question: "About the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain, either the Welsh went over to Gaul and became the Armoricans, or the Armoricans came over into Britain and became the Welsh." Lagneau calls the Breton Breizad a Cymrac dialect, but does not affirm the parent locality.

It is said that the two peoples, according to history, were different before the Roman days, and so alike after. At the Eisteddfod held at Abergavenny, M. de Lavillemerqué recited

some Breton poems, which were readily understood by the Cymry-speaking people present, calling forth great enthusiasm. French authorities have no doubt of intimate emigration relations after the Roman period. A large number of Welsh saints are Armoricans, and the Breton saints are often seen with a Cymric name. Padern becomes Badern, and Illtyd is the same on both sides of the water. The important subject of inquiry is, Were the Welsh from Brittany, or the Bretons from Wales?

As we know of a certainty that there were several distinct races in Brittany, so are we sure of a similar variety in Wales. But were the Welsh talkers from the Gaul side, or was the language taken to the Continent?

Prof. Rhys takes the Britons there. He styles Brittany "a kind of counter-colony, the Bretons being the descendants of countrymen of ours who passed thither, probably from Devon and Cornwall, and not the direct representatives of the ancient Gauls, as is proved by their traditions and language, which is a Brythonic dialect, easily learned by a Welshman, but resembles Old Cornish even more closely than it does Welsh." Mr. Wright, the antiquary, contends that the Welsh were from Brittany, finding authority for saying that a colony went forth in the fifth century. He reasons that it was very unlikely that the Welsh would go from Wales in the peaceful times before the Saxons burst in upon them, but not improbable that the Armoricans, then grievously plagued with pirates all along their border, would leave their homes. Though the Romans subdued the Veneti, little comparative holding of their country followed, and afterwards Armorica was practically independent.

The Secretary of the Breton Archæological Institute may properly be admitted as important evidence. He agrees with Mr. Wright that the "similarities of language and manners still existing between the Welsh and the Bretons are too marked and too numerous to be satisfactorily explained, if we refer the final separation of the two nations anterior to the conquest of England by the Romans." But he maintains the colonization of Armorica from Britain about the fifth century.

A large number of traditions are alike in both lands. The story of King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table is essentially Breton. The people are full of legends about these,

and point out the scenes of Arthur's battles, death, and burial.
But the word *Breton* was unknown till the fifth century, when
Armorica, with its five tribes in Roman days, became *Bretagne*,
or *Little Britain*. Procopius informs us that multitudes of
Britons fled from home to Gaul during the fifth and sixth
centuries. A large colony of them, to get away from the
Saxons, established themselves upon the banks of the Loire
during the fifth century. The Frisian pirates made locations
all along the northern shore of Gaul, forcing the Celtic people
to the interior. Dr. Thurnam, the well-known anthropologist,
admits that "in Brittany the Cymric-speaking people of
France appear to possess a skull-form which, like that of the
Welsh, inclines to brachycephalism." The Gaulish language
was lost in the Latin; but the author of *Words and Places*
infers from the distribution of names of localities that the
Cymry came from the South to Wales.

Scotland, as well as Brittany, has been supposed the source
of the Welsh Cymry, or of those who forced the Cymric
language upon the people of Wales.

The Cymry were well represented in South Scotland. This
was the part, as may be seen in *Who were the Scotch?* which
was the most civilized, being that under Roman refinement.
Sir William Betham lays it down that the Welsh are simply
Picts or Caledonians, who migrated southward when disturbed
by Scots from Ireland and by Saxons from the Baltic and
North seas. Chalmers, in *Caledonia*, calls the Picts a tribe
of Cumbrians. The Rev. R. Garnett finds the names of the
Pictish kings more Welsh than Gaelic. The Irish-Gaelic in-
vasion crushed the Pictish language. Lhuyd, the distinguished
Welshman, admitted in 1701 that his British ancestors came
from "a province of Reged in Scotland, in the fourth century,
before the Saxons came into Britain," and that his forefathers'
land was known as *Cambria*. This emigration is described
in the chapter on the "Strathclyde Welsh." A story is told
of a returned party of Cymry, who came from Scotland in
the ninth century, and got a grant of country between the
Dee and Conway, on condition of first driving out some Saxon
occupants.

The Rev. Dr. T. McLaughlan has ably treated the
question of Kymric elements in Scotland. He finds the
tref and *tre* quite common there. "The generic *aber*," he

says, "is in Scottish topography found uniformly associated with specific terms purely Kymric; as Aberuchill, Aberdour, Aberdeen, Abernethy," and not associated with a Gaelic word. He calls the Pictish language *Gallo-Cymbric*, while Skene gives it a "place between Kymric and Gaelic." The Welsh Gower is the Scotch Gowrie; the Llanerch is Lanrick and Lanark. Lomond in Welsh is a beacon. *Calder*, *Ochil*, *Dee*, *Nith*, *Nethy*, and *Clyde* (Clwyd) are all Welsh. Father Innes finds Cymric north as well as south of the Forth.

Mr. Nash, who has written much upon Druids and Triads, does not scruple to avow his opinion of the Scottish origin of the people, when referring to "the migration of the Cumbrian tribes, the ancestors of the modern Welsh." Mr. Wright, in his antiquarian essays, doubts the existence of the Cumbrians as a distinct people, and questions the tradition of the Cymry leaving Cumbria, then including parts of England and Scotland, to settle in Wales. "The very improbable story," says he, "of these Cymry having given their territory to the Scots, and retired into Wales, belongs to a later period, and was the invention of the Scottish kings, who, having got possession of Cumberland during the confusion of the Danish invasions, wanted an excuse for retaining it under the Normans."

But what ethnological changes occurred in the isle of Britain after the Romans left cannot now be ascertained. Captain Burton says, "Historical evidence is wholly wanting." Prof. Rice Rees truly observes, "In the lapse of these years very few dates occur upon which any reliance may be placed." The stories of Triads and Chroniclers about Owain son of Maximus, the Pendragon of Britain, are wholly unknown to any classical writers. Their history is often either inventive fables or disguised myths. Zosimus relates that the Britons from the year 408 were under various independent chieftains who were perpetually at war. The controlling hand of Rome was needed for the retention of civilization as well as peace, for the country rapidly fell into barbarism by internecine quarrels, so paving the way for the conquest by Saxons.

As to the Cymry, Pearson writes, "We are sure that the Kymric or Welsh tribes were never more than one among several peoples in Britain." At any rate they were so

fortunate as to leave their speech behind, while the other
tribes lost theirs in the conflict of the times. They may, as
Nicholas's *Pedigree of the English* says, be far from being
such pure Celts as the Gaels or Irish, yet their language
preserves a vitality denied to other Celtic dialects.

How was it that the Cymraeg tongue survived a catastrophe
so damaging to its fellows? The general belief of the Welsh
is that this was because they represent the Britons proper,
and are the lineal descendants of the opposers of Cæsar. But
Pike suggestively remarks, "We cannot say that the pre-
vailing language is that of the race which survives in the
greatest numbers; for, if so, there would be hardly a trace of
Latin in France or Spain." That the language was well
worthy of retention cannot be doubted. That it brought
with it to Western Europe a fair amount of civilization is
evidenced by its terms for many articles in use only with a
developed race. But that it proves all who speak it to be
Cymry cannot for a moment be maintained, since Silures and
Gaels in Wales accepted the speech. We thus obtain no
solid ground in our search into the origin of the Welsh by
an investigation of their language.

Few persons in the present day attach much, if any, historical
value to the Welsh Triads. These claim for the Cymry
priority of residence in Britain. Thierry, the author of the
Norman Conquest, mildly rebukes the claim for this honour-
able position. "It is most probable," says he, "that the
Cambrian emigrants found in the isle of Britain men of
another origin and a different language, whose lands they
invaded. This is attested by many names of places foreign
to the Cambrian tongue, as well as by the ruins of an
unknown age, attributed by the vulgar tradition to an
extinct race of hunters, who, instead of dogs, trained foxes
and wild cats to the chase."

As there are no very ancient specimens of the Cymraeg
literature, as no old writers give information about the Cymry
being in Wales, we have little direct evidence to guide us.
Of the two ancient nations of North Wales known to the
Romans, the Ordovices and the Cangi or Cangiani, absolutely
no remains now exist, though they most probably were Gaels.
Their British name of Ordovices was lost in the confusion
following the retreat of the Romans, though they afterwards

appear as Gwyddel. But we have preserved to us the names of the Demetæ of the south-west, and the Silures of the south-east. The Triad story of the freedom of the Welsh mountaineers while the rest of Britain was under the Latin rule is quite absurd. Mr. Wright, who knew the country to have been " covered in all parts with towns and stations " of the Romans, as well as their mining establishments, justly regards such facts as " entirely incompatible with the existence at the same time of any considerable number of an older population in the slightest degree of independence."

Under the Romans there was peace and plenty in Wales, the *Britannia Secunda*. Immediately after their departure there was ruin and devastation on all sides. Mr. Wright says there is nothing to shake his belief " that the destruction of Roman towns in Wales, and on the Border, was at least as general, if not more general, than in the districts of Britain conquered by the Anglo-Saxons." We are called upon to believe one of three things : that the Welsh people destroyed their own dwellings ; that the Saxons destroyed them before they had conquered a tenth part of England, so open to their attack ; or, that a foreign people, foreign to the Demetæ and Silures under the Romans, and foreign to the Gaelic northern tribes under the Romans, came and did the mischief. As before stated, history relative to that period is utterly silent or entirely unreliable. The author of *Celt, Roman, and Saxon* may well write, " Serious doubts presented themselves to me as to the accuracy of our commonly-received notions of the origin of the population of Wales." He therefore conjectures that the Welsh Cymry were invaders of this civilized and progressive *Britannia Secunda* (Wales), coming across from Brittany when the brave legions retired, and overcoming the more luxurious and unwarlike native inhabitants. In this way they might have forced their Cymraeg upon the people of Wales, as the English impressed their Saxon upon the Celtic races eastward of the Severn.

It is certainly a mysterious story of the old Welsh historians about the conquests of the Cuneddian heroes. A charge was made by these upon the Gwyddels or Irish of North Wales, it is said. Some shrewdly suspect that the Cymry came in as a wild torrent upon Gaels and Silures, immigrants with fire and sword, after the approved method

of the times. Such a supposition disposes of some difficulties, but it presents others as formidable.

The Cuneddian migration is one of the Bardic mysteries. The Triads cannot help us much, as they only recognize the struggle between the Cunedda and the Irish of North Wales. Their traditions serve to lead us to North Wales as the scene of conflict, and we know that South Wales was mainly Silurian then. That which we seek to know is what occurred in North Wales on the decadence of the Romans in Britain.

If, as many suppose, the Britons under the Romans spoke Latin, as the Gauls did, Scotland south of the Clyde and Forth doubtless used the same tongue. North of that line the Caledonians doubtless had a Celtic speech, which, though partly Gaelic, was mainly Cymric or Welsh. When the wild North burst through the barrier, and swept off every token of civilization across the Clyde, Latin would be supplanted by Cymraeg. Emboldened by success, the Picts or Caledonians swept the neighbouring lands, and might well come down to North Wales from the Solway, bringing the Cymric language with them. The Rev. R. Garnett admits that "the Cymric or Welsh was not the whole British language, but a particular dialect, chiefly prevalent in certain northern and western provinces." It is not strange, therefore, that there should have been a sudden revival of the old tongue, though only finally rooting itself in Wales.

In Bruce's *Roman Wall* we learn that the Emperor Heraclius left Placidus as his governor in this island. On his death, Castius and the Britons sustained the war against the Picts and Scots; but the general was killed, and the army were said to have been beaten back to Wales about 410. Then there is a tradition that the Britons drove out the Roman garrison of the northern Wall, and they had to fly to Wales for shelter. Such stories seem to show that at that period the Cymry development had not reached Wales.

Another version of the story is given by the historian Haigh :—" Cunedda Wledig and Brychan, with their sons, who were driven from the *North* by the Picts (Caledonians), expelled the Gwyddyl Ffichti, who had seized on Wales after the departure of Maximus, and gave their names to the regions in which they settled. Gwynedd and Brycheiniog

were probably those who were said to have retreated into Wales from the stations of the Wall." But this would make Cunedda a Romanized Briton from South Scotland.

Mark the Anchorite, one of the very earliest chroniclers, has a remarkable statement bearing on the supposed antiquity of the Cymry, and the Cymric patriotism of Cunedda. Telling his readers that the Britons were from Spain, he takes us thus to Wales:—"The sons of Liethali obtained the country of the Dimetæ (West Wales) and the provinces Guoher and Cetyueli, which they held till they were expelled from every part of Britain by Cunedda and his sons." In his day, therefore, about when the Saxons came, Cunedda was regarded as an enemy to the Britons, and as an invader of the country. It is admitted by the ardent Welsh Prof. Rice Rees, that these men, father and sons, "were the founders of so many clans, which gave names to the districts that they occupied."

The Pictish or Caledonian origin of the Cymry has, therefore, some strong points to rest upon.

We have no help in our inquiry by the consideration that the Welsh *say* they are the Cymry, and the descendants of the ancient Britons who fought with Cæsar. If one goes to Turkey, inquiring of the dozen millions on both sides of the Bosphorus, he would be assured that they were *Turks;* and yet we know that only a few hundred years ago, a few hundred thousand Turks, almost all males, came to Asia Minor from Tartary, and that constant fighting had cleared out much of the Ottoman blood from so-called Turkey. What a people may be called by others, or supposed to be by themselves, gives very little light to the ethnologist.

The strange thing is that there should be so much difficulty in tracking the Cymry. It would be easy to say they were the Belgæ of Britain, driven westward by the Saxons. This is the popular story. But these Belgæ had become Roman in habits, and the Roman characteristics disappear more entirely from Wales than they did from England. Again, the Belgæ are described by all as like the ordinary Gauls—tall, fair-haired, and blue-eyed. Who can esteem the typical Welshman after this kind? The Latin, once probably the speech of Britain, disappeared from Wales afterwards, though the ordinary inscriptions on tombs, &c. continued for some

time to be Latin. The fact of Latin being retained, even in England under the Saxons, is not to be attributed to the influence of Catholic clergy, but to the old speech of the British race, which gave, too, so Latinized a turn to Saxon English, in contradistinction to continental Saxon. In Wales the Romanized Briton had not to yield his speech for Saxon, but Cymric.

This philological question furnishes an argument for those holding that the Cymry of Wales were nothing else but invaders from Armorica, the north-western portion of Gaul or France.

Though the Romans did conquer that corner of Gaul, they never effectually held it, as the people of that rugged granite region were constantly rising against the invaders. It is not a little remarkable that while the Gauls generally accepted Latin, relinquishing alike their Ligurian, Iberian, and Cymraeg, Armorica continued to cherish the Celtic, which was Welsh rather than Gaelic. We know also that the men of Devon and Cornwall, never so much under Rome as the rest of Britain, spoke a language like that of the people opposite, in Armorica or Brittany. The union was a close one, though the Cornish held aloof from the rest of Gaul. This same speech then appears in Wales, though spoken of only after the Romans left. Is it wonderful, therefore, that some should connect these facts, and suppose the Cymraeg language to have come from Brittany ?

Dr. Wood's *Primitive Inhabitants of Ireland* finds evidence of the Veneti of Armorica having settled in Ireland. He identifies them in the north-west prominently. The Fomorians, or Fomhoruigh, of Irish tradition are styled *sea-robbers*, or seafaring men. Dr. Wood has no doubt of a sept of the Veneti being established early in the north-west of Wales. An extensive migration took place, as we know from history, after the last struggle of the Armoricans with the Romanized Gauls. This was when the Romans were retreating from Britain, but not from Gaul, and when the Saxons, as well as Picts and Scots, were beginning their ravages. The settlements in North and South Wales from the Armorican coasts could not have been made while the Romans occupied Siluria and Dimetia ; but, in the consequent disorder, advantage was taken to possess themselves of a better land.

The Veneti were well known as warriors, as well as traders. They had certainly some settlements in Wales, for Adelmus Benedictus, in the seventh century, speaks of them there. Again, we are told by Dr. Wood that the Watling Street of Rome, known as the *Irish Causeway*, ran "through the territory of the *Venti* of North Wales." But no one doubts of the emigration of Britons across to Bretagne, or Little Britain. The Triads place some there in 382, and Rapin states 378. Gildas and Bede have some over before the Saxon invasion. We read of the *Episcopus Britanorum* from Armorica being present at the Council of Tours in 461. Powel's *Welsh Chronicle* names 590 for the great migration westward from England, and, therefore, for many across the Channel. Dr. Wood accounts for the ease with which Armorica was taken up by the emigrants, from the considerable exodus of the old inhabitants into Wales : "the emigration of these Gallic tribes from Gaul, which may be inferred from the occupancy of this territory by the Britons."

Why, it may be asked, did the Britons go so far as Brittany, a long and often tempestuous voyage, when they could have crossed over into what was afterwards known as Normandy, Picardy, or Artois, the nearest parts of France ? The reason is clear, if we assume that they fled from the Saxons, as these maritime people at that very time held most of the northern Gallic ports, though nominally under a Roman commander of the then so-called Saxon shore of Gaul.

One more question remains : If so many Britons went to Armorica, what language did they use there ?

At the present time, while most parts of Brittany speak French,—itself a slightly-changed Latin tongue,—a broad band is found talking Breton, which is like Welsh. Are the Cymric-speaking Bretons the descendants of the migrating Britons ? This very important inquiry cannot be answered in the affirmative. The Cymry-speaking French are like the Silurian Welsh—short, squatty, and dark-featured. It is the French-speaking portion that are taller and lighter, answering to the general description of the Britons in the south of England, who, most probably, spoke Latin, and would thus talk the common language of Gaul, which fell gradually into French.

If, then, the Cymric Bretons answer to the physical

description of the Cymric Welsh, one connection is established. But here we are placed on the horns of a dilemma. If the Armorican Cymry be like the Silurian Welsh, both now speaking the same tongue, how is it they are so unlike in physiognomy to the regular acknowledged Celts of Scotland, England, Ireland, and France? They are quite Iberian in *physique*, if Celtic in speech. One reply may be, that, as the Silurian or Iberian Welsh, in all probability, accepted Latin, like the civilized Gauls did, the Gallic Iberians of the north-west extremity had previously accepted the Cymraeg of the northern Gauls, though afterwards declining to accept the Latin of the Roman invader, to whose sway they would never thoroughly submit. Those little, broad-shouldered, dark Iberian French gave the conquerors from Rome as much trouble as did the little, broad-shouldered, dark Iberian Welsh.

These remarks are merely put forward as suggestions for consideration; the author, in the face of so much conflicting testimony, dares not venture to affirm any theory as conclusive. Enough has been told to warrant us to receive with caution statements that the Cymry form the majority of Welsh, that the Cymraeg speakers are necessarily Cymry, that the Cymry in Wales are refugee Britons, and that the Cymry is a people, and not a mere speech. One thing may be assumed as most probable : that the people who thus forced their tongue on Wales were worthy to take the lead in that country, though, perhaps, numerically fewer than the other races dwelling in the land. Whatever may be said of the speakers, there is no disputing the very high antiquity and effectiveness of the language we generally recognize as that of the Cymry.

THE ROMAN WELSH.

However we admit the triumph of arts and luxury in Wales under the Roman sway, it is equally and most painfully evident that the whole of these disappeared almost immediately upon the removal of the legions. " On the departure of the Romans," says Dr. Nicholas, " native independence was resumed in its fulness, and along with it, we may well presume, native broils and wars, Irish raids and reprisals." The Welsh admit that they split up into many independent

states, though Nennius speaks of a ruling king at Gloucester. The Triads state that "the third invading force which came to the isle of Britain, and departed from it, were the Cæsarians" (Romans). But it is added, "And there remained of these only women and young children under the age of nine years, who became a part of the Cymry:" this is a sample of Triad exactness.

The Romans in Wales were mostly soldiers. Monuments announce to us the names of some of their legions. Certainly they retained the use of the Latin language; or, rather, all inscriptions were in that language. Mr. Wright, the authority on Roman matters here, writes thus: "The inscriptions of the Roman period are proportionally quite as numerous in Britain as in Gaul, and they are all purely Latin, without any trace of Celtic language or Celtic people." This either implies but slight assimilation with the people of the land, or that Latin was the acknowledged tongue of communication. Yet we know as a fact that the legions were in several cases not Roman, and not Italian, but of races far removed from the peninsula, brought from subjugated nations in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The influence of the Roman blood in Wales must not, therefore, be overrated. Some Roman ladies may have been introduced; but the general practice would have been the formation of ties with the females of the country. According to Knox, the ethnologist, "they destroyed no other race, supplanted no other race." But he adds, "They established themselves nowhere as Romans." This leads him to conclude, "Perhaps they never were a race at all."

Roman remains in Wales are plentiful. Coins have been dug up at Corwen, Abergavenny, Aberavon, Careg Cenen, Newton, Nottage, Fishguard, Harlech, Carnarvon, Carmarthen, and other places. At Bronyscawen 200 were taken from a leaden chest. For an appreciation of the Roman life in Wales one must visit the Caerleon Museum. Roman villas have been disinterred even in the extreme parts of Pembrokeshire. Mr. Wright affirms that the country "was covered in all parts with towns and stations, posts and villas and mining establishments, which were entirely incompatible with the existence at the same time of any considerable number of an older population in the slightest degree of

independence." Wales was thoroughly subdued and civilized
by the Romans, although all native princes were not deposed.

Roman roads were grand ones of the period. The *Via
Julia* was Cymricized in several instances. Its crossing of
the Wye at Estrighoel was Ystrad Iwl, or Strata (road) Julia.
One went through England across North Wales to the ford
over the Menai Strait. Another was from Caerwent in
Monmouth to St. David's. Brecon was thus connected with
Carmarthen through the lovely vale of Towy. Others crossed
the country in various directions. The British Akeman
Street ran between Caerwent and Carmarthen, and was the
Roman Via Julia Maritima. The Southern Watling Street
went from Shrewsbury to Carnarvon, and the Northern
Watling Street from Chester to Holyhead. The British
street Ryknield was the Via Julia Montana. Morgan's
British Kymry makes Sarn Gwyddelin, or Irish road,
corrupted into Watling Street, going from Dover to Mona.
Sarn Ucha was from the Tyne to St. David's. Some think
the Romans merely adopted the paved British roads. The
great conquerors made their roads on the principle of a double
arch, or two unequal segments of a circle. The centre of the
lower and larger was a great stone; the sides were made
thinner, so that the water drained off. Sir R. Colt Hoare
gives a good map of Wales before the Romans.

Camps and stations were many, but must not be con-
founded, as they sometimes are, with what were really
British, or earlier, forts and entrenchments on the hills.
There was certainly a station at Holyhead. Isca Legionis
was the station of the second legion (Augusta) on the Isca or
Usk. The seventh legion was at Caerleon, having been
previously at Leon in Spain. The *caer* may have been
altered *castra*, for the camp. Nennius speaks of the city
Leogis which was called by the name of Cair Lion. There
were stations at Merthyr, Lloughor of Gower, Bannium in
Brecon, Penlan, Caer Gybi or Holyhead, Pensarn, Grongar
hill, Varis, Caerau, Fishguard, Myfod of Merioneth, Caergwrle,
Loventium of Cardigan, Ad Vicessimum, Aberavon, Neath,
Trecastle, Wapley, Pentre, &c. The Britons were Roman
coloni.

Siluria was the Roman for Essyllwg, and Venta for
Gwent, the open country. Venedotia was the name applied

to the northern part of Britannia Secunda, or Wales. Deva was where Chester now is ; Gobannium, Abergavenny ; Nidum, Neath ; Burrium, Usk ; Bovium, near Cardiff ; Leucarum, Loughor ; Menapia, St. David's ; Rutunium, Rowton ; Bullmoor, Monmouth ; Bullæum, Builth ; Bannium, Old Brecon. The site of Segontium was near Carnarvon, and Conovium on the Conway was twenty-four miles off. Muridunum is now Carmarthen or Caer-mardyn, the city of Merlin. Caerwent in Gwent was Venta Silurum. Of nine towns named by Richard of Cirencester, only two can be now identified. North Wales felt the destructive hand more than the South.

The Romans did much for Wales. The edict of Gratian, in 376, extended the school system ; only again favoured by the State in the last few years. Mining of coal, iron, and copper was then carried on. Four copper cakes bearing the Roman stamp, and each weighing twenty-nine pounds, were found on Parys mountain, in Anglesey. Three such cakes were seen at Bryndu, of Anglesey. One great reason for the Roman conquest of Mona may have been the copper then worked there by the Welshmen.

Whatever other Welsh resisted Rome, it is certain that the Iberian Silures were the boldest. Ostorius was so angry that he threatened to destroy their very name out of Britain, transporting the remnant to Gaul, as had been done with the Sigambri. The sturdy conquerors, however, relented, and gave the Silures a civilization that brought more comforts to their homes. The marvel now appears that this light of Christianity and refinement should have so utterly passed away almost immediately upon the retreat of the Romans.

The three great races in Roman times were the Silures, from Gloucester to Carmarthen, or further ; the Dimetæ, from Llandilo to St. David's Head ; and the Ordovices, north of the Silures, and westward to Carnarvon. The Cangiani tribe was in Carnarvonshire.

Mr. Coote, in his *Romans in Britain*, attaches much importance to the fact that Latin was spoken freely in Wales up to the eighth century, and contends that the Welsh legends of Troy prove that the people regarded themselves as of Roman origin. He believes that a wave of Celtic barbarians swept over the civilization of Wales, but did not destroy the

Roman element or Roman population, though forcing their
language upon the people. It is certain that the only
inscriptions of a Christian character in Wales, even after the
Saxon days, were in Latin, and the names bear a Roman
stamp. The Roman words for commercial, legal, and
manufacturing purposes were retained, or slightly disguised in
Cymraeg. That arms were prohibited except to the ruling
conquerors was doubtless true, as with the Christians under
the Turks; but that the Roman blood, or that of the Coloni,
Romanized Britons, exists strongly developed in Wales is
the conviction of some weighty authorities.

STRATHCLYDE WELSH.

Among the early settlers in North Wales were parties of
Britons from Strathclyde. These were a fine people, who had
enjoyed the privileges of Roman culture for hundreds of years
in their Southern Scotch home. They were very different
from the wilder tribes that roamed northward of the Roman
wall from the Clyde to the Forth, and who hovered round
like ravening wolves, waiting for a prey. The retirement of
the Roman legions opened the way for the surging mass of
invaders. A ruthless destruction followed. Numbers fled
southward to what is now England, and some retreated to
North Wales, across the territories of their brethren in Cum-
bria, the region of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and part of
Lancashire. Strathclyde is Clyde Valley, known as Valle
Clotta by Romans, Ossian's Clutha, Gaelic Cluidh, Welsh
Clwyd.

A second Strathclyde and Cumbrian migration took place
in the ninth century, when the Saxon and Danish plagues of
Britons disturbed the north. A band of them arrived in
Wales to help in the battle of Cymrid, 890, when the Saxons
suffered defeat. There is, however, a tradition that at least
one attempt at colonization was resisted, as the Strathclyde
men were repelled by the men of Arfon in the time of Rhun.
The connection with their Scottish home was not wholly
forgotten. Some believe the activity of Northern Welshmen
in their border wars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries
arose from a desire to help the Scots, then struggling against
England. In 1258 a league was made that no truce should

be made with England but by the mutual consent of the northern and western countries. Dr. Jones affords one illustration of Strathclyde remembrance in saying that some Wallians, in 1020, were so rebellious against Llewelyn that they elected a Scotchman for their prince.

The Strathclyde Welsh settlement is a fact, though some writers have made rather too much of the circumstance. The learned Mr. Nash even ventures to write thus : "The migration of the Cumbrian tribes, the ancestors of the modern Welsh." He is not alone in his belief of a large part of Wales, at any rate, being indebted to Strathclyde for its inhabitants. History is dark enough about the deeds of that time, and very little reliance can be placed upon the story of Nennius. Betham believed in the origination of the Welsh from Scotland. Others have concluded at least a part of Wales to be derived therefrom.

Prof. Rhys considered the Strathclyde Welsh to be Brythonic, and therefore allied to the Welsh in blood. But Lhuyd, the veteran Welsh authority, traces his British ancestors to "a province of Reged in Scotland, in the fourth century, before the Saxons came into Britain." This, then, is as strongly expressed an opinion as that by Mr. Nash 150 years after.

Where can the Strathclyde blood be recognized in Wales ? Chalmers' *Caledonia*, written in 1807, thus answers that question : "The descendants of the Strathcluydensian emigrants remain a distinguishable people in North Wales even to this day." He quotes Caradoc for the story, and cites Lhuyd for the indication of a district in Flintshire, and the existence still of a Vale of Clyde or Clwyd. Chalmers said, "They are a people taller, slenderer, with larger visage. Their voices are smaller and more shrill. They have many varieties of dialects."

Dr. Beddoe lighted upon a Strathclyde remnant in some sequestered parishes of Kirkcudbrightshire, where they had been preserved in the invasions of Saxon, Dane, Pict, and Scot ; and "where," says he, "the British or Cumbrian element might not unreasonably be expected to be, the people struck me as particularly tall, with lengthened features, fair complexions, grey eyes, and darkish brown hair—a type, in some respects, at least, resembling that described by Llwyd

as appertaining to the Welshmen of Flintshire, who are undoubted descendants of the Strathclyde Britons." Jones's *History of Wales* says of the Cumbrians, "It is probable that the national name of these settlers was *Flynor-Flyndi*, whence came *Flintshire*."

Among the chapters of Welsh ethnological history, few can be more interesting and suggestive than those relating to this remarkable immigration.

SAXON WELSH.

The Celt and Saxon have long been declared irreconcilable foes. They have been regarded as completely opposite in race. Some people are evidently under the impression that the two were raised under very different stars, endowed with natural instincts of hate against one another. And yet how much has been written to show the intimate connection of the two! Not a few great authorities have declared that there is absolutely no difference. Even Cæsar confounded them. That they were successive streams of invaders in Europe must be admitted, and that the Saxon was later than the Celt in the career of fire and blood; but that they spoke nearly the same tongue, and came from pretty much the same Aryan home in Asia, has been persistently contended. Yet it is of far greater consequence to note the gradual approach of the two, forgetful of past wrongs. Saxon and Celt are completely one in France, Germany, Spain, and Italy. Almost within the last century have they really coalesced in Scotland. Ireland is held in suspense, though it is a fact that the Saxon and Celt have there long been one by marriages. In a political sense, however, the Irishman, whatever his real race, is made to believe he is a Celt, and the Englishman to be a Saxon.

In Wales, however, the two are happily united. And though less mixed together in marriage than in Ireland, the sympathies of the two are quite undivided. Wales is in all practical senses a portion of England. Even the rude antipathies belonging to the lower class of the two countries, relics of the barbarous past, have nearly everywhere disappeared. It is only the retention of its native tongue in some places that keeps Wales in any way apart from England.

The old hatred is seen in the Triad sayings :—" There are three things that are never satisfied—a wolf, a cormorant,

and the greed of an Englishman." " There are three things that no man is the happier for having—a flea in his bed, a thorn in his porridge, and the company of an Englishman." A story is told of Lord Talbot coming to a ford, and asking in English if it were safe. The man nodded in the affirmative. Before venturing, however, he asked again in Welsh. " Oh no," cried the fellow, " it is very dangerous. Come with me, and I will show you the ford. I beg your pardon most humbly, sir; I took you for a Saxon." There could have been small courtesy when the following Saxon law was in vogue :—" Neither a Wealh (Welshman) might travel in England, nor an Englishman in the Wylisc, without the appointed man of the country, who was to receive him at the stæth (border station), and bring him back to it without guile, under penalty of the *wite* (Parliament)." It should be remembered, however, that the Edward and Henry sovereigns, who ruled the Welsh so harshly, were equally the oppressors of their English subjects.

About the earliest battle was near Mold, in 429, when Angles were helped by Picts against the Welsh. Germanus gained his Hallelujah victory over the Saxons about 450; an obelisk in commemoration was erected in 1736. The slaughter of the monks of Bangor was in early times. Cadwallawn having interfered in the quarrel between Northumbria and Mercia, was killed by Oswald in 635. The Welsh and Mercians in 634 fought Edwin, who had planted an Anglian colony on Anglesey. Calwaladr the Blessed joined the pagan Penda against Oswic. Caradawg, king of Gwynedd, was killed by the Saxons at the Vale of Clwyd in 796. Offa made his dyke in 760, from Chester southward to the Wye, 110 miles. A shorter, parallel line of earthworks, called Watt's Dyke, was a mile or two inside. A road ran on the top of the Great Dyke. Egbert marched conqueror through Wales in 813, and again in 828 and 833. He prohibited any Welshman crossing Offa's Dyke. Mona was changed to Anglesey by the conquerors in 818. Powis yielded in 822. In 853, according to the *Saxon Chronicle,* all North Wales was conquered. The daughter of Alfred also defeated a Welsh army. In 972 Edgar ordered the tribute of 300 wolves. Eadric in 1011 ravaged the south as far as Pembroke for non-payment of Dane-gelt.

The Saxons were always helped in their wars against one prince of Wales by his neighbours. Northern chiefs aided Saxons to conquer South Wales, and southern chieftains were the allies in an expedition against the North. The castles of Glamorgan were burnt in 1043. Disaffected Saxon lords often headed Welsh in an invasion of Western England. The Earl of East Anglia thus assisted Gruffydd, king of North Wales, against Edward the Confessor, burning the cathedral of Hereford. But Harold soon restored peace in that quarter, after burning the Rhuddlan palace of the prince. As the Welsh had the custom of beheading or otherwise maltreating prisoners, Harold gave no quarter, and secured the head of his royal foe. But he made the two brothers of Gruffydd lords of North Wales, nominating Meredith ap Owen king of South Wales in 1064. The Saxon kings always permitted the tributary Welsh princes to attend the Witans or Parliaments.

As to the Saxon influence on the ethnology of Wales, it is sufficient to know that, with the exception of the mountainous centre, Saxon settlements existed more or less over the whole country. As in Ireland, the settlers mixed very much with the Welsh, even accepting their language. They formed an important part of the forces contending in after years against the Norman rulers, while a considerable proportion of the English under the Norman kings consisted of Welshmen in Cheshire, Shropshire, Worcester, &c.

Dr. Nicholas, in his *Pedigree of the English*, illustrates the so-called Saxon element in Wales, saying, " Names in Wales are suggestive of large intermixture. It is now no uncommon thing to meet with Welsh - speaking persons bearing such names as Wilson, Saunders, White, Smith, Hooper, Marychurch, Warlow, Cleaton, Gibson, Norton, Johnson, Chambers, Mills," &c. He gives the following English names in common use in South Wales : Starbuck, Taplin, Stokes, Sinnet, Barham, Tucker, Scoweroft, Watt, Perrott, Nicholas, Scourfield, Mansel, Parsell, Reynish, Brigstoke. In a list of English-Welsh names, by the Rev. N. Owen, in 1777, we have Salisbury, Paleston, Herbert, Berkeley, Conway, Holland, Thelwall, Pike, Hook, Longford, Jenkins, Grey, Haze, Newton, Butler, Strange, Ludlow, Bridge, Whyte, Ashpool, Knowsley, Rigston, Panton, Vernon, &c.

There can be no doubt about the fact of Saxon settlers in Wales, for hundreds of years, adopting Welsh customs and speech. Their names were thus Cymricized, and their descendants might be reputed good Cymry by those names. But Mr. W. Grant Allen, in the *Fortnightly*, has another side to reveal, saying, "At the time when surnames first became general, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Anglicization of West Wales and the Border counties had proceeded so far, that many or most of the Keltic families in these districts bear English or Anglo-Norman names."

Notwithstanding the adoption of the Cymraeg by the dark Silurians, by the Gaelic men of the western and northern coast, and by the Saxons and Danes who largely established themselves in the country, there are writers who maintain that the Saxons who had fought for Harold emigrated in large numbers to Wales when they lost their estates under the Conqueror. These English-speaking people, though adopting the speech of the land, then far less dissimilar to their own than now appears, not only threw a considerable amount of Saxon words into current talk, but left their blood in the country. When severe laws were passed by Anglo-Norman kings against the men of Wales, it must not be forgotten that not only were British antipathies strong against the French, so called, but the Saxons of England and Wales held common sympathy at that time.

Yet there was no union in the eighth century, according to the Bishop of Sherborne's account. Then, no Wealas would pray in the same church with Saxons, nor eat at the same table. They would throw to the dogs the Saxon cooked meat, and rinse the cup in the sand or ashes before using it themselves. Even if a Saxon went to reside among them, he had to submit to a forty days' fast as a penalty. Their common sorrows under the Anglo-Norman yoke drew them together, and the adoption of the reformed faith bound England and Wales more closely. No land difficulty has arisen, for confiscations have ceased for centuries, and old British law rules in several parts. Glamorganshire has a tenant right for which not Irish alone, but Scotch and English farmers, sigh in vain.

NORSE AND DANISH WELSH.

The Norse or Northmen were mostly from Norway, though they are sometimes confounded with the Danes, their kindred. Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes were Scandinavians; but a large part of what is now known as Northern Germany and Western Russia was not less peopled by the bold sea rovers, the conquerors of Northern France, Naples, and England, and whose royal blood was seen for centuries on the thrones of Russia, England, Scotland, and other states.

One Magnus, however, did the Welsh of Anglesey good service in 1096, having delivered them from a Norman invader. They also gave help to Gruffydd in 1056, when hard pressed by Harold. But their plundering expeditions sorely tried the Welsh. "The Vikings," says the Rev. Isaac Taylor, "cruised around the coasts of North Wales." It is there he meets such Norse words as Orme's Head, North Stack, the Skerries, Priestholm, &c. He adds other names, as Raby, Pensby, Irby, Kirby, Holme, Howside, Thornton, Thingwall. Fenton, in his *History of Pembrokeshire*, fancies the Welsh word *dinas* to be only a corruption of the Norse *du-ness*, the black cape. *Garth, haugh, force,* and *fell* are also Norse.

The author of the *Pedigree of the English* finds Norse in the Pembroke Caldy, Skomer, Skerryback, Colby, Skryme, Lort, Buckley, and Studdolph. "Pembrokeshire," he shows, "has been largely visited by the North Sea Vikings, and that they have left here not only fragments of their language, but also a slight tinge of their blood." Dr. Nicholas tells us that "the words *guard, garth,* a place enclosed, protected; *wick,* a creek; *thorp* or *dorp,* a village; *by,* an abode; *holm,* an island; *stack,* a columnar rock, all are Norse."

The Danes, or Black Pagans, made themselves sufficiently notorious. They helped the men of Wessex to burn St. David's in 808, though joining the Welsh against Egbert in 833. They burnt St. David's in 987, 993, and 1077, leaving numerous Danish *raths* in Pembrokeshire. In an attack upon Swansea in 877 they lost 120 ships by storm. Hearne in 1722 records: "King Swanus, his fleet, drowned at Swana-wick, alias Swanesey (*i. e.* Swanus-sea)." Under Halden and Hungar, in 873, they ravaged South Wales. Hastings the

Dane, in Alfred's time, desolated Glamorgan. The Black host captured and ransomed the Bishop of Llandaff, but were bought off South Wales in 989. Again and again they held Anglesey. They killed a king of Powis in 903, and did great mischief in Cardiganshire in 989. The Danes of Dublin were the most fearful plagues to the poor Welsh, and were the genuine *Black Pagans*. Maredudd paid to them a tribute of one penny for each Welshman in 991, though afterwards hiring a number of Irish Danes to invade Morganwg. A combined force of Welsh and Dublin Danes destroyed the valley of the Wye, burning Worcester, &c., in 1049. Near Welshpool 300 skulls were found ranged in order, and were supposed remains of Danes.

The Danes left their mark in names. In the *Annals of Welsh Counties* it is said of Pembrokeshire, "There scores of places enshrine their language to this day." Denny is Danes' island; Barry, bare island; Stockholm, wooded island; Caldy, cold island. In Axholme there is the Celtic joined to the Scandinavian. Flatholme is the Danish Fladholmene; *holme* being *little isle*. Freystrop refers to goddess Freya. *Sker* is from *skar*, a steep rock. In the Dying Ode of King Ragnar Lodbrog one reads, "We fought with swords at Boringholme." This, says Rev. J. D. Davis, "is evidently the island now called Burry Holms."

The Nordmanni left their blood in Wales. "They are still," says Jelinger C. Symons, "to be found in parts of Pembrokeshire. I have traced them by name, and frame of body and features, near to the small harbour of Newport, in that county; and I believe they exist in large numbers in Carmarthen and Anglesey." But it is very difficult to identify now the remains of Scandinavians there. There can be no doubt, however, that the blood exists in Wales, though but to a trifling degree compared with Southern and Eastern Ireland, Eastern Scotland, and North-Eastern England.

The authors of *Crania Britannia* have a curious note on this Scandinavian element of Welsh population. "The population of the fishing village of Llangwm," say they, "amounting to between six hundred and seven hundred, in the Scandinavian division, is remarkable for having inter-married amongst themselves for centuries. They may be said to constitute but one family. They are a peculiarly active people,

almost dwelling on the sea ; strong and healthy, mental disease being rare among them ; they endure great fatigue ; although uneducated, they are moral and cheerful. They marry early, and have large families. The women transact all mercantile business, and have the reputation of fair dealing."

NORMAN WELSH.

The proud Norman race, that planted their iron heel on the liberties of several European lands, triumphed over the mixed peoples of Wales. But the conquest was one by individual chiefs. The country had been from time immemorial torn by intestinal conflicts. There was no central government, and no real patriotism. Men fought for their tribe and for their prince, and against any other tribe of the same blood. There was no Wales, Cambria, or any other nationality to unite all against a common foe. Thus it was that here and there a Norman knight, in want of an estate, got permission from his royal lord of England to carve out his fortune by the sword. Wales and Ireland were held to be fair game for such noble brigands, as no united force could be brought against them. For 140 years after the death of Howel, in 948, "this country," says Hoare, "was in a constant ferment." Dr. Jones laments the petty princes' rule, the curse of Cambria, leaving the spirit without the power of independence. The Normans were assiduous frequenters of church, and liberal friends to the clergy. By that means, and the stern denunciation of all heresy to Rome, they secured the strong support of the Pope. Whenever the Welsh strove to repel the marauding attacks of Norman leaders, they found themselves under the ban of the Church. Norman ecclesiastics were promoted to sees in Wales as well as in England. An appeal was made by some Welsh princes to Pope Alexander III., in which they said, " These alien bishops love neither us nor our country, but hunt us by an instinct of hatred ; how then can they seek the good of our souls ? Whenever they (the Normans) resolve to attack our country, the Archbishop of Canterbury puts an interdict upon the territory they propose to invade, and we who make a stand for our country and our freedom are by name excommunicated, so that all who fall in fight on our side die thus cut off from the Church."

By these isolated attacks Fitz Hammon and his twelve knights obtained Cardiff and Glamorgan in 1090; Newmarch conquered Brycheiniog in 1091; Gilbert Fitz Richard in 1100 had permission to seize on Cardigan; Dyfed and Ceredigion fell in 1091; Lupus, Earl of Chester, laid hands on most of North Wales in 1079; Brecknock yielded in 1092; Lacey, the founder of Llanthony Abbey, got the province of Ewyas; Hamelin became lord of Over Went, building Abergavenny Castle and Priory; Swansea Castle was raised by Beamont, Earl of Warwick; Martin de Tours had the territory of Kemeys; Earl Shrewsbury, Montgomery; Arnulph, Pembroke; Martin, Fishguard; Cardiganshire was the prize of Gilbert Strongbow, who built Aberystwyth; Henry de Newbury obtained Gower; William de Londres, Ogmore; and Granville, Neath. But William the Conqueror, in 1079, received the fealty of all the princes of North and South Wales.

The English-Norman kings secured the military service of these successful adventurers, but had enough to do when Norman oppression drove the Welsh into frequent rebellions. In Wales, as in Ireland, Norman lords became the bitter antagonists of the English-Norman rule, and fomented many insurrections. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that "the Welsh gathered themselves together, and made war against the French in Wales." But the contest with powerful sovereigns severely tried the mountaineers, though they so long and bravely maintained their ground. In *Freeman's History* it is said, "As for the Welsh kings' oath, it was kept after the usual fashion; that is, till another favourable moment came for breaking it." But other princes, of other races, in other times, have not scrupled to break a treaty. A plot of Welsh and Saxons to destroy all Normans in the principality was revealed at confession, and the danger was averted. But the union of Wales with England was finally accomplished by Henry VIII., the son of a Welshman, in 1536.

The Normans were far from being all of Scandinavian Norman blood; but, having adopted the language of the French whom they conquered, they left in Wales such names as Lacey, Richards, Picton, Raymond, Aubrey, Peyton, Burghill, Devereux, Bonville, &c. A Welsh writer boasts

that no male descendant of the Norman conquerors of South Wales now remains. But among the higher class of the Welsh there is no inconsiderable amount of Norman blood.

FLEMISH WELSH.

These Teutonic, and not Celtic, Welsh, prominently found in South Glamorgan and West Pembroke, are seen, according to Wilkins' *Wales*, "over all Wales, especially in the coal and iron producing districts." Many of these, it is true, speak Welsh now, and not English as in Gower and Pembroke: but language is no safe guide as to race, and the roamers inland accepted the tongue of the mountain men.

The Flemings, or Flandrysians, of Flanders, now Belgium and part of Holland, though once including part of France, were the most active of the northern traders during the Middle Ages. Enterprising and wealthy, skilled in arms and wise in council, their alliance was eagerly courted. William the Conqueror married Matilda of Flanders, a course followed by several of his successors. The first Earl of Chester after the Conquest was Gherbod the Fleming, one of a numerous band of so-called Normans having Flemish blood. The influence of this people in North Britain is described in the previous work, *Who are the Scotch ?*

The introduction of Flemings into Wales is usually placed in the twelfth century. But the Welsh Triads are supposed to allude to their country in the following lines: "The people of Galedin who came in open vessels when their country was drowned, and had lands given to them by the Cymry." This was long before the time of Henry II. In the ode to Ragnar Lodbrog, the Danish rover of the ninth century, it is said, "We fought with swords in the Flemings' land; the battle widely ranged before King Freyer fell therein." Though referring to an expedition in South Wales, the poem may have been written after the settlement of the Flemish Freystrope (Freysthorpe), or Freyer's Village, on the shores of Milford Haven.

Giraldus Cambrensis, himself a Flemish Welshman, who travelled through Ireland as well as Wales toward the close of the twelfth century, speaks of the south-western country as *Anglia Transwallia*, or *England beyond Wales*, since the inhabitants adopted the English tongue, and conformed to

English customs. He notes at Haverford, of Milford Haven, "a people well versed in commerce and woollen manufactories; a people anxious to seek gain by sea or land, in defiance of fatigue and danger; a hardy race, equally fitted for the plough or the sword; a people brave and happy," &c. He remarks their constant wars with the pastoral and semicivilized Welsh. But he has curious stories of their prophetic, mediumistic power, saying, "These people, from the inspection of the right shoulders of rams, which have been stripped of their flesh, and not roasted, but boiled, can discover future events, or those which have passed and remained long unknown. They know also what is transpiring at a distant place." The practical Flemish Welsh maidens used the bladebone to ascertain their coming sweethearts.

Pembroke—the *Pen-brock*, or *head of the estuary*—received a number of strange races long before the visits of the Flemish. How these came is thus told in the *Chronicles of Hollinshed:* "At the first, they were appointed to the countrie lieng on the east part of the river of Tweed; but within foure yeres after they were removed into a corner by the seaside in Wales, called Penbrokeshire, to the end they might be a defense there to the English against the unquiet Welshmen." But he admits Flemings were there long before "even the daies of William the Conquerour, through the freendship of the queene their countrie woman, sithens which time their numbers so increased, that the realme of England was sore pestered with them; whereupon King Henrie devised to place them in Penbrokeshire."

Henry I., whose wife was daughter of the Earl of Flanders, established them about Pembroke, Tenby, and Roos, or Rôs, the last being the district of Haverfordwest. They did good service in protecting the promontory of Roos, as a military colony. But it is of especial interest to the West Riding of Yorkshire and the west of England to know that Rôs thus became the cradle of our woollen manufactures, which flourished among the Flemings of South Wales hundreds of years before the introduction of Flemings by Edward III. The Norman Earls of Pembroke promoted the immigration of these brave, scholarly, and commercial people, as they formed the best of troops in the ceaseless wars with the princes of Wales. William of Malmsbury declares they were put there

" to repress the brutal temerity of the Welsh." Some think
their arrival was in 1105; Norris says 1108; others give
1113. Henry's indignation at the murder of a travelling
Flemish bishop in Wales, during 1107, was a further call
upon that king to form a Fleming colony. Henry II.
in 1135 forwarded another strong party thither, in order to
oppose Gryffydd ab Rhys, sovereign of part of South Wales.
Dr. Jones writes, "These Flemings had been obliged to quit
the Low Countries in consequence of an inundation, and
applied to Henry for a place of settlement. That liberal
monarch gave them Rhôs." A great storm in 1106 certainly
carried away many dykes and sandhills on the coast of
Flanders, causing fearful devastation of a large number of
villages. Fenton's *Pembrokeshire* infers that most of the
immigrants were poor people, since so few really Flemish
names occur as attestors to old charters. And George Owen
admits that "in the swaynes and laborers of the countrey you
may often trace a Flemish origin."

These early Pembroke Flemings were a bold race to make
a stand against the Welsh tribes, so much more numerous.
With better weapons and drill, especially with strongly-built
castles, whose remains are the romance of South Wales, the
strangers held their own, though often having their fields
and workshops wasted by invading bands. Haverford, or
Hwlfordd, was burnt by the Welsh in 1188. It was with
Flemish soldiers that Cardiganshire was gained by the
Normans. Their help enabled Strongbow, son of the Earl of
Pembroke, to establish himself in Ireland. The Irish *Four
Masters* speak of 70 Flemish Welsh in armour coming in
1169 to help Mac Murchadha of Leinster. They were
thorough lovers of freedom, even venturing to beard the
Church authorities. A tithe being demanded upon their
exported cheese and wool, the Welsh Flemings stoutly
resisted the Archbishop of Canterbury in his assumed illegal
and despotic order. The Church replied by placing Pem-
broke under an interdict. Their Welsh neighbours took
advantage of this ban, crossed the isthmus, and carried off
great numbers of the sheep that bore such heterodox fleeces.

Gower, the district near Swansea, is another stronghold of
the Flemish. It is one of the loveliest portions of Gla-
morganshire, a peninsula of beauty between the Tawy and

Towy rivers. Its natural beauty, its historic interest, its wonderful geology, its caverns of pre-historic remains, draw many literary and scientific pilgrims, who may find a rare treat in the two famous Swansea libraries, as well as the Swansea and Tenby museums. The name *Gower*, or Goer of Giraldus, is of doubtful origin. *Gwyr* is said to be *verdant*. Dr. Nicholas finds the word to mean *slanting*, as applied to the outstretched peninsula. The Rev. T. D. Davies, noticing the Druidical pillars, reads *Meini Gwyr* as *stone men*, or *land of stone men*. The great cromlech of Arthur's Stone on one of its lofty hills bears witness to the Meini Gwyr. The Welsh *Caer Wyr* is the fortress of the Gower land. Gower was formerly known as *Anglicana*, from the English spoken there. Swansea, the *Sweyne-zea* of the Danes, the *Sweynthe*, or enchanted place, the *Swans' sea*, the *Sweynsei* of old, may have been *Swine-sea*, from the sea-pigs or porpoises seen playing in the bay. The Welsh called it Abertawe, from being at the mouth of the Tawe. The charming bathing retreat across the bay, though now known as *the Mumbles*, was formerly called Thistleboon.

The Gower people are identified with those of the southern peninsula of Pembroke, and round Milford Haven, as well as in parts of Northern Pembroke coast. George Owen, writing 200 years ago, calls attention to the fact of a line of demarcation between English and Welsh speaking races; the former using the word *ton* for village, while the latter had *tre*. "Above 74 parishes," says he of one part, "are inhabited by the Englishmen, and 64 parishes more by the Welshe." The former fought with Owen Glyndwr in 1401, and suffered terrible slaughter in the Vale of Neath when caught in a trap by the mountaineers. While some have been sceptical of the Flemish story, Freeman, the historian, has no doubt of it, observing, "It is no mere political or even territorial conquest; it is a complete substitution of one set of inhabitants for another." Powel's *Welsh Chronicle* says, "They there remain to this day, as may be readily perceived by their speech and conditions, far different from the rest of the country." Borrow treats of their "broad distinctness from the Cumry, differing from them in stature, language, dress, and manners."

Buildings there still bear traces of such origin. Sir

Gardner Wilkinson distinguishes in their churches "a very peculiar character, unknown in any other part of England or Wales." The towers to these ecclesiastical edifices have been supposed raised as defences in time of invasion. In pulling down a wall of Cheriton Church, in 1874, a Flemish brass token was discovered. In Davies's *West Gower* we read, "The Flemish language can be traced; Flemish names of people are still to be met with, and positive remains of Flemish architecture are to be found." The huge chimneys fronting the street, and even now obstructing the pathway, are thoroughly Flemish. Such may be seen not only in Gower and Pembroke, but even in the town of Carmarthen, especially in two old inns. Kidwell has the same illustration, and so has Langharne, eleven miles from Carmarthen. Though such architecture may date only from the early Edwards, it was an evident copy of the established rule.

The *physique* of the folks tells a similar story. In spite of ages of association with Iberian, Gaelic, and Cymric Welsh, there is no mistaking the identity. In Mr. and Mrs. Hall's *Book of South Wales* the people of that quarter are styled "the ponderous descendants of the heavy Flemings; who certainly have even to this day but small affinity with the dapper, intelligent sons and daughters of the Cymri." They noticed the mussel gatherers of that coast as a distinct sort. A Flemish Welsh girl is thus described by these pleasing writers:—"The delicate lines that add beauty and sweetness to the faces of genuine Welsh girls are wanting in her. The face, inquiring and observant, and often not without beauty of a certain kind, is coarse, however, when compared with the delicate features—expressive of feeling and poetry—of her sisters of the mountain. She, too, possesses a stronger frame than they."

When wandering through Pembroke, Tenby, the Mumbles, &c., the writer was struck with the powerful and massive frames. Addressing a fine specimen of a Tenby fisherman, tall, athletic, sombre, but honest looking, he was answered after the following fashion:—"Yes, I am, I suppose, of this Flemish blood, like a good many of my neighbours. There is pretty good proof that my family have been hereabouts four hundred years." This he said with the peculiar shrill intonation which belongs to the part, but which is not

Welsh, as ordinarily known. The fishermen there, as in most other places, have a strange antipathy to marriage with other than fisher folk. Those at Angle and Langum, as well as at Castlemartin, a dozen miles west of Tenby, are notorious for their intermarriages; and, as in the instance of Biscay fishermen, mentioned by Quatrefages, are splendid specimens of healthy, vigorous frames, with tendency to great longevity.

The Flemish Welsh have generally square shoulders, and stand very erect and firm. The broad hip of the race may be also seen at St. Dogmaels, near Cardigan. The women are of great strength, with working power superior far to any Welsh ones. Many Flemish Welsh have a ruddy complexion and light hair. A love of a seafaring life especially distinguishes them. It is an old saying that one Gower boy is worth thirty Welsh boys for the sea. Norris remarks the stuff jacket of the women, of a kind just like that in old Flemish pictures. A traveller in 1774 thus records his observation of Pembroke:—" The women, even in the midst of summer, generally wear a heavy cloth gown; and, instead of a cap, a large handkerchief wrapt over their heads, and tied under their chins." There seemed to be an epidemic of toothache. "It is possible," adds he, "that this fashion might originate from Flanders."

The language spoken in the aforesaid districts is not Flemish, nor is it English of the ordinary modern type. Dr. Latham affirms it nothing in common with Flemish. Dr. Nicholas calls it "a linsey-woolsey fabric of divers colors." He thinks English was adopted for convenience by the cluster of Normans and Flemings with a sense of sympathy as aliens. Their language embittered the hatred of the Welsh against them. Wilkins is, however, of opinion that their peculiar English is still after the old Flemish type, saying, "If we admit that the Flemings sprang from the great Saxon family, it is easily to be inferred that the language of the Flemings in the eleventh century bore a strong affinity to the dialect of other Saxon tribes, and must not be compared with the Flemish of a later date." It is not a little singular that at Wotton on the Severn they talk like Pembroke men. Purnell fancies they brought the English with them from the north-east. He refers to the way they speak, in a shrill, falsetto key.

The names of places in *Anglia Transwallia* pretty well indicate a Saxon or Flemish character; such as in Milford, Haverford, Flemmiston, Leweston, Rogeston, Johnston, Jameston, Walterston, Harroldston, Boulston, Spittal, Walton, Angle, Stackpole, Templeton, Robeston, and Manorbier, the birthplace of Giraldus. Tucking mill (clothmaking mill) shows, says Isaac Taylor, " the nature of the industry that was imported." In old parish registers are seen the names of Dowle, Baldwin, Givelin, Sambrook, Kyft, Klux, Hullin, Gosse, and the like. In Gower and Pembroke, words would be *oords;* cold, *cauld;* going, *gwain;* baked bread, a *cook;* boiled, *trolly;* porridge, *budram;* furrow, *voor;* to beg, *kedge;* a wooden spoon, *looch;* a mill-stream, *leet;* weight, *sump;* thin, *lear;* pinafore, *brat;* gander, *gant;* to shiver, *stivole;* to hop, *heck.* They say *cornish* for cornice; *lintern* for lintel; *I written* for I wrote; *I dinna* for I don't; *thickey thing* for that thing; *ya knau* for you know; and they ask, " Ya dinna pleagaz to want to buy a feaw prawns to-day, dy ya?" One, writing in 1620, points out the corner of Pembrokeshire where the English and Welsh were " parting the shire in two equall halves betweene them." And so it is found more or less at the present day. In Berghaus' German Atlas, South Pembrokeshire is coloured as Germany is, to show that the ethnology is similar.

The Flemish Welsh are to be honoured as being not only industrious artificers and brave seamen, but as the constructors of that important shipping interest known at Cardiff and Swansea, and which is so foreign to the genius of Celtic Welsh.

WELSH LITERATURE AND MUSIC.

Native literature is often a help in the inquiry after origin. But that of the Welsh is far from rich, and is very inferior to Irish. Traditions are meagre and mythical, besides showing, from their Biblical references, a comparatively modern date. The Triads come under this description. The *Bruts*, or chronicles, are curious if not reliable. As records of pedigrees, they have no high reputation for truth, according to the Rev. Rice Rees. Proverbs are numerous and suggestive. The interesting *Mabinogion*, translated by Lady Guest, is full of fairy tales. There is, also, the *Damhegion* of fables.

There were 91 Triads collected by Vaughan, 1660 ; though Jones of Tregaron spoke of 126 in 1601. Their short sentences are like those in which Druids were said to speak. They were recited at Eisteddfodau, styled by *Morien* (Owen Morgan) "the oldest educational institution in the world." The Bards were, without doubt, connected with Druidism, a fact in the history of Britain and Ireland, a fact upon which it is not our province here to discourse. But whether we have extant any of the poems is another question. Taliesin and others are quoted as living in the sixth century. As the oldest Welsh MSS. belong to the twelfth century, it is not easy to find links of evidence between the dates. "This external evidence," says Nash's *Taliesin*, "is altogether wanting." He shows that Taliesin, Aneurin, Llywarch Hen, and Merddin make use of English words, "introduce the names of places not built, and the names of saints who had not been canonized in the sixth century." Stephens, in *Literature of the Kymry*, doubts, except for a few of Taliesin's poems, a period later than the twelfth.

On the other hand, Sharon Turner believes in a very early age. Many detect in the Bards the history of real events. The mythological character in Taliesin, &c., ascribed by some to a mediæval revival of Mithraic philosophy in Christian dress, but by others to a continuation of Druidic teaching, still further mystifies dates. Herbert's *Britannia after the Romans* dwells much on this Neo-Druidism. Iolo Morganwg declares that "the poems of Taliesin in the sixth century exhibit a complete system of Druidism." Nash is certain Taliesin was a Christian. Mr. G. D. Barber, in *Suggestions on the Ancient Britons*, discovers in the *Gododin* an Aramitic work on chess ! *Ab Ithel*, of course, is decided, saying, "There is every reason to believe that a few of the historical Triads are genuine memorials of Druidic times." He sees that "internal evidence points to the remotest antiquity ;" yet he is careful to give no clue to dates. The learned works of Mr. Davies, *Myfyr Morganwg*, of Pontypridd, can be consulted in Welsh only. As the existing Arch-Druid, he believes in the so-called Bardic Alphabet, and the antiquity of Taliesin.

About the most ancient MS. relates to the laws of Howel Dda, of the tenth century. And yet so high a living authority

as Prof. Stubbs of Oxford discovers Welsh law to be younger than Saxon, observing, "We have no remains of such laws that are not much later than the days of Alfred." The *cantred* of Howel is the *hundred* of Edgar.

The Bardic collection in the *Myvyrian Archæology* was made in 1801. The Myvyrian MSS. in the British Museum contain 16,000 pages of poetry and 15,300 of prose. A Furrier of Thames Street, London, first published some Welsh poems. The *Red Book of Hergest*, all tales, 360 leaves of vellum is, says Lluyd, of the fourteenth century. Many old MSS. of Sir W. W. Wynne's were destroyed by fire in Covent Garden. The *Book of Aneurin*, containing the Gododin, is claimed for the sixth or thirteenth century, like the poems of Merddin. The *Black Book of Carmarthen*, giving Welsh Bards, dates from Henry II. The *Book of St. Chard* was taken from Llandaff to Litchfield Cathedral. The *Black Book of Chirk*, having the laws of Howel the Good, is at Rhug. The *Chronicle of the Princes*, according to *Ab Ithel* (Rev. J. Williams), runs from 681 to 1282, but is traditional. The *Brut y Brenhmoedd, Chronicles of the Kings*, speaking much of London as New Troy, was said to have been turned into Latin by Gwallter in 1100. The *Liber Landavensis*, with a figure of St. Teilo on the cover, is the Llandaff Cathedral register. The *Chronicle of Tysilio* is claimed for 1000. The *Annales Cambria* goes from 444 to 1288; three Latin copies are extant. Zeuss thinks some Welsh MSS. date from the ninth century. It is admitted by Rice Rees that tradition is silent from Lucius, the first Christian king, to Maximus, 383. He supposes, from the absence of the Scriptures in Welsh, that the Latin was much used formerly in Wales. May not this fact, with the absence of early Cymric writings, furnish an argument against the supposed antiquity of Cymraeg *in Wales?* Welsh traditions go very little way back, but some of the more ancient may have come from Brittany.

ORIGIN OF WELSH MUSIC.

Whatever theories exist about ancient music, no one can dispute the enthusiastic devotion of modern Welsh to song. Not even in Germany, the supposed land of sweet chords, can such noble choirs be gathered as in the humblest villages

of Wales. The English ballads and madrigals were the glory of the mediæval times, and even later on ; but, in spite of the perfection of execution among English part singers, the sense of power and depth of feeling may be adjudged to Cambria, whose sons so stirred the stolid Londoners at the Crystal Palace contest, when the " Men of Harlech " came down as a thorough avalanche of song. He who has heard the ordinary practice at Merthyr or Aberdare must admit Welsh enthusiasm in music.

The harp has been as indissolubly associated with Wales as with Ireland. About ancient historical Wales we know so little, and that so bound up with myth, that there is little reliant evidence about Welsh harps. This has led many to ascribe the origin to Ireland. It is not at all improbable that, in the disorders and conflicts after the Roman period, and from the inroads of various Celtic as well as Teutonic races, the harp had become well nigh forgotten, and its popular use may have been restored by princes of Irish origin. Still, it must be allowed that both Cymry and Gael were devoted to the instrument in the early ages. At Court the harper was eighth in rank.

Reputed Welsh Triads have references to the strings. Taliesin exclaims, " I have been chief bard of the harp to Leon of Lochlin." An old Welsh MS. ascribes the invention of the instrument to Idris Gawr, of the fourth century. The Triads speak of three sorts of harps : — Telyn y Brenin, the harp of a king ; Telyn Pencerdd, harp of a master of music ; and Telyn Gwrda, the harp of a gentleman. They confound at one time three harpers — Arthur, Gavaelvawr, and Crellan. The last was harper to a Welsh prince of the eleventh century. Caradoc's *Chronicle of Wales* derives the harp from Gryffyth ap Conan, king of North Wales, who, being an Irishman, brought it in 1098 from Erin. Other Welsh authorities trace it to Cadwaladr, of the seventh century. Nathan's *Musurgia vocalis* asserts that "the Welsh bards received their instruction in Ireland, and brought with them to Wales divers cunning musicians." Brindley Richard admits, " The history of Ireland affords undoubted proofs that the harp from a remote period was the favourite instrument." For other particulars the reader is referred to the author's previous work, *Who are the Irish?* Carnhuanawc,

in his *Hanes Cymru*, while admitting many harps of his country to be Irish, disavows the origin being from Ireland. "We see," he writes, "that the music of the Welsh up to the present day is totally different from that of the Irish." He dates the instrument long before the laws of Gruffydd ap Cynon.

As the harp nearly disappeared from Ireland during the last century, so had the use of it sadly declined in Wales, in spite of romances concerning Welsh harpers. Hence the spirited call of the patriot :—

> "Harp of the mountain land, strike forth again,
>   As when the foaming Hirlas-horn was crowned,
> And warrior hearts beat proudly to thy strain,·
>   And the bright mead at Owain's feast went round ;
> Strike with the spirit and the power of yore ;
> Harp of the ancient hills, be heard once more."

There are harps and harps. The old Welsh one was in all probability as different from what we recognize as such as would the cithara be from a modern Broadwood piano. The Egyptian Tabouni was the Hebrew *Gitteth*, or stringed instrument. The Hebrew *Nebel* has ten or twelve strings ; the *Kinnor* was not a harp, but a lyre, and the *Mahhalath* was a lute. The Bell harp was swung round to vary sound. The ancient Welsh harp had but one row of strings, receiving the second row about the fourteenth century. Sometimes there were, about 1450, three rows. Seven strings formed a mystical number. A double harp in 1580 was observed with sixty strings. The Jew's harp, or jaw's harp, is referred to by a Welsh poet of 1370. A single row made flats and sharps according to the movement of finger and thumb ; "an artifice no longer known," says a writer in the *Cambro-Briton*.

The strings should be of horse-hair. As one sings—

> "For my harp is made of a good mare's skin ;
>   The strings be of horse-hair, it makes a good din."

"David," cried Davydd ab Gwlym, "had not one string from a dead sheep." But "glossy black hair" was the correct article. The harp of Llewelyn had hair strings, curiously braided. It was called *Telyn*, from *tel*, drawn tight. Davydd, the poet, had only ridicule for the leathern

harp. "I loved not," said he, "its button-covered trough, nor its music; nor its intestines, sounding eventful disgust: it is the vile who love it. Under the pressure of the eight fingers, ugly is the swell of its body, with its canvas smock; its trunk, and its hoarse sound, were but formed for an age-worn Saxon. It is like the wild neighing and dismal roar of some bay mare after horses.—It is the voice of a lame goose among the corn; a squealing, foolish, Irish witch;—or like the shrieking, wry-necked hare." He entreats all to "learn to play upon a fair harp with strings of jetty hair."

Mr. John Parry observes, "The Welsh harp having three rows of strings (the middle one being the semi-tones), the performer is obliged to put his finger between two of the outer strings, when a casual sharp or flat occurs; whereas on the pedal harp the foot accomplishes it." One had this couplet written upon it :—

"Within the concave of its womb is found
    The magic scale of soul-enchanting sound."

Mr. Ap Thomas thus describes one of the old fraternity of harpers :—" Now, as of old, he may be seen as soon as the sun rises, in his large oak chair, welcoming, harp in hand, the weary traveller, or solacing the hours of friends never tired of listening to the national strains."

The *Crwth* or *crowth*, the *box*, an improved rebec, or a three or six stringed violin, if rather less romantic an instrument, was a much more common one than the harp in olden times. The bridge was less convex, and more oblique than in the fiddle. When with six strings, four were played by the bow, and two were pressed by the thumb for bass. The Bagpipes, or *Pibau*, formerly over all Europe, and popular still in Central Asia, were not much admired in Wales. It had the merit of volume, one specimen being heard by roaming clansmen eight miles off. Giraldus says the Welsh had it when not in use by Scotch or Irish. It was probably once blown from the mouth. The Horn, of bronze, was not so well known as in Ireland, unless it were the Hirlas-horn for drinking, though musical horns were kept by the Britons, as Diodorus says. Trumpets or horns were blown at sacred seasons, as with the ancient Jews, and at the self-same times of the year. They were blown when the last sheaf was cut,

and when tiles were brought for the roof.   Horns are used on
the chairing at the Eisteddfodau.   Bells, as in Ireland, were
portable, and of about the same shape as now in China—
rather square at the orifice.   Such handbells were *Bangu*.
A quadrangular iron one at Brecon is eleven inches high.
By one a saint was able to detect a thief.   St. Teilo had one
that bowed itself, and was handy in curing sick folks.   The
Pibgorn was a rural pipe, having a reed tongue concealed
within.   The wind passed through it, and it had seven holes.
The *Corn-buelin* was a bugle, and the Tabwrdd was a drum.

The music of the Welsh, says Dr. Crotch, is essentially
martial.   Much of it, at least, was intended for the harp ;
since, as has been shown, bars or half-bars generally compre-
hend distinct sequences of notes, each of which is within the
compass of the hand without moving it.   The last bar of a
tune has usually a long note, then a short one, and the
remainder omitted.   In Irish or Scotch melodies the suit-
ability to the harp is seen in thirds, fifths, and octaves—the
instrument demanding every note to agree with the last to
prevent discord.   It had anciently twenty-six diatonic notes.
There were five keys and twenty-four measures of instru-
mental music in Welsh.

The oldest notation is *said* to be in Bardic characters or
alphabet, though others declare no such specimen existed.
The alphabet did serve the purpose in other lands, as Greece.
There were no lines, except a single one to separate the treble
from the bass.   St. Ambrose is credited with the change of
Greek into Roman *d, c, h, a, g, f, e, d.*   St. Gregory used
only *A, B, C, D, E, F, G.*   " I have had the good fortune,"
said Parry, "to hear specimens of about every national music,
and to none shall the Welsh yield in point of character."
Haydn thought " Rising of the Lark," sung to the praise of
the maids of Meirionydd, one of the finest he ever heard.
Some most admire " Of a noble race was Shenkin ; " " Sweet
Richard," eleventh century ; " Sons of the Fair Isle," tenth
century ; " Rheged," earlier still.   The " March of the Men
of Harlech " was anciently " Twr Bronwen," called after the
daughter of Prince Llyr of Harlech, sixth century.   The most
ancient tunes are reported to be " Hob y deri " and " Nos
Calan."   " Rhuddlan March " commemorated the battle in
795, when the Saxon Offa killed Caradoc and took his army

prisoners. "Robin Adair," "Donald," "Savoorna Deelish," and other Scotch and Irish airs, are claimed by the Welsh. On the other hand, some of the reputed Welsh airs have been asserted by Mr. Chappell to be old English ballads. Thus, while "Jenny Jones" is claimed by Parry as his "Cader Idris," and not old Welsh, "Ashgrove," first known in the *Bardic Museum*, 1803, is none other than "Cease your funning" in the *Beggar's Opera*. In the same way, the "Blue Bells of Scotland" is found in no early Scotch collection, being first published as Mrs. Jordan's song, 1800. The Welsh "Monks' March" should be "General Monk's March," an English air.

No one disputes the musical taste of the Welsh, whatever race or races gave origin thereto. The Irish distinctly attribute it to the Gaelic or Irish element of the past; but the Welsh repudiate that and the Iberian or dark-haired party, and ascribe it to the Cymry alone. It is pleasant, however, to read in Giraldus Cambrensis of a custom in the reign of our Henry II. "In a company of singers," says that clerical traveller, "which one very frequently meets with in Wales, you will hear as many different parts and voices as there are performers, who all at length unite, with organic melody, in one consonance and the soft sweetness of B flat." The choirs of Wales had therefore a noble reputation 700 years ago, and venture to challenge the world of song in our own day.

Mr. Macintosh writes: "The real Cymbrian is very musical, but the music characteristic of the race must be distinguished from the Gaelic melodies in $\frac{6}{8}$ time, which are very common in Wales. Cymbrian music is either in $\frac{2}{4}$ time, with a frequency of sudden stops and pathetic slurs, or in $\frac{3}{8}$ time, of which an example is furnished by the tune called 'Jenny Jones.' A Welsh minister generally intones his discourses." The sing-song of the latter, so admired by Welsh, has not the manly vigour and simplicity of the Gregorian chant, and is thought by Englishmen to rob a speaker of that natural play of feature and voice so effective and pleasing an element in true oratory.

WELSH WOMEN OF OLD.

Which of the ancient races has left most impress of character on woman? The oldest records we have to guide us are

the laws of Howel Dda, compiled by his order a thousand
years ago. According to Prof. Stubbs, the Oxford authority
on Constitutional History, the Welsh laws are more recent
than Saxon. They are singularly like the more ancient Irish
code. What say they about woman?

Everything in that good old Welsh and Irish time was
regulated by wealth and station. The poor woman, like her
husband, was nowhere; but she who had aristocratic blood
could raise her mate by marriage. All crimes were then arranged
for in money or cattle payment. Offences against a woman
were paid for according to her husband's rank; the murderer
of a peasant's wife was simply fined a few cattle, which went
to her former lordly proprietor. A woman was far less
esteemed than a man, for an injury to her cost but half that
done to her brother.

When twelve years old the girl was marriageable, and when
betrothed was called *virgin wife*. Her *cowyll* answered to
the German *morgangaba*, or morning gift, rated according to
rank. The law placed on one level the daughters of the
prince's chaplain, falconer, groom, and bard. Marriages were
then commercial arrangements. All presents made to the
bride were retained by her. The *agwedda* was the jointure.
The *gobyr*, or maiden's fee, was paid to the lord of the dis-
trict, who had a vested interest in his retainers' daughters.

Divorce was as easy for a Christian Welshman as for a
Mahometan Turk. He dismissed his wife for a whim; and
only in cases of pregnancy was an allowance provided,
though she was free to marry again. The wife could leave
for his leprosy or incapacity, taking off her own property.
On the third proof of the husband's infidelity, the wife was
free. If he sent her home at the end of the first three days,
he paid her three oxen; if kept for seven years, she had a
wife's portion on leaving. By mutual consent parting, the
property was divided. She had the meat in brine or cut, the
milking vessels, kettle, pan, broad-axe, flax, wool, goats, and
the meal she could carry in her arms. He took pigs and
sheep, poultry, cat, and corn. The eldest and youngest chil-
dren were his. A man must not strike his wife more than
thrice with a stick, and that not on her head. If beaten for
other than three faults, she could get *saraad*, or damages.

The woman did not inherit lands, though succeeding to
some of her father's property if she had no brothers. All

slaves were exempt from hard work during pregnancy. An adulteress lost her dowry. Hopeless disgrace came on her who wished harm to her husband's beard. While a good character by seven women saved her on a kissing charge, that by fifty was required on another accusation. Howel's law declared, "A woman by marriage quits the privileges of her family, and obtains that of her husband."

Though these regulations are called Celtic, while not unlike Saxon, it is highly probable they existed long before Celtic days, when the dark Silurians of Wales and dark Iberians of Ireland held their independent sway.

CONCLUSION.

Welsh history is neither more nor less reliable than other history. The Triads contain many absurdities, if their statements be taken as facts; or deep mysteries, should we accept them with hidden meaning. Side-lights of history, but nothing more, can be obtained from such sources. The early monkish chronicles, which are the first Welsh records, are so mixed up with ecclesiasticism, and are so involved in the miraculous, that we make very little out of them. Tradition is either mythical or contradictory. When Macaulay assures us that the story of Turpin's ride to York, on bonny Black Bess, was a tradition founded on the report of something like it which occurred three centuries before, we may well pause over the romances of the Cymry.

Without accepting the sixty-two kings of Britain before Arthur, or the wonderful deeds of Cunedda, and of Brychan, the Irish father of saints in Wales, we may rely upon a few early tales as facts. *Britannia Secunda*, or Wales, had the Dimetæ or Dyfed people in the south-west, the Silures in the south and east, and the Ordovices of Venedocia in the north. The Dimetæ were probably Gaels mixed with races coming by sea. The Silures, to the present day, form the typical dark, broad-shouldered Welshmen, and are most probably Iberians not Celts. There is no mention of the Belgæ of South Britain getting into Wales. The Ordovices were, doubtless, Gaels and Britons proper, though history has been quite silent about them for nearly 1800 years. Later on, we read of the eastern

Powys, divided from northern Gwynedd, the land of the Gaels, or fair people, by the river Dyvi, and having Dinafawr to the west. Powys, *Po-wys*, land over the Wye, was held by tributary Welsh princes under England in the thirteenth century. Gwent was between the Wye and the Usk; the *Cantred*, or Hundred, was from the Cath to the Towy; the *Red Cantred* lay between the Severn and Wye. Rheged, awhile, was a province between Dyfed and Siluria, or Essyllwg. Edward I., 1283, united the two countries by statute. Henry VIII. has the merit of sweeping away the Lords Marchers, and really connecting the two peoples, in 1536, dividing Wales in twelve counties, and giving the Welsh, as he said, "full privileges as English." In the English Parliament of 1327 were 48 Welsh representatives.

The *tribes* of Cymru or Wales seem to be pretty well confined to North Wales, largely inhabited by a Gaelic population. A civilized people loses all trace of tribal distinctions. The so-called Welsh tribes are comparatively modern. Yorke's *Royal Tribes of Wales* declares that they formed the nobility. As such they would, almost necessarily, date from Norman times. There were five royal tribes and fifteen common ones of North Wales. The first royal, says Yorke, was formed by Gruffudd ab Cynan, 1079, after he had, with Irish help, gained the battle of Carno. The second was under Rhys ab Tewdwr, whose daughter Nest was the celebrated mistress of our Henry I. The third came from Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, 1068; and the fourth from Jestyn ab Gwrgant. The fifth was the most ancient, proceeding from Athelstan Gladrydd, godson of the Saxon king Athelstan.

The fifteen common tribes are not easily made out. "The story of our country," says Mr. Yorke, "under its native princes is a wretched calendar of crimes;" and he adds, "In this dismal detail we should believe ourselves rather on the shores of the Bosphorus than the banks of the Dee." One writer speaks of some tribes being in South Wales, and another of all fifteen being in Gwynedd. Dr. Nicholas— *Pedigree of the English*—finds the founder of the fourth "lived in the eleventh century." The sixth arose in the twelfth century from Nefydd Hardd of Conway; the seventh, in the twelfth, from Maeloc Crwm; the eighth, in the tenth century, from Marchudd of Abergele; the ninth from Hedd

Molwynog; the tenth, in the eleventh century, by March-weithian of Denbigh; the twelfth from Edwin of Englefield; the thirteenth by Bendew the stupid, of the eleventh century; and the fourteenth, about the same time, by Etynydd. Collwyn ab Tango, of Harlech, was one founder.

The names of *Wales* and *Welsh* are rather puzzling. "In our own day," writes Gaidoz, "how hard it is to trace the origin of national names and nicknames! Who will, for instance, explain, with certainty we mean, the world-known name *Yankee?*" Who, then, shall settle such names as *Cymry* and *Welsh?* One legend is that Guallenses came from Gualo, a leader, or Gwales his wife. Voltaire called rude people *Welches*. Taliesen's appellation for his country, *Wallia*, has been derived from *Gwâl, cultivated soil;* by others, from Gaul, Gallia, or Gael. The Saxons have been usually credited with the name; and Saxon *Wilisc* has been thought to be altered Latin *peregrinus*. Mr. Donald Clark gets *Guddheal*, the ancient name of Welsh, from *Gal-duthaich*, the pronunciation of *An-ard-duthaich, high country*. He then changes *Guddheal* to *Wyddheal, Willas, Wales*. *Wallia*, so called before *Cambria* was known, may be a Teuton form of the Latin *Gallia;* for Galicia, on the Danube, became Wallacia. The Anglo-Saxons styled the French *Galwalas*, or the Welsh of Gaul, though the Franks spoke German for centuries. "In the mediæval literature of Germany," observes Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., "the word *Wœlsch* or *Welsch* was applied always to the French." Germans now call Italy *Welschland* and Italians *Welschers*.

The *g* and *w* at the beginning of words are often seen interchanged; and thus *Gallia* might become *Wallia*, says the *Penny Cyclopedia*. So with *w* and *v*; for *Wealas* is often *Vealas*. The Swiss canton Valais was *Wallis*. The Walloons of Belgium are Welsh in the same sense. The Poles call an Italian *Wloch;* and a Roumanian, *Woloch* or *Volaque*. The word clearly has some relation to *foreign;* for Romans among the Franks were known as *Wala Leodi*, or foreign men. The Saxons called the Romanized Gauls *Galwealas*, or Gallo-Romans. The Greek empire was recognized as *Weala ric*, kingdom of the Romans.

This leads Mr. Coote, in his *Romans in Britain*, to affirm that *Wealh*, singular of *Wealas*, always means *Roman;* as

Wealhgerefa was judge of the Romans. He speaks thus of the Anglo-Saxons: "The barbarians who settled here were not content to call our Romans (or Romanized Britons) by the name which belonged to them, but out of the abundance of their caprice they fastened upon them the substituted name of Wealas." Even the Jutes were said to have found Wealas in Kent. Believing in the Romanization of most of Wales, Mr. Coote recognizes a compliment to the higher class of Welsh in the use of the word, observing, "The gentlemen of Wales should not quarrel with us for fixing upon them this name, however uncouth it may sound to their ears. Its intrinsic meaning, now made clear to them, will entitle it to more than grace at their hands. It defines their true origin; for, as the *gentlemen* of their country, they could not be of the same race as the yeomen and proletarii."

At the present time no one can mistake the great difference between the short, dark Welsh and the taller, lighter variety of the north-west. The language cannot be a test of race, since some fair Welshmen speak Cymric, and some dark ones use English only. Dr. Latham is precise in noting the curly, black hair in South Wales. Dr. Beddoe thinks the stature has been raised by an English cross, since the Shropshire men, as Silurian as in Brecon, are taller from mixture with Saxon Mercian blood.

Mr. D. Macintosh found the following prevalent type in North Wales: "Neck more or less long, loose gait, dark brown (often very dark) and coarse hair, eyes sunken and ill defined, with a peculiarly close expression, dark eyelashes and eyebrows, eye-basins more or less wrinkled. The face was long, or rather long, narrow, or rather narrow, and broadest under the eyes. The chin was rather narrow, and generally retreating, though sometimes prominent. The nose was narrow, long, or rather long, much raised either in the middle or at the point, and occasionally approaching the Jewish form. The forehead was rather narrow, but not retreating; the skin wrinkled, and either dark or of a dull reddish-brown hue; the skull rather narrow and elongated."

He also noticed a flatter face west of Mold, "with a sudden sinking in under the cheek-bone. The eyes are sunk, and often half closed. The mouth is well formed, and the chin more or less prominent. The forehead in general is

broad, high, and capacious. The stature is short or middle-sized, with broad chest and shoulders; the complexion dark, with brown or dark brown hair; the skull broad, and approximately square." This type he observed as far west as Pembroke, as well as in Middle and Southern Wales. A third class is perceived in a " rather full and massive face; decidedly dark and often curly hair, dark whiskers, eyebrows, eyelashes, and eyes; tall, or rather tall, and massive frames; skull approximately round."

The ordinary Welshman, Silurian or Iberian, he thus presents to the ethnologist : "a broad head, large secretiveness, full forehead, large causality, sunk, half-closed eyes, nose projecting at the point, broad face in the region of the cheek-bones, sudden tapering off under the cheek-bones, narrow chin, very broad shoulders and chest, stature rather under the middle size, dark brown hair. In mental character he is more analytical than inductive, more critical than comprehensive, with a tendency to look to the past and exercise little confidence in the future." This portrait of a typical Welshman is seen very fairly represented in one of the best-known Welsh reporters of the Press, a man of rare enthusiasm, determined energy, zealous patriotism, and bardic imagination; but a Silurian Iberian, and not a Celt, though clinging with much devotion to an imported Celtic tongue. He is a worthy specimen of the race producing chivalrous harpers, Druidic scholars, and heroic warriors.

Giraldus, 700 years ago, thus notices a Welsh Celt he saw in the mountains : " This young man was of a fair complexion, with curled hair, tall and handsome; clothed only according to the custom of his country, with a thin cloak and inner garment; his legs and feet, regardless of thorns and thistles, were left bare."

Mr. Moggridge of Swansea describes the Carmarthen men as big and burly, as their Celtic Gaelic origin would lead us to expect. The other Welsh of Western Glamorgan, among whom he resided, are otherwise noted :—" Head middle-sized, well formed; eye bright, dark or hazel, large; nose moderate, most frequently straight; teeth good; lips thin; chin well formed, prominent; cheek-bones high; face oval or triangular; countenance exhibiting cunning and sharpness; average height five feet eight inches; build slight, active, well

formed; temperament impulsive, inflamed by flattery, credulous; long-lived. Females, up to sixteen, fresh complexioned, handsome; after, sallow from early marriages, food, and hard work; general character hospitable, warm-hearted." This is a faithful account of a Silurian, but with some Celtic blood.

Intellectually, the older type ranks first, having a broader forehead and fuller temple than the Celt. This is found the case in the more progressive south-east of Wales; while North Wales, as the Rev. R. Warner would say, is "perfectly Highlandish." There never was much love lost between Cardigan and Glamorgan, as if they felt their racial difference. North Wales has the tall people. "In North Wales," says Prichard's *Ethnology*, "a fair complexion and blue eyes prevail." Bishop Basil Jones declares, "The inhabitants of North Wales and South Wales are clearly two different races." The former indicate their recognition of the superior antiquity of the latter by placing Fairy Land down in South Wales.

The unfortunate thing is, that we cannot preserve the types altogether separate. A *Times* correspondent from Wales last August thus laments: "An anthropologist loves the Silurian type, he loves the Cymric. Dolichocephalism is just and admirable on the right shoulders. Light hair excellently becomes square heads. What he objects to is to see Silurian, Atlantean, Iberian, Basque long heads and short bodies crowned by flaxen locks, or to have to disjoin a Fleming or a Norman baron from his ending or beginning in an indigenous Welshman." After all, the race remains, in spite even of climate; which, as Knox tells us, "destroy them it may, and does, but it cannot convert them into any other race."

Dr. Beddoe, whose researches into varieties of British are so appreciated, weighed and measured many Welshmen. He selected 35 near Mr. Gladstone's Hawarden, of Flintshire. The height averaged 5 feet 7 inches, and the weight 158·5 pounds. There were, in 42, 11 with black hair, 15 dark, 4 brown, 10 fair, 2 red. The tallness he ascribes to a cross with English. In 22 miners and masons of North Wales, the height was 5 feet 6¾ inches, and the weight 150 pounds. Anglesey gave 5 feet 7⅔ inches, and 167½ pounds, with some labourers, who spoke pure Welsh, but were clearly Irish Gaels in origin. The same big race, though speaking Cymraeg,

were found in the slate works of Glan Ogwen, Carnarvonshire; the height being 5 feet 6¾ inches, and the weight 167⅓ pounds. The figures of 328 lead-miners in North East Cardigan were 5 feet 7⅓ inches, and 155¼ pounds; but of 42 other workers, 5 feet 7 inches, and 145 pounds. There were 71 with light eyes and brown hair, 50 with fair, 44 red, 20 dark brown, 59 black; but, with brown or black eyes, there were 60 black hair, 21 brown, 11 dark brown, 14 fair, 8 red.

South Wales, in 40, gave an average of 5 feet 5¾ inches, and only 142¼ pounds. But 29 farmers of the Vale of Teivy showed 5 feet 8½ inches, and 176 pounds. There is much Flemish blood there. Neath Valley miners, 33, averaged 5 feet 6⅗ inches, and 156 pounds. Rural South Brecknock gave 5 feet 7¾ inches, and 159 pounds. In 52 of South Wales, not farming men, the height was 5 feet 7 inches, and weight 150 pounds. Of these, 4 had red hair, 6 light, 16 brown, 15 dark, 7 black. He remarks of the combination of light hair with light eyes: "It belongs to what may be called the Kymric or Belgic type, as distinguished from the Iberian." In 108 Welsh lunatics, he observed 3 red hair, 13 light, 4 black, 46 brown, and 42 dark.

The authors of *Crania Britannorum* have these notes on North Wales: "They present two chief types of countenance —the longer and at times more slender face, not particularly wide across the cheek-bones, and that with heavier features, which is rounder, and has broader cheek-bones. The former appears to be most numerous, and, like the Irish countenance, is frequently vertically furrowed on the cheeks. The nose varies with the two types of face, being long and straight, often sinuous in the outline, and at times slender in the one, and robust, wide, especially at the tip, and occasionally having an inverted curve of outline, in the other. The mouth is frequently heavy, with thick and also prominent lips, especially in those with depressed noses. Red hair is occasional, but it is of a rather dull colour; light and brown hair are not uncommon, sometimes with blue eyes; but dark and black-haired people are very numerous."

After all, we may conclude, with Mr. Rudler, that "the Welsh are the representatives, in large proportions, of a very ancient race, or races; and that they are a very composite people, who may be best defined as *Siluro-Cymric*."

The Welsh, mixed as they are in blood, have a certain advantage over the kindred races, found east of the Severn, in the possession of *Cymraeg*. The contests with Saxon and Norman chiefs and kings bound closely for, perhaps, the first time in history the several tribesmen more or less speaking Welsh. Even now the glory of Welshmen is in their language, so full and expressive, so poetical and national; though they in Wales who do not speak it may be as truly Welsh as the rest. It is, however, pretty well recognized that the little dark Iberian or Silurian Welshman, and not the Celtic one, is really the man who clings most tenaciously to what may be conjectured the language of pre-Roman Gaul and Britain. And yet, in all probability, his ancestors employed a speech entirely different from the Celtic one, and which did not even belong to the Aryan family. Fortunately, they are as proud of Cymraeg as the mixed races in London are of Saxon, as the Caledonian Scotch are of English, and as the Gallic Parisians are of Germano-Latin. Such are the sweet revenges of history.

Although much obscurity hangs over the *Cymry*, as to their being a very ancient British population, or merely foreign conquerors coming when the Romans left, it is now understood that all Welshmen, however different in blood and origin, whether speaking Cymraeg or not, are usually regarded in Wales as *Cymry*. Outsiders have no reason to complain of what a people please to call themselves.

Proud as the English may well be of their success in the battle of national existence, the Welsh have much upon which they can congratulate themselves. Whether it be owing to the dark Silurian, or lighter Celt, Wallia has preserved a vividness of imagination, a fervour of poetic fire, and a soul of song, distinguishing it amongst the countries of Europe. Thanks to more modern influences at work, Cambria exhibits now a plodding industry, a wise economy, an orderly citizenship, and a Christian deportment, placing it among the foremost nations of progress.

THE END.

OUR NATIONALITIES.

IV.

WHO ARE THE ENGLISH?

BY

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FELLOW OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, LONDON,
Author of "Last of the Tasmanians,"
"Who are the Welsh?" &c.

PREFACE.

A WRITER has observed that it is not well to take away the halo of romance which surrounds the national pedigree. The exposure of the unreliability of any traditional story is unacceptable to those who indulge in the pleasures of imagination. And yet it is admitted that our youth can never be taught a reverence of truth, while we hold to a fond and foolish conceit.

Our histories have been too much and too long obscured by idle legends, with an absurd deference to ancient superstitions and popular prejudices. Yet, though Niebuhr and others have cleared away myths in the path of the learned, comparatively little effort has been made to bring historical criticism before the eyes of the general reader.

It was said by Mr. Knox, in his enquiry on races, " When we attempt to ascertain the true racial cognomen of the English, we are deafened by a Babel of conflicting scientific voices proceeding from anthropologists, ethnographers, philologists, historians, &c." But the origin of the English can be more calmly discussed than that of the Irish or Welsh, as the English do not put so high a value upon the glories of their ancient lineage, and rather plume themselves upon a love of fair play.

The removal of any obscurity, the riddance of some baseless chronicle, with the presentation of views on both sides of

a question, must be agreeable to all honest enquirers after
light upon history. The author, well aware of difficulties in
the way, sought to bring out facts so far as they could be
ascertained, and to exhibit all shades of opinion. He has
endeavoured to popularize the science of ethnology for the
benefit of those with few means or opportunities of research.

The present work, *Who are the English?* closes the
Series. While it is possible that, on such a debateable ground,
he may have disturbed the susceptibilities of some, the writer
is grateful to many who have fully appreciated his sincere
desire to know and tell what is true in history.

One result of these investigations is a perception of the
singular agreement of our nationalities in race. English,
Scotch, Welsh, and Irish are found more alike in origin than
most persons once supposed. Should we not, then, regard
each other as brethren? Can we hesitate to unite most
cordially in advancing the common interest of the British
Isles? With all our acknowledged short-comings, "Our
Nationalities" are doing a great work in the progression of
humanity, and ought not to suffer mere local prejudices to
hinder their common mission of enlightening and elevating
other less favoured races.

London,
   May 1st, 1881.

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WHO ARE THE ENGLISH?

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THE PRIMITIVE ENGLISHMEN.

Who were the aborigines of England? The common answer is, "The ancient Britons." If it be then asked, of what race were these, most persons would declare them Celts. But evidence shows that Celts are new comers, being preceded by the Iberians, who are still to be recognized in the little dark-haired Welshmen. There is now reason to believe that even the Welsh Silurians found people here before them.

The men who raised the barrows, or tumuli, for their dead came long after far ruder races had fixed their dwelling here in caves. The stone men, who polished their weapons, were the successors of those who were content with roughly-chipped flints. While they who rubbed to an edge their stone tools are styled *Neolithic*, or *new stone*, the others are known as *Palæolithic*, or *early* stone men.

The most ancient flints are tongue-shaped; of a "much larger scale, as well as of ruder workmanship," as Mr. Evans, in *Flint Implements*, has remarked. These are flakes, choppers, hatchets, scrapers for skins, and pointed ones for boring.

Under what circumstances do we find the earliest specimens of human art in England? They are recovered from sites far distant from the surface, and in valley gravels of considerable magnitude. The workers, as Prof. Huxley points out, "existed at times when the whole physical conformation of the country was totally different." We are driven to exclaim, with Mr. Wright the antiquary, "The only accurate materials

of this history are those which we deter from under the soil."

Not in England alone, but in portions of three continents, Palæolithic remains have been discovered. The Thames valley is rich in them. The tools are found in strange company. M. Broca, while saying of the men, " Wretched they were, and with only weapons of stone, they carried on against Nature no mean struggle," declares that they contended with creatures " more real than the monsters with which Hercules fought."

In Gray's Inn Lane, 60 feet above the present level of the Thames at London, but in the gravel of the old bed of that river, flints were found with the bones of elephants. General Lane Fox saw such tools in Acton, Ealing, Hammersmith, and Kensington, sometimes in brick - earth 12 feet thick, resting on 18 feet of gravel. On Hackney Downs they were detected 100 feet above the existing river level. At Battersea, Lower Clapton, and all up the Lea Valley, the same are known. In one place General Lane Fox saw them 80 feet above high-water mark, under 7 feet of gravel on clay. In this London brick-earth, the weapons are with the bones of the lion, bear, urus, Irish elk, otter, hippopotamus, woolly rhinoceros, ancient elephant, and mammoth.

They are found, however, not further north than Leicester, say Messrs. Franks, Flowers, and Evans. They are in the Crayford brick-earth 40 feet ; in 10 feet of loam under 6 of boulder clay at Mildenhall ; under 15 feet of solid boulder clay at Culford, Suffolk ; in 13 feet undisturbed drift, with the elephant, at Biddenham ; with the elephant at 12 feet depth, Vale of Belvoir ; in undisturbed brick-earth, with the hyena, lion, reindeer, urus, woolly rhinoceros, and mammoth, in Fisherton Valley, near Salisbury ; above the present river bed 90 feet at Brandon ; 1000 feet from the river, and 48 above it, at Salford ; with the mammoth and charcoal in Wokey Hole ; with the hippopotamus in Essex ; with pointed posts in 20 feet of peat at Thetford ; in the Isle of Wight before its separation from the main ; at Downton, Wilts, 150 feet above the Avon ; at Hoxne, Suffolk, 110 feet above the sea ; near London Docks, with the reindeer ; at Ichlington, Canterbury, Bedford, Fordingbridge, &c.

The Bournemouth cliffs show the course of an ancient river,

with human tokens, when there were cliffs 600 feet high in what is now a bay. Flints are taken from the Reculvers 100 feet high, and in West Norfolk from beneath 30 feet of peat. This peat contains a flora entirely distinct from that of the drift. The drift may have been from a local deluge. Mr. Skertchley, Government geologist, came upon the camping ground of a Palæolithic family, which had the burnt clay beneath a jawbone. Mr. Boyd Dawkins notices the find of 35 flints with remains of lions, grizzly bears, reindeer, and woolly rhinoceros. The calcined bone of a rhinoceros was, he says, "burnt while the animal juices were present."

It was long ago that the Palæolithic workers lived in England; even before the Glacial period, says Prof. Boyd Dawkins, or when the north of England was submerged. Our land was then joined to France; for, as Prof. Flowers believes, the "separation was long subsequent to that of the making of flint implements." At Mevagissey Bay stumps may be seen 50 feet below high-water. Mr. Pengelly says that Cornwall was 70 feet higher when man lived there. St. Michael's Mount is traditionally known as the *Hoar rock in the Wood.* Flints were with our rolled pebbles before the age of Rhine loess, and the last dislocation of the Alps. They were in the old bed of the Wye when it flowed 300 feet higher. Geikie, the geologist, writes, "The land now stands not less than about 300 feet below its pre-glacial level." Then, most probably, there was no German Ocean. The stone tools themselves betray age in their discolouration, and their mosslike appearance from the action of oxide of manganese. The London Thames was then 4 miles wide, while for 2000 years there has been no perceptible change in the stream.

Man lived with animals, like the lion and hippopotamus, having no relish for cold. A real Arctic season followed, when these creatures retreated, and gave place to the reindeer and the bear. The original Primitive Englishmen retreated from the glacial epoch, which, says M. Quatrefages, "made the earliest country of man uninhabitable, these tribes were forced to migrate in their turn."

"From that moment," adds he, "the original type of man has been lost; the human species only composed of races, all of which differed more or less from the first model." What kind of creatures were our Primitive Englishmen? Accord-

ing to Boyd Dawkins, "There is no evidence that they were
inferior in intellectual capacity to many of the lower races at
the present time, or more closely linked to the lower animals."
Mr. Stevens, in *Flint Chips*, finds the early man "feebly but
distinctly feeling after art."

But old as the Palæolithic man is, we may have, as Mr.
Evans writes, "no reason to conclude that we have as yet
found the earliest traces of man upon the earth, or even on
the soil of Western Europe." He may yet be proved to have
lived not only in pleistocene but in tertiary times.

CAVE MEN existed in this country long, long ago. The
earliest of them were of the Palæolithic order. For our
knowledge of these we are much indebted to Prof. Boyd
Dawkins, the great cave-hunter.

The most interesting English cave is Kent's Hole, near
Torquay, so well explored by Mr. Pengelly, who got 7000
boxes of specimens from one chamber alone. Stalagmite has
formed over successive deposits. In uppermost beds the
sheep is found ; below, the hyena ; lower still, the cave bear.
Among the bones associated with human art and remains are
those of the sabre-toothed lion, elephant, mammoth, &c.
Animal charcoal-beds leave no doubt of man's fires in the
time of those now extinct animals. We are told of "a vast
number of rude unpolished palæolithic implements." A jaw
was seen under 20 inches of stalagmite. The upper beds dis-
play Roman remains. M. Lartet distinguishes four cave ages:
the cave-bear, the mammoth, the reindeer, the bison.

Though we have not such works of primeval art as have
been found in French caves, with admirable line scratches
representing the mammoth, yet we see in Robin Hood's cave
an incised figure of a hog-maned horse. In Brixham cave
the flints were picked up among the remains of bears, lions,
and the woolly rhinoceros. Wokey Hole, near Wells, was a
hyena den, showing the cave lion, cave bear, mammoth, ele-
phant, &c., with man's tools. In Kirkland cave, near Ulvers-
ton, while Roman coins were gathered from a few inches
beneath the surface, a human skull was got from a depth of
7 feet in clay. There was very rude sunburnt pottery in
another part. Cresswell Crags, Derby, prove man living in
the reindeer age here. Men, says Boyd Dawkins, occupied

Settle Cave, Yorkshire, in pre-glacial times. "The Victoria Cave," writes he, "was inhabited first of all by a barbarous Neolithic family, and lastly, after a very considerable interval, by Roman provincials." King's Cave, Wye river, was inhabited by man at the same time as by the mammoth, lion, and woolly rhinoceros. Poole's Cavern, Buxton, is full of interest to visitors for its revelations of primitive man.

In Edmunds' *Names of Places* is the following notice :— "There was a tribe of old English troglodytes, of whom we have no trace save in a single passage of a forgotten chronicler. The word Snotincgaham, now disguised as Nottingham, meant the home of the children of the excavations, or of the cave-dwellers." According to Asser, the old British name for Nottingham is Tyogofawy, the house of the cave-dwellers. It is singular that the written character for *house* is *hole* or *cave* in the Accadian language of ancient Chaldea.

BARROW MEN, the constructors of barrows or tumuli over graves, were more recent primitives than the cave men.

These structures are sometimes of immense size ; Silbury, near Abury, being 2027 feet round and 170 in perpendicular height. Their difference of form may be dependent upon difference of the building race. They are long or round, though some are like bowls, bells, ovals, or saucers. A few, called Druids, are low, having a trench and a mound around. Some have a boundary of large stones. Mostly of earth, they may be piles of stones, as cairns. Inside, while some have the body without protection, in others huge stones are set up for a cist or coffin, or for a chamber in size. A communication may exist with the grave, by means of a long gallery or covered way of stones, forming what is called in Brittany the *allée couverte*, and as is seen in Wieland Smith's cave, Berks.

They are numerous. Within about three miles of Stonehenge 300 were counted. From one hill 128 were seen. In most cases the entrance faces the sun ; though Canon Greenwell found 19 north, 19 south, 25 west, 37 east. Mr. Lukis thinks two-thirds opened toward the south-east. The skeleton is rarely straight. In one part 11 were extended and 52 contracted ; in another, 14 and 71 ; in a third, 24 and 97. Only in 4 cases of 301 was the body unbent in Yorkshire barrows. When extended, they are as often on one side as the other.

Bodies were burnt when not buried. In some places fires were made over the corpse, which was but slightly burnt or charred. When quite consumed, the ashes were put into urns of various sizes and forms, often of very rude manufacture, and sun-dried. They have been seen a yard in height. In the west, they had handles. Of 297 interments, 124 had urns. Mr. Bateman counted 94 of 216. The northern barrows have more burnt bodies than the southern ones. In Cleveland, Yorkshire, there were 32 of 50 ; but in Wilts only one in three. At Castle Howard all were burnt. Dorset had 51 buried, 106 burnt.

Barrows may contain drinking-cups and *Incense vessels*, so called, as well as *Food vessels*. The first are from 6 to 10 inches high. A gold one was found at Broad Down. The side or bottom holes of others made them appear as if for perfumes or incense ; they may have been suspended. Food vessels, in burnt and unburnt graves, contained provision for the ghosts of the dead, supposed to partake of the good essences.

Ornaments, as beads, bracelets, necklaces, torques, &c., are found in barrows. They even occur in central Russia. The beads may be of stone, jet, clay, glass, or amber. Some glass vessels have the colour throughout. Glass appears before iron. Hexagonal tubes of glass and some finely enamelled porcelains are thought to have been brought by trading Phœnicians. The older barrows have flint tools and rude pottery only ; the more modern show bronze and glass articles.

Bronze is seen in New Forest, Lake Lock, Baldock, Leeds, Gittisham, &c. Of 297 northern barrows, 37 had bronzes ; almost all of which showed burnt remains. Only 12 of 192 Dorset tumuli had bronzes. The later bronze weapons were socketted. Iron is deemed Neo-Celtic, and the early specimens were very soft. It is seen in 26 of 297 barrows. Bone articles were numerous in stone and bronze times. They are pins, harpoons, picks, beads, and combs. The pottery received line decorations from twisted thongs and thumb-nails. Dorset has very old specimens. Polished flints occur even with bronzes.

The Long Barrows, simple or chambered, are older than the Round ones. The bodies are often crowded together, huddled up in a small space ; 10 were in a place 8 feet by 4, and 18 in one 8 by 3. On the top of a barrow on *Purbeck* Isle rests

the immense Agglestone, or holy stone. All barrows are of Neolithic age, having chipped and polished stone tools.

The skeletons hardly afford much light upon the question of race. The hands of the earliest were very small. The bronze men of Yorkshire were taller and rougher than those they succeeded. Platycnemic, or flat shins, are recognized, though not sufficient to mark a distinct race.

The skulls afford most interest. Dr. Thurnam gave the law of long barrows, long skulls; round barrows, round skulls. His associate, Dr. Barnard Davis, doubts the conclusion, as he finds the brachy-cephalic, or broad, in many long barrows. Canon Greenhill believes in the superior antiquity of dolicho-cephalic, or long heads; saying that "the earlier long-headed people were more completely eradicated by the intrusive round heads in Wilts than they were in Eastern Yorkshire." He adds that the older were shorter and weaker; the newer affording, "in the rugged and fierce expression which the face must have represented, a strong contrast to the pleasing appearance of the other people." Many writers, as Prof. Rolleston, &c., esteem the older barrow-men to have been Silurian, and the younger, Celtic.

The obliterated sutures may, thinks Dr. Barnard Davis, give a lengthened look; but "the prevailing brachy-cephalism of the ancient races of the Britannic Isles was general over all the tribes." He finds this in the *Cornavi* of Ballidon Moor, the *Coritani* of Green Lowe, the *Belgæ* of Roundway Down, and the *Durotriges* of Ballard Lowe. Of 111 skulls he found the average capacity 74·, the circumference 20·6 inches, the length 7·2, the breadth 5·6, and the height 5·4. Narrow heads are older, according to Vogt.

"The Dorset skulls," says Dr. Smart, "have the protuberant brows and immensely deep and angular jaws, so characteristic of ancient British races. The teeth, like those in the British series generally, are large. The molar teeth approach the character of the Australian dentition in the great size of the crown." Mr. Rolleston writes, "The dolicho-cephalic Silu-rian type, which characterized the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, and of a great part of Europe also, in the Stone Ages, included crania resembling the Australian." The average skull size of 56 men was $7·28 \times 5·9 \times 5·6$; and of 14 women, $6·9 \times 5·6 \times 5·3$.

The *ill-fitted* skulls of Prof. Cleland are the extremely long ones. One jaw was not fine in the " tumid horizontal segment corresponding to its molar teeth, its wide ramus, its short coronoid process, its feeble chin, its rounded, often inwardly bent, angle." Prof. Huxley was not pleased with one from Sudbury Hall, Derby; observing, " A little flattening and elongation, with a rather greater development of the supraciliary ridges, would convert this into the nearest likeness of the Neanderthal skull which has yet been discovered." It approached the gorilla form. No perforated skulls have been seen like those of La Lozère.

A skull from Wimbourne Stoke had prominent nasals, square, narrow, and prominent chin, short and small facial bones, a narrow and receding forehead. It was a long head that was brought up at Sennen, Cornwall, from submarine peat, 30 feet below water-level. Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric* work recognizes that " a race of Brachy-cephali, Turanians, or others, to whom the rude stone arts of prehistoric Britons chiefly pertained, intervened between the Kumbe-cephalic of the long-chambered barrows and all true Celts." Rolleston declares that " none but dolicho-cephalic skulls were to be found in any set of skulls from the barrows of the pre-metallic period." After all, as M. Broca affirms, " The peoples of Europe are derived from many races, differing much in the shape of the skull." The long British skull, in Huxley's eyes, is Australian; which " in the largely-developed *probole*, the wall-sidedness, pentagonal *norma occipitalis*, prognathism, and strong brow ridges, and even in the remarkable vertical depression exhibited by some extreme forms of their skulls, come nearest to the ancient long skulls of Europe." Dr. Carter Blake thought there was not yet sufficient material by which to form decided judgment about long and broad skulls.

Near Stonehenge a skull was found that seemed to have no forehead, the eye-sockets appearing on the top of the head. From Arbor Lowe, Derby, Dr. Davis got a better sample; the well-expanded forehead, with a full and smoothly-arched vault, swelling out at the parietal parts. He noticed " an air of beauty about this brachy-cephalic skull, coincident with its gentilitial feeling, that makes it particularly fitting for the representation of the gentler sex among the ancient British series of this work." He adds, " The accompaniments of her

interment (ornaments) will go far to prove that she was highly esteemed by him she called lord."

The Barrow-men may have dwelt in the huts or pits observed in many places. The *Kitchen Middens* may mark an earlier period at Ventnor, Newhaven, Herm Isle, Tenby, the Cornish coast, &c. In these, flints, charcoal, and nodules of iron pyrites for fire bringing are found. Pits of stone structure, 7 to 12 feet diameter, remain at Weybourn. Near the Tyne the huts are from 15 to 40 feet. In the Isle of Wight bones of the reindeer, dog, and horse are seen in the huts. The stone enclosure for homes at Turnworth, Dorset, is 160 feet long. Men lived in the chalk-pits at Cissbury, where a rude writing was noticed by Mr. Park Harrison. The pen-pits of Stourhead are over 700 acres. Our downs and hills show others. An old city near Penselwood was the British Coir Pensauelcoit. Clearings in forests at the base of hills were first inhabited. Thus, in our Weald, 119 parishes are at the foot of the chalk rises, and only 6 in the weald or wood.

Mr. Holmes of Roundhay, in his *Prehistoric Leeds*, notes one condition of that ancient past; there existed "travel, trade, and commerce between places wide apart in times very remote and prehistoric." The severity of bad winters must have tried the people, and kept down numbers. But human affections brought light and warmth into their homes. Dr. Tylor, recently the President of the London Anthropological Institute, indicates a *Pluvial Period*, as well as a Glacial one, to trouble the early inhabitants.

We do well, in our estimation of past British races, not to think too much of Barrow raisers; since, as the author of *Prehistoric Man* justly says, "Whole tribes and nations have disappeared without even a memorial mound."

LAKE DWELLERS have been described in the previous works on *Our Nationalities*, and need but few remarks here, as England was less favoured with their presence than our sister lands of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales were.

A few "Pile houses" are known, though in morasses and rivers, rather than in lakes. At Barton Mere, near Bury St. Edmunds, such residences are recognized, having pottery shreds with the bones of the urus, dog, and horse, the remnants of ancient feasts. A quantity of Pile work was discovered by

London Wall, driven into 20 feet of peat. The tenants were, in all probability, before the Celtic invasion.

The MEGALITHIC MEN were the raisers of great stone circles, cromlechs, &c. As these structures are found in countries never known to Celts, as Syria, India, and North Africa, the common report of their Celtic origin cannot be received. As the Turanians of India (hill tribes) still continue to raise similar blocks, and as the Iberians, known to have been in North Africa, have some Turanian characteristics, it would be more correct to give the credit of such erections in Great Britain and Ireland to the Iberian or Silurian tribes.

It may be, however, that a migratory race, of more intelligence than the ordinary savages, made use of the labour of others to build for a purpose. The great antiquity of Megalithic, or great stone, structures, is evident, as they existed in countries before the historic times of the oldest known nations. Space will not permit much matter on this subject.

PILLAR STONES, ortholiths or standing stones, quoits, devil's bolts, greyweathers, are memorial rocks. They often appear in connection with circles.

LOGAN or rocking-stones are artificially or naturally suspended. The *Loggis* of Land's End weighs 60 tons, and is easily moved. *Buckstone* of Monmouth in size is $22 \times 13 \times 13$ feet. On Agnes Isle, Scilly, is one 47 feet round. Sithney or Menamber of Cornwall is $11 \times 6 \times 4$ feet. There are 5 logans at Bramham, York ; 3 in Derbyshire ; 3 at Warton Crags. Many have been overthrown. At St. Levin of Cornwall, Lustleigh of Devon, Titterstone of Salop, &c. others exist. But many, as on the Derby Peak, have been overthrown.

TOLMEN or holed stones served for the curing of diseases by the passage of limb or body through the cavity. Instances are seen at Men-an-Tol and Madern, near Penzance, Rodmarton of Gloucester, Long stone of Ninepin-Hampton, Castor Down, Devon, and in the crypt of Ripon cathedral.

INSCRIBED STONES are noted at length in *Who are the Scotch ?* Many inscriptions are in Latin, others in Ogham letters. The curious cup and circle marks abound in Northumberland, Cloughton by Scarborough, the calder stones of

Liverpool, Dorset, &c. The 55 inscribed stones of Northumberland bear different signs. Mr. Tate of Berwick, who recognizes a symbolic meaning, says that "the radial grooves penetrating through the circles, and beyond them, might represent a Divine influence pervading all the realms of matter and spirit."

STONE FORTS are not so peculiar. At Abdon Barf, Salop, is a wall 1317 feet long, and 660 broad. A height of 12 feet yet remains in places. Sussex has *Caerau* or forts ; Dorset has 17 ; Oswestry, Deanbury, and Salisbury Plains show others. The north-eastern ones may have been built to keep off, says General Lane Fox, intrusive broad-headed races from the east.

CROMLECHS or Dolmen consist of stones hanging upon other stones, forming a chamber within. Sometimes the cap or top-stone has one end down, forming what some call an *earthfast* cromlech. Most would seem to be sepulchral ; some, with an open side, may have been for religious use. They are of different ages, and most writers deem them all of pre-Celtic days. As they are seen inside of tumuli, it has been concluded by Lukis and others that all were once subterranean, though the earth has been since removed from about them. But there is evidence that some at least were always exposed, and were connected with religious ceremonies.

Cromlechs may be seen more in the West than East. Cornwall and the Channel Isles have a number of them. At Drewsteignton on Dartmoor the cap is supported by three huge pillars, said to be set up by three spinsters before breakfast. Wayland Smith's one is in the Vale of the White Horse, Berks. Kits Coty House near Maidstone is a noble cromlech. North of Abury is another. That at Lanyon, in Cornwall, permits a man on horseback to pass under the cap. Constantine is a block 33 × 18 × 14 feet. Malfra is in Cornwall. Agglestone, on the summit of a barrow, is near Poole. That on St. Mary's, of Scilly, rests on two stones. Trevelly stone is by St. Cleer, Cornwall. Most cromlechs were connected with barrows.

CIRCLES of stone may have a mystic meaning relating to eternity, or the ever onward course of the soul. Some suppose that they are associated with graves to denote the second enclosure in the womb, from which the dead shall emerge

into life again. Avenues of stones sometimes lead on to a
circle, or circles; as at Abury, Dartmoor, &c., like as at
Carnac in Brittany.

The West has most circles. Being in rough, hilly places
they have been less disturbed, or broken up for road metal.
In Cornwall there are the *Hurlers*, petrified for playing on
Sunday; St. Burien, of 19 stones; Botallek, and others. In
Shropshire are those of Mitchell's Ford, Clee Burf. and Abdon
Burf; the first being 75 feet diameter. Devon has two con-
centric circles in a third at Lustleigh; Scorshill, Dartmoor,
90 feet across; Fernworthy; and Greyweathers of 19 stones.
Derby has Castleton, Arbor Lowe; Abney Moor; Wet
Within's Moor, 116 feet diameter; Offerton, 90 feet; and
Hartle Moor. Somerset has Stanton Drew, 320 by 260 feet,
with stones 14 feet high; these represent a transfixed wedding
party, fiddlers included. Oxford shows the Rollrich stones;
and Dorset, Winterbourne, 100 yards long, and Pokeswell.
Keswick ring, 100 yards round, had 48 stones. The Calder-
stones near Liverpool form an oval. Urswick in Furness has
a diameter of 350 feet.

Abury or Avebury circles are very celebrated. Two small
ones are enclosed in a large circle, having a serpent-like
avenue of 2300 feet leading up to them. The enclosure is
28 acres. The external circle has a diameter of 466 feet.
One of the concentric ovals is 138 by 155 feet, and the other
45 by 52. Most of the huge stones have gone.

Stonehenge enclosure is 336 feet in size. The great circle
is 97 feet in diameter, and once consisted of 40 huge stones.
The large oval, formerly of five pairs of trilithons, had stones
22 feet in height. The small oval within all had once 19
stones, small in size, but of beautiful stone. Stonehenge,
with its grand circle of gigantic trilithons, is one of the greatest
wonders of England.

All these Circles, Cromlechs, &c., are called Druidical
monuments, from the tradition that Druids erected them, or
used them for religious purposes. There is no documentary
history about them, and tradition is unreliable. We are
quite ignorant of the Megalithic builders in our country, and
cannot decide upon the race to which they belonged.

THE IBERIAN BRITONS.

Of the two Barrow-raising races in Britain, some of the most eminent of antiquarians regard the older as Iberian, and the newer as Celtic. The Iberians correspond to the Silurians, described by Tacitus, and referred to at length in the previous work, *Who are the Welsh?* Although the classical writers identify them with the Iberi or Basques of Spain, it might be easier to speak of the people simply as Silurians.

In reading the earliest accounts of the country, we are struck with the fact that two very distinct races dwelt in Britain during Roman times. The south coast, called *maritima pars* by Caesar, and *proximi Gallis* by Tacitus, was certainly nearest to Gaul. All writers agree that the people resembled the Belgic Gauls, whom Caesar distinguishes from the Celtic and Iberian Gauls. They were tall, with blue eyes, light hair, and fair skin. But beyond that area, towards the interior and west, we are introduced to a people who were short, with dark eyes, dark hair, and dark skin. Such a contrast is most striking. It is usual to style the first Celts, and the latter Iberians or Silurians.

Caesar never came in contact with the darker race. He only penetrated to the Thames near London. Other Roman generals, who found comparatively little difficulty with the Celts in Britain, had much trouble with the rest. Tacitus has left this account ;—" The brown complexions and curling (black) hair of the Silures intimated that the ancient Iberians had passed over from Spain, and had occupied that part of Britain." They are usually put in the extreme west of Europe,—both of Gaul and Spain. The Cynesians or Cynetæ, described as " the most remote of all the nations who inhabit the western parts of Europe " probably were Iberians. Dionysius Periegetes, early in the first century, wrote—

> " On Europe's furthest western border dwell
> Th' Iberians, who in warlike might excel."

Festes Avienus declares that the Cynestes dwell in Spain, and the Welsh Triads preserve the remembrance of the Cynet. Strabo is very clear in stating that the Iberians differed from all Gauls, whether Belgica or Celtica. When Tacitus

compares Western Britons and those of the interior with the Iberi of Spain, he always speaks of the others southward and eastward as like the fair Gauls.

Aquitania of south-western France is always associated by classical writers with Iberia of northern Spain. Cæsar distinguished them from Belgic or Celtic Gauls. Strabo affirms that the Aquitani " resemble the Iberi more than the Celts." Cæsar found them troublesome from their mining propensities, for they would undermine and destroy Roman fortifications. Crassus, however, succeeded in reducing them. Napoleon, in his *Life of Julius Cæsar*, has no doubt of their being anterior to the Celtic Gauls; saying, " The Aquitanians, who had originally occupied a vast territory of the north of the Pyrenees, having been pushed backwards by the Celts, had but a rather limited portion of it in the time of Cæsar." They dwelt beside the Gers and Garonne, in the Landes, Gascony, and the base of the Pyrenees. The tribes were the Ausci, Gates, Bigerriones, Cocosates, Tarbelli, Elusates, Sibuzates, Garumni, Ptianes, Sotiates, Tarusates, Convenes, Vasates, and Bituriges Vivisci. The Ligurians of south-eastern France and northern Italy may have been allied to them. The Ligurians of Provence are called short, with black hair and eyes. Roget de Belloquet, who supposes Iberians like the Ligurians, refers to their dark hair and eyes, their dry and nervous temperament. There is no more record of their speaking Basque than of Silurian Britons doing so.

How did the Iberian get to the northern shore of the Mediterranean, the coast of Biscay Bay, as well as in Gascony, Britain, and Ireland? Vogt and Hector MacLean would conduct them from America by way of the lost Atlantis. Dr. Thurnam derives them from an ancient Iberian stock, or from a common source with that people. M. Broca is followed by most continental ethnologists in bringing them from Africa; especially as the old Berbers or Kabyles of Barbary seem to be their kindred. The Guanches of the Canary Isles appear to have belonged to the family. Some think they came in two lines from the East. Finns, Sclaves, and Wends have been styled cognate peoples. The Turanian or Tartar element is conspicuous. The Phœnicians and Carthaginians have been credited with the origin of the Iberians. This was natural to suppose from their early connection with Spain, where

they traded with the Iberi. Prof. Max Müller classes the Iberians as Turanians.

There are other symptoms of Turanian connection. Finns, Lapps, Livonians, Esthonians, and Iberians proper have always been workers in metals; and the Turanians of Asia were always associated with iron working. The Ural and the Altai Ugrian tribes were miners, as the Scythian Turks were stout iron-founders. Certainly, the Iberians of Spain, France, Wales, and England have ever been great as miners. The Cassiterides, or lands of tin, whether Cornwall alone, or that with south Wales and north-western France, were mining regions, and are declared Iberian by Dionysius. Lenormant is pleased to say "Tubal-Cain is an ethnic personification." He calls attention to an Iberian metallic connection with England; observing, "A curious vestige of the ancient bringing of tin from Great Britain in the Iberian peninsula (Spain) is found in the Basque word for that metal, *estanua*, which is attached much more directly to certain Celto-Britannic forms, as the Cymric *ystaen*, and the Latin *stannum*."

The Basques, however mixed in blood, from contact with Celts and Teutons, retain the old Iberian language, Euskarian or Euskaldunac; which is agglutinate, like that spoken by the Australian blacks, and the Dravidians of the black hill tribes of India. The declinations are made by prepositions. The agglutimate is seen in *od-otsa*, thunder; the first part is derived from a word meaning *noise*, and the last from *otsa*, a cloud. Nouns have active and passive terminations. The article is at the end of the word. There are eleven moods in each voice, and six tenses in several moods. Prepositions, adverbs, and interjections are declined. It is so difficult, that it is said the devil only knew three words after a study of seven years.

Our Iberian people have lost their own language, accepting Cymric in one place, Gaelic in another, and have retained few of their ancient customs. Some Basque customs were once, probably, those maintained by English Silurians. The law of primogeniture belongs to both sexes. The younger brother is the unpaid servant of the elder till marriage. Women, 500 years ago, had voting political equality with men. Names are derived from the dwellings. He who marries an heiress takes her name, has no control over her children,

and cannot marry again but by consent of his deceased wife's
relations. The eldest daughter had a vote when the youngest
son had not. With such women's rights, it is no wonder
that Iberians were hard to conquer. Every Basque is said to
be a poet, as every Iberian or little dark Welshman may be
said still to be in soul. The poetical side of the English
character is assuredly not Saxon, nor hardly Celtic, but may
be Iberian or Silurian.

The old cave men of Spain might have been Iberian. The
skulls found in the Gibraltar caves are dolicho-cephalic, or
long-headed, like those in English long barrows; and were
seen along with the remains of the ibex, hog, ox, goat, badger,
and dog, with very coarse pottery, stone tools, and bone
needles. A similar race is observed in the dolmen of Anda-
lusia. Prof. Busk is of opinion that the Berbers of North
Africa are of Basque kindred, and non-Aryan. The swarthy
part of the Bretons, though now, like the dark Welsh, speak-
ing Cymraeg, are evidently Iberian, like the Aquitanians, and
some even by the Meuse; leading Mr. Boyd Dawkins to
observe, "It is not a little strange that the type should be
so slightly altered by intercourse with the conquering races."
Belgium had a similar people before Celts and Teutons overran
it. The cave explorer connects these circumstances, and con-
cludes, " We have, therefore, proof that an Iberian or Basque
population spread over the whole of Britain and Ireland in
the Neolithic age, inhabiting caves, and burying their dead in
caves and chambered tombs, just as in the Iberian peninsula
(Spain), also in the Neolithic age." Prof. Keyser observes
that " a Turanian population has preceded the Iranian in the
whole of Europe." Dr. Nott's *Types of Mankind* discovers
" one pristine population of the British Isles was probably
Iberian." Dr. Prichard writes, " In the West, as aborigines
of Western Europe, we have the Euskaldunes, or ancient
Iberians."

In the preceding works, *Who are the Irish?* and *Who are
the Scotch?* the writer has described the Iberian or Silurian
populations of these two neighbouring countries, dwelling
there as well as in Wales. " We find traces," says Mr. Boyd
Dawkins, " of these small, dark people in the Highlands of
Scotland. Here and there one meets with what is called a
dark Highlander,—a small, black, long-headed man, quite

different, physically, from one's idea of a Highlander." Mr. Skene, the eminent Scotch historian, thus has "reason to suppose that a people possessing their (Iberian) physical characteristics had once spread over the whole of both of the British Isles." He identifies them with the Firbolgs. Dr. Davis and Dr. Thurnam, in *Crania Britannica*, write, "The earlier British dolicho-cephali of the Stone Period were, we think, derived from the ancient Iberians, or from a common source of that people."

Prof. Huxley, in *The Forefathers and Forerunners of the English people*, said, "The Iberian blood has remained, though all traces of the language may have been obliterated. I believe it is this Iberian blood which is the source of the so-called black Celt in Ireland and in Britain." He detects in the Milesians a dark-haired, black-eyed people. Elsewhere he writes, "The dark people resembled the Aquitani and the Iberians; the fair people were like the Belgic Gauls." His conclusions are these: "I entertain no doubt that our Iberic forefathers have contributed a something to the making of the modern Englishman, totally distinct from the elements which he has inherited from his Aryan forefathers. But which is the Aryan element, and which the Iberian, I believe no man can tell."

Dr. Hyde Clarke, a philological authority, while perceiving that the river names of England have received Celtic explanations, has no doubt that many of them are really Iberian. Prof. Rudler, discoursing of the Melanochroi, or dark people, and the Xanthochroi, or light ones, remarks, "There can be little doubt that the Xanthous Britons always spoke a Keltic tongue; but it is not so easy to decide what was the original speech of their Melanochroic neighbours." Prof. Sayce says, "Grammar and idioms alone can inform us whether the Keltic languages have come under the influence of their Iberian predecessors." M. Broca detected Basque in Gaelic.

Sir John Lubbock fancies a resemblance, in some respects, between the early, dark race of Britain and the Esquimaux. Mr. Jackson admits the Melanic is older than the Xanthous in Western Europe, though "under inferior telluric conditions." Nilsson would identify them with the dwarfs and pigmies of the Gothic sagas. Pearson's *Early and Middle Ages of England* has this passage: "It is possible that a primeval

people, represented at present by the Basques and Finns, wandered in pastoral tribes all over Europe, while Kelt and German were still east of the Volga."

Dr. Beddoe thus speaks of the race : "With a dark, almond-shaped, and often obliquely set eye, quite Turanian in character, with arched or oblique eyebrows, and with other features much resembling those I have seen in photographs from the Western Pyrenees." Mr. Hector McLean identifies the dark races of the British Isles with the Iberians of Spain, but styles them *Atlaniean*. He notes a brown skin, dark and lustrous eyes, long and dark eyelashes, but a weaker beard than is known in the Celt. Many, at the least, will acknowledge with Mr. Howorth, that the adoption of Iberian or Silurian explains much that is very obscure in archæology. Prof. Rhys suggests that the pre-Celts would be the missing link between the Finns and Basques.

In England we fail to mark such distinct Iberian localities as may be detected in Ireland and Wales. But the west side — Shropshire, Hereford and Worcester, Gloucester, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall—still count a good many of the little, dark men. Any one visiting Tavistock on a market-day cannot fail to notice the inferior stature. Cornwall may well boast of the ancient blood, in spite of the influx of tall and light-haired Celts, when the earliest Greek writers refer to the intercourse between Armorica (Brittany) and Iberia with the shores of south-western mining Britain. Even Hampshire interior displays a dark people, resembling Wendes. The Forest of Dean, notwithstanding its Saxon name, has many that are as thorough Silurians as those of Glamorgan. They showed the mining spirit of their kindred. The iron-workers there were slow to get rid of their old Silurian names ; for we observe in a list of 48 *free miners*, some 400 years ago, a good proportion are thorough Welsh names. It must not be forgotten that the ancient Siluria or Gwent included much of what is now England.

Yorkshire, the land of the Dane, the region of big bone, huge bulk, and tall stature, is not without its centres of Iberian blood. In the valleys of the Derwent and Upper Aire, as well as parts south of York, there are what some style the *Kelt-Euskarian*, or Cymro-Silurian type. Prof.

Phillips, in his interesting story of the county, has the following description of them :—

"Persons of lower stature and smaller proportions ; visage, short, rounded ; complexions, embrowned ; eyes, very dark, elongated ; hair, very dark. (Such eyes and hair are commonly called black.) Individuals having these characteristics occur in the lower grounds of Yorkshire." But he adds : "They are still more frequent in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, and may be said to abound among the true Anglians of Norfolk and Suffolk. Unless we suppose such varieties of appearance to spring up among the blue-eyed races, we must regard them as a legacy from the older Britons, among whom the Iberian element was conjecturally admitted."

Dr. Black found in South Lancashire, "curled hair, which is generally black, and fresh-coloured complexions." Dr. Thurnam saw the dark, robust race in the West Riding. The British coracle is Iberian, and not Celtic, answering to the *Bastetani* of Spain. At the Norman Conquest an accession of this old blood took place, as William had many dark Bretons with him. Alain, a Breton chief, had 5000 followers at Hastings ; he received Richmond, Yorkshire, as a prize for service. The remark of the Rev. Dr. Rowland Williams of French Iberians applies to British ones : "The south of France, with its Aquitanian, *i. e.* Iberian, blood, and with its warm, vinous climate, transformed the Gallic race, and we ascribe to the Celts, as Celtic, features which they only adopted from older or more southern races."

THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

Any one who has seen *Cambria Triumphans, or Brittain in its Perfect Lustre*, a work which was dedicated to Charles II., would have noticed a complete list of kings in this country, from Brutus to Charles, and have learned the origin of land and people from the Trojan. Britannia came from Brutus, the father of the Britons. The " Island of Brutus," says the Rev. R. W. Morgan, " was the common name of the island in old times;" *tan* meaning *land*. Britain, on Isidore's authority, must be Celtic, according to Rust ; as his word *Barteine*, or *Barra-teine*, signifies *High Court of Justice, Fire*.

O'Flaherty traces it to Britan, grandchild of Nemeth of Ireland. Gildas has the name from the Britanni, or Armoricans. An old poem distinguishes the Albani of the north from the Britti of the south. Cormac MacCuilionnain's *Psalter* brings Britons from Briotan, grandson of the grandson of Neimhidh of the Irish Firbolgs. *Brith* is said to be Irish *brit*, spotted; though primarily meaning *divided*.

Bochart derives Britain from Barat-anac, Punic for land of tin. Welsh Triads talk of Prydain, son of Aedd the Great; particulars of whom are in *Who are the Welsh?* From Brutus, one rings the changes of Pridcain, Prytania, Britannia. *Pryd*, some say, is *fair*. *Tania* is *country*, as Mauritania. Stephen of Byzantium speaks of Pretanæ Isles. Brython was said to be a Gaulish chief. An old inscription of Rome had it "natione Britto." Procopius has *Brittia*, and the Greeks had *Brettan*. Nennius wrote *Historia Brittonum*.

Albion is a name which has been applied to Scotland as well as England. Avienus makes the Carthaginians call the people Albiones, of the broad island of Albion. Albanact, says one, was brother of King Humber of the Huns. Albion is also written Alouion. Aristotle is made to refer to Albion as one of the Isles of the Blessed. *Alb* may be *high*, and *I*, or *im*, *island*. Welsford tracks it to the Hebrew for *white*. John Milton connects it with one of the fifty Syrian sisters who murdered their partners, and fled to this island; observing : "The eldest of those dames in their legend they call Albina; and from thence will have the name *Albion* derived." Afterwards, writing of "Samothes or Dis, a fourth or sixth son of Jupiter, whom they make about 200 years after the Flood," he states that his descendants in Britain, the Sanotheans, were conquered by "Albian, a giant, son of Neptune, who called the island after his own name, and ruled it 44 years." An old poem, the "Albani and Duan," has the following :

> O, all ye learned of Alba !
> Ye well-skilled hosts of yellow hair,
> What was the first invasion ? Is it known to you ?
> Which took the land of Alba ?

A Welsh Triad runs thus : "Three names were given to the Isle of Britain from the beginning. Before it was inhabited, Clas Merddin (sea-girt isle) was the name given; and,

after it was inhabited, that of Fel Ynys (the honey island); and when the country assumed a form of government by Prydain the son of Aedd the Great, the name of Ynys Prydain was conferred upon it." Again, "And when overcome by Uryt, the name of Ynys Brut was imposed upon it." All this is of mediæval date, and of little historical value.

Toland was "certain that the more ancient Greek writers, such as Hecateus, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Posidonius, knew a great deal of truth concerning the British Islands." Aristotle is quoted in reference to them 345 B.C. Ptolemy refers to Great and Little Britain. Pytheas the Greek landed here. Diodorus speaks of "Britons who inhabited the country of Iris" (Ireland). Agricola first proved it an island. Sir J. Cornwall Lewis is sceptical as to anything being really known about Britain before Cæsar's visit. The Vedas of India refer to the Sacred Isles of the West; to Sweta or White Island; to Surya-Dwipa, or Land of the Sun, identified by some with Britain. Narada is said to have gone to Sweta-Dwipa, in the far north-west, to worship the original form of Narayana, which was seen in that island. In the *Historie of Cambria*, 1584, the country is styled the famous Yland of Brytaine.

The earliest notice of the Britons is that by Avienus, describing the voyage of Hamilco the Carthaginian to the tin islands. "The people," he says, "are proud, clean, and active, and all engaged in incessant cares of commerce. They furrow the wide, rough strait, and the ocean abounding in sea monsters, with a new species of boat. For they know not how to frame keels with pine or maple as others use, but, strange to tell, they always equip their vessels with skins joined together." Strabo describes them "wearing black gowns reaching to their feet, clad also in tunics, with girdles round their waists. They also go about with wands in their hands, something like the Furies in tragedies. They live principally a nomad life, subsisting on their flocks and herds. And, as they have mines of tin and lead, they exchange these metals for earthenware, salt, and bronze, imported by merchants."

The idle story of naked savages does not apply to these, whatever it may to the painted Picts. Some regard the word *Briteen* as meaning *painted men*. Dio Nicæus has left this

record : " They till or plough not their fields, but live by prey and hunting. At home, naked, without shoes, their wives are in common. Thieving is a pastime, sword hanging by naked body." The statements of Cæsar and other Roman writers need not be here mentioned. If the Britons be accepted as the Hyperboreans of classical authorities, they must have been a cultured people ages before the days of Cæsar, as the learning of their Druids was recognized by Pythagoras. Pausanias notes the oracles of the Hyperboreans. Hesiod has much to say of them. Æschylus mentions their gold and great prosperity.

Ptolemy gives the geography, locating the several tribes ; but nothing reliable is known till the Romans settled here. Tacitus sought in vain for the early history. Had Triads existed in his day he would have learned the coming of the Cymry, as given by the Bards. As it was, he left this record: " Who were the first inhabitants of Britain, whether indigenous or immigrant, is a question enclosed in the obscurity usual among barbarians."

Cæsar only saw the Belgæ of the south coast. The Silures were seen later on. Ptolemy's map gives seventeen tribes, and Richard of Cirencester adds eight others. The Romans placed in *Britannia Secunda*, or Wales, the Silures in the south-east, the Ordovices in the north, and the Dimetæ in the south-west. In *Britannia Prima*, or England, there were the Cornabii and Damnonii of Devon and Cornwall, the Cantii of Kent, Regni of Surrey, Atrebates of Berks, Segontiaci of North Hants, Cornavii of Cheshire, Durotriges or Morini of Dorset, Cangi of Somerset, Trinobantes of Middlesex and Essex, Voluntii and Jugantes of Lancashire, Sestuntii of Cumberland, Ottadeni and Gadeni in the far north, the Brigantes north and south of the Humber, &c.

All these were Ancient Britons, but were far from being of one race. It is very doubtful if they spoke one language. As the Irish authorities discover in their island peoples who were clearly of very different origin, so was it in Britain. The Brigantes, who fought so well against Ostorius, have been usually regarded as Celts, driven northward by the Belgæ, though the Rev. T. Thackeray would derive them from Phrygia. The Irish knew them as Mac Mileadh (sons of a soldier), as many were driven across to Erin. The

Trinobantes or Iceni were the followers of Cassivelaunus and of Boadicea. They have been usually regarded as kindred to the southern Belgic tribes, having their capital at Camulodunum or Colchester. The Lloegrians were Britons in a general sense, though the word is sometimes applied to a north-eastern people.

Of the tribes in the Midlands we know very little. Prof. Rudler is content to say that they " may have been Keltic tribes, akin to the Celti of Gaul, though there is nothing in Cæsar's words to support such view." Of the Belgæ in the south it is otherwise, for much is written about them. Their trade with the Gauls was sufficient to make them well known. It was with them Cæsar fought. They alone of all the British tribes are declared the same as the Belgic Gauls of the opposite shores, with whom they held commercial relations.

The Belgæ of Gaul were, according to Strabo, a confederation of fifteen peoples, spread alongside of the ocean, between the Rhine and the Loire. Cæsar wrote : " The interior of Britain is inhabited by those who are recorded to have been born in the island itself ; whereas the sea-coast is the occupancy of immigrants from the country of the Belgæ, brought over for the sake of either war or plunder. All these were called by names nearly the same as those of the states they came from." All this is very explicit. We are led at once over the English Channel, and look at those whom the Belgic Britons were said to resemble. Pliny the Elder, Dionysius, Periegetes, and Tacitus bring them over that water.

Can Cæsar's assertion about the similarity of tribal names be substantiated ?

The Roman Conqueror found three different races in Gaul. There were the Aquitani, in twelve tribes to the south-west, answering to the Silurians of Wales ; small in stature, and dark-haired. Central and north-western Gaul was Celtic. North and north-eastern Gaul was Belgic. These two are declared of different origin. Celtic Gaul was in forty-three *pagi* or tribes. These were the Veneti of Morbihan, the Parisii of Lutetia or Paris, and the dwellers of Calvados, Finisterre, La Vendée, and Dordogne, with tribes upon the Loire, Allier, Loiret, Saone, Rhone, Yonne, Aube, Oise, Aveyron, Marne, and Gironde districts. But the Belgæ, in

twenty-seven tribes, were placed in the northern parts of some
of the Celtic rivers; by the Namur, Somme, Meuse, Seine
Inferieur, Sambre, Upper and Lower Rhine, as well as about
Calais, Rheims, Soissons, etc.

What tribes of Britons corresponded with any of these?
The Belgæ are not generally supposed to have extended far
westward. They were not in Wales, Cornwall, and Devon,
and Dr. Smart's *Ancient Dorset* will not allow the ancient
Dorset men, the Durotriges, to have been Belgæ. The Vectis
of the Isle of Wight, subdued by Vespasian, were Belgæ.
Long's *Early Geography of Western Europe* identifies the
Suessiones of Berks with the same people north of the
Oise in Gaul; the Attrebates of Berks and Oxon with
those south of Picardy; the Remi of Sussex and Hants
with those south of the Oise and south of Soissons; the
Bellovaci of S. Hants with those by the junction of the
Seine and Oise; the Britanni of Kent with the Britanni of
Picardy; and the Ambiani of Britain with those north of the
Bellovaci.

The Suessiones of Soissons, says Dr. John Jones, were pro-
nounced by the Britons *Seison*, the present Welsh name of
the English nation. The Atrebates of Artois planted them-
selves on the Salisbury Plains, and have been styled by some
the builders of Stonehenge. The Cantii of Kent, not known
as such in Gaul, are found by Pliny between the Somme and
the Canche under the name of Britanni. Long calls them " a
remnant of the first Gallic tribe of Britain." He brings from
Armorica the Dorset Durotriges, or *dwellers by the waters.*
The Parisii had one settlement as far north as the Humber.
The Hedui of Somerset were the Ædui of Gaul, whose King
Divitiacus was a friend to Cæsar. Napoleon's *History* calls
him a powerful chief who " had formerly extended his power
in the isle of Britain." The brave Belgic Nervii had but 500
left of a force of 60,000 against Cæsar. Winchester was the
Venta Belgarum. The Cassii of Herts and Beds, the Ceni-
magni of Suffolk, the Segontiaci of the borders of Hants and
Berks, the Ancalites north of Berks, and the Bibroci of the
wooded Sussex are placed among the Belgæ. The Remi were
the Simeni of Ptolemy. The non-Belgic Britons included
Silures, Damnonii, Boduni, Ordovices, Cornavii, and Brigantes.

Ireland had Belgæ, Cauci, and Menapii, like Britain. The

Volcæ or Volgæ were Belgæ. Dr. Wood, in *Origin of the Irish*, says, " Like the British Belgæ, which seized upon the whole south coast of Britain, their Irish relatives possessed themselves of the east and south-west coast of Ireland." The Belgic Ibhearni of Ireland fought the Celtic Brigantes there. The Luceni were the Lucd na Siouna, pronounced Sheuna. " The Shannon," writes Dr. Wood, " probably derived its denomination from this Belgic sept." He says they did not speak Celtic. The Menapii of Wales were about Wexford as well, and were called German by Irish.

Were the Belgæ Celts or Teutons ? Dr. Wood considers them German people in Ireland, having German allies. The Gallic Belgæ, according to Napoleon's *Life of Julius Cæsar*, " claimed with arrogance an origin which united them with the Germans, their neighbours, with whom, nevertheless, they were continually at war." It does seem strange for Cæsar and other authorities to call them Germans when Gauls, and when, as is generally supposed, they spoke a Celtic tongue. But it is admitted that many so-called German tribes who crossed the Rhine spoke Celtic. While Tacitus says, " The languages of the two nations do not greatly differ," he is careful to mention that the Belgæ do not all speak the same language as the Celtæ, and declares that the Esthonians talked like Belgæ.

In all probability our Belgæ came from that north-eastern part of France anciently known as Belgium, which was westerly of the modern country of that name. Cæsar and others called that district German. Mr. Howorth has shown many instances where those styled German by classical authors could not have been other than Celts. Latham, Prichard, Thierry, Dr. Hyde Clarke, Col. Forbes Leslie, and Howorth contend that Belgæ were Celts. Pearson's *History* declares them " of the same Keltic family as the Kymry and the Gauls." In the *Pedigree of the English* it is written that " they were a branch of the Celts nearly related to the Cymry. This is proved by the language they spoke." Prof. Rudler has no doubt of all Xanthous Britons speaking Celtic, and admits that " most ethnologists are inclined to ally them (Belgæ) with the Celti, without, of course, denying a strong Teutonic admixture." Prof. Sayce dismisses the question of language, which is no " test of race at all, but only of social

condition." If the Cymry be allowed to be tall and fair, which cannot be said of Welshmen as a type, then Messrs. Broca and W. Edwards would call the Belgæ Cymric-Celts. Mr. Long has them "from the Celtic portion of Gallic Belgium," while calling Belgæ a Celtic word which became general among German Gauls. Dr. Beddoe calls them—Celts like Firbolgs of Arran.

The German or Teutonic side is maintained by others. Dr. Wood, like Dr. Beddoe, compares Belgæ to Firbolgs, but regards them as Goths from Germany. He finds the word *Belgæ* in Cymric to mean *war-men*, the same as Germans and Allemani. They seem, he says, to have plotted the subjugation of the Celts. In Coote's *Romans in Britain* we read "that the insular Belgæ were distinct and different from the Kelts of the same island, and spoke a language which the Kelts did not speak, can also be shown by evidence derived from Keltic sources." Several French authorities take the same view. Hovelacque sees that the blonde-haired, blue-eyed men of north-eastern Gaul, while speaking Celtic, had no right to the name of Celts. Lagneau would attach the Belgæ to a northern Germanic race. Broca maintains that the tall, blonde, and dolicho-cephalic people north of the Seine and Marne are not Celts.

It is certain that the tall type is still seen in old Belgic Gaul, in Picardy, Champagne, and Lorraine. The dark Walloons are quite different. But Cæsar is cautious when writing, "The majority of the Belgæ were derived from the Germans"; since Strabo says of Germans, "Their figure, manners, and ways of life are such as we have described in speaking of the Gauls." Ariovistus, the German general, is said to have known the Gallic tongue; but Dion Cassius makes him chief of the Allobroges, whom he terms Celtæ. He may, however, have ruled over border tribes. Prof. Huxley assures us that "the people termed Gauls, and those called Germans, by the Romans, did not differ in any important physical character." M. Lagneau supposes the "transmigrated of Belgic Gaul into Great Britain issued from a mixture of German Belgæ and ancient Celtic occupants," and "present at least as much anthropological characters of Celts as that of Germans."

Mr. Coote, who is no believer in the Saxon element of

English, assumes the Belgic Britons to form the foundation of English, and to have had a tongue which was the basis of the present language of the country. He denies that they ever spoke Celtic. He guards us from confounding the Welsh and Britons. The former spoke Cymric, the language of the Welsh bards, who always declare their speech different from that of Lloegria, or southern Britain. Mr. Coote thinks the Britons spoke a far more refined Teutonic than the Germans, using, says he, " that form of the Platt Deutsch which has been erroneously called Anglo-Saxon." It was quite different from the Saxon of the Continent. He finds the proof in the *w ;* observing, " The Belge continued true to this Roman teaching, and pronounced his own *Venta* and *Vectis*, *Went* and *Wight*. The Roman *vinum* and *vicus* were still to him *wine* and *wic*. Even the rude god of the Anglo-Saxons became *Woden*."

This supposition of the Teutonic rather than Celtic character of the Belgæ gets rid of some difficulties. As invaders, they displaced a Celtic race, who have left their names of hills and streams behind, but brought another speech which resembled the Saxon. The Belgæ more easily assimilated with the Saxons, though more numerous, wealthy, and civilized than the other Britons who fought so long and persistently. The heroes of British valour in the contest with the Saxons seem to be among the Celts of the north and centre, and the dark-skinned Silurians or Basques of west England and south-west, who were not conquered by Saxons till after five hundred years' struggle. The tall, fair-haired Belgæ of northern Gaul, their brethren, dispossessed in like manner the Celts there before them ; though, like those in Celtic Gaul, they adopted the Latin of their Roman conquerors. In both instances, the Belgæ, though the most enterprising and commercial of all, were content with the more eastern portions of the Channel shores.

The Welsh are by no means the descendants of these Belgic Britons. They are short and dark, while the others were tall and blonde. They are not distinguished for commerce and navigation, while the Belgæ were. Their ladies are small in stature, with black tresses, while the British, typified in the Boadicea of Dion Cassius, had great size and " a profusion of yellow hair." The Welsh are bright and musical, while

the Britons, according to Cicero, were famed for "their stupidity and inaptitude to learn music."

The Belgæ of South Britain have been often described, but the ancient Britons of central and northern parts are little known. The author of *Pedigree of the English* roughly classes all Britons as Celts ; but he is a strong partisan, like Mr. Pike, of the British theory. Pinkerton had a contempt the other way, observing, "What the lion is to the ass, the Goth is to the Celt." Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals* may be pronounced correct in this : "The Celtæ of Britain intruded on the second Allophylian or brachycephalic race long prior to the dawn of definite history."

The ancient Britons have been so long credited as Celts that it would be rank heresy to express a doubt about it. And yet the prince of modern anthropologists, M. Broca, proclaims that he finds no proof of Celts being established here, though he does not deny Celtic tongues. He admits their presence in Europe as a race of conquerors from Asia, conferring tongue and customs upon the vanquished. "The name of *Celt*," says he, "occurs only at a relatively later period, and only in central and western Europe. It is now on philological grounds given to people who never went by that name, and on archæological grounds to other tribes who never spoke their language."

Prof. Rhys endorses the view of Celts being intruders here, affirming that "when the Celts came to these islands, the men they found in possession were in the Stone Age, as it is called, while they themselves were familiar with the use of metal." They were not the original Ancient Britons, who were not Aryans, while the Celts formed the vanguard of the Aryan tribes in Europe. After all, it would save a deal of trouble to assume with Prof. Rudler that "the Kelt is merely a person who speaks a Keltic language, quite regardless of his race."

The Ancient Briton, mainly Belgic in the south, was substantially elsewhere of a kindred race to those dark-haired little Welshmen, who were of Iberian and not Celtic origin, though using a Celtic speech.

It would be interesting could we determine how Druidism came to the Ancient Britons. The Celts may have accepted the faith, but it existed long before their appearance in

Europe. Druidism in Gaul, Britain, and Ireland was of far greater antiquity. Its sympathy with the very oldest forms of religion in the East is a curious fact; though how it got to Britain, and to be established there as the national faith, is a complete mystery. Idle and absurd traditions will not help us in the research. Could we determine something of Druidism, light would be thrown on the origin of the Ancient Britons.

BRITISH COINS have been appealed to on this question of origin. Attempts have been made to trace in them a romantic connection with ancient Greece. Their wonderful mythological character is taken as evidence of their Druidic meaning. Welsh writers have indulged in enthusiastic praise of the cleverness of their supposed ancestors. The learned Archdeacon of Cardigan writes, "The proof that the inhabitants of Great Britain used and even coined money from the earliest periods is now complete, owing to the labours of W. T. P. Short, Esq. of Exeter, and the Rev. P. Beale."

There is some obscurity in Cæsar's account. Some say he indicated that they had no proper coins. Mr. E. Hawkins distinctly believes that the words of the Romans have been corrupted, for that he did not mean that the Britons had but substitutes for coin. Another translation runs, "They use either brass or gold coin, or iron rings, suited to a certain weight, for money." Tacitus assures us that the Germans had no coin.

Mr. John Evans is the first authority on British coins. He places the age of these at 300 years before the Romans came. Most of them bear the name of Cunobelin, prince of Eastern Belgæ: on the reverse is CAMV, for his capital, Camulodunum. But it is rather odd that this Briton used Latin letters. Other coins have CUNO. Three found in Gloucestershire have BODVOC. Some from Sussex and Hants have VIRICOM. Others bear TINC. and VIRREX. A golden one was found on Carn Bré in 1749, and sold for £16.

The likeness of British coins to the Gaulish ones was to be expected, because the Belgæ lived on both sides of the Channel, and were intimately associated in trade. The name Commius, the Belgic priest of Cæsar, and connected with the British Belgæ, occurs on coins. Mr. Vaux, President of the Numismatic Society, and a most competent authority, affirms

of the British: "They are degraded types of Gaulish coins, and these Gaulish coins are depraved types of those of Philip of Macedonia." The Greek face is quite apparent. M. Hucher contends that the Gauls had national money, independent of Greek imitations. "All these coins," says he, "are conceived with a nerve and in a style the most remarkable; they prove that the Gaulish artists displayed an incontestable inventive genius and real artistic faculties."

The symbolic figures on these coins are very singular. A few may be mentioned;—Androcephalus horse, pig, lion, goat, cock, mistletoe and knife, wolf, sphinx, hare, centaur, chariot, crab, eagle, vase, bull, wheel, cross, circle, crescent, triangle, wheels of various sorts, star, griffin, Pegasus, bird, etc. We see a winged horse, with man's face, trampling on fallen men; another such horse with a bird on its back; a lion eating a plant, and two circles beneath; a bird with long legs and a three-pointed tail, having beneath a wheel and three stars, with BODVOC on the obverse; Apollo in his chariot, with a crescent on his head; a horse with its hind legs running into trefoil rosettes; serpents under the horse; a cock with a man's face on its body; a cross under a horse's head; a dog under a lizard; a pig on a cross; dragons under and over horses; wheels under horses; cross often on the cheek of gods. The heads of the man-headed horses are mostly raised towards heaven. In Gaul, the deities Brennus, Sirona, etc. often occur. In one AS is seen under a horse, while the obverse is a man's head. There is a dog with a ram's head, having a dog and CAM for the obverse.

What did these symbols mean? It is easy to say that CUNO must refer to Cunobelin of Colchester, but not to prove the coin to be British. M. Hucher has written upon the Gaulish symbols, most of which appear on the British coins. The suspicion grows that these were medals, and not coins, never being used as such. Their British interest is lost as the symbols are clearly recognized to be Gnostic. An attempt was made in early Christian times to revive the Mithraic faith, and introduce its symbolism into the Church. This was largely done, and Christian Churches in England and on the Continent still bear many of the curious symbols we perceive on so-called British coins. Some bearing the images of Osiris and Isis were found near Exeter in 1833,

leading persons to fancy that town had been founded by Egyptians.

If not coins, but medals, and if not pagan in symbol, but corrupt Christian, it is probable that these metallic remains were rude copies of Greek Gnostic gems, made by both British and Gaulish artists during the transition period just before the establishment of Roman Christianity, which came into Britain not long before the Romans left.

THE PHŒNICIANS.

The earliest stories of Britain are associated with the Phœnicians. Welsh Triads, of comparatively recent age, may say what they please about the Cymry being the first people in the country ; but Irish traditions, which are far more ancient than Welsh ones, have no such tale to tell. On the contrary, they refer to races that cannot be identified with Cymry. But the earliest *writings* connect the land with the Phœnicians.

In Kenrick's *Phœnicia* we have the following colonies of that ancient maritime nation :—Cyprus, Sardinia, Corsica, Malta, Rhodes, Sicily, Balearic Isles, Lemnos, Crete, Euboea, and other islands, besides those in Lycia, Cilicia, Thebes, Bithynia, Spain, Carthage, and Mauritania. There is little doubt of their establishing themselves in north-west Spain, north-west France, and south-west England. These three *horns* of land would attract a mercantile people. Cornwall was Cornish *Kernew*, the land of the horn, or cape, and then *Cornu-Galles*, or horn of the Galles, and *Cornouaille*. Some derive it from the Arabic *Karn*, a horn, and *uwal*, first, or first cape. The French *voyager en Cornouaille* is to *wear the horn*. Dr. George Smith believes that " Between 1500 and 1200 B.C. the Phœnicians sailed into the Atlantic and discovered the mineral fields of Spain and Britain." The traffic afterwards fell to the Carthaginians, Greeks, Gaditani, Massiliots, and Romans. Cassiterides or Kassiteros means *tin land.* It is first named in Homer ; though, says Kenrick, "no Greek etymology, and has not been found in the remains of the Phœnician." Herodotus, 400 B.C., seems to refer to the Scilly Isles and Cornwall, when writing, " Neither am I acquainted with the Cassiterides Islands,

from whence tin comes to us." In Roman times the tin was
brought from the port Ictis, probably by St. Michael's Mount,
over to Gaul, and thence by road to Marseilles.

The Phœnicians long kept the secret to themselves. Avienus
was the first to speak of the voyage of Hamilco the Car-
thaginian, in his expedition to Oestrymnides or Cassiterides.
Noting the corner of Spain, Finisterre, he remarks, " Between
this promontory spreads the vast Oestrymnian Gulf (Atlantic),
in which rises out of the sea the islands Oestrymnides,
scattered with wide intervals, rich in metal of tin and lead."
Strabo believed in the report of Avienus. Diodorus gives
the shape of the metal as it was exported ; and a pig of that
form—astragalus, or knuckle-bone—was once brought up from
Falmouth harbour. Carthaginian coins have been found in
various parts, and even on Hoy promontory, on the north
side of the Mersey, Lancashire. Phœnician names remain in
Cornwall and Ireland, with relics of gold, bronze, and glass.
The connection of these people with ancient Egypt may have
originated those Egyptian relics of coins, with bronze Apis
and busts of Isis, discovered in Cornwall and Exeter.

Tradition seems to help the story. The *Jews-houses* of
Marazion, and the other parts of Cornwall and Devon, have
been supposed to refer to mining works of Phœnicians.
Though Mara-Zion, and Market Jews therein, may refer, says
Wilson's *Israelitish Origin*, to enslaved Jews " looking forward
to the remainder of their days as having to be passed in the
mines of Cornwall, they would doubtless ' weep bitterly '
when they remembered Zion." There is, also, the Cornish
Paran Zabulæ, translated *beautiful dwelling*. Tradition speaks
of two Jewish Christians, termed "men of Israel," Ilid and
Cyndaf, who came with Bran the Blessed, father of Carac-
tacus, from Rome to Britain. Mr. Groom Napier finds a mixed
race of Israel and Phœnicians came here before the Celts.
" These mixed people," says he, " were doubtless allied to the
Milesians, if they were not the true Milesians." The Rev.
H. M. Grover, in *Voice from Stonehenge*, identifies in Brittany,
so like Cornwall, a colony of Celto-Egyptians. " I have seen
this race," adds this gentleman ; "they have the free, or rather
wild, manners of the gipsy." From his account of these
fishermen and salt-makers keeping themselves free from mix-
ture with the country people, they are the same referred to
by Quatrefages.

THE TROJANS.

While classical writers give circumstantial evidence of the residence of Phœnicians among us, traditions are numerous respecting the origin of Britain from the Trojans, who, like Phœnicians, were reputed sea-wanderers. It is not unlikely that the myth of Brutus the Trojan came from the fact of Phœnician traders.

Mark the Anchorite, in whose time the inhabitants of Britain consisted of Scots, Picts, Saxons, and Britons, attributes the origin of Britons directly to Brutus the Trojan. But his narrative is confusing. " The Britons," says he, " are those who sprang from the family of Brutus or Brute." He first gives the genealogy : " On the side of the mother, from Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, king of Italy, and of the race of Silvanus the son of Inachus, the son of Dardanus, who was the son of Saturn, king of the Greeks, and who, having possessed himself of a part of Asia, built the city of Troy. Dardanus was the father of Troius, who was the father of Priam and Anchises." Then we are told that Brutus was the grandson of Æneas ; being banished Italy, he built a city in Gaul, before " he came to this island, named from him *Britannia*." But it is odd to find Mark writing : " Brutus was content when he conquered Spain, and reduced that country to a Roman province. He afterwards subdued the Island of Britain, whose inhabitants were the *descendants of the Romans*, from Silvius Posthumius, thus named because he was born after the death of his father, Æneas."

Geoffrey of Monmouth, who added some pretty tales to the history of Prince Arthur, gave mighty particulars of Brutus, grandson of Æneas, founded upon stories by Nennius, Gildas, &c. Leaving Greece with his diviner Gerion, Brutus and his *twelve* chiefs came here in 320 ships. He was obliged to leave Italy, from having accidentally killed his father. As the oracle of Diana had predicted his prosperity in the White Isle of Britain, he prudently steered thither. He was not so fortunate as the Cymry, who, according to their own account, found no one here when they called in. Brutus the Trojan saw himself confronted by a number of giants.

In the *History* of this country by the great John Milton,

one may get the account of these early British giants, as learned from older writers; though he does say, " But too absurd, and too unconsciously gross, is that fond invention that wafted hither the fifty daughters." It seems these ladies of Syria chose to murder all their husbands one night, and then discreetly put off to sea. Milton adds, " All, as the tale goes, were driven on this island; where the inhabitants, none but Devils, as some write, or as others, a lawless crew left by Albion without head or governour, both entertained them, and had issue by them a second breed of giants, who tyrannised the Isle till Brutus came."

According to *Cambria Triumphans*, 1661, " They encountered with grisley creatures, exceeding humane proportions, who gave them but rude and savage welcome." But Brutus, who was accompanied by his wife Ignogen, had been forewarned of these by no less a divinity than Venus, who encouraged this descendant of the Trojan Æneas, from her ancient love to Paris and the Trojans. " Amongst these prodigious caitiffs," says the writer, " one exceeded all the rest in bulk and robustiousnesse, who was called Gogmagog." Corineus, nephew of Brutus, pitched the fellow down the rocks, though he afterwards reappeared as Gog *and* Magog in London Guildhall. The word *Longoëmagog*, or Giant's Leap, confirms the story. The leader, who was twelve cubits high, being slain, short work was made of the rest of the children of the fifty Syrian ladies.

A Greek poem, giving the words of Venus, done in Latin by Gildas, runs thus in Milton's English:

> " Brutus, far to the West, in th' Ocean wide,
> Beyond the realms of Gaul, a land there lies.
> Sea-girt it lies, where giants dwelt of old.
> Now void, it fitts thy people; thether bend
> Thy course, there shalt thou find a lasting seat."

It was this Brutus who founded Caer Iludd, or Caer Troian, now London. The *White Mount* of that city is now the Tower. The Troynovant, or New Troy, of Brutus was changed by King Lud to Lud's town, which changed to Augusta Londinium. Lud gave the city new walls. He was buried in a temple near Ludgate. His son went to a school in Athens, and became the founder of a British college. Harding's *Chronicle* reports

> " At Troynovant he made full especially
> An Archflamine his See, Cathedral certain
> A Temple thereof, a Policy to obtain
> By Trojain law."

There is another story of the " Royal tribe of the Darda-
nidæ, and patriarchs of the Trojan lines of Rome and Britain."
One, says the Welsh Triad, returned with 88,000 Trojan
Britons " to his ancestors the Kymry of Britain." Brutus,
as old Percie Enderbie believed, gave Lœgria (England) to
his eldest son Locrinus ; Cambria (Wales) to Cambir, the
next son ; and to the youngest, Albanæt, he left Albania, or
Scotland. In short, to quote Morgan's *Welsh History*, " The
descent of the British people from Troy and the Trojans was
never disputed for fifteen hundred years." Alas ! for these
disquieting, disturbing days !

Edward I. and his Parliament caused inquiry to be made
respecting the origin of the English. The report was for-
warded to the Pope, duly attested with a hundred seals ;
" wherein," as *Cambria Triumphans* affirms, " is declared
and justified that in the time of Hely and Samuel the prophet,
Brutus, a Trojan, landed here, and by his own name called
the country *Britannia*." Coke, the great lawyer, wrote long
ago : " The original laws of this land were composed of such
elements as Brutus first selected from the ancient Greek and
Trojan institutions." Who, after this judicial dictum, could
doubt the story ?

Though the whole is treated as a myth by moderns, there
was surely something to give rise to the fiction. In the *His-
tory of Monmouthshire*, by K. D. Williams, allusion is made,
with reference to the Welsh, to " the pretensions of their
princes to a descent from Æneas in common with those of
Rome." The British Bards did this, it is added, from " a
species of complaisance to their conquerors." It was to let
the subdued down gently, or to assert their claim of common
origin with Cæsareans. Mr. Coote, in his *Romans in Britain*,
finds here a confirmation of his theory that the Romanized
Britons of pre-Saxon times were less Briton than Roman.
As Latin was spoken, as the institutions were Roman, the
Britons claimed to be Roman in the presence of the rude
Saxons. The Roman historians always claimed to be descended
from the Trojan Æneas. It seemed then both reasonable

and politic that British chroniclers, from whose pages Bede
and Geoffrey read history, should continue to vaunt their true
Roman character, and assert their Trojan origin. Though
mastered by the fierce Saxon in battle, the more cultured and
Christian Britons wished thus to manifest their superiority of
race, their ancestral dignity of blood.

THE GAELS.

These are not to be ignored in Scotland and Ireland, but
few persons think of the Gaelic blood in England and Wales.
The Gael in the last country is referred to in *Who are the
Welsh?* Let us enquire into this influence on the origin of
the English.

The introduction of so many Scotch Highlanders and
Western Irishmen, especially during the last half-century, is
admitted to have brought Gaelic blood into England. But
long, long ago, before Hengist was, before Cæsar, before the
Belgæ, and most probably before the Cymry-speaker, was the
Gael.

England was peopled from the Gaul side. It is well recog-
nized by French ethnologists that there were two streams of
Celts in their country; and many conclude that the Gael
came before the Cymry. The latter prevailed most in the
northern part; the former were to be seen more in Burgundy,
Dauphiny, and the Lyonnais. England was indebted to the
earlier Gaulish Celt for its Gaels, to the later Celt for its
Cymry, to the Belgæ of Gaul and North Germany for its
Belgic Britons of the South, and to the Iberian Gauls for its
still earlier Iberian or Silurian people.

Gaels are often placed in opposition to Celts. Thus Sul-
picius Severus, fourth century, writes, "Speak Celtic, or if thou
preferrest, speak Gaelic." M. Lagneau recently declared that
"the Gauls and the Celts were primitively distinct, and con-
stituted two different peoples." Henri Martin speaks of there
having been "among the old Celts tribes who already bore
the name of Gauls; as, the Gallicians of Spain, and the Gaels
of the British Isles." *Words and Places* says: "From the
topographical distribution of these names we infer that the
Gaels arrived from the East, and the Cymry from the South."

He notices that many Gadhelic or Gaelic names have been Cymricised.

The Gaidal, Gwyddil, Gaoill, Coill, Gaill, or Gael were early in Europe. Some suppose the *Gall* of Gaul was the next wave after the purer Gwyddil. Highlanders of Scotland call Lowlanders *Gall*. The author of *The Heirs of the World* thinks they are descendants of Gad, having added *El* for Deity to their name, so getting Gaddiel, Gaoithel, Gwyddel and Gael. He declares, " The Gadelians of Ireland, the Ar-Gael of Argyle, and the Gwyddel or Gaodhel of the Highlands of Scotland, are in very deed the descendants of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh." There is no disputing a mere theory, without a better foundation than verbal likeness.

The Welsh, of course, will not allow Gaels before Cymry, and speak of them in their traditions as " seeking refuge, without arms, and without opposition, in peace, and by permission of the nation of the Cymry." That is on a par with the claim that the Cymry found no human inhabitants when they came to Britain.

Thierry, Edwards, Lhuyd, and others are believers in the priority of the Gael. Col. Robertson recognizes Gaelic names of localities as more ancient than Cymric. The Bishop of St. Davids held the same notion. Forbes Leslie declares that the Britons of the Cymric speech drove the Gaels northward and westward, though these left many names in England. Prof. Donaldson remarks, " That the Gaelic is the older language, or, at any rate, an older state of the language, is shown by characteristics similar to those which distinguish the Sanscrit from the Zend." Prof. Veitch writes, " In Germany, at least, there seems evidence of the fact that the Gaels were there first, and that the Cymri followed them. There is some evidence for the supposition that the Gaels passed over into Britain from the Valleys of the Rhine and the Moselle ; while the Cymri appear to have come into the island from the remoter Alps." Prof. Wilkins admits that the so-called Welsh element was in Britain after that called Irish. Gaelic Ogham writing is found from Cornwall to Scotland.

Col. Robertson's *Gaelic Topography of Scotland* claims a pre-British origin for names like *Aire, Calder, Cam, Don, Esk* or *Exe, Eden, Ken, Oke, Ure, Stour,* and *Tyne*. Edmund's

Names of Places asserts that " the Scottish rivers and mountains must have received their names long before the Cymry arrived." But Cymric scholars contend that topography confirms their opinion. It is odd that Spanish names of places can be explained in Gaelic. The *Garn Gaolach* (Irish Causeway) runs from North Wales on to Dover. *Watling Street* is said to be a corruption of the Gaelic.

Where—to use the words of the Rev. Basil Jones—do we find *Vestiges of the Gael* in England ? We have not a score of Gwyddel names as these exist still in North Wales. Yet Taylor's *Words and Places* says, " There is a thin stream of Gadhelic names which extends across the island from the Thames to the Mersey, as if to indicate the route by which the Gaels passed across to Ireland, impelled probably by the succeeding hosts of Cymric invaders." Country dialects, especially the Lancashire one, are said to contain Gaelic expressions. In South Herefordshire we have *Pen-gwyddel*, and *Penblaidd* in a farm there. Then there are the Gaelic *Kildare* and *Killow* in Yorkshire, *Kilpisham* of Rutland, *Kilgwri* in Cheshire, *Kilmersdon* and *Kilstock* in Somerset. It is curious to notice an old tradition of a colony of Nemedians from Ireland in Cumberland.

Positive Gaelic features are to be distinguished in parts of England, quite independent of an Irish immigration. In spite of the mixture with other Celtic as well as Teutonic elements, the old blood, according to a well-recognized law, occasionally betrays itself. In the west, however, where the Iberian race is manifested, notably alongside the Silurians of Wales, we may expect to see the remnants of an ancient people, driven west by new comers from the east and south. Mr. D. Mackintosh found Gaels distinguishable in Devon and Cornwall, though mixed with Iberians, Cymry, and Saxons. He writes :

" In North Devon, particularly on the borders of Exmoor, the Gaelic type is almost as strikingly marked as in Ireland. I once heard a number of Exmoor Gaelic women converse in Barnstaple market. They spoke with so much rapidity and variety of inflexion, that little musical skill would have been sufficient to convert their conversation into an Irish jig."

Dr. Beddoe saw at Exmoor those with Gaelic types, " who have grey eyes, with dark hair, bony angular frames, square

foreheads, and sometimes prominent jaws." He is thus led to speak of " successive strata of grey-eyed, brown or darkish-haired Gaelic Kelts."

Composite in race as the Irish are, there is still a large proportion of Gaels among them. The enormous number of Irish that have emigrated to England must, therefore, have added in these modern days no inconsiderable an amount of the old Gaelic blood to make up the Englishman of the period.

THE CYMRY.

By the word *Cymry* most people understand the *Welsh*, because they, or many of them, speak the Cymric language. In the previous work of *Who are the Welsh ?* this question is more fully investigated than can be done here.

No one doubts that the Cymric was spoken in ancient Britain, whatever the race or races using it, as speech is no test of origin. It was retained longer in the north-west and south-west than in other parts, for Cornish, a sort of Cymric, was spoken a century ago. Some doubt the propriety of calling a people Cymry, not identifying any Welsh with the Cimbri or Kimmerii of antiquity. According to Welsh Bards the Cymry or Cimbri came here under Prydain, Hu, or somebody else, 480, 700, or 849 B.C. The arguments for and against the Cimbri are stated in *Who are the Welsh ?* and can be but glanced at here.

The Kimmerii of the east cannot be proved identical with the Kimbri or Cimbri, any more than the latter with the Kymry or Cymry. Some writers, Rawlinson, Sharon Turner, Henri Martin, Prichard, and Thierry, do connect them. But it should be known that these Cimbri or Cymry are spoken of as tall and fair like Gauls, not short and dark like Welsh. Lagneau, Broca, Thierry, Pruner Bey, and other French authorities call the Cymry tall, blonde, light-haired, and fair-skinned. Some ethnologists plainly call the Cimbri of Jutland pure Teutons or Germans, for Herodotus distinguishes the Cyneta from the Celts. Dr. Latham does not regard the Cimbri as Celts. Bishop Basil Jones cannot see Cimbri in Welsh Cymry.

The Cymry-speaking people certainly came early to Britain. The Archdeacon of Cardigan has it " a very early period of

the post-diluvian world." Others, too, consider them the first wave of Celts in Gaul and Britain. The Welsh Triads declare them the true aborigines, as only wild beasts dwelt here before they came. " None," say they, " have any title therein but the nation of the Cymry, for they settled upon it." Wilson's *Monmouthshire* thus notices this claim : " The variety of the Cumru would assume this imaginary honour respecting Britain, though their traditions and poetry refer to earlier inhabitants, whom they drove westward." Hector MacLean properly remarks, " There are good grounds for believing that the first Aryans were an intermixture of Kimmerii and Teutons with an aboriginal race that these natives had conquered."

The advocate of the Welsh Cymry, the Rev. R. W. Morgan, is not disposed to claim England for his people ; saying, " The patrimony of the elder tribe, or Kymry, lay between the Severn and the sea (Irish), that of the Lloegrians (Belgæ) extended from Kent to Cornwall ; that of the Bry- thons stretched from the Humber northwards." In this case he claims Siluria, which is Iberian, for his Cymry. It would be easier to conclude with Nicholas's *Pedigree of the English :* " The researches of modern historians unequivocally favour the opinion that, under the names of Keltsi, Galatai, Gauls, Gaels, Gwiddyls, Celts, Cimerii, Cimbri, Cymry, Brython, Lloegrians, Scots, and Picts, only one race, under different tribe or clan divisions, political organizations, and periods of existence, is spoken of."

The word *Cymry* does not occur in classical authors, in Gildas or in Bede, but first appears in the poems of Taliesin and Llywarch Hen. It got among the Welsh, in opposition to the Saxons. Whitaker's *History of Manchester* says the Welsh " threw off their former appellation (Wallia) entirely, and have ever since distinguished themselves by the general appellation of Cymri."

England proper, as well as Scotland, had people speaking the Cymraeg language, though very different in race from those, *excepting* the tongue, who are called *Welsh.* In parts of the Midlands, and in the north, much of this is recognized. The inhabitants were unlike the Silurians of the Avon valley, spoken of as Cymry or *British robbers.* Without doubt, though Celts, they were not pure, being mixed with the aboriginal Silurians or Iberians in their several localities,

forming the Celtiberians, whom Cæsar distinguished from the Belgæ by the name of *Interiores*.

Allowing this mixed people to be Cymry, we can appreciate the dictum of Pike's *English Origin*, that the Cymry were "less generally diffused throughout Wales than throughout England;" and say with Dr. Nicholas, "There is much more Cymric blood in England this day than in Wales." This could be made stronger if the Belgæ be admitted as Cymraeg speakers, whether Celt or Teuton. There is no doubt that in Bernicia, and other parts of the north, that language was the prevalent one of old, as it was in much of Scotland. Dr. Smart, in *Ancient Dorset*, writes, "The primæval inhabitants of Dorset were a tribe of the same people who inhabited the rest of the country prior to the Belgic invasion."

Cumberland or Cumbria still bears a name that appears of this British character. From the Humber to the Tyne, at least, was this *Cymry land*. Yet the author of *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, remarks of this land of the Cumbras, "Neither Dr. Basil Jones nor anybody else has adduced the slightest evidence that there ever was a people there bearing such a name. The Latinized forms, Cumbra and Cumbri, only occur at a later period." He then proceeds: "This very improbable story of these Cymry having given their territory (in Cumberland) to the Scots, and retired into Wales, belongs to a later period, and was an invention of the Scottish kings, who having got possession of Cumberland during the confusion of the Danish invasions, wanted an excuse for retaining it under the Normans." The writer of *Britain after the Romans* asserts that "the Cymry of Britain was unknown to the geography of the island under the Roman emperors." How came any Britons to be known as Cymry? His answer is this: "When they became emancipated from Roman law and discipline, and were once more subject to their Celtic chieftains, they became cymmerwyr (robbers), and were distinguished as predatory clans." It was thus that these Cymry devastated the country. "They treated the Roman province," says he, "as the Gael of Scotland used to treat the Lowlands." The mediæval Richard of Cirencester regarded Cymry as a modern name in Wales.

It might be after all that, as Mr. Donald Clark says, the word "did not originally mean a people at all, but only a

language."   Prof. Rudler and others incline to a similar opinion.

THE PICTS.

History abundantly proves the existence of the Picts in the north of England, if not elsewhere. An element of the population of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, it is not unknown in England.

Who were the Picts? This question has excited great disputation, and not a little personal rancour. For a number of the opinions of learned men, the reader is referred to page 70 of *Who are the Scotch?* While some identify them with the Caledonians, others deem them settlers from Germany or Scandinavia. Their language cannot be decided, as only two or three words survive.

Pictavia, their country, flourished till conquered by the Scots from Ireland in 842. Losing their sovereignty, they soon lost their language, and were then practically lost to history. The author of *The Early Races of Scotland* declares them Gaels, like ancient Irish, and so does Maitland, the historian of Edinburgh. Old chroniclers bring them from Germany or Gothland. Prof. Huxley deems them Teutons, and not Celts. Chalmers in his *Caledonia*, Palgrave, Father Innes, Whitaker, and other historians believe they were ancient Britons. Maule in 1706 wrote that most considered "the Picts were very Britons." Many, as Sibbold and Dr. Jamieson, look to a Gothic ancestry. Dr. Latham held that there were Norsemen long before the eighth century in Britain, and that these may have been the Picts. The author of *Celtic Scotland* has not a doubt but that they were Gaels.

There are not wanting writers who make the Picts real aborigines, as compared with either Gael or Cymry. As the dark-haired little Welshman was a Silurian, that is, an Iberian, of Basque connection, some fancy the Pict was the same. Horace MacLean does not regard them as Aryans; and, therefore, neither Celt nor Saxon, whatever their speech, about which such uncertainty prevails. He even ventures to attribute the handfasting of the Highlands to the loose notions of marriage prevalent among the Picts. It is not less curious that the Silures, and some tribes of Britons east of

Wales, were accused of community ideas on the subject of marriage, and that loose notions, amounting to the Scotch handfasting, should be found in Wales. The Painted Picts may, therefore, have been Iberians.

They who contend, then, that the Picts were Caledonian Britons may hold them to have been here earlier than Celts. Although the Scots, as Gaels, were supposed enemies of Picts, they may, nevertheless, have been of kindred blood. Columba, a Gael, required an interpreter when preaching to Picts, though able to converse. That might arise from dialectic difference or the acceptance of Cymraeg from others. " The testimony of the entire literature of Wales," says Skene, " is to the fact that the Picts belonged to the race of the Gwyddel and not to the Cymric race."

Mr. Donald Clark says that " all the tribes north and west of the Roman wall were designated Picts more or less, but the Caledonians were the Picts proper, and no other." Again, " Several philologists and Gaelic scholars confound the name in Ireland *Crutin* (name of a tribe) and Cruithnech (Gaelic name of the Picts), and have it that there were Picts in Ireland, which is quite erroneous, the two names having nothing in common." Dr. Freeman, weighing the Gaelic and Cymric arguments, thinks that the geographical aspect of the case favours the former, but that the weight of philological evidence leans to the latter. It is strange that the old chroniclers made Modred, nephew of Arthur, to be a Pict. The Rev. R. Garnett, a discreet scholar, finds that the Picts " have been *proved* by different investigators of their history to have been German, Scandinavian, Welsh, Gael, or something distinct from all four."

But Picts at one time formed no small part of the northern population of England. Beaten in the north by Gael, Norse, or Teuton, they ravaged our coast, and settled where their forefathers had been. Mark, the Anchorite, in the *History of the Britons*, declares they seized on a third of the left hand of Britain. Sir R. Sibbold's *History of Fife* presumes they were Gothic, and says, " The Picts are to be traced in the north of England from the beginning of the fifth to the end of the eleventh century, when they became so mixed with the Danes, Jutes, and Angles, that they were no longer to be distinguished."

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The Southern Britons were clearly alarmed at the Picts, or they would not have sought help from Saxons ; nor would they have gone to them, had they a suspicion of the Picts being of Teutonic blood. There is, on the whole, a strong probability that the Picts were Celts, but by no means like the Belgic Britons.

THE ROMANS.

The story of the Roman occupancy of Britain is so well known as to demand but little space here. The vast number of so-called Roman remains in England, illustrated in every local museum, confirm the record of their residence here, and the overwhelming influence of their civilization. It would appear that England in Roman times was almost as Roman as Gaul, or even as Italy itself. The Roman life was conspicuous everywhere. Something happened which appeared to crush out this Roman development. What was that Roman influence ? Did it mean language and blood, as well as buildings and institutions ?

The history of Roman occupancy must be briefly sketched.

Julius Cæsar sailed for Britain from Boulogne, August 25th, 52 B.C., arriving, says Napoleon's *Life of Cæsar*, " probably between Deal and Walmer Castle at half past four " that afternoon. The Belgic Britons were prepared for the attack, and resisted the landing. The news of the Romans' approach had been carried by Gaulic merchants trading with Britain. The terror of his name induced several British tribes to send envoys, tendering submission. Cæsar's ally, Commius, king of the Atrebates in Gaul, was well known on the other side, and was sent back with the envoys, having orders to pave the way for Cæsar's coming. The first visit was one of observation. The force was 12,000 foot and 450 cavalry, in 80 transports. The stay in Britain was 23 days only.

The second expedition the year after was more formidable. It consisted of 25,000 foot and 2000 horse. Many of these were Gauls, Germans, and even Spaniards, in Roman pay. There were 25 war-galleys, and 600 transports. Cæsar left Portus Itius (Boulogne) July 20th, and returned September 21st. Marching 12 miles to the Little Stour, the two armies met in a forest. Cassivelaunus or Caswallon was beaten.

The elephants were too much for his horses. It would seem that he had at least 600 war-chariots. His tribe was not supported by the Trinobantes of London and Essex, as their chief had previously gone over to Gaul for Roman help against Cassivelaunus, who had killed the father of the young man. Five other tribes submitting, Cassivelaunus yielded. Hostages surrendered, and tribute promised, Cæsar's engagements were ended in Britain.

No troops were left, and tribute was soon forgotten. Claudius came in 43, or ninety years after Cæsar, and found more foes than he expected. Vespasian, in 47, succeeded in securing the Isle of Wight, and gained a battle 30 miles south of the Thames. The Trinobantes of the east coast, once friendly with the Romans, were stout opponents afterwards, till their queen Boadicea was crushed. Caractacus gave Ostorius a deal of trouble. Suetonius mastered the west, and Agricola (in 84) the north. Hadrian arrived in 121, and Severus built his wall, in 209, from the mouth of the Tyne to Bowness of the Solway, 73 miles long. For 130 years there was hard fighting, and the conquest of Britain was said to cost more money than that of Egypt and Parthia. That fact evidences the number and wealth of the inhabitants. Once subdued, we hear of no revolts. Romans were wise rulers, if stern ones. They were practical people : wanting the country to pay, they made good use of the people. By elevating these, they developed the resources of Britain, and were themselves enriched.

In government they were prudent and liberal, admitting British chiefs to a share in the rule, and organizing municipalia. When the troops were needed for Italian purposes, they left in 421 ; but the country, as Sir Francis Palgrave says, "was replete with the monuments of Roman magnificence." To describe these monuments is unnecessary. Roman camps, walls, villas, towns, images, sepulchral stones, votive tablets, altars, coins, roads, baths, luxuries and arts, are illustrated by every county of England. A list of Roman settlements would be a long one. There were 28 large cities. Words ending in *caster* or *chester* (camp) indicate a Roman origin. Richard of Cirencester gives a list of 92 cities. Towns like Ariconium and Henchester have only recently been discovered. Caerleon, Canterbury, St. Albans, Exeter, York,

Colchester, Ribchester, Manchester, Chesterford, Rochester, Towcester, Chester, and many other towns have noble ruins left.   Near Kings Kerswell 2000 Roman coins were unearthed, 600 at one spot in the Isle of Wight, and 400 in Jersey.   A villa at Bognor had foundations 600 feet long by 350 broad.   The ground-floor of 25 chambers is seen in another.

London is full of Roman memorials.   A collection of a thousand articles, found near the site of the Exchange, sold for £2000.   Near St. Pancras Church a camp stood.   Perfect specimens of tesselated pavement have been removed from Leadenhall Street, Lombard Street, Lothbury, &c.   A cemetery was seen by St. Paul's Cross.   An inscribed stone was dug up at Ludgate.   Walls scorched by fire are come upon in digging for foundations.   The bed of the Thames has yielded enormous stores of curiosities.

The Romans distinguished England as *Britannia Prima*, and Wales as *Britannia Secunda*, the latter being west of the Severn.   *Flavia Cæsariensis* was from the Thames to the Humber and Mersey ; *Maxima Cæsariensis*, from the Humber and Mersey to the Roman wall.   *Valentia* or *Valentiana* was beyond to the wall of Antoninus from the Forth to the Clyde.   *Vespasiana* was still more north.   The Rev. T. Thackeray, in *Researches into the Ecclesiastical and Political State of Ancient Britain under the Roman Emperors*, divides the country into 38 states, ruled by vicars of Rome.   Marcianus, A.D. 250, names 33 distinct nations.

Before they left, the Romans had bequeathed to Britain not only laws and institutions which have endured to our day, but such fruits as the pear, cherry, apricot, quince, mulberry, fig, medlar, chesnut, and vine.   According to the *Saxon Chronicle*, "The Romans collected all the gold that was in Britain (in 410), and hid some of it in the earth so that none could afterwards find it, and some they carried with them into Gaul."   Even Mark, saint and chronicler, refers to their return "after having exhausted the country of its gold, silver, brass, money, and costly vestments."   This is not a likely story.

Is it true that, as one has put it, "Rome withdrew her legions, but she left her blood "?

The legions formed but a very small section of the so-called

Roman inhabitants, judging from what we know of the Roman occupancy of Gaul, Spain, Sicily, and lands now known as European Turkey, Hungary, and South Russia. An immense emigration of Italians followed Roman conquests, to gather spoils, and appropriate farms and trade. Roman enterprise formed coloni over half Europe. Seneca and others would not have lent their millions on mortgage to Romans in Britain if merely soldiers and not settlers. The latter, in fact, were more Roman than the troops. These, as inscriptions and coins inform us, were of all sorts, Gauls, Spanish, Iberians and Celts, Africans of many nations, Germans, Frisians or Saxons, Sclaves, Dalmatians, Dacians, Sarmatians, Thracians, Bythinians, Greeks, Pannonians, and even Indians and Egyptians. These left the fruits of union with British females, forming a pretty mixed population at the stations, more or less perpetuated in the crowd of so-called *Englishmen*.

We have no means now of ascertaining from what quarters those came who arrived here as settlers. While it is not improbable that both Italy and Spain sent a considerable proportion, it may readily be supposed that Gaul and North Germany supplied a larger amount. In all parts of Gaul, as we are assured, Latin had supplanted, to a greater or lesser extent, the Belgic, Celtic, and Ligurian tongues. But it is not so clear that Latin took so decided a position in Britain. The fact of the inscriptions bearing the Roman character, and being expressed in Latin forms, would be evidence in favour of the use of that language by the Britons, even though, as has been shown, some names are clearly either Celtic or Teutonic, and not Italian. It is odd, however, that some inscriptions must be read lengthway of the stone, and not across.

In Mr. Freeman's *History* it is said : "Everywhere but in Britain the invaders gradually learned to speak some form, however corrupt, of the language of Rome." He regards the Roman occupation of Britain as less impressive than in Gaul. "The evidence of language," he adds, "looks the same way." As he finds Latin has not for ages been spoken in any part of Britain, he supposes the people lapsed into barbarism upon the departure of the soldiery. Brace's *Races of the Old World* endorses the same sentiments. Mr. Prichard is positive that ' in Britain the native idiom was nowhere superseded by the

Roman." Prof. Stubbs says, "The Britons forgot the Latin tongue." Mr. Coote thinks the Latin gradually disappeared, saying : "While the *possessores* (proprietors) spoke Latin in the time of Coroticus and St. Patrick, their descendants—the gentry and kings of later days—spoke only, as everybody knows, the dialect of their inferiors—the Kymry." Bede shows Latin was spoken here as late as 730. " I am not one of those," says Mr. Wright the antiquary, " who do not believe in the existence of a Celtic element in the English language. I have no doubt that the Anglo-Saxons found this island a people talking Latin ; and if any portion of the population really continued to use the Celtic language, it must have been a small and unimportant class." It will at least be admitted that the Welsh is quite saturated with Latin. While Latin was the common speech of Gaul, Hispania, and Dacia, it is highly probable that it was so in Britain. The deluge of Picts, Scots, Armoricans, Saxons, &c., was quite enough to sweep off many relics of Latin in the destruction of all that was Roman.

To determine the real ethnological influence of the Roman in the formation of the modern Englishman, we need inform-ation upon the extent of Roman immigration, and the purity of blood from the Tiber. As a very large part of Italy was of Iberian and Celtic descent, the settlement of Romans was, very largely, the introduction of elements already known in Britain. Some authorities talk as if the Romans got rid of the Britons like the English have the Tasmanians, and will soon be free of Maories and Australian aborigines. The many uprisings of the Britons, and conflicts extending over two hundred years, prove the existence of a large native popula-tion. There is absolutely no evidence of extirpation. Others, again, view as certain that the Roman coloni were simply cleared off by the barbarians ; becoming, says Mr. E. A. Freeman, a *tabula rasa*. Mr. Skene, author of *Celtic Scot-land*, holds that Taliesin's " Romani " were leaders of Britons, the supposed descendants of Roman commanders.

According to Mr. Kenrick, the Romans rather garrisoned towns than mingled with the Britons. We know, however, that there was a large drain upon the islanders for troops, as notices occur of British legions in Egypt, Pannonia, Dacia, and other provinces of the Empire. Whitaker's *History of*

Manchester proves from inscriptions "that the Romans in general, the common soldiers as well as the officers, had their wives and children along with them." But the *Pedigree of the English* rates Roman impress very low, regarding the Romans as ever few in number, and as abandoning the land *en masse* when insecurity set in, and "left the ancient possessors—in quiet enjoyment of all it contained." In Kemble's *Saxons in England* the opinion is that the two races kept pretty much apart. "There is," it remarks, "no one Briton recorded of whom we can confidently assert that he held any position of dignity or power under the imperial rule." And, further, "Their beautiful daughters might serve to amuse the softer hours of their lordly masters, but there was to be no *connubium*." Prof. Stubbs has a mean opinion of the Britons, reporting, "They could not utilize the public works, or defend the cities of their masters."

Mr. Wright is a zealous advocate of the Romanized Briton. He points triumphantly to the effect of Roman civilization on our laws, our faith, our customs. He believes that at the close of the Roman period the population was less Briton than Roman; that is, "little pure Roman blood, and no British blood." A few Celts there were, but only as slaves. Dr. Beddoe, however, writes, "It is my impression that the extent, or rather the intensity, of such colonization has been over-estimated by my friend Mr. Thomas Wright and his disciples." He adds, "If any traces of the blood of the lordly Romans themselves, or of that more numerous and heterogeneous mass of people whom they introduced as legionaries, auxiliaries, or colonists, are yet perceptible anywhere in this country, it may probably be in the city of York." In Mr. Faussett's collection is an urn of the Anglo-Saxon period, bearing a Latin inscription concerning Lælia Rufina, a girl 13 years of age. "This proves," says Mr. Wright, "that the Roman population of Britain remained probably, through several generations, co-existent with the Teutonic settlers." Mr. Macintosh calls attention to "the hundreds of skulls from the Roman burial-places in Dorset, where the chin projected very visibly forward, similar to the effigies on Roman coins."

Mr. Coote, in *Romans in Britain*, believes sincerely in Roman influence upon English blood. He indicates that Britain was centuriated or allotted among Roman and Italian

colonists, as seen in inscribed centurial stones, some giving
the names of the landed possessors. He affirms that the
laws and institutions of the empire replaced all the customs
and tribute usages which prevailed before the conquest; that
the native populations were allotted to the Roman *possessores*
(landowners) as coloni and prædial slaves; that the descend-
ants of the Roman colonists were left in possession of their
lands; and that the Roman laws were retained under the
Saxon sway. He declares that "Roman words of art and
manufacture, of weight and measure, of commerce, of law, of
civilized amusement, of common and general nomenclature,
spring from the lips of the Anglo-Saxon in the utterances of
his daily life." He concludes that "there remains in Britain
after the conquest (by the Saxon) the same old Roman life
which existed before that lamentable consummation."

We cannot wonder that the enthusiastic Coote, in his
eagerness to maintain the integrity of the Romanized Britons
as the real ancestors of the English, should speak rather
meanly of the rude Saxons. Crushed by these, his friends
were deprived of the right of bearing arms, and sank in social
degree, as Christians did, from similar bar to glory on the
field, under the Turks. He contemplates, with grim satis-
faction, the decline of the overbearing, half-savage Saxon.
"The Anglo-Saxon aristocracy," says he, "always small in
numbers, is nearly annihilated by the battle of Assandun
fought by them against Cnut, and with the Norman Conquest
comes their complete *dechéance*. The Roman caste (or Bur-
gesses) is rehabilitated." With this view he seems somewhat
justified in his conclusion, that "England is and has been as
much a Latin country as Spain or Gaul, though, unlike them,
she has disguised her pedigree by her adopted Teutonic
idiom."

He would contend that the Saxon speech no more made
the natives of England *Saxon* than that the adoption of
Cymraeg made the natives of Wales *Celts*. There is so much
in the national character that is of a Roman type, appearing
prominently in massive buildings, love of conquest, patient
endurance, dogged perseverance, retention of purpose, adminis-
trative ability, and imperial magnificence, that we are reminded
of the saying of Dr. Beddoe, when President of the Anthropo-
logical Institute—"Blood does usually assert itself in greater
or less degree."

THE SAXONS.

The general impression of Englishmen is that they are Saxons. The better class, however, like to flatter themselves that they are Norman. The fact that we are English, or Angles, who were a Saxon people, seems to satisfy most that they must be of Saxon descent. Britain became England by the substitution, it is said, of Angles for Britons. The accepted theory is that the Saxons, as invaders, killed or drove into Wales all the ancient Britons, and absolutely filled the land in their stead.

This version of history is being seriously questioned. It is not, in the first place, believed that the ancient Britons were of one race. It is denied that Saxons were simply invaders, but were rather settlers in most parts. It is doubted that the original inhabitants, excepting in the west, were very much disturbed by the Saxons coming. It is even thought that the Saxons, as a powerful aristocracy, impressed their language and laws upon a people then without any central government, and that they operated here rather as a cementing influence than a mere destructive one.

That our school histories have misled us here as in other fields is a fact. They have imported traditions which are often but myths, and have accepted authorities either prejudicial or unreliable. Hengists and Arthurs have been retained, because of the romance attached to them. Mr. Freeman speaks of some so-called historical narratives as being "neither historical nor pseudo-historical, neither real truth nor invention with a purpose, but mere plays of fancy, in which historical truth is simply disregarded." It is the honourable characteristic of this age to seek after Truth for its own sake, and not to bow to authority without reason.

Before entering into the story of Saxon England, let us inquire, "Who are the Saxons?"

Greeks and Romans knew nothing of them; at least, they are first named by Ptolemy about the year 90. Tacitus had heard of Angles, but not of Jutes and Saxons. Strabo and Pliny did not know them. Ptolemy placed them beyond or north of the Elbe. Their character then may have been that given by Tacitus to the Germans: "They dwell independently and apart, as the stream, the meadow, or the grove may guide

their choice." They were not *city* men. It is thought that the German Arminius, who destroyed the legions of Varus, 9 A.D., was a Saxon. They may originally have been from Friesland, but they rapidly extended along the shores of the Baltic, North Sea, and British Channel, where they were known to the Romans.

The *Saxons of Nether Germany* have been tracked by Mr. H. H. Howorth, who proves the Saxon Confederacy to have included many tribes that were recognized Sword Worshippers. They were, however, very early a maritime people. He shows that the Pharadini of Ptolemy were the Varini, that the Sigulones were about Schleswig, and that the Saxon isles were of North Friesland. "The Saxons," says Howorth, "were essentially an aggressive and warlike race, and given to pushing their frontier and elbowing their neighbours." Though they were afterwards in Holstein, few Saxon *ings* are now to be heard there. The pagan Saxons with whom Charlemagne waged a cruel proselyting war of thirty years, were about the Ems, the Lippe, and the Ruhr. The descendants of the real Old Saxons were dispersed greatly among the Lombards and Goths. Anyhow, the Saxons of old Saxony were only invaders.

The Gothic origin of Saxons has strong advocates. But they were not Scandinavians, though having many points of similarity with them. They were much nearer the Franks, conquerors of France; but of whom Kingsley said, "They were always false, vain, capricious, selfish—the worst of all Teutons." The Goths he was pleased to call, "great lazy lourdans." "The Saxons," he declared, "were famous for cruelty. I know not why, for our branch of the Saxons has been, from the beginning of history, the least cruel people of all." Gothland now is the south part of Sweden. Dr. Schaumann thinks Bede's Old Saxony was Otlingua Saxonica in Neustria, afterwards Normandy. Saxons proper, of Westphalia, the valley of the Weser, did not use *Runes*, while Angles did.

There were Saxons east of the Trave and south-west of the Elbe. Dr. Latham somewhat connects them with the Prussias of East Prussia. The Lithuanian neighbours were not German. Yet he finds that though a German race did once live east of the Elbe, they were supplanted by Sclavonians. In the same

way the German Guddons of Prussia were anciently in Jutland and Gothland. The Rugions or Russians are much nearer the English in race than most continentals. On a Russian ethnological chart sent to the last Paris Exhibition, the Russians are distinctly called *English* by the Russian scientists. "The Saxons and Angles," remarks Horace MacLean, "were evidently an intermixture of Teutons and Slavonians." The Russian ethnologists traced the English from a quarter not far from Novogorod, the source of the true Russians, who were not Tartars, as is often supposed.

Teutons and Saxons are usually associated. But the Teutons were first known in history about the Christian era, being pressed north-westward by the savage Huns. The Sueves, a sort of Alemanni, had Sclave as well as Teuton blood. The Franks were on the Lower Rhine in the third century, and their King Clovis, in 487, had mastered Germans, Goths, Burgundians, Belgæ, and Celts in eastern Gaul. A great Teutonic eruption took place in the fourth and fifth centuries. The restlessness was not nomadic, but purely migratory. Canon Kingsley asks, "Was not the surplus population driven off by famine towards warmer and more hopeful climes?" Then "the nations came with men, women, and children, horses, cattle, and dogs, bag and baggage." Marcellinus speaks of vast multitudes of Saxons bursting forth about the year 360, "having crossed the difficult passage of the ocean."

The Saxons then bore no good reputation. Sidonius, Bishop of Clermont in Gaul, wrote, "We have not a more cruel and dangerous enemy than the Saxons. They overcome all who have the courage to oppose them." Well may Kingsley say, "Yes; they drank each other's blood, those elder brethren of ours." Having less previous contact with Rome, they were ruder and fiercer than their neighbours, by whom they were well hated. When they roamed forth, their old home being too hot for them, they left their land behind them desolate for centuries.

Still, the question arises, "How came the Saxons in that northern corner of Europe?"

Prof. Kingsley, in *Roman and Teuton*, finds them in the Getæ land, by the mouths of the Danube. Prof. Donaldson says, "The Old Saxons of the coast were the original representatives of the Low German stock." Brace's *Races of the*

Old World truly points out that German tribes were wandering hither and thither, north to south, south to north, for at least 700 years. It is supposed that some disturbance in far eastern Asia sent the ethnological ball rolling. A war of Chinese with the light-haired Hakas has been thought one cause. These Hakas were said to be the Sakas of Hindoos, the Sacæ of Bactria, traced to Gothic Khetas or Khonti, to Sakasunas or Saxons.

Sharon Turner's *History of the Saxons* derives the Saxons from the Saka or Sacæ; or from Sakai-suna, sons of the Sakai. Others see the origin of the word in *Seax*, a sword, the Saxons being said to use a seax or short sword; from *Schach*, robbery; or from the German *Sassen*, settled. The *Sacæ* tale is an old one. The author of *Cambria Triumphans*, in 1661, wrote, " The ancestors of the Saxons, as approved authors report, did fetch their original from the Sacæ, a people of Asia, that came first out of Scythia to Europe with the Goths." He traces them to the Crimea, on by the Danube to Saxony by the Elbe.

Mr. Howorth, the able authority on northern Asiatic peoples, denies the Saka identity. Consulting Chinese writings, he determines the cannibal Massagetæ of Herodotus to be the Ta Yetha of Chinese authors, and the Sacæ to be the Sai and Sza, which were the Hindoo Saks or Sakas. He concludes Massagetæ and Sacæ to be equivalent terms. The Massagetæ were Thibetians, and the ancestors of those Indo-Scythians who arrested the Greek influence in Bactria. As such, the Sacæ were not Aryans, as the Saxons are, but Turanian Tartars.

The Saxons have been reputed Cimmerians, as the Britons have been. Horace MacLean says, " The Saxon and Angle invaders of England having, therefore, so large a proportion of Kimmerian blood, their language would doubtless have a strong Kimmerian admixture." But further particulars on the Kimmerian subject may be seen in *Who are the Welsh?* The Kimmerians are Saka, and not Saxon. Mr. A. L. Lewis notes the " greatest difficulty to ascertain who the Anglo-Saxons were, or where they were in the third or fourth century after Christ, and that to trace them back for another thousand years is utterly impossible."

The Jewish descent of the Saxons has been argued from

the Sacæ point of view. A Scythian race was by the Persians called Sacæ, wearing trousers. Albinus, a contemporary of Bede, claimed these for the Saxon ancestry. But while Howorth traces them to the Chinese border, and finds them Turanian, Canon Rawlinson, speaking of the Assyrian inscription on the Behistun stone, believes the "ethnic name of Gimiri occurs in the cuneiform records as the Semitic equivalent of the *Aryan* race Saka." But he inclines to make these Cymry and not Saxon. Others join him in the Celtic and not the Teutonic idea of Sacæ.

The way in which Greek history is dovetailed with the Biblical in order to develop the theory is often illustrated in the writings of those seeing Israel's identity in Saxons. The Getæ or Massagetæ of Herodotus are connected with the Ten Lost Tribes. They are said to have come into Mæsia and Dacia before appearing as Goths and Saxons. They are of Ephraim, the Heir of the Promises, representing Joseph or Israel. "The Angle-land," writes the Rev. F. R. A. Glover, "in her origin and descent, is the reality of Joseph in her own position, and the Ephraim of Jacob, *i. e.* the Israel of Ephraim, in that of her colonies." Carpenter's *Israelites found in the Anglo-Saxons*, Moore's *Lost Tribes*, Col. Gawler's works, Bishop Titcomb's *Anglo-Israel Post-Bag*, with the more voluminous appeals of Mr. E. Hine, may be consulted for similar opinions. The Biblical arguments of the gentlemen have been ably contested by Mr. Roberts of Birmingham.

The identification of either Celt or Saxon with the Jew was opposed by other clergymen as a denial of the Messiahship of Christ, and a virtual denial of the calling of the Gentiles. The migrations of Getæ or Kimmerians, hundreds of years before Christ, into Europe, were not known to Josephus or Jerome. Josephus writes, "The entire body of the people of Israel *remained* in that country. Hence there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the Ten Tribes are beyond the Euphrates *till now*." Jerome tells us, "The Ten Tribes inhabit to this day the cities and mountains of the Medes." Benjamin of Toledo, the learned Jew of the Middle Ages, knew them to be "beyond the deserts of Asia."

Though Mr. Hine would regard the Bible as a "worthless" book if the Ten Tribes are not to be found, it may be fairly

concluded that their descendants are to be seen in the parts to which they were conveyed, in a country where Abraham's Semitic relations were living long before. There they found brethren, married, and settled down with them. Pious frauds may multiply facts to prove anything. A Jesuit was said to have seen a stone in Spain on which were these words in Hebrew:—"This is the tomb of Adoniram, the servant of king Solomon, who came to collect tribute, and died here." This is as likely as the reported Hebrew inscription found in the Crimea:—"In the year 702 of the year of our exile." In the same way Dan is seen in Ireland, Tarshish in Cornwall, and Manasseh in America.

The Getæ were bad Jews, having a relish for pork and the bodies of their aged parents, while devoting human sacrifices to their god Zamores. The Saxons everywhere have been noted for their admiration of pig and non-observance of circumcision. In *Life from the Dead* the Normans are reckoned of the tribe of Benjamin. If Saxons were of Aryan descent, one says, they could not be Shemitic. Mr. Hine holds that the very features of the Israelites were miraculously altered at their dispersion. The Low German was recognized as a Germanized survival of Khemitic. It is unfortunate that Mr. Hine should declare, " The people of southern Ireland are the descendants of the Canaanites," since another of that school, Mr. Groom Napier, is of opinion that " the Celts and Gauls were probably detachments of Manasseh and Assher that escaped by the aid of the shipping of Tyre to Spain, Gaul, and Great Britain."

Dr. Abbadie, two centuries ago, first announced the Israelitish origin of the Saxons. Sharon Turner, a greater historian than ethnologist, aided the notion. But Mr. Wilson of Brighton, in 1840, brought out the identity of Saxons with the Ten Tribes. Mr. Hine discovers " almost numberless proofs that we are identical with the Lost Tribes." *Philo-Israel*, however, will not allow Teutons to be Israelites, and Mr. Hine calls Germans but Assyrians or Moabites. The want of unanimity among the disciples of *Israel's Identity* is a difficulty. The theory is a happy one for some good men, and there is no want of texts and coincidences to support it. The Rev. J. B. Clifford, who fancies Saxons are Scythians from Cush, the son of Ham, holds that " the whole theory of

Anglo-Israelism is the most wild and baseless that was ever fabricated."

The anthropologist allows divines to differ among themselves, but confines himself to a few simple texts. Mr. A. L. Lewis, for instance, observes, " The Angles and Saxons appear generally to have been tall and fair, with broadish heads, whereas the typical Syrian Jew is of medium stature, long-bearded, and dark." To derive so composite a people as the English, who are far from being all Saxon, but include Celt and Iberian, from the Ten Lost Tribes, does seem wanting in scientific exactness. It must be admitted that the genuine Oriental Jew fails to discover us as his relations.

Modern ethnologists confess their inability to trace either Celt or Saxon out of Europe. They observe in other parts people of somewhat similar character, and believe in waves of Celts and Teutons, as well as Sclaves, though unable to distinguish their sources, or adequately mark out their progress. No one is recognized as a Saxon by the old writers until the close of the first century.

After their appearance as successful warriors and colonists, they were divided into Saxons or Old Saxons, Frisians, Jutes, and Angles. A notice of the last three nations, so closely connected with England, is now necessary.

The FRISIAN SAXONS form an important factor in Saxon English. In fact, Prof. Donaldson held *Saxon* and *Frisian* to be convertible terms. On the other hand, Mr. Howorth somewhat identifies them with the Norse, observing, " The nearest allied language to the Scandinavian now existing, or of which we have any traces, is the Friesic." Procopius used to distinguish the old Saxons as Angles and Frisians. One great point of interest to Englishmen, in the retention of the colonial isle of Heligoland, off the Danish coast in the German Ocean, is its inhabitants, who now constitute, perhaps, about the only settlement remaining in the world of pure Frisians. The Frisian sea of Nennius was the Frith of Forth.

The Frisians, though taken from Denmark to Scania by Latham, were mainly placed between the Rhine and the Ems. The Frisii may have occupied all the northern shore of Holland and Germany, from the Rhine to the Elbe, or at least the low-lying region from the Rhine to the Weser. Mr. Skene indicates that the Saxons were an offshoot of the Frisii.

The Romans had a Frisian cohort in Mancunium or Manchester. Bede traced them in South Lancashire. It is said that some hundreds were settled there for over two centuries. While some derive the name, oddly enough, from Frisco, the Indian, with the great Alexander, others get the Latin *Frisii* from the German *Frissen*, to dig or drain marshes. Tradition, not always a truth-teller, tells how Frisco brought a fleet from Asia, by the Suez canal or the Cape, and landed on the romantic shore of Zuyder Zee. The Rutheni of Flanders are associated with the Frisii. The latter, on the continent, were converted to the Christian faith by the English Winifred of Crediton, in 754.

A curious book has been lately found by Prof. Jansen in the possession of a peasant in Prussian Frisia. It purports to be a history of the race from 455 B.C., when the *Burgh-maid* Adela Over de Linden married Apol of Fryland. Her lands were on the site of the Zuyder Zee. She wrote the story of her people for ages before. Her son and daughter added some chapters. A certain Linda, his widow, son and grandson, resumed the chronicle. The last to write was in our first century. A fair copy was made in 803. But the MS. now noted was written by a Linda, in 1256. The letters are like very old German. Particulars of journies to Switzerland introduce us to the Lake Dwellers. But the book claims that the Frisians founded Crete, Tyre, Athens, and Peru, while Buddha himself was a Frisian. Though Dr. Venoys of Leyden translated it into Dutch, its authenticity finds fewer disciples than that of the Book of Mormon.

There can be little doubt that the Frisians were by no means the rude barbarians assumed by some, but possessed a high state of civilization. Charlemagne had a belief in the wisdom of their ancient laws, when he ordered these to be collected. Prof. Stubbs recognizes, like the great king, the importance and originality of such institutions, upon which, as he believes, our English laws have been founded. To the Frisians, any way, we are indebted for the use of *to*, the sign of the Infinitive. The Frisic is said to be still spoken on the eastern side of the Zuyder Zee. That they were German, and very similar to their neighbours the Jutes, may be deemed probable.

Frisians and Flemings have traditions of Hengist. But

Prof. Donaldson writes, "The names *Hengist* and *Horsa* are two synonyms : one signifies a *horse* in the high German ; the other is the Anglian or low German for the same animal." Again, "The white horse was the ensign of the invaders ; the Frisians called it their *Hengist*, and the Anglians their *Horsa*." Hence he concludes that "Saxon and Frisian are synonymous designations for an inhabitant of Holland or Flanders." History tells us that the Frisians came here under Ella, and were called afterwards the South Saxons.

The Frisian type has been thus described by Mr. Mackintosh : "Very fair complexion, oval countenance, rather prominent features, narrow head, long neck, narrow shoulders and chest." He recognizes them in the south of England, with "small perceptive and reflective faculties, little reverence, and great firmness, giving rise to self-complacency and independence of authority." Mr. Halliwell detects the Frisian in dialects of Yorkshire and of Friesland.

A Dane, quoted by Dr. Latham, notes a Frisian people in Sleswick, at Fohr. They dress in black woollen garments, wearing capes over their heads for bonnets. "They talk," says he, "half Danish and half Platt-Deutsch (Low German), and half English—more than half. They were Englishmen once—a good sort of people, took no part in the war (between Germans and Danes)—good men, good soldiers, good sailors—Englishmen, but not like the Englishmen I have seen myself." Dr. Latham adds, "If you can overhear what they say among themselves, you find that without being English, it is something like it."

The JUTES, or Ptolemy's *Gutæ* of Scania, were, in all probability, the Goths of Gothland. Asser says they were Goths. Prof. Donaldson calls them "Low Germans somewhat Sclavonized." The Lithuanians of Russia are their Gothic kindred ; by them the Russians, who are so largely of English relation, are termed *Guthes*. Of the early history of the Jutes nothing is known. They may have been the Cauci of the Romans. Mr. Kemble rather associates them with Frisians. Jutland of Denmark is named from them. Our Kent was gained by them in one victory. This arose, as some think, from the Belgæ Britons being their kinsmen. Cerdic, in 530, put Jutes in the Isle of Wight.

The Coranians or Coriniadd of the Triads, the Roman

Coratani, the Carini of Pliny, settlers about the Humber, who joined the Saxons against the Britons, have been supposed Jutes. They were said to be from Pwyl. Dr. Latham rather doubts the German origin of Jutes.

The Jutes of Jutland have much likeness to the men of Kent. Mr. E. D. Macintosh has noticed the people about Tunbridge to have the Jutes' characteristics. These he states to be : " Very convex profile, narrow face, head narrow, rather elongated, and very much rounded off at the sides, very long neck, narrow shoulders and chest, springing gait, frequently tall, especially in the Isle of Wight, large perceptive and rather small reflective faculties, adaptation to the practical affairs of life accompanying deficient imagination."

The *Angles*, the beauty of whose boys, stolen from home, attracted the good Gregory in the slave-market of Rome, constituted a very large proportion of the so-called Saxon invasion. The Frisians formed the western branch, and the Angles the eastern. The Angli in the days of Tacitus were on the eastern side of the Elbe, but were described by Ptolemy the geographer as being about the Middle Elbe. They seem to have been forced up north into the neck of Jutland or Sleswig by the Thuringians. A part of Sleswig is now *Anglen*. Tacitus connects them and the Sclavonian Varini as worshippers of *Mother Earth* in an island ; this may have been Heligoland of the Angli, and Rugen of the Varini. The latter, known also as Warings, came over here with the Angles. The Lloegrians of the Welsh Triads have been thought Angles. Many of those early colonists in Britain joined the Saxons on their conquering tours ; "excepting," says the Triad, " those who inhabit Cornwall and the Commots of Carnoban in Deira and Bernicia." The Angles were in the south and east.

Vast numbers of Angles were said to have come over here. They left their country empty, says Bede, so that Sclaves occupied it. The *Saxon Chronicle* records that the Angles " left their own country totally deserted." Prof. Stubbs assures us, " The Angli almost, if not altogether, pass away into the migration." The boundary between the Saxon and Anglian dialects has been placed north of Essex to north of Worcestershire. The Trent divided Middle Angles into north and south. Prof. Wilkins says, " If you draw a line

from Chester to London, you will find that the Saxons lived to the south-west of this line, and the Angles, or the English, lived in the north-eastern part, right away up as far as Edinburgh." We have Sussex of South Saxons, Essex of East Saxons, and Middlesex of Middle Saxons. But East Anglia of the Angles included Norfolk, Sussex, with parts of contiguous counties. The Welsh came not in contact with Angles but with Saxons, and call English to this day by their name—*Sassenach*.

These Angles are reputed to have been more numerous than the ordinary Saxons. At any rate, they originated the name by which people and country have since been known. Another reason is adduced by Prof. Wilkins : "Those people who first came in contact with the missionaries who came over from Rome to convert the German invaders to Christianity were the Angles, and so the missionaries called the whole people Angles, and the name came to be generally accepted." The Angles founded East Anglia, Mercia, Deira, and Bernicia. The *Saxon Chronicle* says they were the men of East Anglia, Middle Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. The Derby Low and Scotch Law or Laws is from the Anglo-Saxon *hlaw*, a hill. Kerslake admits that Saxon Wiccia became subject to Anglian Mercia, though the first settlers were West Saxons.

Tacitus speaks of the men of the Iskgau and Ing-gau. We are clearly of the Ing-gau, and the Runic refers to *Ing-land*. Prof. Donaldson sees "our affinity with the Ingaevones," or men of the Ingae. The Engle or Angel-cyn originated the word Engla-land, though Mr. Freeman thinks it was first used in opposition to the Scandinavian lands, and is more recent than Anglia. "Angle, Engle, Angle-cyn, Englisc," says he, "are the true names by which the Teutons of Britain knew themselves and their language." He describes the Saxons as "a low Dutch people, which took as its national name one of its tribes, namely the Angles." Egbert first established the word *Engla-land* by statute at Winchester. Alfred made use of the word *English*.

Mr. Donald Clark says the Celtic for *stranger, allmharach,* "was pronounced in early English—*Ingles, Engles, Angles.*" The words *allmharach seachd* (foreign Sevens), according to him, "went to be pronounced in early English *Anglo-Saxon.* They were all designated by the natives, *seachdner* (the

Sevens), because there were seven tribes or portions of them, which came to be pronounced in early English *Saxon*." An old *MS.* describes Columba preaching to the Gaedhil, Cruithneans, Saxons, and Saxo-Brits.

Prof. Donaldson puts the Saxon proper in the south, but the Angles in the north, east, and centre. The Middle Saxon district was part of the East Saxon kingdom. But Bede and the Saxon chroniclers are silent concerning it, though a twelfth-century work pretends to give a list of its kings from 527. Essex, according to Lappenberg, was but a part of the Roman *Saxon Shore*, and never free itself. Yet shades of darkness rest on such records ; and there is, as Mudie remarks, the "hiatus between the evening of the Roman history and the dawn of the Chroniclers."

The *physique* of the ancient Saxons, judging from the few specimens we can identify, was not remarkably handsome. The skull is not generally rounded. Dr. Barnard Davis found 16 out of 19 decidedly dolicho-cephalic or long-headed. The jaws are seen remarkably strong and prominent. Prof. Huxley declares they "are generally more or less prognathous." The authors of *Crania Britannica* found the skull prognathous, with large facial bones, and a cephalic index of ·75. Retzius the Swede says, " The dolicho-cephalic form is predominant in England proper."

It is usual to say that East Anglia, or Norfolk and Suffolk, may be called more truly Saxon than any other part, as it was most exposed to Saxon settlement. From such quarters Mr. D. Mackintosh obtains the following description :—"Light brown or flaxen hair ; rather broad, semi-circular forehead ; nearly semi-circular eyebrows ; blue or blueish-grey and prominent eyes ; nearly straight nose of moderate length ; rather short, broad face ; low cheek-bones ; excessively regular features ; flat ears ; head of a form between a short parallelogram and a round ; figure smooth and free from projections ; fingers, hands, arms, and legs short, more or less tending to obesity." Similar types may be seen in Essex, West Berkshire, and Northampton, particularly in the absence of angles.

In *Crania Britannica* there is this sketch of Norfolk men :—"Stout, thick-set, and broad in the chest and shoulders. They are remarkable for the smallness of their feet. The

character of the face is oval, inclining to be broad ; cheek-bones and eyebrows not usually prominent ; the nose straight, seldom aquiline ; chin somewhat broad and solid, rarely receding. Light and florid complexions greatly predominate ; the forehead is square ; the hair generally of a light colour, flaxen, or brown ; the eyes light grey, blue, or hazel. The skull is inclined to be broad and square, *i. e.* platy-cephalic. The mental characteristics are a determined courage." The appellation of "silly Suffolk" is not creditable to the intellect of the Saxon.

Others find the pure type in the Weald of Kent, and between Chichester and the sea ; leading one to say, " So far as the latter district is concerned, the Saxon of modern ethnology may be regarded as identical with the Saxon of ancient history." A similar aspect is noticed in Wilts and Hants. Dr. Beddoe tabulates the light, dark, and neutral eyes, and obtains an index of nigrescence or darkness. Accordingly, while the interior of Wales ranks as high as 57, and the county of Devon as 50, he places the east of England, the Saxon region, at only 19.

An Irish author considers the Saxon "a flaxen-haired, bullet-headed, stupid, sulky boor." A Welsh writer is pleased to style the Saxon both selfish and stupid. In Knox's *Races* we read : " It is the Saxon who accepts of his religion from the lawyers ; the Celt will not." That author admits the love of fair play, but " only to Saxons." Brace compares him to the purest Saxon in Germany : " long-bodied, long-armed, blue-eyed race, with fair hair, quiet in temperament, of firm, staunch, and genial character." Another gives him credit for slowness, accuracy, steady purpose, providence, adventure, silence, and patient labour. " Under the sway of Anglo-Saxonism," says Maccall, " England proper stagnated and decayed ; by the intermixture of livelier blood it began to move and to march." Again : " A certain obese conservatism and a certain navvy vigour constitute England's debt to the Anglo-Saxon." On the other hand, Kemble's *History* remarks: " The appointed work of the Teutons was to re-infuse life and vigour, and the sanctity of a lofty morality, into institutions perishing through their own corruption. And the Anglo-Saxons are not the least active in fulfilling their part of this great duty."

The Saxon origin can be traced by their customs to the German side. The more ancient mode of life is best known by an investigation of the *few* recognized Saxon cemeteries. Mr. J. Y. Akerman's *Remains of Pagan Saxondom* is an excellent authority. There are few cemeteries to be seen outside of Kent. The graves are usually of a conical mound inside of a ditch. The head of the body is generally to the west. The Saxon tumuli or barrows remind one of the British, though lower and different in shape. Cremation and inhumation were both followed. The latter is noticed in Kent and Sussex, the former in Derby; while in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Gloucestershire, etc., they both burnt and buried. It is supposed that the burning was the more ancient.

The objects found in the rectangular graves have considerable interest. Though of pagan times, no idol has ever been preserved, while Roman cemeteries had such; but if only of wood, the image would have decayed. Weapons abound, as the knife, two-edged sword, spear, axe, and seax or short sword. Not many bodies were preserved. Sometimes the teeth only showed where the head had been. The cemetery of Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, according to Neville's *Saxon Obsequies*, showed 55 heads lying to the south, 37 west, 16 south-east, 11 north, 10 east, 9 north-east, 8 north-west. Among useful articles are bronze dishes and buckets; silver, bronze, iron, and golden fibulæ for fastening dresses; hairpins and dice; keys and buckles; combs and spindle-whorls; cups; pale green drinking-glasses (at Bungay); rude Saxon pottery with superior Roman ware; helmets and armour; iron *umbo* or bosses of shields; tweezers; silver ear-rings; amber and clay enamelled beads, necklaces, and bracelets. A braid of auburn hair, with woollen cloth, was found near Canterbury in 1771. Bones of animals in graves point to sacrifices. Some objects, as beavers' teeth and crystal balls, may have been charms. The ashes of the burnt were in rough urns. The *Nenia Britannica* of the Rev. J. Douglas points out broken shards of pottery in graves, reminding one of Shakespeare's—

"Shards, flints, and pebbles should be thrown on her."

Old Saxon tombs are known at Avening and Fairfold of

Gloucester, Wilbraham of Cambridge and Essex, Cuddesden of Oxford, Syston of Lincoln, Bungay of Suffolk, Kingston on Barham Down, Linton Heath, Harnham near Salisbury, Eye of Suffolk, besides Caenby, Ingarsby, Chatham, Wingham, Folkestone, and other Kentish sites.

Llewellyn Jewitt's *Grave Mounds* has this remark : "The cemeteries of the Anglo-Saxon period present marked and decided features different to those of preceding periods ; and, again, the characters of these mounds and cemeteries vary in different parts of the kingdom, according as such districts were inhabited by different tribes or peoples." Thus, the circular fibula of Kent may be contrasted with the saucer-like kind of Berks and Oxford. Both burnt and unburnt are discovered alike in barrows and cemeteries. The urns are not very unlike those in Ancient Britons' graves, though occasionally ashes are seen without any urns. Near Derby a cemetery contained several hundreds of Saxon urns.

The barrow search gave the authors of *Crania Britannica* skulls for measurement. One from Kent was 21 inches round. In a South Wilts cemetery narrow heads were common. An Oxford skull was 20·7 inches round, and 7·2 in diameter, while a Cambridge one was 21·8 round, and 7·7 diameter. One of excellent capacity, from Sussex, gave 21·3 round, and 7·5 diameter. A Gloucester skull from Fairfold was 20·8 in circumference, but 7·3 in diameter, with a capacity of 76 ounces.

A beautiful skull belonging to a female was recovered from Wittenham, Berks. It was both delicate and graceful in outline. Messrs. Thurnam and Davis found a necklace of 282 amber beads in the tomb, with a bunch of iron keys beside the body. The skull was 20 round, and 7·1 diameter. A further description is thus given :—

"The lower part of the face is rather prominent ; the cheek depressions marked ; the nasal bones slender, not long ; the forehead impressed with feminine loftiness and eloquence ; the calvarium smooth and uniform ; and the upper occipital region protuberant, a mark of womanly organization. Upon the whole, this well-proportioned ovoid skull is such as could hardly be distinguished from the bony casket for protecting the tender central mass of the nervous system of an Englishwoman of the present day."

The Saxon customs are held to be permanent. The English law and constitution are traced distinctly to Saxon rather than Roman origin by Prof. Stubbs, who finds " in the Anglo-Saxon history the origin and growth of the local institutions," though attributing a strong administrative system to the Normans. And yet the author of *Pedigree of the English* writes :—" If we find exact correspondence and agreement in the British and Anglo-Saxon laws, our conclusion must be the latter borrowed from the former."

We know Welsh laws, but not those of the British of England, who had, in all probability, accepted many Roman ordinances. Howel Dda's laws were framed in the tenth century. It is said he went to Rome to study the best statutes. The Gavel-kind of inheritance in equal shares among the sons was British and Welsh. The Saxon *Hundred* is the Welsh *cantred*. Our copyhold tenure is a copy of theirs. The system of damages for offences or injuries, graduated according to rank, prevailed with both people. Military service for lands was the custom with both. Howel's Celtic law permitted the illegitimate to inherit, but placed more restrictions upon females and their rights than did the Saxon law.

The Welsh law recognized no parliament. The Witanagemot of the Saxons, says Hallam's *Constitutional History*, " was composed of prelates and abbots, of the aldermen of shires, and, as it is generally expressed, of the noble and wise men of the kingdom." The Saxon system of compurgators, giving favourable character, led to trial by jury. " The law of frankpledge," observes Hallam, " proceeded upon the maxim that the best guarantee of every man's obedience to the government was to be sought in the confidence of his neighbours." Thus we read of this Saxon law :—" If any one accuse a king's thane of homicide, if he dare to purge himself, let him do so along with twelve kings' thanes."

As to orders of men, the earlderman ruled over shires and the shiremote, and the thanes or lahmen were lower eorls or nobles. A work of the tenth century describes the old Saxons as being divided into three orders : Edlingi or *nobilis*, Frilingi or *ingenui*, and Lassi or *servales*. A Saxon Twelf-haendman was lord of a township. There were, also, Six-haendmen, and Twihaendmen. The ceorls or churls were freemen, having power to choose some of their rulers. The

theowes or servi were slaves, by war, crime, or debt. The tythingman was over a tithing or hamlet. A ceorl even if a Briton could become a thane if able to get five hydes of land, or 600 acres. The Weregild for injury to life was put at 7200 shillings for a king; 3600 for an atheling or king's son; 2400 for an earlderman; 1200, head thane; 600 for a lesser thane, and 200 for a ceorl. In Domesday Book, one-eleventh were classed as slaves.

The king was not despotic. Athelstan was the first to call himself king of the Anglo-Saxons. The term *Bretwalda* or great king, from *walden*, to rule, is recognized by Palgrave as the successor of the emperors of Rome. This position is denied by the historians Kemble and Freeman. "What has been attributed," says Hallam, to the imaginary Bretwalda belonged truly to the kings of the tenth century. The Heptarchy, under an *over-lord*, as Freeman says, "was a dream which has passed away before the light of historic criticism."

The land was in hundreds of 100 families or 100 hydes. Sometimes the division was in wapentakes. In Domesday, Yorkshire had 15 wapentakes and 13 hundreds; but Lincoln had 30 of the first and 80 of the last. A commot was 50 trefs or hamlets. A burghmoot or portmoot was a court of justice, a *thing* was an assembly, and a town *reeve* was the mayor. In court, the oath of an earlderman was equal to that of 6 thanes or of 72 ceorls. The *folkmoot* was a court. The laws of Alfred were not original. In a charter to the town of Beverley, Athelstan wrote, "Als free mak I the as heart may think or eigh may see."

The land being mostly common was annually divided and distributed. The Feudal system had its beginning in Roman as well as Celtic and Saxon customs. Headmen exacted service for land. Common ground without grant was held by folkright. Land was conveyed by the delivery of earth and stone before witnesses; but a sale of cattle was illegal if not before witnesses. A community or *pagus* controlled its land. Several pagi constituted a *civita* or *populus*. Socmen were ceorls with freeholds. *Bocland*, being described by book or charter, was a perpetual inheritance to be willed by written instrument. When only for a life, or two lives, it was *lœnland* or lentland. In a socage tenure personal service was commuted for rent.

Folcland holders did service to the king, as for the crown land, by making roads, feeding royal messengers, &c. Folcland was continually divided by the Folcgemot. Kemble's *Saxons in England* fancies the slight opposition of the people to William arose from their discontent at Saxon lords seizing some common lands. No king could give away folcland. William assumed the right of control of folcland without the Witan. Land could be willed without writing in the presence of ten witnesses. Feudal law limited some Saxon landrights. At Domesday time, there were 108,000 villani, 82,000 bordarii, 23,000 socmanni, and 12,300 liberi homines or free men, with the land. In 27,087 men of Norfolk, 4487 were *liberi*, and 4588 socmen; of 20,491 in Suffolk, 7470 were the first, and 1060 the last.

With much liberty as to land, there was not much as to persons. The Saxons of England were as bad as the Celts of Ireland for their aristocratic notions. Birth was the great privilege, procuring so many favours. As has been seen, a crime against another was intensified according to the station of the offended party. There were no equal rights in that day. But it was a good thing that any freeman could, by industry and prudence, purchase the right of admission into the ranks of nobility. He who gained a certain landed freehold became one of the law-makers. This aristocratic idea came over with them from Germany. In the Saxon continental land, as Rudolf reported, "If any take a wife of different or higher rank than his own, he has to expiate the act with his life." Even the size of a dress-pin was regulated according to rank. It is, then, only in these modern times that a Celt in Ireland, or Saxon in England, enjoyed the blessing of equal law and right, while a groom may now marry his mistress without fear of the public executioner.

The story of the so-called Saxon Conquest of this country is crowded with difficulties.

As a specimen of sources of information, the following account of Brittia or Caledonia by Procopius is not encouraging to the student. That author describes the country as "an island between Britannia and Thule. It contains Angles, Frisians, and Britons. There are no horses in it. It was formerly divided by a wall into two parts. The eastern

portion is salubrious and pleasant; but the western is so pestilent that no one can live half an hour in it, and is full of fierce and poisonous beasts. The souls of the dead are transported thither in boats by night."

In the search for light upon the Saxon history, we seem at once plunged into Cimmerian darkness. We wander about in the dreary Land of Shades, beholding the silent coming of souls, ever by night, who were not inconvenienced by the pestilent air or by the fierce and poisonous beasts. But we look in vain for tangible bodies, and listen in vain for voices of any kind. It is curious that we should have such circumstantial and reliable narratives of events afar off, occurring some four thousand years and more ago, and that such great obscurity should rest upon the early history of the English people.

The great Saxon invasion undoubtedly followed the departure of the Romans. The two chief authorities for that event are Gildas, in his *Groans of the Britons*, and the *Saxon Chronicle*. The stories in the latter may have been honestly put together, and are regarded as fairly correct; but it must be remembered that the record was made hundreds of years after the event, and when much fable had got mixed with fact. Gildas was supposed to have expressed the groans of his own day; for, writing of the "fierce and impious Saxons," he uses the present tense when saying, "We *are* either slain or drowned."

Bede and Nennius, in their histories, simply copy Gildas. Although the life of this monk was written in the eleventh century, two persons are confounded, and we are in ignorance as to who he was and when he lived. That he gave a false account of the Romans we know, and he admits he was no eye-witness by allowing that he was wholly indebted to foreigners for his materials. He was no Briton, and no friend to them. He lived in Brittany, and applied to Britain a letter addressed by *Bretons*, then called *Britanni*, to the Roman Ætius, in 448, after that consul had sent Alaus against the Bretons. Gildas wrote a hundred years after the events he describes, and flattered the Romans, while abasing the Britons. He calls the latter cowards who presented their necks to Saxon swords, and salutes Boadicea with the title of *deceitful lioness*. He gives, too, no authorities for his

statements.   He may have been a Saxon forger.   He talks of
the Romans returning to build the Roman wall; and relates
that all in Britain were Christian unde the Romans, while
the ruins tell another tale.

The *Saxon Chronicle*, according to Lappenberg's *England
under the Anglo-Saxons*, was composed ages after Hengist's
reputed invasion, and is full of fable.   Still, a few extracts
from it will supply some information received, say, about the
year 900.   One notice relates to the origin of the Britons :—
" The island is 800 miles long by 200 broad, and there are in
this island five nations—English, Britons or Welsh, Scots,
Picts, and Romans.   The Britons were the first inhabitants
of the land; they came from Armorica (Brittany), and first
settled in the south of Britain."   Then we read, " From the
Jutes came the men of Kent and of Wight.   From the Old
Saxons came the East, the South, and the West Saxons.
From the Angles came the East Angles, the. Mid Angles, the
Mercians, and the Northumbrians."

Under the head of dates a few chronicles may be reported.
443.   " And then they (the Britons) sent to the Angles, and
asked the sune (help) of the princes of the Angle race."   449.
" They (the Saxons) sent to the Angles, and desired them to
send more help, and told them of the imbecility of the inha-
bitants, and of the excellence of this land."   465.   " This year
Hengest and Oesc fought with the Welsh (Britons) near
Wyppedes fleote (Wipped fleet), and they slew twelve alder-
men, all Welsh."   473.   " This year, Hengist and Aesc fought
with the Welsh, and gained spoils innumerable, and then the
Welsh fled from the English as they would from fire."   597.
" This year Ceolwulf began to reign over the West Saxons,
and he was always at war, and fighting either with the Eng-
lish, the Welsh, the Picts, or the Scots."   607. Ethelfrith
" slew Welshmen without number, and thus was fulfilled the
prophecy of Augustine which he spake, saying, ' If the Welsh
will not be at peace with us, they shall perish at the hands of
the Saxons.'   Two hundred priests were slain, who came
thither that they might pray for the Welsh army."

According to the *Chronicle*, the landing of Ypwinesfleet,
Ebbsfleet of Kent, was in 449.   Horsa was said to be slain
in 455.   Cerdic and Cynric arrived in 508, and Wessex was
invaded in 519.   Ella or Aelli and his three sons came to

Sussex in 477. In 640, Eadbald of Kent " threw down all the idols in his kingdom." The Middle Saxons were Christian in 653. In 681 Centwine "drove the Britons to the sea." It rained blood in Britain, while milk and butter were turned to blood, in 685. Cynewulf of Wessex, in 775, fought great battles with the Britons. The battle at Gaful-ford (Camelford) between the Welsh and the men of Devon was in 823. Egbryht was at war with the Cornish in 835. It was in 853 that " Burhred, King of Mercia, and his Witan entreated King Ethelwulf that he would assist them in bringing the North Welshmen into subjection, and he did so."

The occurrence of the number *three* is suspicious, for Ella came in three ships, as did Hengist and Horsa, and also the West Saxons. But Cerdic had five ships, yet managed to stow away in them 15,000 warriors. For all that, he was twenty years before gaining the city of Winchester, an essentially Roman settlement. Hengist and Horsa supplied many traditions. There are grave doubts whether there ever were such men. Their names, in two dialects, mean *horse*, the deified symbol of the Saxons, under which they fought, which may have been the god Poseidon. They are but one name, says the Rev. G. D. Barber. Old Mark the Anchorite, in his *History of the Britons*, was of opinion that Hors and Henegest were descended from an idol god. Still, Haigh's *Conquest of Britain by the Saxons* favours the old story, finding traces of the heroes in local names. We have Horsegate, Horsefield near Holmfirth, Horseforth by Leeds, Horseley of Northumberland, Horsey of Norfolk, Horsham of Sussex, Horsley of Derby, Hengestesbroc, Hincksay for Hengestesige, Hengesthescumb, Hengistbury Head, Hinxworth for Haingesteworde, &c. But many places are known to originate in myths, and are often called after deities.

The name of the great chief Aelli or Ella is open to question. He and his three sons have fanciful names. Chichester, a regular Roman town, has been derived from his son Cissa. But Mr. Howorth remarks, " The names of Aelli's three sons are not mentioned by Bede, nor by the Welsh annalists, and were, there can be no doubt, manufactured, like so many other eponymous names were elsewhere, from geographical sites." He is led to conclude that " the whole account of the foundation of the South Saxon state is, in fact,

a fable." An historian may well say a " night of uncertainty broods darkly upon this period of our history."

The assumed introduction of the Saxons is full of difficulties. Vortigern's love for the flaxen-haired Rowena is said to have caused much trouble. In Milton's *History of Britain* the whole romance may be read. Gildas never mentions Vortigern, Hengist, or Horsa. Nennius says, " The Saxons were received by Guortigern in the 347th year after the Passion of Christ," that is, 379. The Saxon *Chronicle* dates the coming 450. Hengist was said to have invited 300 British chiefs to meet him on Salisbury Plains near Stonehenge, where all perished but Vortigern, who made over three provinces to the Saxons. As representing the Roman headship, he could do this. This is the Welsh tradition, as given in the Iolo MSS. :

" In 450 Vortigern brought the Saxons to the island of Britain, as his allies against the rightful heir to the crown, namely, Uther Bendragon, the son of Vortimer the Blessed. In 452 Vortigern divorced his wife and took to him another wife, who was not otherwise than an unbaptized pagan, being, in truth, Alice Ronwen, the daughter of Hengist, prince of the Saxons ; and on her son, named Octa, the crown of the kingdom was settled, so that in his right the Saxons seized the diadem of the island, which they have retained by inveiglement to this day, and the severest of all usurping invasions was that of the Saxons in Britain."

That is one of the many versions of the story. The erection of Stonehenge as a memorial over the slain chiefs was as likely as other tales of the period. Another account by Mark is as probable : that Vortigern fled to West Wales, and built a city, which was destroyed by fire from heaven. Yet the earth opened, and swallowed up Vortigern and all his wives. " Enough," adds the chronicler, " has been said about that." But Mark wishes us to remember that the foreign pagans " ruled Britain not from their superior prowess, but on account of the great sins of the Britons."

One cannot interpret all recognized myths ; still, it is odd that *Rowena* in Celtic should mean *white tail*, a fitting appellation for the daughter of Hengist, the *horse*. As to the narrative of the slaughter on Salisbury Plains, it is well known that a massacre, under circumstances very similar, occurred in Thuringia of Germany, in 299. Such a story was too sensa-

tional for the monkish chronicler of Britain to resist copying. Tales of King Arthur's wars with the Saxons have so small a basis of fact that they may be passed by here. Geoffrey of Monmouth would have us believe that the invading force under Hengist was 300,000.

The Chronicle of Prosper Tyro of Aquitaine, 455, has this record under date 441 : " Britain, up to this time torn by slaughters and disasters, was subjugated by the Saxons." Procopius mentions the conquest as complete in the fifth century, since a number of English Saxons came then across the Channel to help the Franks against the Thuringians. Freeman's *History*, while esteeming the reputed narratives as myths in the fifth and sixth centuries, concludes that the settlements were fixed in 597. Giving the map of Britain for that year, this work puts the Picts north of the Forth, and near the Solway. The Scots are to be south-west of Scotland, by Strathclyde, while Reged is in the south of Strathclyde. Bernicia is from the Roman wall to the Forth, and Deira from the wall to the Humber, and westward to the main range. York was the capital of Deira. The *March* or border became Mercia in 586.

Wessex was said to be founded by Cerdic, who came in 495, and fought for 24 years. Yet his name is not Teutonic, but is rather the British Carodoc. He was said to have landed at Cerdies ora, now Charmouth ; but *ora* is not Saxon. Sir Francis Palgrave writes, " It does not diminish our perplexities to find that the Saxon name Cerdic is evidently the same as the British Ceretic or Carodoc." Curiously enough, Bede says the West Saxons were formerly called Gewissians ; and Gewissa was a British princess. Cerdic is not even mentioned by Bede or the Welsh chroniclers. " The account of Cerdic," says Howorth, " is a distorted if not utterly fabulous version of some Welsh tradition," and so got into the *Saxon Chronicle*. He is said to have reigned forty years. The British prince Natanleod, against whom he contended, was unknown to Bede and the Welsh, though there was a place, Neatanleah, now Netley. One story is that he came in 495 with five ships, and another account is that he arrived in 514 with three. The *Chronicle* speaks of Cerdic and the West Saxons subduing the Isle of Wight, while Bede names only the Jutes there.

What can be our opinion of the conquest of Wessex after this? The connection with the Britons is at least suggestive. But Cerdic may be as much a myth as Hengist. If that part of the narrative be so confused or unreliable, what confidence can be placed in the tales of other so-called Saxon conquests? Mr. Howorth believes that "the Saxons, when the *Chronicle* was written, were in the same position as they were in the days of Bede, and had no reliable traditions about their first arrival in the island." And these traditions will eventually disappear, or be retained as folk-lore.

The conquest of other Saxon kingdoms is equally obscure. One is gained by a single battle, and another by the capture of one town. Essex and Middlesex were obtained without much apparent struggle; as Lappenberg observes, " No territory ever passed so obscurely into the hands of the enemy as the north bank of the Thames." Of the struggle in East Anglia we hear but little. In the north and east, the Lloegrians, it is said, " became Saxons;" that is, a part of the old residents made common cause with them. Many Brythons were said, also, to become Saxons.

Wessex, on the contrary, had under its Angles centuries of war to get established. And yet it rose to be the dominant Saxon kingdom. Why should there be so much fighting in the west, and so little in the south and east? It is possible that we do not make the great distinction between incursions for plunder or conquest, and settlements for homes. We are thus led to say with Howorth in his *Saxon History*, " If the Saxons in Britain settled there for the most part as colonists, and not as conquerors, we must revise very largely the notions of our early history now current."

There seems every reason to believe that Saxons settled along the eastern and south-eastern shores of England, and that they found in some cases races on those coasts not so very different from themselves. In such quarters there would not be the struggle which was experienced in the further west. Instead of Belgic tribes, which had some Teutonic sympathies, there were in the west mostly Iberians and Celts, both in Devon and Cornwall, as well as in the counties on the Welsh border. Hence Wessex had more trouble than its neighbours.

The earliest known Saxon settlers were those of the

so-called *Saxon Shore* of the Romans. Some authors, as Mr. Paswell-Langmead and Mr. Freeman, fancy it was so called from Saxon incursions, and not from migrations. But most writers, including Lappenberg and Mr. Kemble, take a contrary view. This *Littus Saxonicum*, which was a Saxon confederacy, according to Dr. Latham, extended from the Wash of Lincolnshire to the Southampton water. There was, also, a Saxon Shore on the Gaulish coast. It was recognized in *Belgica Secunda*. The Romans appointed Counts or rulers of the Saxon Shore in the third century. The Saxons on the Gaulish side of the *Shore* gave help to Ætius in 431 against the Huns. But a party took London in 350 and killed the Count of the Shore or *March*. The conquerors of South Britain came mostly from the Gaulish side of the Channel. Thus, some speak of England having been twice subdued from Normandy.

There is little doubt about invasions of Saxons from Gaul. Carausius, who in 380 got himself proclaimed emperor of Britain, though not a Roman but a Menapian, had been Count of the Saxon Shore, and aided Saxons for his own private purposes. Mr. Howorth writes : " *Littus Saxonicum* took its name from the people who settled there, who, as Dircks says, came from the neck of the Danish peninsula." A book, *Novitia*, written half a century before Hengist's reputed age, tells a story relative to both Saxon Shores. The insignia of the Counts consisted of nine castles. Among these were Dubris or Dover, Regulbio or Reculvers, Rutupiæ or Richborough, Lemanis or Lynn, and Branodunum in Norfolk. Dr. Schaumann of Gottingen declares that the conquering Saxons were a colony from the *Littus Saxonicum* of Gaul. He is not alone in his belief that the West Saxons were from the other side of the Channel. Bede names Old Saxony as the country of West Saxons. This is identified in Normandy by Dr. Schaumann as *Otlingua Saxonica ;* he rendering *ot* or *oret*, as *old*. It is significant that Normandy is to this day quite English in its hedges, &c.

The title of *Comes Saxonici Littoris*, says Edmund's *Names of Places*, " sufficiently indicates the constant flow of a stream of immigrants from the continent." In White's *Eastern England* we read, " Brancaster (in Norfolk) was once Brannodunum, the head-quarters of the *Comes* (Roman governor) of

the Saxon Shore, with his troops of Dalmatian horse."
Palgrave asserts the very early Germanization of the East
Coast. Howorth, speaking of South Saxons, Middle Saxons,
and East Saxons, observes, " they made no conquests from the
Welsh, but were descendants from colonies planted along the
Channel in the days of the Romans."

The colonies of Saxons in Gaul were said to be under a
Prœfectus Lœtorum Teutonicianorum; meaning, superintend-
ent of the German colonists. But they were less subjects
than feudatories of Rome, ready to give service of sword.
Jornandes mentions them as once subjects, now allies. The
Bishop of Nantes made converts of many Saxons in Brittany.
A strong colony existed in Calvados. Neustria or Normandy
had the district of Otlingua Saxonica, which still contains the
parishes of " High and Low Germany." A district, as large
as Middlesex, around Calais and Boulogne has many villages
with pure Saxon names. There are 22 ending in Anglo-
Saxon *ton;* and 100 in *ham.* Isaac Taylor found 80 per
cent. of the French names in England.

When the German Franks conquered France, they came
into collision with their Teutonic neighbours, the Saxons.
The Saxons of Bayeux were assaulted. Some persons fancy
that the Frankish invasion was the prominent cause of the
Saxon invasion of Britain, the Franks being too strong for
them in Gaul, and compelling their removal.

The eastern shore of England, then, was strongly Saxon
long before Hengist's day. The absence of any record of
Saxon conquests on that side is, at least, suspicious that
there was but little conflict. " Concerning the conquest of
the eastern shore of Britain," remarks Sir Francis Palgrave,
" the British bards are as dumb as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles."
In Taylor's *Words and Places* we read of the East Coast, " the
Germanization of those counties is of very ancient date." An
Anglo-Saxon urn, with a Roman funeral inscription upon it,
was found in Kent. The word *Thanet* is acknowledged
Saxon, and yet is mentioned as such by Solinus in the fourth
century. On the whole, therefore, we are led to exclaim with
Mr. Howorth, " These facts seem to show overwhelmingly
that the English shores were *settled* by a large Saxon colony
long before the time of Hengist." And the historian Freeman
is constrained to say that we must " ascertain whether large

tracts of Britain were not, long before Hengist and Cæsar, in
possession of the same race which, ages after, produced Alfred
and Athelstan, Canute and Harold."

Kemble's *Saxons in England* asserts that by Welsh tradi-
tions the Coritavi of Lincoln, Leicester, Rutland, Northamp-
ton, Nottingham, &c. were Teutons or Germans. He believes
that " a large admixture of German tribes were found in Eng-
land long previous to the middle of the fifth century." There
were, Kemble thinks, " attractions enough to induce wander-
ing Saxons and Angles to desert the marshes and islands of
the Elbe, and to call Frisian adventurers over from the sands
and salt pools of their homes." The Romans introduced many
Saxons here. Dion Cassius informs his readers that Marcus
Antoninus transplanted multitudes of the Teutonic Marco-
manni to Britain. Constantine was accompanied into Britain
by the king of the Alamanni. Valentinian is recorded to have
sent Alamannic tribes from the Rhine to Britain. Some
Roman legions were of Saxons, and the Romano-British navy
was largely Saxon, as Wright supposes.

Why, it may be asked, was the resistance of Britons to
Saxons so feeble in the east and south-east? Undoubtedly, the
number of Saxons settled in the country before the departure
of the Romans was the reason why, as Mr. Wright declares, the
" transition from Roman to Saxon was gradual." He doubts
not that " German blood predominated, to a large extent, in
many of the Roman cities of Britain, at the time when Hono-
rius gave them entire independence." He even believes it
probable that the Romans, when leaving, gave their Saxon
friends control of the fortresses in the south, like Regulbium
and Rutupiæ; certainly Saxons and Romans are found together
in the same cemetery. But there is another probable reason
—the sympathy of race between the Saxons and the British
Belgæ of south-eastern and eastern Britain.

Elsewhere the story of this Teutonic likeness is noticed.
Certainly, as Kemble's *Saxons* sets forth, " The details of a
long and doubtful struggle between the Saxons and Britons
were obviously based upon no solid foundation." It is not a
little odd that several of the British bishops of London before
Hengist's day were distinctly Teutonic and not Celtic in name.
Palgrave ventures so far as to assert that the Belgæ welcomed
Saxons as cousins; an opinion which Prof. Stubbs fancies has

no foundation in fact. Jones's *History of Wales* points out that a Belgic British tribe, the Suessiones of Hampshire and Wilts, were held to be Saxon by the Welsh; as it says, " The ancient Britons, in pronouncing the word *Suessiones*, formed it into *Seison*, which is the present Welsh name of the English nation." He mentions that the Saxon cities of South Britain sent their submission to Julius Cæsar.

But this leads back to the question as to the race of the ancient Britons. We read in the old chronicles of this and that tribe of Britons *becoming* Saxons. This may simply mean absorption. Had they been so very different in race, like the Saxon and Silurian Welsh, such a quiet absorption could not have so easily taken place. The *Gwentian Chronicle*, in lamenting the fact of the eastern and northern Lloegrian Britons becoming Saxons, asserts that the Saxons stole British children from their mothers in order to bring them up Saxon. Under date A.D. 838, it says, " The Britons residing in England were obliged to turn Saxons, or quit their country and their home in three months." But this was the report of an enemy. We hear, also, on the like authority, that a prince of Cambria, in 843, " was necessitated to abandon the Welsh residing in England, who became Saxons."

The popular story is that the Saxons exterminated the Britons, or forced them to fly to Wales. The Welsh esteem themselves the descendants of the expatriated Britons, the inheritors of British civilization. In the work, *Who are the Welsh?* the author has treated the question of Welsh peoples. But the little we know of Wales under the Romans warrants us in saying that the population then was much the same as was found after the Saxon invasion, so far as Welsh are concerned. There were what may be recognized as Celts in the north and west, and Silurians in the south and east.

Although some invasion, and much devastation, took place at the leaving of the Romans, and *before* the Saxons came to Wales, the population still mainly consisted of the little dark-haired Iberian Silures. These spoke the Cymraeg, the language of some British tribes of the west and north, of some short, dark Britons, and, in some probability, of the Caledonian Picts of Scotland. They formed then the main body of Welsh. As the foremost in resisting the Romans, so they became the leaders of the struggle against the Saxons; and, in after years,

against the Anglo-Norman kings. When the Saxons invaded
Wales, they found the *Welsh*, or foreigners, as they were
pleased to call all the native tribes in England and Wales.
Had a large exodus of Cymric Britons taken place, we fail to
see what part of Wales they occupied. The north-west and
south-west continued to be Gaelic, and the east and south-east
to be Silurian as before.

According to all Roman accounts, the Belgæ formed the
main population of southern and eastern England, and were a
tall race, of light hair, and blue eyes. Where can these be
found in Wales during the Saxon struggle? Are they so
numerous a kind even now, notwithstanding a thousand years'
contact with the English Saxons? That Britons of the
wealthier order, whose estates were seized by Saxons, did
retreat to the western hills is not unlikely; but that any con-
siderable body fled is not probable, or their descendants would
have been visible to this day, as an extra people. The Cymry,
as they call themselves, because they speak Cymraeg, are prac-
tically the same Silures the Romans knew, and whom they
compared to the dark-eyed, dark-haired Iberians.

Wales was fairly inhabited before Saxon times, and we
have no evidence of an accession of population from runaway
Britons. The terrible destruction of Roman villas and high
civilization in Wales might have been done by a Cymric tribe
of invaders from Pictland or Armorica, but not by the cul-
tured Britons of England; and that desolation befell Wales
before the Saxons came. As Teutonic settlements had before
this appeared along the northern and western coasts of Wales,
as upon the eastern of Ireland, there were not wanting sym-
pathizers with the Saxons in their invasion of Wales.

If the Britons went anywhere out of 'the way, it was, as
history distinctly informs us, to Armorica, which became
Little Britain or Bretagne, from the immigration. These are
supposed to have been the better class, able to escape in the
loss of their goods. Well authenticated statements exist of a
retreat of some British Belgæ to the Gaulish Belgæ, but there
are no accounts of any going to Wales.

Most of the Britons stayed at home. While the western
men, who were Silurian in the western English counties,
whether of Shropshire or Devon, speaking dialects allied to
Cymraeg, resisted the Saxons as they had ages before with-

stood both Belgæ and Romans ; and, while some other Britons, probably Cymric Celts, also fought, those in the south and east presented little or no opposition. This fact is accounted for on the supposition that much Teutonizing, by colonization, had been going on long before, and that many of the so-called British tribes were in speech and blood allied to the Saxon.

We are told by Horace MacLean that "the inhabitants of the east of Britain had unquestionably, before the arrival of those invaders, a strong intermixture of Teutonic blood. Consequently, the language of the invaders and that of the natives whom they had encountered, would have so much in common that they would very easily blend into one." The stories of the want of blending relate absolutely to the west, where the Silurians so pertinaciously declined alliance. This necessitated Offa, 775 to 792, to construct his *Dyke*. It was 100 miles long, from the Dee to the Severn, and was of earth and ditch 54 feet wide at the base and 12 at top, having the ditch on the Welsh side. Some think the Wansdyke or Woden's dyke which reached northward to Bath, was a similar but earlier border. Prebendary W. H. Jones terms it "the northern boundary of the conquests of the West Saxons." Bath was not captured till 577. Dorset and Devon were called *Welshkind*. Bokerly dyke and Grimsdyke near Salisbury were old British works.

The views of those who regard the destruction of the Britons must be first illustrated. In Dr. Freeman's *Norman Conquest* we read, "There is every reason to believe that the Celtic inhabitants of those parts of Britain which had become English at the end of the sixth century had been as nearly extirpated as a nation could be. The women would doubtless be often spared ; but as far as the male sex is concerned we may feel sure that death, emigration, or personal slavery were the only alternatives which the vanquished found at the hands of our fathers." He adds, "Nearly every Welsh word which has found its way into English expresses some small household matter, such as women and slaves would be concerned with." A similar opinion prevailed in the works of the older historians.

Prof. Stubbs, in his *Constitutional History*, says, "The invaders came in families and kindreds, and in the full organization of their tribes." "They could not have reproduced pure

German life and language from mixed materials. The Britons fled from their homes; whom the sword spared, famine and pestilence devoured; the few that remained either refused or failed altogether to civilize the conquerors." Elsewhere he notes the Saxons having " nothing whatever in common with the nation they attacked, and who were about neither to amalgamate with them, nor to tolerate their continued existence."

Here we have one side of the argument, founded upon the current opinion that there was constant war *all over* England for a couple of centuries or more. The only authorities of those times fail to show the universality of the struggle. No adequate allowance is made for the long-existing Saxon settlements, and the very probable sympathy of race existing between some British tribes and those Teutons. But history read between the lines shows us not only that many Britons continued to live under Saxon rule, but that they ascended to important civic positions.

That we read so little of the Britons, as such, after the Saxons came and settled, arises largely from the fact that, as the phrase went, they *became* Saxons. Though British in blood, they adopted Saxon speech and customs, and are never afterwards recognized as any other than Saxons. The irreconcileables were fewer in number. Continuing together as *Welsh* or foreigners in Saxon eyes, they are not so lost sight of as some have believed. Besides, the ethnologist Knox well inquires, " Can one race supplant another on a soil foreign to their nature, foreign to their origin ? " What one wrote of ancient Dorset admits of a wider interpretation : " These two races may be found side by side, even in the same family, as if a law existed preventing their amalgamation."

Ina's laws in Wessex recognize the Briton. Thus : " If a Welshman has a hide of land, his were (damages) is 120 shillings." Again : " If an Englishman steal, he goes forth to acquittal by twofold, *i. e.* 120 hides of land. If he be British, he is not compelled to more." Here a Saxon king absolutely places the Briton on a level with the Saxon in the matter of penalty; while Britons then were held to be landed proprietors, able to pay a heavy fine in land. Dr. Barnes remarks, " Most likely English and British were in many places living side by side as neighbours, with many wedded pairs of the two races,

and with English and British children mingled." That this was in the part where so much fighting had taken place, and not in the quiet east, is very significant.

Charters and grants abundantly prove the presence of Britons as landowners. Palgrave goes so far as to consider that most of the Ceorls, or common freemen, were British. Lappenberg, in his *Saxon History*, proves that many Britons were land proprietors under the Saxons. There is no doubt of many of the Theowes of Domesday being Britons, though some believe Saxons brought *theowes* into England. Repeated instances occur of Britons sitting in the Saxon Witanagemot or Parliament. While the weregild of the Wealas or Walisc-man was put at 120 shillings if he had land, it was rated at 70 if not possessed of a farm. As elsewhere named, a Briton, if he got 600 acres of freehold, would be created a Thane or noble by Saxon law. We often read, even 500 years after Hengist, of *Weal-cynnes*, or lands of the Welsh. It is true that many were serfs. In 685 a grant of Cartmel, Lancashire, was made to the see of Lindisfarne, "with the Britons there-upon."

There could not have been the slaughter commonly supposed, for, as Edmund Burke remarked, "We find England in a very tolerable state of population in less than two centuries after the first invasion of the Saxons." The coming was, says Mr. J. W. Jackson, " no more accompanied by entire destruction or displacement here than elsewhere."

Woodward's *History* mentions " Britons who had lived in those parts, and whom the Saxons called by the same name, *Wealas.* For we know that not only was there a dense British population in the western shires of England, but numbers of the original possessors of the whole island were to be found even in East Anglia but a short time before the *Conquest.*" Taylor's *Words and Places* has the following : " In the will of Alfred, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, and Devon are enumerated as ' Wealhcynne,' a phrase which proves that these countries were then British in blood and language." The Avon and Frome valleys were distinctly Cymric in Elizabeth's reign. Mr. J. W. Jackson exclaims : " We regard the Anglo-Saxon, not as radically a Teuton, but rather as a thoroughly baptized Celt. The basis of the British population is Celtic."

On the language argument we may remember that the

Saxons, as Monant records, " abolished the old names of cities,
towns, and whole countries, imposing new ones of their own."
And Mr. L. Owen Pike in *English Origin* says : " If language
cannot tell us which were the conquered people, and which
was the conquering, it certainly cannot tell us that any people
had been almost or completely extirpated, though it may in
certain cases lead us to suspect that a people had not been
extirpated." Kemble's *Saxons in England* observes: " The
amount of Keltic words yet current in English may of course
be accounted for in part, without the hypothesis of an actual
incorporation, but may have unquestionably been borrowed,
and serve to show that a strong Keltic element was permitted
to remain and influence the Saxon." That author was of
opinion that " the mass of the people, accustomed to Roman
rule or the oppression of native princes, probably suffered
little by a change of masters, and did little to avoid it." He
shows that " the signatures to very early charters supply us
with names assuredly not Teutonic, and therefore probably
borne by persons of Keltic race, occupying positions of dignity
at the courts of Anglo-Saxon kings."

Coote's *Romans in Britain* contends " that the populations
of the eastern and middle parts of Britain were Teutonic
at the epoch of the imperial conquests ; " consequently, the
Saxons came there to Britons who had some tribal connection
with them. He supposes the Britons, being hard pressed by
Picts and Scots, took Saxons into military service. The revolt
of these did not lead to the extermination of Britons but the
transference to the Saxon aristocracy of the land-tax once paid
to the emperors as tribute. He considers the Saxons adopted
the superior civilization of their own subjects. In some parts
there was a settlement ; in others, as Mr. Grant-Allen says,
" their supremacy was clearly one of over-lordship, not of
active colonization."

Two opposite views are entertained as to the relative num-
bers of Saxons themselves. While some contend that they
came over in multitudes, others view them in the same light
as the Norman knights and their followers. Mr. Taswell-
Langmead, *Constitutional History*, esteems the Saxon con-
quest " a national occupation, a sustained immigration of a
new race, whose numbers, during 150 years, were continually
being augmented by fresh arrivals from the fatherland." He

finds the Germanic element always the main stream of our race.

On the other side, we have Taylor's *Words and Places* saying, " The Saxon Keels cannot have transported any very numerous population, and no doubt the ceorls or churls long continued to be the nearly pure-blooded descendants of the aboriginal Celts of Britain." The small number of Saxon tombs in England is adduced as an evidence. Maccall, who has a contemptuous opinion of the Saxon, who " has always been a dunce, a dupe, a driveller, and a drudge," ventures to talk of him as " the fabulous Anglo-Saxon." Matthew Arnold doubts the Saxon numerical strength, while Grant-Allen and Edmunds take a similar view. " After the lapse of a few centuries," says Coote, " the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy, always small in numbers, and debased in habits, was nearly, if not quite, annihilated by the unceasing antagonism of the Danes." Morgan, in *British Cymry*, as much opposed to Saxon as an Irish Home Ruler could be, knowing him but as " a seller and driver of slaves," is convinced that our " British spirit and freedom are wholly of native British origin." The simple conclusion of Grant-Allen is that " though the British nation of the present day is wholly Teutonic in *form*, it is largely and even preponderantly Keltic in matter." He adds, " Since the rise of the industrial system, the Kelts have peacefully recovered the numerical superiority."

Dr. Nicholas, in *Pedigree of the English*, is no less strong in his conviction that the Saxons were, and are, decidedly in the minority. Speaking of the living dialects of England, as in *Tim Bobbin*, &c., he thinks that " among these are numerous remains, pure and genuine as chips of diamonds, of the ancient British tongue." In reply to the inquiry, " Where were now the Britons ?" he writes, " Another question were exactly appropriate—' Where were *not* the Britons ? ' " He sees the main body of a people must remain where they were, " in many cases enjoying their own national customs, laws, and language." If Saxons were not extirpated by the Normans, why imagine the Saxons extirpating the Britons ? " To suppose," he says, " that such a race should vanish, because their political existence ceased, were to judge in contravention of all the evidence, as well as of common sense." He makes a strong point of the Britons " having a personal weregild value

just like the Anglo-Saxons themselves." He asserts that the Britons did not suffer, relatively, a diminution of numbers from war. He sees that 500 years after Hengist a great part of the south and west of England was called *Wealh-cynne*, or Welsh land. If not numerous, how could they have fought a great battle in 685? He proclaims the English, "the simple Wylisc man," and calls on the Welsh to claim a property in the greater part of the present British people. "At this time," says he, "the inhabitants of Britain are mainly composed of the descendants of the ancient Britons."

THE SCLAVONIANS.

As Russia has so large a Teutonic and Scandinavian population, so England has some portion of a Sclavonian one. Middle and Southern Russia, Bohemia, Poland, Dalmatia, and Servia are strongholds of Sclaves.

They may have been somewhat related to the ancient Sarmatians, mentioned by Herodotus in what are now southern Russia and Austria. They were allies of the Turkish Avars in the settlement of Hungary. They ravaged a large part of the Greek Empire, destroying Christian people and civilization, and seizing the regions now known as Montenegro, Croatia, Servia, &c. Bulgaria is partly Sclave, but more Bulgar, a kindred people to the Turks, from the same Asiatic home. Modern Greece, Asia Minor, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are largely Sclavonic.

But those who came to England were a branch that got pressed northward to Moravia, forming now the Czechs, while others reached the coast of the Baltic by way of the Elbe and Vistula. The Frankish Sclaves, the Sclaves of the Elbe, Oder, Saxony, Lithuania, Prussia, and the Baltic Isles, together with the Wendes of Denmark and Mecklenburg, were among those who came in the fleets of both Saxons and Danes to our shores. Originally a quiet agricultural people, bestowing upon us the word *plough*, they showed no aversion to ship life, so long as it provided them with the means to gain new lands. Dr. Latham believed in Sclavonic Englishmen.

Many of the so-called Teutons and Scandinavians from the Baltic and North Sea were Sclaves. On the eastern and southern sides of England their homes were made. By no

means so restless and warlike as Saxons and Danes, they had those elements of submissiveness that made them peaceable settlers. Unlike the rest, they never held slaves. Some attribute to this commercial people, still having communes under Turks and Russians, much of the English love of self-government, in opposition to Celtic tanistry and feudalism, and of their attachment to *common* land as the common right of a district. Being Aryans, their language presented, in that distant day, but few difficulties in the way of absorption with other races in England.

In Edmund's *Names of Places* we read: " The banks of the Wansum river in Norfolk, and the Wantsum in Kent, seem to have been other seats of the Vandal immigration. I read Wansum as the Wanda's home ; this is, the house of the Wandas or Wends, whose name was Latinized into Vandals." Still he sees " no reason for supposing that the Sclavonic immigrants were numerous, or that they penetrated beyond the coast region."

THE DANES AND NORSE.

Some extravagant opinions have been uttered as to the extent of Danish blood in England. It is contended that at least one-third of the country was once Danish. Sir Francis Palgrave's *History* boldly avows, " No country testifies to the potent influence of the Scandinavian blood more than our own." Dr. Dasent exclaims, " At the Conquest, England was more than half Scandinavian."

The names of *Danes* and *Northmen* or Norse are often carelessly used and confounded. Properly speaking, the first belong to Denmark, the latter to Norway and Sweden. But, as Scandinavians, they are generally assumed to be one people. Mr. Park Harrison fancies the Danes are quite distinct, having a nose straighter than the others, with a loftier bridge, and a peculiar indentation in the middle of the forehead, combining to give a Semitic or Phœnician cast of countenance. He recognizes the same type in Venice. But all others assume Scandinavians one race.

In all probability, they came but a few centuries before the Christian era, having subdued and enslaved the Celtic, Iberian, and Finnish people there before them. One of the

handsomest of races in the world, some would trace their origin to the Tartars of Asia. Haxthausen recognizes their kindred, by language and customs, in the wild Caucasian tribes of the Ossetes. Their tongue is distinctly Aryan, and near to the Zend of Persia, with no Tartar or Turanian sympathies. Mr. Howorth traces them to the head of the Caspian. He identifies the Dane with the root of the Danube, Danester or Dniester, Don, &c., meaning *water*. He makes the Northmen brothers of the warlike Parthians, and of the red-haired Roxelani or Sarmati, too often confounded with Sclavonians. The Varegs, Verini, or Warings of Russia, according to Hyde Clarke, were allied to the Norse. " From the period of the historical invasion of Slavonia," said he, " they were much mixed up with Norsemen." He adds, " In Russia, they and their laws were called Russian, and in Byzantium they called themselves *Warings*." Certainly, the Scandinavian princes ruled Russia till some three centuries ago.

Whatever their source, they were the grandest race of conquerors, perhaps, known in history. It is probable that they reached the German Ocean about the third century B.C., but were not long before making their presence known far and wide. An inland people, they suddenly appear a most formidable band of pirates, desolating the coasts from the Baltic round the whole of Europe. These giants of the North were cruel and unsparing in their rage, and riotous in animal indulgence. For them, earth was glory and dissipation, while heaven was war and chase by day, but revelry and sensuality by night. They knelt to no man. One of their own Sagas thus describes these Vikings :—

> " Fatal choosers of the slaughter,
> O'er you hovers Odin's daughter ;
> Hear the choice she spreads before ye—
> Victory, and wealth, and glory ;
> Or, old Valhalla's roaring hall,
> Her ever circling mead and ale,
> Where for eternity unite
> The joys of wassail and of fight.
> Headlong forward, foot and horsemen,
> Charge, and fight, and die like Norsemen."

A Viking's ship has been recently found in a tumulus, as a funeral pile, near Christiana of Norway. It is 74 feet long, 16 broad, drawing 5 feet. A hundred shields round the sides

were ranged like the scales of a fish for ornament. Its contents had been previously searched for treasure. A Viking was *King of bays*. A Norse poet says, " They sought their food by their sails, and inhabited the seas." The dreaded Berserkers were fanatical rovers, who made themselves drunk or mad before a battle, in which they fought naked. It was the custom for one son to remain ashore, while the rest became *Sea-kings* of plunder and conquest. As Varangians, they were known when guards to the Greek emperors at Constantinople. They ruled at Kiew on the Dnieper from 902 to 1453, and the last descendant of Ruriek of Novogorod sat on the throne of Russia in 1598. It is said that they would have captured Constantinople from the Dnieper, but for the miraculous aid of a garment once worn by the Virgin Mary, which was dipped in the Bosphorus in sight of the heathen Varæger.

These were they, as Norse, Northmen, Danes, Black Danes, Black Pagans, &c., who plagued England, as well as Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. But they still deserved the encomium of Mr. Howorth : " The Danes and Norwegians were very much superior in culture to the Saxons of the Elbe, and in many respects to the Franks of Charlemagne." They were merely Norse for their more northerly position in relation to Britain or France. The Norse or Norwegians troubled Scotland more than England. We hear of their burning Ipswich after the battle of Maldon, 991, though they ravaged the coast of Lancashire the century before. Their word *Thing* or court marks their conquests in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the Isle of Man. The last great conflict between Saxons and Norwegians was just before the battle of Hastings.

The Danes may have had many points in common with Saxons, but were terrible plagues to them. " The Franks," says Coote, " no more than the Anglo-Saxons, could face the wild beast vigour of the Danes." The *Saxon Chronicle* speaks of King Beorhtric, 787, adding, " And in his days the ships of the Northmen first came from Herethaland (Denmark) ; they were three in number."

Their history is divided into three periods : one of plunder, from 789 to 855 ; of settlement, from 855 to 897 ; and of political rule, from 980 to 1016. In 832 they appeared in the Thames, and took London with 350 ships in 851. The battle of London Bridge was fought 1008, when the Danes fortified

themselves in Sudrvirki (Southwark), and Olave of Norway helped our Ethelred to pull down the bridge and drive off the Danes. Before that, in 993, the Northmen sailed up without a bridge obstruction as far as Staines. In 871 they invaded Wessex, and Alfred's thirty years' struggle is well known. In spite of the treaty of 878, the Danes held most of Mercia. Until Alfred retook London, in 886, they were masters of all England north of the Thames. The Irish Danes of Dublin again and again ravaged the English coasts, and made permanent settlements there.

They were first bought off in 991, and Ethelred the Unready was no match for them. All the east coast was theirs. In Danelagh they were, as an old poet sang,

> " Compelling men by grievous draught
>   As beasts to plough their lands."

The introduction of Christianity among them somewhat humanized them, but never stayed their love of conquest. Havelok the Dane was as much a hero in Lincolnshire as in Denmark. Grim the fisherman, according to a Grimsby tradition, found a boat in the Humber, wherein was "onely a childe wrapt in swathing clothes, purposely exposed (as it should seeme) to yᵉ pittyless rage of yᵉ wilde and wide ocean." That child got a foster father; "yᵗ he married yᵉ King of England's daughter, and last of all founde who was his true father, and that he was sonne to yᵉ king of Denmark." Ragnar Lodbrog, the Danish conqueror of Paris, being wrecked on the coast of Northumbria, was murdered by Beorn, huntsman to King Edmund. Being put to sea in an open boat by the king for punishment, and so wafted to Denmark, the infamous Beorn charged his master with the death of the chief, and so brought down a bloody revenge upon England, and caused the death of Edmund.

In Mr. Freeman's *History* we are told that " the displacement of landowners, and the general break up of society " under the Danes, " must have been far greater than anything that was afterwards brought about by the Normans." And yet he sees the triumph of the Saxon dynasty thereby, observing, "The Danish settlement in England, which seemed at first to be the utter destruction of the West Saxon monarchy, tended in the end to the consolidation of England and of all

Britain under the West Saxon kings." There was a strange
mixing up before as well as after the establishment of a line
of Danish sovereigns here. Thierry's *Norman Conquest* says
of Knut or Canute, " His mother tongue differed but little
from the Saxon." Earl Godwin married a Dane, so that King
Harold was half a Dane. Intermarriages took place, not only
with Danes and Saxons, but Danes and Britons. The Saxons,
being mostly settled on the coast, suffered the most from
Danish irruptions. Benevolent neutrality was often exercised
by the older race, in their hatred to the Saxons.

In the tenth century, Deira, which extended across both
Yorkshire and Lancashire, was thoroughly Danish. Even in
1065 the laws of Canute were renewed in Northumbria by the
Saxon king. East Anglia, in like manner, was filled with
Danes. Ethelred so feared them that he chose a wife, Emma,
from their kindred in Normandy ; though the next year, 1002,
his fears prompted the partial massacre, which hastened the
Saxon ruin. His murder of the princess Gunilda brought
over the fleet of her brother Sweyn, whose son Canute or
Knut first halved the country with Edmund Ironside, and
became sole king in 1016. His marriage with the widow
Emma strengthened his position. His two sons followed him
on the throne. It is true that Edward the Confessor is called
a Saxon, but his mother was of northern blood in Normandy.
His life had been mostly spent in Normandy, and his lan-
guage, habits, and sympathies were Norman. He was, therefore,
welcomed by Danes no less than Saxons on the death of the
childless Hardicanute.

After this, we hear of no more difficulties between Saxon
and Dane. The two races, so like one another in speech and
customs, blended thoroughly into English. If anything, the
Danes were more English than the Saxons, and, in spite
of their relationship to the Norman William, were the only
people in the country who made a real stand against his rule.

The proportion of Danish blood here has been fixed by
authorities from one-fifth to one-half. As the Normans pro-
per were of Danish and Norwegian origin, and thronged over
in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, they added considerably
to the Scandinavian element. It has been usual with histori-
ans to ignore the Danish section of the population after the
Conqueror came, speaking only of the assumed antagonism of

Saxon and Norman. In the same way, they ceased to remember the Britons after the establishment of Saxon domination. Such an omission is as senseless as improper. Dr. Nicholas, the patron of the Briton, declares, on the other hand, that while " the British element of population was by far the more copious in Saxon times," it was, " with its admixture of the Saxon, inconceivably greater in Danish times." The author of *The Norman People* would tell another tale. And Captain Burton, ethnologist and traveller, considers that "both physically and mentally the Englishman has a much greater resemblance to a Scandinavian than he has to a Celt." Sir Francis Palgrave asserts, " No country testifies to the potent influence of Scandinavian blood more than our own."

What are the physical peculiarities by which the Norse, Northmen, Swedes, or Danes may be detected ?

Mr. Freeman affirms, " The ethnical difference between the Englishman and the Dane was hardly greater than the ethnical difference between one tribe of Englishmen and another ;" and he finds that "the Danes who settled in England had been easily turned into Englishmen." But distinctions are observed. Bulwer wrote, "The descendants of the Anglo-Danes in Cumberland and Yorkshire are taller and bonnier than those of the Anglo-Saxons in Surrey and Sussex." Prof. Phillips detected the race in his favourite county, York, by their being tall, large-boned, muscular, with long, angular visage, fair or florid complexion, blue or grey eyes, light and reddish hair. Another has marked the singular resemblance between the existing Scandinavians of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark and the higher classes here.

In the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Mr. D. Mackintosh gave these as Danish features : High cheek-bones, a sinking in above the cheek-bones at the sides of the forehead, long face and high nose, ruddy complexion, red or sandy hair, skull rather narrow and elongated, tall and rather loosely made figure, long legs and arms. He finds the stature of these northern Norse far above the average in men and women. He notes the sanguine temperament, a tendency to litigation, very large perceptive faculties, benevolence, veneration, hope, firmness, and self-esteem.

The writers of *Crania Britannica* have this analysis of the old Norse cranium : " The skull is small and regular, has a

long, slender aquiline nose, closely corresponding with such as prevails in the northern counties of England where Scandinavian blood predominates. A narrow, long, orthognathous face, an upright, square forehead, yet neither decidedly broad nor high, having a frontal suture, a long oval outline in the vertical aspect, with distinct parietal tubers, a globose tumidness in the supra-occipital region, and a large *foramen magnum*." The chin was square, and the lower jaw was massive. According to the system of Dr. J. Barnard Davis, in *Thesaurus Craniorum*, a skull found with an old Danish sword marked thus : B 20·8 ; C 14·5, a 4·8, b 5·2, c 4·5 ; D 14·3 ; E 7·4 ; F 5·4 p, a 4·8, b 5·1, c 4·5 ; G 5·4 ; I 5·1 ; J ·73 ; K ·73. Swedish crania he observed all dolichocephalic or narrow. In a dozen Scandinavian skulls Dr. Davis finds the cephalic index ·75 to ·72.

Dr. Beddoe's observations lead him to call the long, angular visage of eastern Scotland and England *Scandinavian*. " The tall, fine type," says he, " engrosses most of the beauty of the north, having often an oval face, with a fine straight profile, nearly approaching to Greek, as Knox and Barnard Davis, two close observers, have both marked." He got a number of Norwegian photos, of various types, and recognized their likeness in our North. He declares that " the spade form of face, with cheek-bones rather broad but not prominent, tapering with a regular curve towards the chin, is very prevalent, as it is in Scandinavia."

Dr. Thurnam, when at Boston in Lincolnshire, was struck with the Northman marks. " They have," said he, " a very northern look, like Norwegians, of full average stature ; face oval, with slight tendency to breadth about the cheek-bones ; foreheads well developed ; brows regularly but moderately arched ; nose of good length, and often slightly aquiline ; chin broad and rounded ; complexions and hair very light." The same was noticed in East Anglia. There was a Danish settlement on Dartmoor. In Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the North Riding of Yorkshire, he saw tall, handsome, and powerful men, with large bones, good foreheads, long faces, and light hair. But in the West Riding he came across the Iberian remnant of darker faces and hair, with less height but more width. Cleveland country is strongly Danish.

The five leading Danish boroughs were Leicester, Lincoln,

Derby, Stamford, and Nottingham. All through our north they still use scones, as in Scotland, being the *fladbrod* or *skan* of Norway. Barley flat cakes and oatmeal porridge are also as common there as in Scandinavia. The shrewdness and caution mark both parts. Worsaae, the Danish antiquary, recognizes his countrymen here, saying, " The northern Englishman is of a firmness of character, bordering on the hard and severe, and possesses an unusually strong feeling of freedom." Sir Francis Palgrave writes, " In the case of all the burghs, the Danish influence was very overwhelming. They became nationalized as Danes." The *thou* and *thee* of talk in the north is quite Norse.

Our language is said to bear many Norse and Danish marks. Fifty Danish names of places are to be found in East Norfolk, with as many in Northampton and Lancashire. There are ninety in Leicestershire, one hundred and fifty in Cumberland, three hundred in Lincolnshire, and four hundred in Yorkshire. The author of *Words and Places* gives the Norse proportion of Surrey, 1; Devon, 3; Suffolk, 8; and Isle of Man, 21. The twelve *Lawsmen* of Lincolnshire show the Danish origin. The Rev. J. C. Atkinson found 210 of 250 Cleveland Yorkshire names were Danish. The Rev. J. Earle thinks " the Danish has been dispersed with a stimulative and quickening effect throughout all the parts and members of the English language."

Prof. Donaldson is not so sure of this. The Danish names are scattered among a Saxon people. That Norsemen left some linguistic peculiarities must be admitted, but that they accommodated themselves to the language already established, known as East Anglian, is certain. Whether this was simple Saxon, or the Teutonic tongue in use among the Britons before the Saxons came, is a matter of question. Mr. Donaldson, however, says, " We entirely miss in English any traces of the distinctive peculiarities of the Danish language. We do not find the article postfixed, there are great differences in the numerals, the substantive verb follows a different form in the plural, and the peculiar negative particle *okke* is never used in this island."

Prof. Wilkins remarks, " Wherever you find places ending in *by*, as Whitby, Derby, Rugby, there you find Danes have been. *By* is the old Danish form for town or borough ; and

when you talk about ' *by-laws*,' you simply mean the borough laws as distinguished from the laws of the country." There are 18 *by* in Norfolk and 50 in Cleveland district. We notice *by* in Lancashire, York, Lincoln, Isle of Portland, Isle of Man, and the Midlands. It answers to the Saxon *ton*. *Son* is another Norse sign in names. *Thorpe*, a village, is common. Then there are *hope*, a haven; *how*, a hill; *with*, a forest; *shaw*, a wood; *skel*, a shoal; *kell*, a spring; *fell*, a hill; *kirk*, a church; *naze*, a headland; *holme*, an island; *fiord*, a ford; *wick*, a creek; *œ*, or *ey*, the Norse for isle. There are 31 Norse *dales* in Cleveland. Mr. Skeat has a curious comparison of Icelandic and English, finding *allr* for all, *bera* for bear, *öl* for ale, *barnlauss* for bairnless.

Our *bring* is nearer Danish *bringe* than Saxon *bringan*. *Send* is *sende* Danish, *sendan* Saxon; silver is *silfr* Norse, and *sylfor* Saxon; *tongs* is *tang* in Danish and Saxon, though *taung* in Norse. Among other signs of Danish and Norse are the words *den*, *haugh*, *scar*, *claugh* for cleft, *rig*, *gil*, *beck*, *bye*, *hof*, *loft*, *muggy*, *wyke*, *keld*, and *thwaite*. We have the Danish, says Mr. Earle, in *ale*, *bridal*, *call*, *egg*, *fellow*, *gain*, *hunting*, *ill*, *knife*, *law*, *meek*, *ransack*, *sky*, *take*, *ugly*, *window*. The Norse, of course, is strong in the Isle of Man, so many ages a Norwegian sovereignty : *Sodor*, giving title to a bishop, is *sudr*, the Norse for *south*. Across in Normandy, where so many Danes settled, there is *Holdgate* near Caen, *Dernethal* for Derndale, many *byes* or *boes*, *backs*, *tofts* or *tots*, with fifty dells or dales in Bessin alone.

Some venture to think that our so-called Saxon life and customs should be more correctly called Danish. The influence of the Scandinavian immigration is well marked to this day. This Danish or Norse is one of the most important and most valuable elements in what we term *English*, whether of physical power and beauty, intelligence and energy, love of freedom and love of truth. " These Northmen," says Worsaae the Dane, " who by the Danish conquests became the originators of a great part, probably as much as one-half, of the present population of England, were just as brave men, and just as great lovers of liberty, as their Norman brethren."

THE NORMANS.

The Conquest of England in 1066 brought the Normans into close relationship to the mixed peoples here before them. As Froude well describes them, "They were born rulers of men." Whatever differences of opinion exist as to the extent of their influence on our racial characteristics, all will admit, with Prof. Huxley, that they did not introduce a new element into the population, seeing that their representatives were here before they came. Taswell-Langmead distinctly names them as a branch of the same ethnic stock as the Saxons.

Who were the Normans?

The Northmen were from Normandy, opposite to our shores in France, though their province was really known as Neustria. Rollo conquered it from the Frankish Gauls between 876 and 912. His native home was Norway. His name was Latinized from Rolf. He carried fire and sword up to the gates of Paris, and the gift of a province by the alarmed king secured not only temporary peace, but an increase of warlike strength to France. The Northmen nominally accepted Christianity, though Rollo provided for any possible mistake by directing, on his death-bed, that offerings should be made alike to the Virgin Mary and the goddess Friga.

They were by no means the first Scandinavians who had troubled France. The so-called Danes had secured foothold, and established flourishing settlements before, Rollo was born, though they came long after Saxons had planted themselves there. The Burgundians, who seized upon the finest provinces of eastern France, were no remote Baltic relatives of the Normans. The Danes and Saxons in Neustria, and along the coast more eastward and westward, coalesced in Gaul, as they did in England.

The Norman Scandinavians were Goths. Under that name they were scourges in Europe, Asia, and Africa. As the Getæ they appeared in Asia Minor before the siege of Troy. As Varini and Suevi they tried the Romans. As Visigoths they seized Spain, as Roxolani they mastered Russia, and as Ostrogoths and Longbeards or Lombards they conquered much of Italy. As Normans, they not only gained Normandy, Naples, Apulia, England, Ireland, and Wales, but formed

the most gallant soldiers of the Cross, taking a leading part in the capture of Jerusalem and Constantinople.

It is a curious fact that the Normans, more than any of the conquering races in Gaul, became thoroughly French. They accepted the rude Romano-Teutonic tongue, which, mainly under their culture, grew into the *Romance* or *French*. They even obliged the Danish settlers to give up the ancestral speech for that of the subdued people. Not only so, but the Northmen relinquished the faith of Odin for the creed of the country, and forsook their very native legends and myths, so dear to almost every race known. "In manners, laws, customs, institutions, and above all, in language," says Palgrave's *Norman History*, "the Normans thoroughly assimilated themselves to the other populations of Romanized France, or Gaul." Freeman's *History* states that it was a settlement of the Scandinavians in Gaul which definitely made Gaul *French*. They scarcely retained a single feature of their Scandinavian origin. In this sense, French historians are not far wrong in calling the Conquest of England one effected by Frenchmen.

Under their dukes, the Normans consolidated their power. They were, at first, the military aristocracy. The people under them were Danes, Saxons, and Romanized Gauls, with certain Teutonic settlers, as Franks, &c. But the delicious climate of Neustria, afterwards called Normandy, the fertile soil, and the well-ordered government, attracted a large number of Scandinavians from more barren and inhospitable tracts.

Ethelred the Saxon quarrelled with the Normans for sheltering the Danes who warred with him. Afterwards he became so friendly with them as to marry Emma, the sister of the duke, in 1002. Edward the Confessor was the issue of this union. As the Danes rose upon the decline of the Saxons, the sympathies of the latter seem drawn towards the Normans. Edward the Confessor had lived in Normandy till mounting the throne. He showed his good-will to those who were more truly than the Saxons his countrymen, by granting bishoprics and lordships to Normans. It became the fashion for Saxon gentlemen to send their daughters to school in Normandy ; and all who sought for themselves or sons a professional education, or military training, repaired to Rouen. Marriages were frequent between parties belonging to opposite sides of the Channel. Glabor wrote that " before the time of

Duke William the Normans and English did so link together that they were a terror to foreign nations." The Confessor's favour naturally drew a considerable party of Normans into England, and their moral influence prepared the way for a Norman king.

The weak-minded Edward adopted his cousin William, Duke of Normandy, as his successor, though subsequently permitting Harold, son of Earl Godwin, to overawe him. Harold was no blood relative of the Saxon prince, but William was. Saxon priests were not so obedient to Rome, nor such exemplars of piety, as the Norman clergy; for that and other reasons the Pope sanctioned William's enterprise. Harold had brave Saxon troops; but the battle at Stamford Bridge with the invading Northmen from Norway so weakened his army that Hastings was lost soon after.

That engagement in Sussex helped William, without a doubt; but the law and the Church were his active supporters. London readily acknowledged his claims. Palgrave says, " In the great towns and cities, no inconsiderable a number of Frenchmen were to be found, who, having settled there, enjoyed what we should now call the freedom of the corporation." Merchants, especially, were interested in averting domestic war or foreign servitude. Harold was an usurper. He was too weak to withstand other Saxon competitors, or resist the kings of Denmark and Norway, for Magnus claimed the throne as the heir to Canute. Most people, therefore, who had property at stake, or were engaged in commerce, had a conviction that the strong Duke of Normandy alone could save the country.

It was not a Conquest of England, but the assertion of a claim resisted by one without royal blood. As Sir Francis Palgrave declares, " The first proposition that William should assume the title of king proceeded from the English themselves." The bishops were ready to enthrone him. The Londoners were ever his friends. The Danes, at first, at any rate, would declare for a Scandinavian duke, who was viewed, in fact, as a sort of vassal to Denmark. William proceeded by legal steps. " It was always," observes Freeman, " the constitutional doctrine that William, a legal claimant of the crown, received the crown as it had been held by his predecessors." At Berkhampstead he took an oath to defend the

Church, to govern with justice, to keep good law, and grant equality of rights to English and French. As king he promised to observe the laws of the Confessor. He promised to disturb no man's land unless held by those who had fought against him. Freeman denies the scramble of land, and says, "The actual occupants of the soil remained very generally undisturbed." He undertook, by a grant, to protect the holder from both Frenchmen and Englishmen. There were Englishmen in his council. There were "Barones Francigeni et Angli nostrei." One of his acts refers to "anglos uobiles." French was not first introduced here by him. Rebellions subsequently changed much of this good understanding, especially after the rising of the Anglo-Danish population in the north, though the atrocities in the north were to check the progress of Danish and Scottish invasions.

Coke, the great lawyer, declared the common law was the "same which the Norman conqueror then found within this realm of England." The Abbot of Croyland, William's secretary, wrote, "I brought with me from London the laws of the most just king Edward, which my Lord William, the renowned king of England, has proclaimed authentic," desiring them "to be kept under most grievous penalties, and commended to his justices in the same tongue they were set forth." Selden, in 1682, affirmed that "all ancient and former laws of the kingdom were confirmed by him." Sir R. Baker says, "He took no man's living away from him." Sir Roger Owen, in James the First's time, assured Parliament that "the original of our laws is not from the French." The author of *Argumentum Anti-Normannicum*, 1682, is justified in his conclusions that William made no absolute conquest of England by the sword, in the sense of modern writers.

We have now to consider, in relation to our subject, the character of this so-called Norman immigration, and the extent of it.

As Duke of Normandy, William is supposed to have introduced Scandinavian-Gauls, French, or Normans, when he came to this country. Before his triumph, a like class of people had passed over; and, after his accession to the throne, others followed from Normandy. Were these simply Normans—descendants of the Northmen from Scandinavia—or were they a mixed people? A knowledge of the ethnology of

northern and central France at that period may give a solution to the inquiry.

Normandy or Neustria has been Iberian, Gaelic, Cymric, Teutonic, and Roman, not counting the original blood of early pre-historic races. The Romans found Celts, Belgæ, and Iberians in the north and centre of France. They brought into Gaul no inconsiderable amount of Italian, Spanish, and German blood with their legions and coloni. The Saxon Shore from Calais to Brest existed even in Roman days. Evidence can be brought that Picts and various peoples of Britain made settlements there. The Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian people, with men from the eastern side of the Baltic, all more or less Scandinavian, came upon the rest. The Norman ruled the heterogeneous multitude.

William's army, according to Thierry and others, was a composite one. No Norman could come until the Parliament sanctioned the enterprise. But money and promises tempted the fighting men of Brittany, Artois, Anjou, Gascony, Poitou, Champagne, and even Burgundy and Germany. The French monarch, of German-Frankish origin, was in sympathy, and many a bold Teuton or Frank joined the Norman standard. The Burgundians, who had seized upon the most fertile part of Gaul, were of kindred race with Normans, and readily came as volunteers to the field of battle. While these and the Flemings were from the German side, those of Anjou and Poitou, as well as a large number of inhabitants in Normandy and Brittany, were Celts. Another portion of Brittany, with much of Gascony and Auvergne, would represent the Iberian, Silurian, or dark-haired Basque development. The Danes and Normans pure were Scandinavian.

Now, all these were already known in England. There was the Iberian substratum, recognized in Yorkshire, Lancashire, the Midlands, but mostly near the quarter known as Siluria of Wales. There was the Gaelic and Cymric overflow, as perceived to the westward. There was the Belgic, or South British party, allied to Celt and Teuton. There was the Romano-Belgic, though not so strong as on the French side. There was the Saxon of all varieties. There was the Scandinavian in our ports, our Midlands, and powerfully in the North. William, therefore, in his gathered hosts, and his subsequent following, introduced no new elements of blood to

England. Still, the Norman type—formed of the welding of the best of races, Latin, Teuton, Scandinavian, and Celt, apart from the Iberian—was something different from what could be seen in our country at that time. There was a higher organization. The intellectual refinement was greater. The educational culture was superior. The military discipline was better. The moral force was an advance upon the Saxon.

According, then, to the point of view entertained, the Norman invasion was an accession of numerical strength to the long-depressed British element, to the important Romano-Belgic, or to the Danish and Norwegian. The advocates of British supremacy in English hail the arrival of Celtic and Belgic Gauls in the train of the conqueror. But those who hold to the prevalence of the Teutonic or German dominancy in English, find equal comfort in the increase of that blood by the conquest. Nicholas, in *Pedigree of the English*, is correct in his remark that the addition " was not a clear Teutonic addition." Coote, the contender for the Roman here, sees the movement simply a Gallo-Roman one, by which " the Roman element in England was relieved from its former depression."

The extent of the Norman immigration has been variously estimated. Some greatly underrate it, as others over-estimate. One historian reduces the army of 60,000 down to a paltry 7000 Normans. The total effect was held to be quite insignificant. Nicholas held that " the disturbance of the native race by the Norman was even less than that caused by the Frankish conquest." Prof. Donaldson did not believe in any considerable body of new-comers. Gibbon supposed the Normans were " lost in victory or servitude among the vanquished nations." Freeman believed the class " absorbed by the races which it had conquered."

Let us consider the reported state of Normandy, previous to the conquest. Palgrave tells us, " as in frozen Iceland, so in fertile Neustria, the land everywhere was unable to house her children," and that " the land was cut up into quillets." The author of *Norman People* says, " That population was probably twice as dense as the population of England at the same epoch, for in England there is no trace of over-population." Intermarrying with the natives, the Northmen had, as chroniclers relate, enormous families. In 1066 the coun-

try, says the historian, " was overflowing with the unemployed." The outlet so necessary for Normandy, says one, was found in the conquest of England. The multitude by no means consisted of pure Northmen. On the contrary, history shows the danger the few of the master race escaped from the fortunate discovery of a secret plot among the peasants of Normandy to murder the Normans. Ultimately the Normans melted into the general population ; while their fellow-Scandinavians, the Danish settlers on the coast, preserved their independent habits ; though they, as Thierry says, " ceased to call their rulers Normans, but named them French, Romans, or Walches, as they did the other inhabitants of Gaul."

But taking the word *Norman* to include men of the various races in Neustria and neighbouring provinces, there can be no doubt of the density of population, and of the relief experienced by the opening up of England. Normandy had really become under the firm rule of its dukes so safe and prosperous a realm that, as Thierry observes, " many artisans and labourers emigrated from the land of the Franks to the new country of Normandy." The very enterprising character of this mixed population would be an additional reason for us to believe in the great emigration that would set in for our shores. History relates that a nation seemed precipitated upon England after the Conquest. The way in which Briton, Roman, Saxon, and Dane in England resented the intrusion of the so-called Frenchmen, necessitated the Normans securing their position by the introduction of larger numbers of their own French people.

This spirit of opposition has been made too much of by writers ; and Freeman does service to truth in writing, " The whole evidence seems to show that the wide distinction and hostility of the two races, supposed by Thierry and his school to have remained as late as the date of Henry II., is a mere imagination." Sabellicus of Venice said, " The Normans in their manners and customs and laws followed the English." It is certain that both English and Norman were one in their disapproval of the great immigration of French during the reign of Henry II. and Henry III. Both joined in the war for freedom ; and, as an historian remarks, " The bloody baptism of Lewes and of Evesham made the two races brethren in war and in peace for ever."

The question of the permanence of the Normans is next to be considered. Pearson writes concerning them, " The curse that follows bloodshed and money-getting followed them inexorably, and their sons perished in rebellion, or made childless marriages for inheritances." Freeman takes up the same idea :—" In England itself the Norman has vanished from sight no less than from Apulia and insular Sicily. He has sunk beneath the silent and passive influence of a race less brilliant but more enduring than his own." Hence it is that *Pedigree of the English* is led to conclude the English are " Norman in blood in a lesser, Cymric and Gallo-Frankish in a far greater, degree." Prof. Stubbs asserts that " the numbers of Norman settlers in England are easily exaggerated." But a French ethnologist writes, " One can without too much exaggeration give as 500,000 the number of French of various origins who mixed with 2,000,000 of Saxons, or pretended such."

Assertions as to the extinction or expansion of a race can be easily made. To distinguish the Scandinavians from Teutons is not so easy ; for Prof. Huxley observes, " How far they and the original Goths and Germans are of one and the same stock, are problems which seem to be beyond solution at present." Still, there is a pretty general impression that the old county families preserve much of the Norman type. In Brace's *Races of the Old World* the Normans are said to be tall and thin with curly hair. There is, at least, a sense of dignity in bearing, and a refinement of outline, commonly attributed to Norman blood rather than to Saxon or British. M. Bedolliere thus describes the type existing in the Bessin, and the country of Caux :—" This Normano-Celtic race of men, with blue eyes, blonde hair, rare beard, athletic height, beautiful and robust women with rounded forms, regular features, with colour of dazzling whiteness, is only produced far from towns." De Belloguet finds the Normans of Calvados, " tall and thin, hair of pale blonde, grey or blue eyes, long visage," &c.

The Franco-Northmen influenced English in many ways. Prof. Donaldson notices this in language, saying, " The effect of that invasion was not only to give us many French terms, but also gradually to break up the inflexions of the conquered languages, and to introduce a syntactical instead of an etymological condition." The declensions and conjugations

of Saxons have gone. He gives semi-Saxon from 1150 to 1250; Old English from Henry III. to Richard II.; and Middle English to the end of the 16th century.

The author of *The Norman People* has a hasty conviction of the permanence of the Norman type, and a belief in the extensive immigration. He finds that " it involved the addition of a numerous and mighty people, equalling, probably, a moiety of the conquered population; that the people thus introduced has continued to exist without merger or absorption in any other race; that, as a race, it is as distinguishable now as it was a thousand years since; and that at this hour its descendants may be counted by tens of millions in this country and in the United States." He recognizes English as rather Gothic than Teutonic, Scandinavian than German. He denies the establishment merely of an aristocracy, asserting the settlement of men and women of all classes. " The Norman Conquest," says he, " involved the migration of a nation;" though he discovers " the ancestry of the intellectual aristocracy of England was generally Norman," and that " in the thirteenth century about a moiety of these non-aristocratic classes above the position of slaves were Normans."

The strength of his argument lies in names of persons. " Scarcely a trace is to be found," he remarks, " throughout the whole list of any Christian name that is not foreign, or of anything indicating Anglo-Saxon origin." Still, as these names are mostly of Biblical origin, foreign ecclesiasticism would naturally influence the nomenclature. Thus, the *Proceedings of the Curia Regis,* dating 1194 to 1200, " abound in every page in Norman names." In a list of 240 Cambridge householders, at the time of Edward I., 106 bear Norman names. In the City Council of London, 1327, eight out of thirteen have the same. The Battle Abbey Roll has only 600 names; but that was compiled nearly three centuries after Hastings was fought, and may be treated as a myth. The Monastic Charters are certainly full of so-called Norman names. The *Liber Niger,* about 1150, has a list of 3000 landed gentlemen, of whom 321 were Norman barons, and 1600 Norman knights. In *Domesday* there are 145 burgesses of York city described as *Francigena* or French. On six great estates of Yorkshire only 11 of 68 names are English; though 9 of 23 in Richmond.

As surnames were not much in use among common people till the reign of Edward II., or the beginning of the 14th century, and as then, while trades, as smith, tailor, &c., originated a large proportion, many were taken from the estate on which men were born or from masters under whom they served, it is hardly safe to assume Norman blood for such as bore Norman names. In Scotland, clans were formed by Norman barons in the Highlands; but it would not be right to call all these Norman in origin who happened to have the old Norman clan appellation. Names themselves are often a philological puzzle; the alteration or addition of a letter can bring a totally different racial parentage, turning Saxon to Celt, or Celt to Saxon.

Some changes are odd enough; as Field from Ville, Pitt from Peatt, Giles from Wiles, Fidler from Videlow. Armorial bearings help derivation. Thus, Fidler, from Videlow or Vis-de-low, was first Vis-de-loup, as the arms of the family were three wolves. The author of *The Norman People* gives us a list of 6900 Norman mediæval surnames, after an examination of only 30,000. A list, from a Somerset House record, provides him with 200 Norman surnames from A A to ALL. His decision is that "a third or more of the English population is Norman."

The Norman influence was not strong in Lancashire; since, according to Mr. Davies on Lancashire speech, "there is scarcely the slightest trace of the Norman baron in the local names of the county, and only a faint evidence of this race in the dialect." The latter is found to be substantially Celtic.

We may conclude, with Prof. Stubbs, that as the Norman lineage was the more honourable, "the bestowal of Norman baptismal names would thus supplant, and did supplant, the old English names." He adds, "Only those which are derived from Norman places afford even a presumptuous evidence of Norman descent."

It is probable that the migration from Normandy was large, and that a larger proportion of pure Norman blood came over to England and Scotland than remained behind in Normandy.

FLEMISH AND DUTCH ENGLISH.

A large proportion of the so-called Saxon invaders of Britain came from the land of the Flemings and Dutch. When, then, immigrants arrived from the Low Countries, now Belgium and Holland, they came as cousins to the Saxon-English. Originally speaking kindred dialects of the same Teutonic tongue, the Flemings had little difficulty in accommodating themselves to their new quarters on the east coast of England. Residing on the continent, associated with advanced people, and progressing in art and literature not less than in commerce and manufactures, they had advantages over their island cousins more isolated from European civilization. They came not, therefore, as marauding rovers, nor as rude barbarians. They brought with them the appliances of real progress. They established manufactories, opened stores, occupied the best farms, organized shipping companies, engaged in banking operations, and took a first-class mercantile position among us.

Any one visiting the home of the old Flemings may see in Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp abundant illustrations that these people took the very first rank in all Europe at one time, not only in commerce, but in architecture, painting, husbandry, education, and even in the art of war. They came not to our shores as suppliant beggars, but brought wealth, energy, and intelligence with them. Though coming to serve their own ends, they rendered good service here. The very opposition to them arose from those residents whom they distanced in honourable rivalry.

So intimate was the former connection between Saxons and Flemings that the Saxon settlers along the Norman coast were often described as Flemings. The Normans were, in their day, as closely allied with Flemings as these had been with the Saxons. The dukes and knights of Normandy were connected with them in marriage. William the Conqueror was united to a Flemish lady, and other sovereigns went over to Flanders for partners. It was but natural, then, that Flemings should seek a home here after the Conquest. They had a welcome at court, for the best knights of Europe were of their nation, and the Church was open to their ambition.

The favours they received from kings excited the jealousy of both Norman and Saxon gentlemen. The success they had in business roused the enmity of native traders. Again and again were the authorities compelled, under public pressure, to banish them from the kingdom. In 1220, 1273, and 1290 were proclamations issued against them. In 1290 no less than 15,000, according to Noorthouck, were banished from London alone. Wat Tyler, the representative of the working classes, made short work with all Flemings that came in his way. Magna Charta, however, sanctioned their residence.

It was a band of Flemings, obliged to shift from the north-eastern coast at the close of the twelfth century, who settled Gower of Glamorgan and the south part of Pembroke, and whose descendants to this day exhibit so clearly the Teutonic type. More than once a disastrous inundation obliged many to leave the Netherlands for English shelter. Civil wars drove others across the German Ocean. Then, as now, the most densely crowded country in Europe, emigration ideas were in constant exercise; and England, not then blessed with a very enterprising or numerous population, offered good quarters.

The Flemings were greatly favoured by Edward III., who had married their countrywoman, and who was closely connected with them as allies in his wars with the French. He has the credit of establishing the cloth manufacture in England by means of Flemish artisans. By stopping the exportation of English wool, and encouraging the advent of manufacturing capitalists from Ghent and Bruges, our kings rendered good service to our struggling home industries. It was better that we had our own Bradford, Leeds, and West of England woollen cloths than import them from the Low Countries. This resolution greatly fostered the Flemish immigration, as Flemish houses establishing themselves here had to bring skilled workers with them. They introduced silk, baize, and velvet work. In *Rapin's History* we read: "1331. This year the art of weaving woollen cloth was brought from Flanders into England by John Kemp." In 1337 it was proclaimed that foreign cloth-makers should be received. They settled in London, Kent, Norfolk, Devon, Somerset, Yorkshire, and Lancashire. Other sovereigns aided the

Flemings. Henry VII., however, being angry at the patronage of his rebel Perkin Warbeck by the duchess of Burgundy in Flanders, interdicted the residence of these people in England. So important was England then as a field for emigration, that a pressure was brought upon the Flemish government, and all enemies of Henry were excluded from the Low Countries, for amicable relations to be established. The well-pleased Flemings styled the new agreement the *Great Treaty.* Henry VIII. invited over many Flemish armourers, cutlers, miners, brewers, and shipwrights.

Elizabeth's reign witnessed the largest influx of the Flemish race. At that epoch, the language of the two countries had greatly changed, and assimilation was not so easy as it had been hundreds of years before. The great progress England had made rendered it a less profitable speculation for migrating continentals. But religious persecution in the Low Countries threw large numbers of strangers upon our shores. Philip II. of Spain ruled then the Dutch and Flemings. As the Reformation made great way among these, and the king preferred a desert to a nation of heretics, the slaughter of 100,000 heretical subjects made the residence of others very uncomfortable there. To such persons England became their *Asylum Christi.* Smiles's *Huguenots* says, "The flight of the Protestants from the Low Countries continued for many years."

Camden records the liberality of Elizabeth toward these poor creatures : " The Netherlanders, who flocked to England in *vast multitudes*, as a retreat from the storm of the Duke of Alva's cruelties practised against them. She gave them liberty of settling themselves at Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone, and Southampton, which turned to the great advantage of England." A private letter mentions 40,000 of these runaway heretics in London alone. The Duchess of Parma wrote, in 1567, that 100,000 left in a few days. The sacking of Antwerp, in 1576, increased the migration greatly from all parts of the country.

As the historian of the persecution, the Rev. W. Burn, well remarks, these Flemings, or Walloons, as they were then called, introduced " the manufactures of woollen, linen, and silk, weavers, dyers, cloth-dressers, silk-throwsters, &c., and teaching the people to make kayes, sayes, and other light

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stuffs." Halifax, Wakefield, and Holderness arose from Philip's persecuting fury. Glastonbury got weavers in 1576, as Norwich had in 1564, Maidstone and Sandwich in 1567, Colchester in 1570, and Thetford in 1575. Stamford had many of these "estraungers beinge for conscience sake." Elizabeth granted the Walloons the use of Canterbury Cathedral undercroft for a church in 1561, and another Walloon church was in Threadneedle Street. A poet thus tells the tale of change :—

> " When Alva's tyranny the weaving arts
>   Drove from the fertile valleys of the Scheldt,
>   While good Eliza to the fugitives
>   Gave gracious welcome.
>   Then from fair Antwerp, an industrious train
>   Crossed the smooth channel of our smiling seas :
>   And in the vales of Cantium, on the banks
>   Of Stour alighted, and the naval wave
>   Of spacious Medway ; some on gentle Yare
>   And fertile Waveney pitch'd ; and made their seats
>   Pleasant Norvicum and Colcestria's towers."

Some towns, as Sandwich, Canterbury, and Norwich, had a wonderful revival. Even in 1665 there were 1300 Flemings in Canterbury, and 900 communicants of their church in 1634. Somerset and Devon had a large immigration of them. Morant says that not a house was to let in Colchester through their coming. Canvey Isle, at the mouth of the Thames, was a settlement, and numbers of Flemish fishermen established a flourishing trade at Yarmouth, where so strong a Flemish feature and character may still be observed. Stow's *Annals* declare, "It was in the year 1564 that Mrs. Dinghen vanden Plasse, who was born at Teenen, in Flanders, came to London. She was the first who taught starching." Charging a fee of £5 to learners of her art, and £20 for the secret of seething the starch, it is not surprising to hear that the Flemish lady made a fortune in London.

But Londoners had no love for Flemings. A mixture of races themselves, they have always affected a horror of intrusive foreigners. Trades-guilds resented an approach to their preserves, being indifferent to the claims of the public. The apprentices were then lively lads, ready for any horse-play. In May, 1573, this notice was placarded in London : " Be it known to all Flemings and Frenchmen that it is best for them

to depart out of the realms of England between this and the ninth of July next; if not, then, to take that which follows. There will be many a sore stripe. All the apprentices and journeymen will down with the Flemings." Considering that their own ancestors may have been encroaching French-Normans, Flemish-Saxons, Danes, &c., upon pre-existing rights of tradesmen, Londoners were true to the human weakness of inconsistency. But Elizabeth had the will of a Tudor, and held the reins.

Among Flemish or Walloon names in London the following are mentioned: Abeel, Barlamachlie, Blome, Bulteel, Coteel, Cruso, Best, Desmaistris, Visher, Forteric, Fortry, Heldt, Jacobson, Keemer, Kipp, Tombe, Lemarts, Nutling, Oyles, Beake, Lordell, Frystall, Brock, Melcher, Paggens, Vanderputt, Tyssen, West, Waldo, Vandenboan, Waters. In Sandwich, 1622, we read of Smith, Martin, Weghe, Fleming, Revyn, Toor, Blankaert, Witts, Leeman, Outremann, Hessell, Vos, Beer, Vermudin, Behagle, Hane, Welde, Velde, Broncke, and Meester. But we are informed that many, especially in London, changed their names for peace sake. Haek became Leeke, Goupes became Guppys, Thomguts became Toogood. Raymond, Spiller, Brock, and Groat could pass for English. Prynne, the hero of Parliamentary freedom, was a refugee Fleming. The banking Jansens and Grote, the Hugessens, Vannecks, Deckers, Vanbrugh, Gerrard, and Gibbons were Flemish. Lord Palmerston was descended, on his mother's side, from the Flemish Houblons.

Some appear with names of a French complexion. This is because formerly all were styled Flemings from the border of Normandy up to the Rhine. Sir Francis Palgrave truly styles them " stout, sturdy, burly, fighting men." Many of the Conqueror's followers were Flemings. Baliol and Bruce were of that blood, and, says Palgrave, " It is amongst these Flemish lineages we must seek the stern fathers of the Scottish feudal nobility." He may well add, " The connections of our Norman monarchs in tending towards Flanders, combining with the geographical vicinity, filled the English land with Flemish adventurers." And a better ancestry could not be desired than that of those who " enriched and adorned the realms of Latin Christendom."

The *Dutch* may be safely included in this Flemish list,

whose fellow-countrymen they were till their emancipation from the Spanish persecuting rulers. After that, the community of blood and religion brought English and Dutch together. Many Dutch settled along the east coast, engaging in fishing, or in reclaiming fen land. Vermuyden, in 1626, got over 200 Dutch families to drain Sandtoft of Lincolnshire. Fuller's *Church History* relates that " this new generation of Dutch were now sprinkled everywhere." It was natural that William of Orange should surround himself with the Dutch. But the public hated them. An attempt to grant them naturalization in 1694 was received with an amendment " to kick the Bill out of the House, and then foreigners out of the kingdom." Yet the forefathers of these Englishmen were very probably Saxons who dwelt by the low shores of Holland. The Dutch church of Austin Friars, given for the use of the foreigners, had been a priory from 1253. The Dutch connections have always been strong in London.

THE FRENCH-ENGLISH.

It would seem natural enough that a country only separated from our own by a score of miles should have contributed to our population.

The Gauls, or ancient inhabitants of France, did undoubtedly form colonies on our coast, and that, too, long after the Britons were located. When the British Channel was much less considerable, it was easier to cross. From the southward and eastward England was most probably settled, and the Gaulish side gave the greater facilities. But Ptolemy tells us that a Gaulish colony was established on the Humber by a tribe called the Parisi or Parisoi, whose town there was Petuaria. Prof. Rhys observed : " I am inclined to think that at least the ruling clan in the country of the Brigantes must have been Gauls." He recognizes " rather more than one-half of what is now England belonged in Cæsar's time to tribes of Gaulish origin ; that is to say, all east of the Trent, the Warwickshire Avon, the Parret, and the Dorsetshire Stour." The Gaulish *Cornavii* settled east of the Severn.

A very early French settlement is traditionally recorded on Axholme, an island in the Trent, formed by four rivers, being about 24 miles long by 7 wide. They were supposed refugees.

Mr. White detected evidences of distinctiveness of race there still. "The fields," says he, "are subdivided into narrow stripes, which remind you of the familiar aspects of rural France. There is something French, too, in the difference between the high-roads and the by-roads." They are said by old historians to be a very much more advanced people than the *Girvii*, or ancient fen-dwellers, who were content with very coarse bread and ground horse-beans.

The Norman Conquest unquestionably introduced a large French immigration. The so-called Normans were mostly true French in blood as well as name. But that exodus of French people set in long before, particularly during the reign of Edward the Confessor, who was to the last more French than English in sentiment, with a great attachment to the persons of Frenchmen, to whom he gave the best of his royal gifts of place. Not only did the Conqueror adopt the same favouritism, but the Anglo-Norman kings continued to draw from their continental dominions troops for war, priests for churches, and learned men for schools. These could not fail to attract numbers of the fairer sex. The sovereigns of England themselves, by their marriages with French princesses, set the example of introducing beauties from the shores of Gaul.

Some of our early kings spent most of their time in France. Henry of Anjou was, according to Freeman's *History*, "a would-be king of France, who ruled England as a dependency beyond the sea. Almost every station of dignity was given, not only not to men of the old English blood, but not even to the descendants of the first Norman settlers; men utterly strangers to the land held sway over both." No wonder, therefore, that both Normans and Saxons rose indignantly at what was truly a second Conquest. The extent of the French immigration during the reigns of Henry II. and Henry III., especially of the Angevins and men of central and western France, must have been considerable. Their adoption of English manners and tongue, however, soon caused their quiet absorption into the mixed race, known as English. The loss of French provinces, and consequent wars with our neighbours, arrested the stream that had flowed for centuries from France to England.

A renewal of French immigration took place after the

Reformation. The unhappiest time Europe ever experienced was that following the teachings of Luther and Calvin. For a hundred years and more, central and western Europe was deluged with blood from religious wars, or lighted up with the flames of persecution. As England and Holland were the first nations organized under Protestant rule, they became the sanctuaries of freedom to those of like sentiments in other lands, where Roman Catholicism reigned to the exclusion of Protestants. The Huguenots of France were decidedly uncomfortable under the treatment they received from French sovereigns, and many fled for the shelter afforded by Edward VI.

In Elizabeth's reign quite a multitude thronged the English towns. The Rev. D. C. A. Agnew, in his quarto work, *Protestant Exiles from France*, though dealing particularly with the reign of Lous XIV., notes the movement into England long before. "In 1568," he says, "there was a great influx of refugees, and an extensive founding of settlements for them throughout England." Strype called attention to a Bishop of Norwich, who thus accounted for the cheapness of food in 1568 : "This blessing from God happened by means of the godly exiles, who were hither fled for their religion." Among the places thus favoured with these industrious artisans, educated gentlemen, and learned divines, were Canterbury, London, Boston, Ipswich, Norwich, Yarmouth, Harwich, Maidstone, and the Cinque Ports.

The frightful massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572 caused a still further flight of Reformers from France to England. The generous English Protestants received them with open arms, and even the politic, cautious, and parsimonious Elizabeth was roused to a display of natural indignation and some liberality of purse. The current continued to set in toward our country for a number of years after. Mr. W. Durrant Cooper gives a list of the French dwelling in the parish of St. Martin-le-Grand, London, during 1622, detailing their several modes of earning a living. In 1621 it was stated that there were 10,000 in London, who were engaged in 121 trades. Strype points out that the working classes of London had no sympathy with the new comers, as the rabble "would call them by no other denomination but *French dogs*." It was in 1572 that the little port of Rye showed a French settlement of 640 persons.

Louis XIV., under the influence of the Jesuits, contributed more than any other man to the influx of French in England. His revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, was the immediate cause of the flight of 600,000 of the most worthy citizens of France. Though a great part of these went to Holland and Germany, a large number got to England. Voltaire, who was primarily the happy means of securing toleration for French Protestants in his own day, was keen in his denunciation of the folly of Louis.

Noorthouck's *History of London* says, " Thirteen thousand five hundred of them settled in and about London, who proved a valuable acquisition." The sum of £63,713, a considerable amount in that day, was collected for their relief. Spitalfields, Canterbury, Boston, Maidstone, Ipswich, Exeter, Bideford, &c., received silk and cotton workers. Smiles, in his *Huguenots in England*, observes : " There was scarcely a branch of trade in Great Britain but at once felt the beneficial effects of the large influx of experienced workmen from France." Portal introduced paper-making. Burgundy lacemen came to London, Stony Stratford, and Buckingham. In 1694 there were a thousand French looms in Canterbury alone, employing 3000 persons. Ipswich gained a linen trade, and Maidstone one in thread.

These Frenchmen made England their home, and their descendants became Englishmen. Though many of their names have become Anglicised, others have remained unchanged. David Garrick, the actor, was the grandson of the French David Garric, who arrived in 1685. Dolland the optician, Layard, Romaine the clergyman, Romilly the lawyer, Saurin the bishop-preacher, Dr. Martineau, and Dr. Pusey may trace a Huguenot ancestry. Among other distinguished families, the Rev. David C. A. Agnew mentions Allix, Aufrere, André, Baro, Boileau, Bosanquets, Bernard, Beranger, Barré, Beaufort, Bouverie, Bignon, Chevalier, Cousin, Clancarty, Calamy, Chamberlain, Chamier, Condamine, Colloke, Du Cane, Dury, Dollond, Dobré, Dubois, Despard, Fleury, Gambier, Gaussen, Gervais, Gosset, Garric, Herault, Jean, Jansen, Kenny, Le Hague, Layard, Latouche, Luard, Langlois, Lefroy, Martineau, Moulin, Majendie, Olivier, Portal, Perrin, Paget, Rouquet, Roumieu, St. Leger, Salmond, and Vignoles.

Much difficulty was experienced in these refugees obtaining naturalization as Englishmen. The trading classes had no desire to see them placed in possession of equal privileges with themselves. Letters patent from the Sovereign and private Acts in Parliament were the only means available, and these cost trouble and cash. In all concessions this was inserted : " Provided they live and continue with their families in this our kingdom of England." In spite of difficulties, many sought the indulgence. In one day, March 8th, 1682, nearly 800 were naturalized ; about 600 on April 15th, 1687; 700 on January 5th, 1688 ; 300 on March 21st, 1688 ; 250 on Oct. 10th, 1688 ; 200 on April 15th, 1693 ; 250 on May 8th, 1697 ; 500 on March 11th, 1700. At last, in 1709, justice was fully done, and the door of naturalization was opened. But so jealously was this done, that it was ordered that only those who accepted the Communion in some Protestant congregation could have the favour. In one day, a couple of thousand took out their letters. Still, many preferred toleration, hoping some day to return home to France.

The last immigration of the French was after the French Revolution of 1789, and particularly after the death of Louis XVI., and the slaughter of the aristocrats and clergy. Vast numbers of French nobles, gentry, and priests fled to England. They were cordially received by the hospitable English. But this influx was Roman Catholic, and not Protestant. Another distinction is thus indicated by Michelet : " France, at the migration of '89 lost its idlers ; at the other (1685) its workers."

The French-English, or rather, their descendants, form no inconsiderable item of our population, and by no means an ignoble or uninfluential one. The loss to France was truly our gain.

ORIGIN IN LANGUAGE.

Although, as Mr. Sayce tells us, " savage and barbarous dialects are in a constant state of flux and change ; " or, as Mr. Luke Owen Pike remarks, " We cannot by means of philology alone solve the delicate question ; " yet we naturally investigate words for origin of races. The caution of Prof. Max Muller must be remembered : that " the science of

language and the science of ethnology have both suffered most seriously from being mixed up together."

Absurd theories have been held as to the English language. Dr. Charnock, ridiculing one comparison, exclaimed, "It would be quite as reasonable to trace the English language to the Chinese or the Cherokee." But some words might be traced to China. The pre-Celts, Iberians, &c., are supposed to have spoken a Turanian tongue. The Finnish, with its 15 cases, is assuredly not Aryan, but Turanian. Prof. Sayce has just discovered the archaic Assyrian, used in Accadia, to have great similarity with old Chinese. In both, the cardinal points and their signs are the same, and many words the same. He has even detected on archaic cylinders from Babylonia an oblique-eyed population quite Turanian. The Welsh and English Silurians may then have something like a Chinese ancestry or connection.

The CELTIC, whether Gaelic, Cymric, Erse, Manx, or Cornish, made a secure foothold here. Doubtless it contains a large per centage of Silurian or Iberian words buried in its text, and may have also fragments of the speech of the old Cave men; for, as Edmund's *Names of Places* reminds us, "The invaders did not exterminate but settled down among the Indigenes."

The English Celtic is hardly respectable; for we are informed that many of our *bad* words, and most of our slang, are traceable to it. Others affirm that our Celtic words belong to articles in use among slaves. But all admit that our mountains, rivers, and vales abound in them. This leads Dr. Nicholas, the defender of British blood, to say, "Where the language of a conquering race is found to be extensively charged with the common vocables and local names of the conquered, prolonged social converse and commingling of blood are fairly deducible." It is certain that the oldest Saxon is far less Celtic than the later form.

"The stoutest assertor of a pure Anglo-Saxon or Norman descent," writes Mr. Donaldson, "is convinced by the language of his daily life of belonging to a race that partakes largely of Keltic blood. If he calls for his *coat*, or tells of the *basket* of fish he has caught, or the *cart* he employs on his land, or of the *pranks* of his youth, or the *prancing* of his horse, or declares that he is *happy*, or that his servant is *pert*,

or he affirms that such assertions are *balderdash,* and a *sham,* he is using the ancient language of our Keltic forefathers." On the other hand, Mr. Marsh exclaims, " We have borrowed, numerically, more words from the followers of Mahomet than from the aborigines of Britain."

The word *combe* is called British; there being but 5 combes in Sussex, though none in Saxon Hants and Surrey, while 6 in Devon, 3 in Dorset, 7 in Gloucester, and 18 in Somerset. Yorkshire has Celtic Esk, Derwent, Humber, Aire, &c. Derby has a Wye, a Derwent, and a Rother, besides *tors,* and the *tre,* of which there are 96 in Cornwall. Daventry is British Dwy-afon-tre, the town by two streams. *Pen* or *ben* is *hill* in the north and west. Morecambe Bay is the *crooked* sea. Though Lancashire has much Celtic, Wigan is the only town in that tongue. King's Lynn was once *Linn Righ,* or King's pool. *Bally* and *inver* seem Cymric and Gaelic. The Rev. R. Garnett warns us that hundreds of Gaelic words are not Gaelic; and that "some thousands of familiar terms, to all appearance Celtic, might be collected from the various Romance and Germanic languages." Dr. Arnold regards " our Celtic language a solitary survivor of many others."

Celtic has been allied by writers to Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Hindoostani, Norse, German, Basque, Finn, Albanian, Sclavonian, Berber, and Coptic. Dr. Latham thinks all languages are more alike than commonly supposed. As to Welsh proper, Prof. Rhys is sufficient authority for saying that there is " no historical evidence for extending its influence beyond the limits of Wales." Cymric may have been spoken in England as well as Gaelic. But while 2 rivers are Celtic in Suffolk, 8 are in Surrey, 32 Devon, 59 Isle of Man, 76 Monmouth, and 80 in Cornwall.

The Cornish Celtic is nearer to the Breton than is the Welsh. No books were printed in it, though miracle plays in MS. exist. The Lord's Prayer was first used in English at the Reformation. As late as 1668 a sermon was preached in the old tongue. Polly Pentreath, the last to speak Cornish, died in 1768. The vowels are *a, e, i, o, u,* and *aw;* the consonants, *b, d, th* in *the, f, g* hard*, g* soft, *h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, sh, ch, t, th* in *think, v, w, wh, z.* In the Cornish rebellion, Edward VI. was told the people did not know English, and

wanted their own old services. Dr. Nicholas says, " The Cornish contains much Latin, and is saturated with English." So may it be said of Welsh and Irish. *Panna huel alosti zuil med an tiak* means, " What work canst thou do?" said the farmer.

The *Kernew*, or horned country, is so well situated for the attracting of visitors, that no county has a greater mixture of blood. Whatever the aborigines, the Iberian was strong. Phœnician and Celtic followed. Belgic made less way. Saxon was not more successful a long while. One ethnologist has distinguished four races there. The first is the dark-haired; the second, the short Welsh Silurian; the third, the hatchet-face; the fourth, that which bears a Spanish appearance. The tall, strong-featured Cornishman bears a Gaelic type; while the shorter, with dark hair and bright eye, betrays a likeness to the Silurian Welshman.

The Norseman and Dane have left linguistic remains among us, as indicated elsewhere. The Isle of Man, long a Norwegian kingdom, has the largest share of these. Worsaae gives many illustrations of the presence of the Scandinavian, though why his countrymen should have accepted Anglo-Saxon here is remarkable. Certain words mark the track of the Norseman. Thus, *by* occurs once only in Kent, twice in Essex, 17 times in Norfolk, 26 Northampton, 66 Leicester, and 212 Lincoln. *Thorpe* is 63 times in Lincoln, while 95 Yorkshire, 24 Norfolk. Of *dales*, there are 13 in Lancashire, 16 Cumberland, 36 Westmoreland, 64 Yorkshire. But Westmoreland has 15 *tarns*, to 9 in Cumberland, and 3 in Yorkshire; 42 *fells*, to 15 in Cumberland, and 22 in Yorkshire; 17 *becks*, to 12 in Cumberland, and 12 in Yorkshire.

Edmunds, in *Names of Places*, has 1374 Scandinavian names; of which 604 are in *by*, 83 *thwaites*, 284 *thorpes* or *dorps*, 52 *becks*, 16 *topts*, 15 *forces*, 142 *dales*. Of the total, Essex has but 11, Suffolk 10, Derby 11, Nottingham 22, Durham 23, Northumberland 36, Norfolk 44, Lancashire 49, Northampton 52, Leicester 87, Cumberland 142, Westmoreland 158, Lincolnshire 292, and York 355. Of river names, Surrey has 1, Devon 3, Suffolk 8, but Isle of Man 21. While *thorpe* or *dorp*, a farmhouse, occurs as a prefix 28 times, it is 256 times a suffix.

The Saxon has undergone such changes as to occasion con-

flicting theories.   Mr. Pike, in his zeal for the British origin,
notes that "the person-endings of English verbs display
nothing exclusively Teutonic."   He declares that in auxiliary
verbs, French agrees with German more than German with
English.   The *do* and the *ise* ends of verbs are not German.
Freeman says English "is simply Low Dutch, with a very
small Welsh and a very large Romance infused into its voca-
bulary."   Of 300,785 names of Domesday families, 199,991
are in Anglo-Saxon counties, and 100,794 in the five Danish
eastern counties.   The learned Rev. R. Garnett pronounces
that "our English particles show a direct descent from the
Anglo-Saxon," though he observes Anglian and Northumbrian
dialects distinct before the Danes came ; *house* being *haoose* in
the first, *hoose* in the last.   Taylor's *Words and Places* has
no doubt of English being mainly Teutonic, yet the *Pedigree
of the English* is sure it is not strictly Anglo-Saxon.   But
Prof. Donaldson is convinced that "the *English* name is not
a misnomer."

Of foreign forms, the Frisian is most like English.   Dr.
Bosworth writes, "Low Saxon has all the appearance of Ger-
man grafted on the Anglo-Friesic tree."   Welsford finds the
Mæso-Gothic, long now a dead tongue, "the very fountain-
head of the English language."   Yet its arrangement differs,
as, " *Yuka auhsne us bauchtra fimf,* I have bought five yoke
of oxen."   Its numbers were *ains, twai, thrija, fiduor, fimf,
saihs, sibun, ahtan, nium, taihun, twalif.*   Of Saxon descrip-
tive words, *ea* or *ey* is water ; *bourn,* a brook ; *edge,* a ridge ;
hurst, a wood ; *stan,* a rock ; *wold* or *weald,* a wood ; *mere,* a
pool ; *wic,* a village ; *hay* or *haig,* a field ; *carse,* a flat land.
Of river Saxon names, Cornwall has 20 ; Isle of Man, 20 ;
Monmouth, 24 ; Devon, 65 ; Suffolk, 90 ; Surrey, 91.   *Ing*
marks the tribe or family, as Warrington is the *ton* or village
of the *ing* or clan of Wara.   The rhyme says :

> "In *ford,* in *ham,* in *ley,* in *ton,*
> The most of English surnames run."

Family names in *ing,* according to Kemble, are 2 in Cornwall
and Westmoreland ; 6, Cumberland ; 48, Essex ; 60, Kent ;
68, Sussex ; 76, Lincoln ; 97, Norfolk ; and 172, York.   In
Norfolk there are 24 *hams* and *inghams.*   Edmunds, how-
ever, states, " In the great majority of cases, the English

obliterated the British names." In the fourteenth century, Lowland Scotland was quite Anglo-Saxon. The South Saxons used the hard *g* and strong *r*, while the East Anglians dropped *r*, as *pattridge*, *aitchorn*, and *yate* for gate.

Among old Saxon forms may be mentioned Oxnaford, Betlanford, Heortford, Nordhamtun, Wæringawic (Warwick), Hæstingas, Ægelesbyrig (Aylesbury), Searburh and Searobyrig (Salisbury), Legeracestre (Leicester). The last was Roman Ligeria, from the British Caer-Lloegr. Max Muller shows that not a third of our dictionary bears Teutonic words.

Norman or *Romance* completely destroyed the old Saxon inflexions of verbs here. The majority of Roman words in English are not from Latin direct, but by the Norman transition, as in so many words ending in *ment*. M. de Thommerel, in *Fusion of the Anglo-Saxon with the Anglo-Norman*, believes that of 43,000 English words, 29,000 are Roman (through Norman), and only 13,000 of German origin.

CONCLUSION.

HOWEVER composite a race the English may be, it is a comfort to hear Macaulay say, " In no country has the enmity of race been carried further than in England ; in no country has that enmity been more completely effaced." The west is assuredly as Iberian or Silurian, and Celtic, as the east is Teutonic ; yet all alike call themselves *English*. There is no mistaking the Silurian type in dark hair and eyes, small stature, and great vivacity. The Gaelic or Irish type is noticed in big bone, fair skin, and light tread. The British, of various blood, can be declared tall and light, while the Saxon is broader, rounder, and shorter, though not, perhaps, much fairer. The Dane and Norwegian can be even more easily identified in our midst.

The races are fairly distributed, as Prof. Phillips saw in Yorkshire. He gives three main features : 1st, tall and bony, long face, fair, blue or grey eyes, and light brown or red hair ; 2nd, robust form, oval face, florid, and brown or reddish hair ; 3rd, shorter and smaller, short round faces, with very dark

eyes and hair.   The last approach the Welsh Silurians, as the
first do the Celts. And yet Mr. Freeman the historian writes,
" We are the same people who came into this island 1400
years back " ; while Mr. Pike finds the English now like the
" pre-Roman inhabitants."   Mr. J. W. Jackson is proud of
an origin composed of various races who all came here as
conquerors.   Defoe may well exclaim :—

> " Then from a mixture of all kinds began
>   That het'rogeneous thing—an Englishman.
>   Fate jumbled them together, God knows how ;
>   Whate'er they were, they're true-born English now."

Are we becoming lighter or darker ?   The advocates of the
Saxon predominance are sure that the majority are light, since
the Saxons were light.   On the other hand, those who main-
tain that we are mainly Celtic are equally confident that we
are increasingly dark, as our Celtic fathers were dark.   But
all ancient authorities declare the Celts were light-haired, thus
confounding the friends of the Celts.   Dr. Beddoe discovers
that men prefer dark women, as the latter prefer dark men,
and that thus the race is more shaded.   London, says he, has
88·4 per cent. brown, dark, and black hair, to 11·1 of fair,
and 3·9 of red.   But Esquiros declares that town life darkens
hair.   Pike thinks the Britons, whom he takes to be dark,
though Romans called them light, fled to towns from the
Saxons.   General Lane Fox took 459 men of the Surrey
militia, and ascertained that 253 had brown hair, 138 dark
brown, 57 light brown, 7 auburn, 2 red, 2 black, though Sur-
rey is thought so purely Saxon.   There were 219 grey eyes,
132 brown, 89 blue, 15 dark blue, 3 light blue, 1 dark brown.
In Somerset towns the eyes and hair are lighter than in the
country parts, while darker in both Devon and Wilts.

There is no identifying the primitive races now, though
their blood remains in English veins.   Baldwin's *Prehistoric
Nations* would direct us to the Finns.   Dr. E. B. Tylor, with
no doubt as to Palæolithic Englishmen, says there is " no
particular reason to think that the relics from the Drift beds
or bone-caves represent man as he first appeared on the earth."
We must, then, dig deeply down to get at the Primitive
Englishman.   Man was here in the Glacial period, though, as
Croll shows, that epoch had warm and cold times ; yet ice was
then 200 feet thick on our wolds.

The ancient Briton was a composite individual. After the early races came the dark-skinned Iberians or Silurians. At one time they formed the most numerous of the Britons. But the light-haired Celts, as Gael and Cymry, invaded the isles, and forced their language upon the Silurians. The Brigantes were doubtless Celts. The Belgæ, settling in the south of England and Ireland, were unlike the Brigantes, while like the Belgians of Europe, a Teutonic people. The Silurian Britons are traced to the south of Europe, if not to the Berbers.

The Saxon element is with us, more or less. It is impossible to say the proportion existing. The English language no more proves the race Saxon in England and Scotland, than Cymric, a Celtic tongue, establishes the Silurian as Celt. Pike, finding English long-headed and German short-skulled, is confident we have little Saxon blood. Grant-Allen sees "only about a third of the British Isles has ever been fully colonized by people bearing the English name." The reader must turn to the works of Professors Stubb and Freeman for the other side. Some, again, believe many British tribes were thoroughly Teutonic, and accepted English readily. Taliesin admits that Britons helped the Saxons to conquer Bernicia and Deira, and southern and eastern Britain cost the Saxons no trouble. The conclusion of Mr. Huxley is that "the arguments about the difference between the Anglo-Saxons and Celts are a mere sham and delusion."

Norse and Dane left unmistakable tracks here. Cumberland, no less than the east counties, may be called strong in Norse features. Davis and Thurnam describe the race as " tall, light-complexioned, long-faced, handsome, and in every sense powerful people." Somewhat the same is seen in Westmoreland : " The face is long and orthognathous, the forehead of good height and breadth ; the hair is generally of a light shade of brown, or fair." Grey and blue eyes prevail.

The Isle of Man, of the Manninee tribe, is strongly Scandinavian, as it was formerly a Norse kingdom. The *Deemsters* meet at the *Tynwald* assembly. In Iceland, the judge is a Deemster. Norse crosses are abundant in Man. The saints are all Norse. But the Irish origin of the Manninee is seen in 96 names on the island beginning with *Balla*. Of 400 places, nearly three-fifths are Irish or Erse, one-fifth is English, and one-fifth is Norse.

In estimating the character of our population, it must be stated that by the census of 1871 there were 1,021,101 born out of England. Of these, 805,449 were from Scotland and Ireland, 70,812 from India and our colonies, while 139,445 were from foreign lands. London alone gave 91,171 born Irish, 41,029 Scotch, 20,324 colonial, and 66,101 foreigners. In Lancashire and Cheshire were 224,003 Irish and 52,585 Scotch. In 63 principal towns of England there were 320,860 Irish and 114,478 Scotch.

The Scotch who have come into England have made no absolute difference of race, as they consist of the same peoples found in England. While the Scotch have increased of late, the Irish settled in England have not so correspondingly multiplied. The Welsh, since the railway period, have considerably advanced in number here, and are by no means confined to Lancashire and Cheshire. There were in 1871 more Welsh born than Scotch born in London. *St. James's Gazette,* last November, had an article upon " Unsuspected Welshmen." *Hugh* becomes *Hughes ; David, Davis* or *Davy ; John,* Jones; *Evan, Evans* or *Bevan ; Rhys, Rice* or *Price. Owen, Griffith, Jones, Morgan, Roberts, Lloyd, Jenkins,* and *Morris* have a Welsh source, though by no means necessarily Celtic.

The Welsh may be as Gaelic as Cymric in blood, but more Silurian than either. The Irish infusion here is of Iberian, Celtic, Belgic, Saxon, Danish, and Norman origin. In fact, the two British Isles are much alike in the character of races. England, perhaps, is as Celtic as Ireland, not more Saxon than Scotland, and but little less Iberian than Wales. So varied, and yet so similar, the populations have reason to dwell together in unity and harmony.

THE END.

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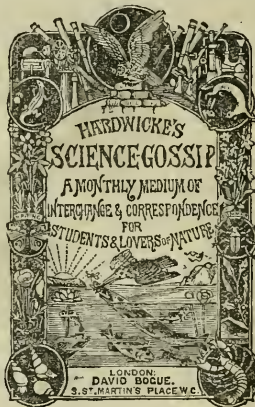
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