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THE PEDIGREE

OF THE

ENGLISH PEOPLE INVESTIGATED.

Εκ δὲ των εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὅμως τοιαῦτα ἄν τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἃ διῆλθον οὐχ ἁμαρτανοι, καὶ οὔτε ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμοῦντες, μᾶλλου πιστεύων, οὔτε ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ αληθέστερον, ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνενικηκότα, εὑρῆσθαι δὲ ἡγησάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων, ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι, ἀποχρώντος.

Thucydides.

Wir tragen die Lasten unserer Väter, wie wir ihr Gutes empfangen haben, und so leben die Menschen in der That in der ganzen Vergangenheit und Zukunft, und nirgend weniger als in Gegenwart. *Novalis.*

THE PEDIGREE

OF

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE:

AN ARGUMENT, HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC, ON

English Ethnology,

SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF RACE-AMALGAMATION IN BRITAIN FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE INCORPORATION OF THE CELTIC ABORIGINES.

BY

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F.G.S. ETC.

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THE QUESTION STATED: THE COURSE OF THE ARGUMENT.

The early annals of Britain, and the Race relations of the English People are in our day gaining increased attention. The liberalizing influence of science has relaxed many sturdy prejudices, and its light has so far dispelled historic superstitions, that a chance of obtaining a hearing is now afforded even when cherished national beliefs are sought to be dislodged.

The Author is not aware that the main positions he has been led to lay down have ever been expressly advocated by any of our historians. The ground, it is true, is old, and the materials, always in great part at hand, have of late been much increased by the quarrying of our public archives; but no structure has hitherto been planned and reared.

A presumption lies against the soundness of all

innovating ideas. The popular theory, believed in from the time of Gildas, that the English nation is the proper descendant of the Anglo-Saxons, is "in possession," and enjoys all the force of an article of national faith. Whoever, therefore, wishes to show that a moiety, perhaps the greater part, of the subjects of the early Anglian and Saxon kingdoms must have been of the "British" race, and not men who had come over in small open boats from the barren shores of the Baltic; and that subsequent changes during long ages of immigration, conquest, and revolution, brought no substantial ethnical change upon the people of Britain, must, of course, give his Reasons.

Notwithstanding the freedom now professedly conceded to scientific Inquiry, the Author advances his Faith and his Reasons with a measure of diffidence. Of their truth and solidity he entertains no question, although he has written throughout as an inquirer and student. But the inveteracy of national sentiments, long dominant, and supposed to be in defence of national heraldic dignity, is proverbial. When learned men accommodate their teaching to the popular apprehension, instead of guiding and correcting it, that man has not an altogether pleasant prospect who thinks it

his duty to put in a word for a neglected Truth: he must seek comfort by an appeal from Tradition to Fact, and go on, saying, with Galileo Galilei, *E pur se muove!*

The Question Stated.

The object of the work is to trace, step by step, that process of race-amalgamation which has issued in the compound people called English, maintaining special reference throughout to the proportion of that people's descent from the Celtic inhabitants of Britain usually called the "Ancient Britons."

The latter term, when used in this volume, signifies the different tribes, clans, or nations inhabiting Britain at the time of the Roman invasion, and their descendants; and the "English People" means the great body of the English nation proper in Great Britain and its dependencies.

The course of the Argument proceeds thus:—It is first shown that the numerous tribes found by the Romans in possession of the British Isles, were all presumably of what is called the Celtic race, and presented only such dissimilarities as would arise from

separation into independent clans or States—dissimilarities, indeed, which marked them on the Continent as well as in Britain, as proved by recent discoveries of Gaulish inscriptions which seem to reveal dialectic varieties in the Celtic language of Ancient Gaul similar to those which still distinguish the Cymro from the Gael. To this question further reference is made in Appendix C. Although out of these numerous tribes, the *Cymry* may rightfully claim pre-eminence, as that branch of the family which both sustained the heaviest shock from the Teutonic descent, and also tinged most deeply the new race with Celtic blood—the Gaels having from pre-historic times pushed their way far north, and into Ireland—the term "Ancient Britons" cannot be confined to them, but must be made to comprehend Belgæ, Lloegrians, Brython, Gaels or Gwyddyls, Picts, Scots, &c., in short, all the early Celtic inhabitants of Britain and Ireland. The amount of Celtic blood, therefore, which, from whatever tribe, has entered into the English people *in the British Isles*, is taken as the measure of their derivation from the Celtic Aborigines, or Ancient Britons.

The object of introducing a sketch of the general

condition of the Britons before the Roman invasion has been twofold: first, the supplying of information expurgated from myth and tradition to the general reader in a field of history but little traversed; and, secondly, the constructing of a subsidiary argument, *à priori*, from the improbability of a people such as were the Britons being dislodged wholesale by the kind of people who became their subduers.

Stress is laid, not only on the substantial *oneness*, but also on the *number*, *distribution*, and *intellectual development* of the Ancient British populations. From all these would arise their fitness to assert their place, as history proves them to have done, as against both Romans and Anglo-Saxons.

The direct and negative testimony of history is carefully employed; and, when corroboratory to this, but never when contradictory of it, even the voice of legend and tradition (as in the case of the *Triads*) is with proper caution listened to.

The researches of modern writers in Ethnology, Philology, Physiology—German, French and English, are then taken into account; and it is believed that as the result, the mixed and largely *Celtic* character of the English nation is demonstrated from a point of

view and the use of evidences sanctioned by the most recent labours of science.

From a conviction of the importance of the argument from *Philology*, though with a consciousness of its great liability to abuse, the chapter on that subject has been prepared with laborious care. The Tables given are the fruit of an analysis of the modern Dictionary and of early English for which the author alone is responsible. It is believed that there has never before been an attempt to distinguish with something approaching to precision that class of Celtic words which the English must have derived *directly* from the Celtic tongues, and *in Britain*. And yet it is this class alone that can have a legitimate bearing on the question.

The result of a careful and rigorous application of the arguments, inductive and deductive, drawn from various fields of evidence, has been a conviction more clear and positive than the writer, when some years ago he resolved to investigate the subject, had anticipated, that the English people embraces a much larger infusion of Ancient British blood than English historians have been accustomed to recognise, and that some of the most valuable attributes, physical, intel-

lectual, and moral of the "True Briton," are owing to this fact.

The aim throughout has been to produce, on however small and humble a scale, a contribution to genuine *history* and *ethnology*. The author is not ambitious of gaining a name for bold hypotheses. Conjectures, except as means for unravelling the entanglements of facts, are an impertinence in history. Of theories respecting the inhabitants, language, and literature, of Ancient Britain, we have had more than sufficient. Too free a reliance on legendary "history," fanciful etymology and ingenious theory, has estranged scholarly men in England from the study of the Ancient British Annals, and the Celtic tongues; and it is only by the adoption of a sober and painstaking method of treatment, such as will promote knowledge rather than visionary theories, and satisfy science rather than national vain-glory, that we can hope to regain for it the attention it deserves. By the accumulation of *facts;* by the careful inductive use of those facts; and by the adoption of the best established views in *ethnology*—on which all sound discussion of this question must depend—the writer has endeavoured to contribute to the establishment of a truth in our

national history hitherto unaccountably neglected. Opinion on this subject is gradually changing. Among our most accomplished English annalists, Turner, Palgrave, and Kemble; and among Ethnologists and Philologists, Prichard, Latham, and Garnett, have done much to prepare the way for its candid investigation.

The author has to acknowledge his great obligations to Professor Max Müller, M.A., of Oxford, to Dr. R. G. Latham, F.R.S., to Dr. S. Davidson, to Dr. Rowland Williams, and to Rev. E. Mellor, A.M., for valuable criticisms on the work in MS., and suggestions which have contributed in no small degree to its improvement: and the list of Authors appended, together with the voluminous references throughout will show to what extent he has availed himself of the best sources and authorities, ancient and modern, and of the most recent scientific investigations bearing on the subject in hand and collateral questions.

Part I. is to be understood as *introductory*: the main Argument is embodied in the succeeding parts.

The less accurate orthography Celtic instead of Keltic is followed in deference to prevailing custom.

Until the hard sound of *c* before *e* and *i*, as well as before *a* and *o*, in words of Latin and Greek origin, is restored in practice, or the place of *c* filled by *k* in our classical scholarship, it is hardly worth while making an exception in the single case of the word Celt and its associates. The same rule would apply to *Ci*cero, *C*ecrops, *C*imbri, *Ci*li*c*ia, in all of which the *c* should, in strictness, be sounded like *k*, and is so sounded by our cousins of Germany. German scholars, like those of other continential countries, are led by the analogy of their own language, to the more accurate pronunciation of the classical tongues. The English, who in this and other matters are slow to adopt the linguistic reforms pleaded for by Professor Blackie, have unfortunately an impediment to rational usage sanctioned by the rules of their own orthoëpy.

LONDON, *January*, 1868.

TO THE BINDER.

The Maps and Diagrams to be placed thus :—

Contents.

PART I.

Introductory.

CHAPTER I.

NATIONAL ORIGIN.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANCIENT BRITONS—THEIR ETHNOLOGICAL AFFINITIES—THEIR STATE OF CULTURE.

PART II.

The Invasions of Britain—The Elements of Admixture of Race accumulating—Admixture Commencing.

CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER III.

CHAPTER IV.

PART III.

The Argument for Admixture of Race—The Question: "To what Extent is the English Nation of Celtic Origin?" Discussed.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORICAL ARGUMENT.

CHAPTER II.

THE EVIDENCE OF PHILOLOGY.

CHAPTER III.

THE EVIDENCE OF TOPOGRAPHICAL AND PERSONAL NAMES.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTER V.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 71, note 1, for 17, read 21.

,, 76, heading, for (2), read (4).

,, 168, 2nd line from top for *south* read *youth*.

,, 217, note, for *Walton's* read *Wolton's*.

,, 286, note, for *Suæ* Leges read *Inæ* Leges.

,, 302, note, for *Lappenburg* read *Lappenberg*.

Part I.

Introductory.

The Pedigree of the English People Investigated.

CHAPTER I.

National Origin.

SECTION I.

The Composite Character of Nations.

MOST thoughtful students of ethnology have, probably at a somewhat early stage in their investigations, arrived at the conviction that purity of national descent—such purity as would entitle any one nation to pronounce itself entirely distinct in blood from other nations—is a thing impossible. The intermixture of different sections of mankind has been more like that of the waves of the sea than of the river of snow-water passing through the Swiss lake. The race of man has been so unsettled on the face of the globe—its migrations have been so prolonged and

extensive; admixture, through amity and interest, or through force of conquest and necessity, has in every country so much prevailed—that few nations, even of quiescent oriental climes, can predicate of themselves that they belong simply and exclusively to this race or that, or can satisfactorily trace their lineage to a single tribe or family.

Many persons may not readily acquiesce in the conclusion that, by an ordination of Providence, the development of the higher qualities of the race has been made dependent upon this intermixture of blood. But if facts which lie on the field of history do not fully and beyond contradiction justify such an hypothesis, they at least go far to establish its probable truth.

Peoples, in proportion as they have been quiescent, ignorantly self-sufficient, suspicious of foreign customs and alliances, have, in the course of ages, given signs of exhaustion, and have at length paid the penalty of over-conservatism by decay and extinction. On the other hand, the mightiest nations have been those whose origin is traceable to mixed sources. That combination of noble qualities which culminates in national greatness, is found at the focal point where the varying but still harmonizing attributes of different stocks of the race meet and blend. There seems to be a tendency in prolonged isolation to leave in bolder relief some one or some few of the great qualities of a people, and it seems by no means improbable that

by a beneficent law of the universe such idiosyncracies are made to disappear, or at least recede, before less marked but more solid qualities. In the Celt we have the fervid impulse; in the Teuton, patient perseverance: the combination of the two forms a completer, stronger personality than either by itself. Aptness to luxuriate in the ideal, and power to embody the ideal in actual form—philosophical meditativeness and practical industry—are oftener found apart than in combination. In China, India, Japan, they are not wedded together. But they are found more or less associated among the more composite peoples of Greece, Rome, Germany, France, England, America. The Jews, the most unmixed people, perhaps, in the civilized world, seem in this, as in other things, to form a strange exception to a general rule. Though deprived of empire, of political unity, of country, they still maintain a vitality and display at times an intellectual energy and practical talent perfectly marvellous.

But there is one consideration which will to some extent account for this seeming mystery. The Jews, though unmixed, are not properly isolated. They mingle in the daily life and imbibe the habits and modes of thought of all nations. While fortified by a sense of national unity which no other people enjoy, their intellectual treasury is enriched by the literature of all the civilized world. An intellectual renovation proceeding from such various sources, and the physical influences of the various climates of the globe, may

be sufficient to account for the persistent vigour of the Jewish race, while also giving a clue to some of its manifest defects.

SECTION II.

The Origin of the Aboriginal British Population Obscure—The Analogy of other Early Nations.

The historical tree of England spreads its deeply imbedded roots in forms so tangled and directions so diverse as sorely to perplex the student who would understand the whole history of its growth. The labours of the historian and ethnologist are much of a kind with those of the geologist, who has to search out and classify the formations of many thousand ages. He finds the strata twisted, dislocated, intermixed, presenting sudden faults which break off the thread of evidence, strange materials transported from regions wholly unknown, and by forces enormously surpassing any subject to modern experience. The historian, standing over the field of ancient British history, finds himself in similar plight. He has before him a kind of unwieldy chaos he wishes to reduce to some order. Whence came those numerous and busy tribes faintly pictured in the pages of Avienus[1], Diodorus[2], Strabo[3], Cæsar,[4] Tacitus,[5] and in the Welsh *Triads?* What was the age of their arrival? Which was the first

[1] *Ora Maritima, vers.* 94 *et seq.* [2] Lib. v. [3] Lib. iii.
[4] *De Bell. Gall., passim.* [5] *Opera, passim.*

comer, if their arrival was in succession? And which continued to bear the generic designation of the stock, if their arrival was simultaneous? Assuming, as we must at last assume, that they all belonged to what modern ethnologists call the great Indo-European family, and to the Celtic branch of that family, whence the wide varieties of their speech, and the designations whereby in Ireland, Caledonia and Wales, they have continued to be known?

The same or a similar difficulty besets the ethnologist's path, proceed whither he may in the field of ancient history. Thucydides tells us that Hellas was at first the abode of many tribes; that these tribes were migratory: that the stronger pressed upon and dispossessed the weaker, forcing them into the wilder and remoter parts; that thus the fairer and more fertile regions, such as Thessaly, Bœotia, and most of the Peloponnesus became the theatres of contention, and that Attica, by reason of its poverty, enjoyed greater repose, and through this means grew in strength and importance[1]. But beyond these general facts which had come down by the hand of tradition from primeval times, Thucydides can give us but little information. When he begins to assign to separate tribes their distinct origin, he at once falls back upon the aid of myth and fable, the story of the Trojan war, of Hellen the son of Deucalion, Minos, &c.[2] The Athenians, all account of their ancestry failing them, ingeniously

[1] *Thucyd.* i. 2, 3. [2] *Ibid.* i. 3, 4.

made profit out of the disadvantage, and boasted that they were descendants of neither this man nor that, but οἱ αὐτόχθονες, veritable sons of the soil.[1]

This idea was afterwards, along with many others, borrowed by the Romans. Hence their *indigenæ aborigines.* Horace speaks of the human race issuing out of the earth—"Cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris"—showing that the ancients were not at least inferior to the framers of the "development" doctrine of modern times; only the old Greeks and Romans chose to be considered children of "mother earth," rather than those of apes—a pride of ancestry which, though not ambitious, is on the whole worthy of commendation.

An impenetrable veil hangs over the progenitors of the Romans, search for them from what quarter we may. This people, therefore, failing a better account of their own origin, fell back upon the confused and contradictory legend of Æneas and Ascanius conducting, after the fall of Troy, the Trojans into Latium. The Pelasgi, it is likely enough, formed the generic stock whence proceeded the various tribes of Italy, the Sabines, Tyrrhenians, Siculians, Prisci, Sacrani, Umbri, Liguri; and these, though brethren in blood, indulged in hostile incursions upon each other, as the ancient Britons also did, from motives of jealousy and interest. But of the degrees of their kinship we know

[1] *Herodotus*, i. 171.

little; and still less of the consanguinity of the Pelasgi to the old Etruscans, the probable progenitors of the different tribes of Hellas.[1] The story of Hercules arriving in Latium and slaying the giant Cacus, and the whole account of Romulus and Remus, founders of Rome, betray a people as helplessly dependent on fable as were the old *Cymry* in their legends of *Hu Gadarn* and *Prydain ab Aedd Mawr.*

Again, we possess but the most shadowy knowledge of the tribes which wandered up and down the plains of India before they coalesced into the mighty Hindoo race; or of the manner in which the same or related tribes founded the other great empires of the East, of which China forms the chief. How the hordes of the North strove together before joining their rude forces to overwhelm the Western Empire; or how many elements fused with the Franks to found the great empire of Charlemagne, it is easier to imagine than to specify. The absence of historic records is cause of all the uncertainty. The mystery which hangs about the early inhabitants of Britain is the product of the same cause.

[1] See Thirlwall's *Hist. of Greece,* vol. i. 2. 8vo. ed.

CHAPTER II.

The Ancient Britons.—Their Ethnological Affinities.—Their State of Culture.

It will be useful, preliminarily to entering upon the argument of this essay, to cast a glance at the ethnological *unity* and the culture of the various tribes, and confederacies of tribes, known by the generic term "Ancient Britons." We shall thus virtually supply an answer to two pertinent questions:—First: Were all the early inhabitants of Britain of the Celtic race, and of near kindship? Secondly: Was their state of culture and general development such as to fit them, while beaten in the field, to form a vital and powerful element in the future population of the country?

SECTION I.

Results of Modern Ethnological Research respecting the early Inhabitants of the British Isles.

We are to show in the course of this inquiry how far the English nation has, in the process of crystal-

lizing into form, gathered into its body elements from among the Ancient British race. In order to this we must determine at the outset the meaning of the term "Ancient Britons," either eliminating from the mass some of the "nations" found among the early inhabitants of these islands, or supporting by reliable evidence the hypothesis that all the dwellers in Britain and Ireland when Cæsar arrived were, under different names, substantially one people. The latter alternative shall be our task.

In maintaining this hypothesis, we shall not attempt ignoring the fact that Teutonic settlements had been made on our eastern and north and south-eastern shores prior to Roman times. Whither did not the pirates and freebooters of the Elbe district and Scandinavia penetrate? Still, the aborigines of Britain were a Celtic people, and the conclusion we shall rest upon shall be, that in so far as aboriginal blood has been absorbed in the rearing up of the great community now called the English Nation, so far has the English nation been derived from the Ancient Britons. Even though Teutonic blood should be accounted alien to the Celtic, and be allowed to have in some measure mixed with it in Britain in the early ages, still this admixture is demonstrably so slight, as in no sense materially to affect the soundness of our conclusion. The kinship of Celts and Teutons, however, and their departure at no *very* remote period from a common centre, is a question of great interest, and

must be taken account of, here and there, during the progress of our investigations.

(*a*). *Preliminary Ethnological Data.*

We are of the opinion that the human race is *one*—having originated in one created pair. This ground is taken not merely on the faith of Scripture, but also as the demonstration of science.[1] It is too dogmatic and too little "scientific," to declare that the nations of the earth, which in mental, moral, and physical constitution possess so much in common, have sprung from different centres and at different epochs. As surely as that "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin," so surely does the universal kindred everywhere develop the same touches of nature.

Among the arguments for the unity of the race, as well as for the near consanguinity of some of its branches, that of *language* is one of the most interesting and conclusive. The common possession of the same terms as signs of the same ideas by nations inhabiting widely remote regions, argues relationship; and the more ample the common property, the nearer, presumably, the kinship. A comparison of the various languages spoken in Britain, Ireland, and Gaul in the time of Cæsar, in so far as their elements are now ascertainable, leads infallibly to the conclusion that those tribes and "nations" who spoke them, though

[1] It is hardly necessary to observe that the most eminent naturalists agree in this opinion, as *ex. gr.* Prichard, Cuvier, Blumenbach, Humboldt, Pickering, Owen, Latham.

torn asunder by dissension, and widely separated by locality, constituted substantially but one people.

The united race is divided by modern scientific classification into three varieties—the Mongolian, Negro, and European.[1] The Indo-European class of languages, embracing as chief branches the Sanscrit, and the Classic tongues, contains abundant materials in favour of the comparatively recent origin of man on the earth—recent, we mean, when compared with immeasurable geological periods. Bunsen, one of the most adventurous, untrammelled thinkers of our age, has shown that the Egyptian antiquities and language, and other languages, furnish evidence that all the nations, which from the dawn of history to the present time, have been the pioneers of civilization in Africa, Asia, and Europe, must have had one beginning.[2] It has taken long time, doubtless, to separate the one race into sections so unlike; and again long periods to elaborate the subdivisions of each. But facts carefully compared leave no room to doubt the nature of the process.

(*b.*) *The remote Relation of Celts and Teutons.*

The family of languages termed Indo-European, embraces the Sanscrit, Iranian, Hellenic, Romanic,

[1] See Latham's *Varieties of Man*, p. 13 *et seq.* Cuvier's designations are Mongolian, Ethiopian, and Caucasian. Latham prefers the terms Mongolidæ, Atlantidæ, and Japetidæ.

[2] See Bunsen's paper on *Egyptian Researches in Relation to Asiatic and African Ethnology*, read before the British Association at Oxford.

Slavonic, Teutonic and Celtic. A "family likeness" exists in all these. The *Teutonic* and *Celtic*, then, are found related. It may be argued that the points of analogy are few. In one sense they are few: in another they are very numerous. They are sufficient to establish a proof of relationship.[1] In our subsequent chapter on *Philology*, many of these points of analogy are brought to view.

It is true that the early relationship of Celts and Teutons is not a question whose treatment is essential to the object of this work,—that object being to unfold relationships which arose between a portion of the Teutonic, and a portion of the Celtic race, not in remote, but in historic times, and having as the theatre of their operations the British Isles. We have to show, in short, how far the native Celtic tribes of these islands have entered into the ancestry of the present British people. To inquire, therefore, into prior relationship between Celts and Teutons as members of the great Indo-European family, would only be to take a step in the direction of universal ethnology, which would eventually land us at the universal brotherhood of all men. We must not run into this wide generalization. Our point of incidence is at a recent stage in the history of mankind, where national distinctions had followed race distinctions, and these had obtained such

[1] See Prichard's *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, Latham's ed., 1857. Confer also Schilter's *Thesaur. Antiq. Teuton.*, and Wachter's *Glossarium German.*, *passim*.

prominence as to sever into widely separated sections the originally one family of man. Teutons and Celts, for the objects of this essay, form distinct Ethnological stocks, meeting in the course of their migrations in these Western regions as strangers, and more or less coalescing with each other, so as to constitute in process of time one great nation.

It is impossible, for the sake of an artificial arrangement, to ignore the fact that these people were only communities, which, if each followed for itself the line of its descent backwards, would as infallibly as the rays of the sun or the branches of an arterial system, meet at no great distance in a common centre. Their modern coalition is only a new confluence of streams, now divided into many branches, which not only as tiny rivulets had taken their departure from the same fountain, but had now and then glided closely past each other, and even partly mixed their waters in traversing the continent of Europe. "Britons, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans," says Sir F. Palgrave, were all relations: however hostile, they were all kinsmen, shedding kindred blood."[1]

Where could thse races have met before they crossed swords on British ground? The *Cimbri* had once possession of the Cimbric Chersonese or *Jut*land, and being so near and in such teeming numbers, had most probably peopled the same tracts which afterwards yielded the Angles, *Jutes*, and Saxons, who followed

[1] *English Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 35.

them more as despoilers than friends to Britain. Nor is it at all beyond the bounds of probability that the Britons sent for help to North Germany, not merely as the wonderful region whence brave and heroic warriors and fierce sea-rovers in countless myriads issued in those days, but also as the land which they knew by tradition to have once been the home of their own ancestors. Commerce had evidently existed between the two people. Saxons had been allowed to settle in Britain prior to the Roman occupation. There was a "Saxon Shore" of the island on the south (*litus Saxonicum*), which most likely had derived its name from Saxon settlements in those parts.[1]

The point of junction in early times referred to between the ancestry of Britons and Saxons would form a parallel to the relation subsisting between the Saxons and Danes of England and the followers of William at the Conquest, for these also were for the most part children of the North of Germany and of the Scandinavian peninsula.

It is curious to notice by the way another antecedent junction, mentioned by Appian.[2] He says that the Nervii, one of the Belgic tribes, were descendants of Cimbri and Teutons.

The names given by Greek and Roman historians are at times very vague and perplexing. For example,

[1] See Grimm, *Gesch. der Deutsch. Sprache*, p. 625.

[2] *De Reb. Gall.*, iv. 1, 4. Νέρβιοι ἦσαν δὲ Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων ἀπόγονοι.

Dion Cassius says that the Greeks called some of the Celts "Germans": Κελτῶν γάρ τινες οὕς δὴ Γερμανοὺς καλοῦμεν, &c., and the country they inhabited (Celtica), *Germany*.

The opinion held by some accomplished ethnologists, such as Latham,[1] that the "so-called" *Cimbri* of the Chersonese were not Celts, and that they were not related to the *Cymri* of Britain, is, we humbly conceive, more ingeniously than soundly advocated. Local names in Jutland, and words in the vernacular of Schleswig and Holstein are found to be Cymbric. It is difficult to know why the Chersonese should be called *Cimbrica* at all, except for the reason that Cimbri abode therein; and it is impossible to account for the belief of ancient historians that this peninsula was inhabited by Cimbri unless such was the case.

Equally difficult is it to account for the adoption of the name Cymry or Cymri by the people now represented by the inhabitants of Wales, unless we allow as the reason their relationship to the ancient Cimbri. Not much importance can be attached to Zeuss's assertion, that the name is of recent adoption by the

[1] See *The Germania of Tacitus*. Ed. by Dr. Latham. Lond., 1851. Append., p. clv. Though in this instance compelled to dissent from Dr. Latham, we are bound to confess to the highest admiration of his various writings. An accomplished modern writer, coupling his works with the late Dr. Donaldson's, speaks of them as "somewhat dangerous." They can only be so as the great erudition he commands enables him but too successfully to advocate a wrong opinion when he happens to adopt it.

Celts of Britain. It may be so, and yet be only a revived ancient name, and revived on the ground of conscious right of consanguinity. The etymology Zeuss gives to *Cymro*, *Cymru*, &c., is also very fanciful and misleading: *can* (in comp. *cyn*)—same as Latin, *con*, with; and *bro*, land; whence he arrives at the meaning of *indigenous*, *belonging to the country*.[1] There is no ground whatever for having recourse to such etymology as this. The plain account of the name is that it is a modification of Cimbri, just as Cimbri again, according to the testimony of Diodorus, is "a slight modification" of Cimmerii.[2]

Be the case as it may with respect to the Cimbric Chersonese, there can be no dispute as to whether the Celts of the continent are found in frequent contact with Teutons. As we have just shown, they are said by Appian to unite with the Teutons in the composition of the people called Nervii, and the name he gives them is *Cimbri*. Paterculus mentions Cimbri and Teutones together as a "German" people.[3] Cæsar informs us that they overran Gaul together, and were only put in check by the Belgæ,[4] &c.

That people thus intimately associated should to a great extent become mixed, and their languages in future times exhibit many materials in common—as we find them now to do—is all but unavoidable.

[1] Confer Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, pp. 226, 227. [2] *Diod. Sic.* v. 2.
[3] Lib, ii. 8, 12. [4] *De Bell. Gall.* ii. 4.

(c.) The relation of the Celtic tribes of ancient Britain amongst themselves, the Cymry, the Belgæ, the Lloegrians, the Brython, the Gaels, Picts, and Scots.

Having thus glanced at the *earlier* relations of the stocks which in conjunction have contributed the main materials of the English nation, we now confine our attention to Celtic tribes of Britain, and their relation to each other. We need not stay to prove that the native population found by the Romans in Britain were Celts. Very few even among the wildest theorists have denied this, while the united voice of competent historians, ancient and modern, is in its favour. But while the British aborigines were all Celts, they still presented many diversities. They were divided into several independent sovereignties. They went by different names, and spoke languages which to a stranger might appear to be different. They had arrived in Britain, it cannot be doubted, at different times, and probably at different points of the coast, and from different parts of the continent. Some had come from the north of Germany, some from Belgic, some from Armoric Gaul. Their separation prior to their reunion in Britain may have been very long. The only question we need settle here is whether that separation had been so prolonged as to occasion such diversities in speech and manners, and such intermixtures with other races, as would render it improper to consider them one nation or people, under the common designation "Ancient Britons."

The researches of modern historians unequivocally favour the opinion that under the names of Κελται, Γαλαται, Gauls, Gaels, Gwyddils, Celts, Cimmerii, 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, and while different degrees of diversity through shorter or longer periods of estrangement and foreign admixture had intervened, still no such diversity prevailed as would materially affect their *unity* and *integrity*, and hence their classification as *one people*.

1. The Κιμμεριοι—we mean the historical Κιμμεριοι, not those of Homer—the Cimmerii, Cimbri (hence Welsh *Cymry*), at one time peopled the valley of the Danube, the shores of the Sea of Azof, the *Crimea* on the *Cimmerian* Bosphorus, and the Chersonesus *Cimbrica* or Jutland. From this last locality it was that they issued forth in such formidable hosts in the second century, B.C., and committed such havock among the Roman armies under Papirius Carbo, Junius Silanus, Mallius, and Servilius Cæpio, until they were at last brought to bay by Marius near Verona and completely and finally defeated. This great branch of the Celtic race was probably its chief representative in Roman times, but they had brethren in the form of scattered tribes in various parts of the continent of Europe which are occasionally mentioned by ancient historians both Greek and Roman. These were doubtless fragments of the great Celtic stock left behind during mi-

SUPPOSED ROUTES OF CELTIC MIGRATION.

grations, cut off by war, or voluntarily wandering in search of better fortune.

At what time, or from what quarter, the Cimbri (Cymry) came first to Britain it is impossible to ascertain. For the Celtic race, in their westward progress from Asia, Meyer assigns two principal routes, and along one or other of these, and perhaps chiefly by the *northern* (if credit is given to the declarations of the *Triads*) the *Cymry* made their way to their final home. Meyer listens to the intimations, slight as they may be, of history, but mostly relies on the abiding footprints discovered in local names. He traces one route through Syria and Egypt, along the northern coast of Africa, across the Strait of Gibraltar, and through Spain to Gaul, where it separates into three branches, one terminating in the British Isles, the other in Italy, and the third near the Black Sea. The other great stream of migration ran less circuitously, and more northwards, through Scythia in Europe, the shores of the Baltic Sea, Scandinavia or Jutland, Prussia (the supposed *Pwyl* of the Welsh *Triads*) through Northern Germany, the plains of the Elbe (the region of the Saxons), and to Britain across the German Ocean, the "hazy sea," (*Môr Tawch*) of the *Triads*. It is conjectured, moreover, that the stream which came by Africa and Spain was the earliest to reach Britain. The two routes are roughly represented on the annexed sketch.

Whatever the origin of the name Cymry, and whence-

soever the people bearing the name, it is obvious from the whole tenor of their history that 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*—the name, however, of a section only of the generic stock, the Celtæ (Κελται). While, therefore, all the British Celtic tribes shall be comprehended by us under the term "Ancient Britons," a place of distinction must be accorded the *Cymry* as the strongest, and most persistent in maintaining language, race and territory of all their brethren. It may be that this distinction was won at the cost of greater comparative reduction in number than fell to the lot of the more yielding tribes—(the Brython, Lloegrians, and Cumbrians,) and the cost also of exclusion from the honour of entering in equal degree into the composition of the great English community. Be this as it may, history presents no section of a great people standing forth more conspicuously from the general mass, and solemnizing with more impressive sacrifices the worship offered at the shrine of home and country. They yielded—but only inch by inch, to a superior foe; but, at the last, carried away with them, as Æneas did from Troy, their choicest and most valued treasures—their kindred, and their

"... sacra .... patriosque penates,"

made Mona the sanctuary of their priesthood, and the Snowdon mountains the citadel of their freedom.

Their name, language and honour they have to this day preserved as memorials of their past; and though they have left behind them to be engulphed in the great vortex of conquest and incorporation, their brethren of Strathclyde, Cumbria, Cornwall, and the long ago vanished Lloegrians and Brython, they themselves still survive, and constitute a part, not insignificant, not morally or politically unhealthy, but in some respects significant, interesting, vital, of the renowned people of Britain. Their time of painful conflict for independence is past; their time of peace, good government, prosperity is come—of which their good genius long centuries ago might have said:—

> "Revocate animos, moestumque timorem
> Mittite; forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.
> Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
> Teudimus in Latium; sedes ubi fata quietas
> Ostendunt."

The "Latium" to which, "through so many perilous adventures," and much against their will, they have been conducted, and where for 1,900 years at least they have first found "peaceful settlements," is union with England. And now that they have been taught at last to value peace, let them understand their present happy predicament, and gird themselves for distinction in a new field—to *them* in modern times perfectly new—the field of the industrial arts, and intellectual culture. With respect to these things, the people of every civilized country, knowing their story,

and respecting the honesty and brightness of their nature will say to them :—

"Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis."

2. The *Belgæ.* The opinion has always prevailed, and cannot be invalidated, that Britain was first peopled from Gaul. A large portion of Gaul, corresponding with modern Belgium and Holland, with portions of Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy, was inhabited by the "Belgæ," and by the Romans named *Gallia Belgica.* Tribes were found in Britain also, whom Cæsar calls *Belgæ*, and gives us to understand that they were of the Belgæ of Gaul. Now it has been a question in ethnology whether the Belgæ of Gaul, and by consequence those of Britain, were Celts (like the Galli in general), or Germans, or a mixture of both. We believe that the Belgæ of Gaul themselves were largely a Celtic people, with an infusion of Germanic blood. There is nothing to be gained to ethnology by denying that the Belgæ of Britain were a branch of those of Gaul. Not only the statements of Cæsar, but the local names on both sides the channel, show that they were one people.

Now the only point material to us in this place is, whether these "Belgæ" were a Celtic race—Celtic in the main. That they had received a Teutonic tinge is admitted; but were they Celtic in the main? They were. And more: they were a branch of the Celts nearly related to the *Cymry.* This is proved by the language

they spoke. Strabo was not a careless or incorrect historian, and he not only states that the Celtic name was given to *all* the Gauls,[1] but distinctly affirms that the language spoken by the Celts was, with few variations, the language spoken by the *Belgæ;* "Eadem non usque quaque lingua utantur omnes, sed paululum variata." [2]

The nature of this language may also be learned from the local names, and tribe names, of Belgica. The dwellers on the sea coast opposite Dover were the *Mor*ini (Welsh, *môr*, sea; Corn., *môr*; Arm., *môr*). Many of the towns of the Belgæ situated on rivers were called by names commencing with *dur*, the Celtic word for "water," as *Dur*ocortorum (modern Rheims), *Tur*macum (Tournay), *Dur*ocatalaunum (Chalons), (Welsh, *dwr*, water, river).[3] Others, and their inhabitants, commenced as in Welsh, Cornish or Armoric, with *tre*, "abode"; as, *Tre*viri, A*tre*batii, *Tri*casses. Some, again, contained the Celtic *dun* (Welsh, *din*, *dinas*, "a high place of strength," citadel; Corn., *dun*, a hill), as Viro*dun*um, Lug*dun*um. Others had the Celtic *caer* (Welsh *caer;* Corn., *caer;* Arm. *ker;* Irish, *cathir*, pronounced, *cair*, a "fortress," "city"), as *Caer*esi, *Cor*tovallum, *Cur*miliaca. Their rivers had the Celtic *avon* and *wysg*, as Mat*ron*a, *Axon*a, *Sequan*a.[4]

[1] Nomen Celtarum universis Gallis inditum, ob gentis claritatem. Lib. iv.

[2] *Strabo*, lib. iv.

[3] Comp. Part III. chap iii. sect. 3 (*b*) of this essay.

[4] *Ibid.* It is often said, since the opinion was given by Lluyd,

The Celtic character of tribes whose names, and the names of whose towns and rivers, contained such elements—elements observable in the most purely Celtic districts of Britain, cannot for a moment be questioned. That great numbers of these people moved across to our island, as intimated by Cæsar, is obvious. The *Atrebatii* of Belgica had their counterpart in the *Atrebatii* of Wilts and Berks; the *Catalauni* in the *Cateuchlani* inhabiting the central parts north of the Thames, &c. Names of towns and rivers likewise correspond. As to the language, Sir F. Palgrave gives it as his opinion that at least one-third of the vocabulary of the Cymbric consists of roots which it possesses in common with the Belgic.[1]

The Belgæ of Britain, therefore, were of a cognate race with the Cymry, and their presence under a name somewhat non-Celtic disturbs not the substantial unity and integrity of the Ancient Britons.

But we have historic as well as philologic testimony respecting the Celtic character of the Belgæ. Out of some fifteen Belgic tribes enumerated by Cæsar, he

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that *wysg* and *esk* can only be derived from the Irish *uisk*, "water," and this is used as one chief argument for the priority of occupation of Britain by the Gael. But it is observable that rivers designated by this term are rapid streams, and we are much inclined to take the word as an adjective marking this quality. In Welsh, *gwysg*, *gwisgi*, feminine form *wisgi*, is an adjective signifying quick, brisk, gay, precipitate, headlong. *Gwysg* also in Welsh signifies "stream," and this is from *gwy*, water.

[1] *Engl. Comm.*, vol. i. p. 27.

selects only three or four as distinctively Germanic. To none of the great tribes of Belgica, but only to a few of the more insignificant, does Tacitus attribute a German origin. Such is the case with Strabo. The Galatæ of Asia Minor are allowed to be Celts, but St. Jerome testifies that the Belgic Treviri spoke a language similar to theirs. We have seen that Appian relates that the *Nervii*—probably the least Celtic of all the Belgic tribes—were a compound of Cimbri and Teutons.

When Cæsar, in giving a general description of the people of Gaul, divides them into three portions, Belgæ, Galli (who called themselves, as he says, "Celtæ"), and Aquitani, and informs us, "Hi omnes in *lingua*, institutis, legibus, inter se differunt," he gives information which, if taken absolutely, is now allowed by all competent judges to be incorrect, but if taken simply as a loose and general statement, meaning only that *dialectic* variations, even of a marked character, prevailed, may be received as history. The only difference in language in Belgic and other parts of Gaul, so far as we can judge, was one which may fairly be termed dialectic; and when the same people crossed over to Britain, some from Belgica, some from Lugdunensis (which included Normandy and Brittany) they knew each other as brethren of one stock, and had probably fewer differences of speech as a barrier to intercourse, than would be presented now if Cymry from Wales and Bretons from Finisterre tried to colonize a new region in concert.

With this view agrees the opinion of the accomplished Frenchman, M. Emile Souvestre, who, with reference to Cæsar's "trois grands peuples," says:—"Mais il est clair que ces trois nations, qui avaient une même origine, les mêmes institutions politiques, la même religion, parlaient, à peu de chose près, *la même langue;* et quand César dit: '*Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus, inter se differunt,*' il faut traduire ici le mot *lingua* par *dialecte.*" And he then adds with much force, that if this is not so, then the language used elsewhere by Cæsar, with respect to the German king Ariovistus, is incomprehensible: "Sans cela, ce que dit le même César serait incompréhensible, lorsqu'il assure, sans distinguer entre les *Belges*, les *Celtes*, et les *Aquitaines*, qu' Arioviste, roi des Germains, avait appris la *langue gauloise* par un long commerce avec ce peuple. Que signifierait la *langue gauloise* s'il ne s'agissait d'une langue parlée dans toutes les Gaules?" [1]

Much can be said in favour of the view that the "Belgæ" and the "Galli" of Cæsar stood in about the same relation to each other as the Cymry and the Gaels of to-day, both as to blood and language. Put into tabular form they would stand thus:—

The Ancient Galli The Modern Gaels, or Gwyddyls	Representatives of the true "Celtæ."
The Ancient "Belgæ" The Modern Cymry	Mixed, but cognate to the true "Celtæ."

[1] *Les Derniers Bretons*, vol. i. pp. 141, 142.

Cæsar may have meant by Belgæ, Galli, and Aquitani, the peoples otherwise called Flemings, Gauls proper (*i. e.*, Celts), and Basques, or, otherwise named, Cimbri, Celtæ, and Basques, the two former according to this view being as distinct in language as the Cymry of Wales and the Gaels of Ireland are now.[1]

The only effect of this theory would be to widen the distance to some small degree between the Galli and Belgæ of ancient times, and between the Gaels and Cymry of to-day, respectively; making the Irish and Welsh to differ, as languages, though cognate languages, and not as dialects of the same language. In fact Irish would then be to Welsh what Greek is to Latin, or Sclavonic to Lithuanian.

3. The Celts of Britain and of Gaul generally. In Britain and in Gaul the Celtic race was broken up into a great variety of tribe distinctions. In Gaul they are said to have constituted sixty-four states or bodies politic (civitates[2]); and Cæsar mentions four "kings" among the Britons of Kent alone, in league with Cassibelaunus against the Romans.[3]

Whatever length of time may have elapsed since the British Celts had left the parent stem, it is clear that intercourse and recognition of kinship had con-

[1] This is the view given in a private communication by Dr. Rowland Williams, who is known to have bestowed much searching attention upon this question.

[2] Tacitus, *Annales*, iii. 44. [3] *De Bell. Gall.*, v. 18.

tinued. Cæsar's reason for invading Britain—that "in all his wars with the Gauls," the Britons had rendered them assistance, is proof of this. Their communications with each other in times of danger were frequent and rapid. Cæsar no sooner purposes to invade, than his purpose is known to the islanders through "merchants" passing to and fro.[1] The warmest national sympathy was exhibited when danger threatened, although probably—as the manner of the race has always been—they allowed no delay in fighting each other, when no foreign foe threw down the gauntlet.

As to *language*, Tacitus has left a most significant statement: their speech was nearly alike—"Eorum sermo haud multum diversus."[2] As to *religion*, the same Druidic religion prevailed in Gaul and Britain, only the latter seems to have been considered its chief seat. The same kind of houses were built. The social and political institutions of both had much in common; in their manners and customs, modes of dress and life, as well as in personal appearance and temperament, they manifested all the characteristics of the same people.

As to the inhabitants of that part of Gaul, called in earlier times Armorica, and now Brittany, or *Bretagne*,

[1] *De Bell. Gall.* iv. 18. And yet the Emperor Napoleon thinks "the Britons had no shipping in the time of Cæsar."—*Hist. of Julius Cæsar*, vol. ii. p. 184.

[2] *Vita Agric.* xi.

evidence, both of history and of language is superabundant to prove their close relationship with the Cymbric Celts of Britain. The language of both people, in spite of a separation of more than a thousand years, and the natural changes in inflection, through loss or addition of words, and through the influence of Latin and French on the Armorican, and of Latin, English, and Norman-French on the Welsh, are still so nearly alike as to merit no stronger separating name than that of "dialects" of the same speech. History relates the conquest of Armorica by the Britons, and the settlement at different times of vast hosts of them, now by force, now by permission, in that land, mixing anew the blood of ancient kindred, and swelling into a more copious body the vocables of long-separated branches of the one ancient speech. Hence, the statement made by M. Emile Souvestre is correct: "Le bas Breton actuel n'est donc pas un reste de Gaulois, mais de langue Britannique." [1] It is beyond doubt that, while the language of ancient Armorica, along with that of Gaul generally, not omitting Belgica, belonged to the generic Celtic, that same language, through more modern vicissitudes, may now be termed Britannic-Celtic, rather than Gallic-Celtic.

4. The Celts of Ireland and Caledonia. In the absence of historic record, we are justified in presuming on grounds of antecedent probability, that Ireland would receive its first inhabitants from Wales or Scot-

[1] *Les Derniers Bretons*, vol. i. p. 144.

land. Wonderful explorers were those ancient Celts! Probably they soon pushed their way through thicket and swamp to the Highlands of Scotland, and finding there an end to their territory, they then from the highest eminences looked out westward, and descried the misty coast of the Green Isle. The early separation of these pioneers of the Gallic or Celtic race through their crossing to Ireland, whether that took place from Scotland or Wales, is quite sufficient to account for the marked difference now existing between the Gaelic or Irish language and the Welsh.

The first tribes to arrive in Britain would probably be the first settlers in Scotland and Ireland. Pressed towards the interior by subsequent arrivals, as nomadic hordes but slightly attached to any particular spot, they would readily move forward to new pasturages, rather than fight for possession of the old. The Gaelic or Gadhelic people, therefore, may be presumed to have had the advantage of priority of occupation. But the ground, of course, is one of presumption—not one of historic statement.

The Gaelic language, a sort of standing difficulty with philologists, undoubtedly differs very widely from the *Cymraeg*. So does the Irish. These two, the Irish and Gaelic, are so nearly alike, that for the general purposes of philology, they may be considered as one, and in this light we treat them, here and in the chapter on philology. Adelung, and with him Schloezer, followed our great Cambrian philologist and antiquarian,

Edward Lluyd, in directing special attention to the divergence of these two dialects of the Celtic language from the Welsh. Modern philology has pursued the inquiry to further results, and has established beyond question not only the fact that Welsh, Gaelic, Irish, Cornish, Armoric, and Manx are cognate languages, or rather *dialects* of the same mother language, but also, that these six are to be divided into two groups of three each, according to their nearness of approximation to each other:

1. Gaelic Branch	Erse, in Ireland. Gaelic, in the Highlands of Scotland. Manx, in the Isle of Man.
2. Cymbric Branch	Welsh, in Wales. Armorican, in Brittany. Cornish, extinct.[1]

A language commences the process of forming itself into two languages the moment those who speak it separate into two communities occupying different territories. The number of communities formed, determines the number of new languages, or dialects, to be developed. All things being equal, divergence will increase according to time given. These positions are allowed to be indisputable. If therefore the Irish, Gaelic, and Manx have diverged from the Welsh more than the Armorican and Cornish have done, this is proof

[1] The *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum*, by the Rev. R. Williams, M.A., of Rhydycroesau, is the best contribution yet made to Cornish philology, and demonstrates the propriety of this mode of grouping the Celtic tongues.

only of longer separation. The insular position of the Gaels of Ireland would almost completely cut them off from their brethren in Britain, and thus facilitate the growth of dissimilarity in the cognate languages, or dialects. The Armoricans, though in like manner separated by the sea, are proved by history and tradition to have through many hundred years maintained intercourse with their British kindred, and to have at times received large accessions of population from them. The effect of territorial (and length of) separation would by this means be greatly neutralized, and the substance and forms of the two dialects be kept more nearly alike. As to the Cornish, this was lopped off from the Cymbric stock in comparatively recent times, and its divergence therefore is not great.

The greater similarity of modern Irish to modern Gaelic than of either to modern Welsh[1] may be seen at a glance by comparing one sentence of the Lord's Prayer in each:

English : Give us this day our daily bread.
{ *Irish* : Ar narán laéathamhail tabhair dhuinn a riu.
{ *Gaelic* : Tabhair dhuin an diugh ar n'aran laitheil.
Welsh : Dyro i ni heddyw ein bara beunyddiol.

[1] But how much more similar to each other were all these Celtic dialects a thousand or fifteen hundred years ago it is needless to remark. The old Cornish vocabulary of the thirteenth century, in the British Museum (*Cotton. Bibl. Vespas.* A. 14) will show the student who is familar with the Welsh of the twelfth century how much nearer these two languages were then to each other, than the *Cornish Remains of the Fifteenth Century*, recently published under the able editorship of Mr. Norris, are to the Welsh of the present time.

The Armoric bears decided similarity to the Welsh.

Armoric: Ro deomp bep deiz hor bara pemdeziec.
Welsh : Rho i ni bob dydd ein bara beunyddiol.

Again :—

Armoric: Merc'hed Jerusalem, na oueilit ked warnoun me, *mes* goueilit warnoc'h hoc'h-unan, &c.
Welsh : Merched Jerusalem, na wylwch o'm plegid I, ond wylwch o'ch plegid eich hunain, &c.

One sentence to show how much the Armoric has been corrupted by French.

Armoric: *Mes* araog an holl draouze hei a lakaio o daouarn warnoc'h, hag o *persecuto*, o *livra* ac'hanoch d'ar sinagogou, hag o lakaad ac'hanoc'h er *prizonion*, hag e veot caset dirag *rouaned* ha *gouarnerien*, *&c.*

The Cornish language comes nearer to the Welsh than does the Armoric. Words italicised are corruptions.[1]

Cornish.	*Welsh.*
Pan welas na ylly *delyffrê*.	Pan welodd na allai draddodi.
Nyns us pons war dhour Cedron.	Nid oes pont ar ddwr Cedron.
Yma gena un bê da, gorra hag eys kemyskys.	Y mae genyf un baich da, gwair ac yd cymysg.
Mesk ow pobel ny vynnaf na fella agas godhaf.	Ymysg fy mhobl ni fynaf yn bellach eich goddef.
Dour ha lêr, ha tan, ha gwyns, haul ha lour, ha *steyr* kyffris, . . . anken y a wodhevys.	Dwr a llawr (daear), a thân, a gwynt, haul a lloer, a ser yn gyfryw, ing a oddefasant.
Godheveuch omma lavur, ha gollyouch genef.	Goddefwch yma lafur, a gwyliwch genyf.

[1] Confer Williams's *Lexicon Cornu-Britann.* On the analogy of the different Celtic tongues, see at length Zeuss's *Gramm. Celtica, passim;* on the conjugation of the verb, especially, pp. 427—560.

Cornish.	*Welsh.*
Pan y'th welaf, Lôs hep hyreth my ny allaf.	Pan y'th welaf, bod heb hiraeth ni allaf.
Yn levyr yma scrifys, dre cledhe nep a vewo, ef a vyru yn sur dredho.	Yn y llyfr y mae yn 'scrifenedig, y neb a fo fyw drwy y cleddyf, ef yn siwr a fydd farw drwyddo.
Mi a credy yn Dew an Tas Olgallusek, Gwrêar an nef ha'n 'oar.	Mi a gredaf yn Nuw Dâd Hollalluog, Creawdwr nef a daear.
Ny a whyth yn dhy *vody sperys*, may hylly bewé.	Ni a chwythwn yn dy gorph yspryd, mal y gelli fyw.
Govyn orto mar a'm bydh *oyl* a *vercy* yn dywedh.	Gofyn wrtho (iddo) pa un i mi fydd olew trugaredd yn y diwedd.

From the foregoing examples it is evident, both that all these six divisions of Celts are nearly related to each other, and that nearest to the Cymry come, first the Cornish and next the Armoricans. The Gaels, or Gaedhils, of Ireland, through longer and completer separation, have departed further from the Cymbric type, in language, if not also in blood.

The *Picts* and *Scots* have usually been associated with Caledonia. These names are recent in origin, being used only by later Roman writers.[1] *Bede* (sixth cent.) calls Caledonia "provincia Pictorum"; and it would seem that in his time the name Picts, or Pehts,

[1] Neither Cæsar nor Tacitus has any mention of Picts. Nor has Ptolemy or Dion Cassius. Eumenius's Oration to Constantius Chlorus, A.D. 296: "Solis. . . . Pictis modo et Hibernis adsueti hostibus," first brings forward their name in British history. They are alluded to repeatedly by Amm. Marcellinus. All details respecting the "Pictish question" are contained in Pinkerton, Chalmers, Ritson, Prichard, Grant, and Betham.

had nearly superseded the older term Caledonii—derived, perhaps, from the Cymbric *Celyddon*, and this related to the generic *Galatæ*, *Celtæ*, *Galli*.

That the Picts were a branch of the *Cymry*, and the Scots immigrants from Ireland,[1] where the name *Scotii* originated, is to be considered as certain. The name "Picts" is of doubtful origin;[2] but that the people who had probably pushed their way from the Cumbrian kingdom into the hilly regions of South Caledonia, were Cymry in language is evidenced by the local names they impressed on that region, and also by the names of some of their later kings found in a MS. in the Colbertine library. We find the words *ben* and *pen* used to designate mountains and eminences, as *Ben*-Nevis, *Ben*-Lomond; and *Pen*val is said by Bede to have been the Pictish name for a place at the "termination of the wall" of Antoninus. Now *Ban* and *Pen* are also Cymbric words of like meaning, as seen in *Ban*gor, *Ban*au (pl.), Brycheiniog (the Brecknockshire Beacons), *Pen*cader, *Pen*maenmawr. The Pictish name

[1] Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* Bi. ci.

[2] As the valley of the Loire (*Liger*) has strong claims as the former home of the *Lloegrians*, and probably also of the Brython, the name *Picts* leads us to favour the idea that these people last came from a part of the same region (now Poitou), where a tribe called *Pictones* are said to have dwelt. The only objection to receiving this view is the statement of the *Triad*—that the Picts (Gwyddyl Fichti) came to Alban by the sea of Llychlyn (North Sea); but they might well have come to Britain by that Sea, and yet have previously dwelt in South-Western France, as well as have Scandinavia for their more ancient seat.

Pen-val is pure Cymbric in both its parts. *Pen*, top, head, extremity, and *gwal* (constr. state, *wal*) giving the signification "wall's-head," or termination—the same as that of the Gaelic rendering of *Pen-val*, *Cenail*, (*Cean*, head, and *fhail*, of the wall) the modern Kinneil.

Bryneich, the original of the Latin Bernicia, is probably a Pictish name. The Welsh etymology of the word is from *bryn*, a hill. In Fife are the *Ochil* Hills (Welsh, *Uchel*, high). *Cairn*gorm has many correspondences in Wales, as *Carn*edd Llywelyn, *Carn*edd Dafydd, *Carn*edd y Filiast, Tref*garn*, &c.

The register of Pictish kings from the fifth century downwards contained in the Colbertine MS. gives several names which are Cymbric: TARAN (Welsh, *taran*, thunder); UVAN—a slight modification of the Welsh *Ievan*, *Ivan*, or *Owen*; TALORG—Welsh, *tal*, high, as *talcen*,[1] high part of the head, "forehead"; *Tal*iesin; local names, *Tal*garth, *Tal*og; WRGWST—Welsh, *Gwrgwst;* DRUST—Welsh, *Trwst;* DROSTAN—Welsh, *Trwstan*, &c.[2]

The word *Aber*, applied in Wales for a confluence of waters, whether of inland streams or of rivers and the sea, was used in Caledonia in a similar way. Many places once called *abers* in Scotland have been changed

[1] The *cen* in this word is the Ir. and Gael. *cean*, head. Lewis Glyn Cothi (circâ 1450) uses *tàl* for "head": "A dawn Duw'n flodau'n ei *dàl*." *Works*, p. 110. Now obsolete.

[2] See Garnett's *Essays*, p. 196, et seq.

into Gaelic *Invers*. No *aber* exists in Ireland. And it may be remarked that the word *aber* is not used in modern Cymbric except as an historic local name. Many of the rivers of Scotland and Wales almost exactly agree in name: The Tweed, Towy; Tay, Tâv; Dee, Dee; Clyde, Clwyd; Nith, Nedd; Avon, Avon; Ayr, Aeron; Esk, Wysg; Teviot, Teivy, &c.

The ancient topographical names of the country of the Picts, and even of the northern parts of Caledonia, more nearly correspond with those of Wales than do those of Ireland, the early home of the Scots. Greater nearness of kinship is thus indicated. At the same time, the evidence of language, local names, traditions, history, combines to prove that all these countries were inhabited by people descending from the same great Celtic family, and may all be classed together as Ancient Britons.

Now in conjecturing the causes of the divergence of these Celtic languages no difficulty need be encountered. The process of change is obvious. *Time* and *territorial separation*, as already shown, are elements amongst these causes. Another and main source of dissimilarity is the condition under which all unwritten language is propagated. Writing, and especially printing, powerfully aid in fixing and perpetuating the standard of a language. But in the absence of all such mechanical means, and when the eye had no agency in fixing the form of words and phrases, but all was transmitted phonetically only, departure from the

standard, if "standard" could be said to exist, would be facile and rapid. A "dialect" would soon grow into what would be termed a "language." Let an educated Englishman from Suffolk or Essex enter any village smithy near "Ratchdaw" (Rochdale) or "Owdum" (Oldham), and he will hear a language he would by no amount of persuasion believe to be English. Let him employ an exact phonetic shorthand writer, and have the sounds which are uttered in his hearing faithfully represented on paper, and he will still be nearly as sceptical. "Fattle be ith foyar" has the looks of an "outlandish" tongue, but divested of contractions and Lancashire pronunciations, assumes the homely garb of "the fat will be in the fire." So of "Si geet oop bi shrike o dee, on seet eawt, on went ogreath tilly welly coomb within a moile oth teawn, when o tit wur stonning ot on ealheawse dur":—So I got up by break of day, and set out, and went right on until I well nigh came within a mile of the town, when a mare was standing at an alehouse door. "Im wur off neaw in eer eh wur":—I am worse off now than ever I was.[1] This will suffice by way of example.

Let only the peasantry of such a district as this emigrate into a distant region, after the manner of the nomades of ancient times, and soon their language will be as different from that of Kent as Breton is now from Cymbric, or Erse from either of these.

5. The Lloegrians and Brython. The Llogerians,

[1] See the *Works of Tim Bobbin.* Ed. 1862. Pp. 41, 83.

from whom is derived the modern Welsh name for England (*Lloegr*), a branch of the "Nation of the Cymry," came from South-Western France, the valley of the river *Liger*, modern Loire, and settled in the south and east of Britain. The Brython probably came from the same part of France, held the same relation to the "Nation of the Cymry," and settled in the North of England. These, in all probability, have their name still preserved in the common designation "Bretons." But more of the Lloegrians and Brython in the next sub-section, where we give the evidence of the Welsh *Triads*.[1]

(d.) The Welsh Triads on the early Settlers in Britain, and the identity of their origin.

Whatever value may attach to the *Triads* as historic records, they are at least in many respects documents of great interest, and may be received even by the most hypercritical of the Wolfian school as corroboratory of other evidence. They are exponents to us of what the now lost records of Welsh history contained, and of the testimony of tradition.

The *Triads* are clear and positive in according the first colonization of Britain to the Cymry (Cimbri). *Triad* First says:—"Three names have been given to the Isle of Britain from the beginning. Before it was inhabited it was called Clâs Merddin, and afterwards

[1] The Welsh *Triads*, or *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*, are given in full in the *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*. Vols. ii. and iii.

Fêl Ynys. When it was put under government by Prydain, son of Aedd the Great, it was called Inis Prydain (the Isle of Prydain), and there was no tribute paid to any but to the race of the Cymry, because they first possessed it, and before them no men dwelt in it, nor anything else except bears, wolves, beavers, and the oxen with the high prominence."

The sixth *Triad* contains the following:—"The three national pillars of the Isle of Britain:—First Hu Gadarn (Hu the Mighty) who originally conducted the nation of the Cymry into the Isle of Britain. They came from the summer country which is called Deffrobani (where Constantinople now stands), and it was over the hazy sea (the German Ocean) that they came to the Isle of Britain and to Llydaw (Armorica, Bretagne) where they continued."[1]

The seventh *Triad* runs thus: "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, &c. The second was the tribe of the *Lloegrwys*, [Loegrians, *Ligurians?*] 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, &c.*

Now these Three *Triads* are categorical on the following heads:—

1. That the first inhabitants of Britain were the Cymry.

[1] *Myv. Arch. of Wales.* ii. 57.

2. That the region whence they came was the "summer country," and that their path was across the German ocean.

3. That the same people settled also in Armorica.

4. That besides and after the Cymru, two other tribes, the Lloegrwys from Gwasgwyn, and the Brython from Armorica, came.[1]

No attempt at chronology is here made, but an order of succession is plainly indicated. All the tribes are of one blood. The later comers settle, as if for consolidation, with the consent and friendship of the first possessors—the Cymry. Note also that the regions whence they came are those frequently mentioned by Roman historians as parts inhabited by the Celtæ. In all this, there is no tone of hypothesis, no hesitation in statement, nor is there any clashing with the utterances of authentic history, but rather the reverse. Avoiding, therefore, the scepticism which is quite as hostile to the investigation of historic truth as is the weakest credulity, we receive the *Triad* account as substantially worthy of reliance.

Next comes a *Triad* (the eighth) which puts a little change upon the scene. The Cymry and their kinsmen the Lloegrwys and Brython were not to have it all their own way in the "isle of honey" (Fêl Ynys). Still, as yet, there are no hostile arrivals; but certain "refuge seeking" people from the far north, and from across the water. "The three refuge-seeking tribes

[1] *Myv. Arch. of Wales.* ii. 57.

who came in peace, and by consent of the nation of the Cymry: The first was the people of Celyddon in the north: the second was the Gwyddelian tribe who dwelt in Alban, (the Highlands of Scotland): the third were the men of Galedin (Holland?) who came in naked vessels to the Isle of Wight when their country was drowned, and where they had land assigned them by the nation of the Cymry."[1]

No intimation is given that these arrivals were of another race. They came as brethren seeking shelter when in distress, and were allowed to settle down as part of the family of states. Who can doubt, therefore, that the regions of Caledonia (Celyddon), and Alban (the Highlands), were in these early times peopled by tribes the consanguinity of which with the Cymry was well known? And who can fail to suspect that the names "Celyddon" and "Galedin," are cognate with Galatæ, Celtæ, and Galli?

As yet, then, we see that according to the *Triads*, Britain, north and south, was inhabited by one single race.

But now times of sore trial are coming. The ninth *Triad* relates that the ancestral estate is invaded by strangers. "The three invading tribes that came unto the isle of Britain, and never departed therefrom:[2] the first were the Coraniaid, who came from the country

[1] *Myv. Arch. of Wales.* ii. 57.

[2] In allusion to the Romans, &c., who, when the *Triad* was written, had taken their departure.

of Pwyl (Poland? more probably some region of northern Germany): the second, the Gwyddyl Ffichti (Gaelic Picts), who came to Alban by the sea of Llychlyn:[1] third, the Saeson (Saxons). The Coranians are situated about the river Humber, and the shores of the German Ocean; and the Irish Picts are in Alban, on the shore of the sea of Denmark. The Coranians and the Saxons united, and brought the Lloegrians into confederacy with them by violence and conquest, and afterwards took the crown of monarchy from the nation of the Cymry," &c.[2]

The following remarks we subjoin:—

1. The events here shadowed forth occurred after the departure of the Romans, and in Saxon times.

2. Some, even of these "invading" tribes, are kinsmen to the Cymry. The "Gwyddyls"[3] are the people mentioned in a preceding *Triad*, as one of the peaceful refuge-seeking tribes, and come from the same region of "Alban." This reflection upon their character as intruders, therefore, must have reference to their first appearance from "the sea of Llychlyn," or to a change in their disposition and conduct in Saxon times, and after long residence in the country.

[1] *Llychlyn* may be translated "the lake of pools," and would, therefore, be applicable to the inland waters of Denmark, opposite to which, in Alban, the *Triad* immediately afterwards locates them.

[2] *Myv. Arch. of Wales.* ii. p. 58.

[3] *Gwyddel*, woodsman, or wildman, is probably the British, *i.e.*, Cymbric, depravation of the name Gadhel = Celt, borne by the more Westerly tribes.

3. The "Coranians" who came from the country of Pwyl, supposed by some, as Edward Lhuyd, to mean Poland, are a people unknown in history. From the position of their settlement about the Humber, it is probable that their preceding home was North Germany or Denmark. The *Triad* contains no intimation that the Coranians were of an alien race. They took possession by force, and afterwards conspired with the Saxons; and this rendered them obnoxious. Had they been of an alien race, this would probably, under the circumstances, have been mentioned to their further discredit.

4. The "Lloegrians," who also conspired with the Saxons, are said in the seventh *Triad* to be from Gwasgwyn, and were therefore, if this region is in the south-west of France, of remoter connection, although of the same stock, with the nation of the Cymry, and hence more liable to be won over into confederacy with the "invaders."

The "Saxons" are the only intruders, hitherto enumerated, who are certainly known to have been of Teutonic race, and who made good their stay in Britain. All others are either expressly claimed by the *Triads* as relations to the "nation of the Cymry," or are presumptively such. *Lloegrians*, *Brython*, "the people of "Celyddon," the *Gwyddelian* "tribe of Alban," the men of *Galedin*, are all relations and friends. The *Coranians*, though an invading tribe, are not said to be alien. The *Gwyddyl Ffichti*, another invading tribe, are

certainly kinsmen. The Saxons alone, therefore, are known by positive declarations of history to be strangers in blood as they are in this *Triad* declared to be hostile invaders of the country.

We have accomplished this portion of our task. The substantial unity of race of the early inhabitants of Britain has been shown. These multifarious tribes, all of one kindred, though arrived from different countries, across different seas, at different periods of time, we embrace under the one general designation ANCIENT BRITONS.

Having done this much, we next proceed to give an estimate of their general condition, social and intellectual, with a view of establishing *à priori* the presumption, that a people conditioned as they were, would not be bodily dislodged, but would continue on the soil, and enter into the new body politic established by their conquerors.

SECTION II.

An estimate of the Social Condition and general Civilization of the Ancient Britons previous to, and at the time of, the Roman conquest.

The early Greek and Roman historians—the only sources we are disposed here to rely on—give but few and fragmentary accounts of the Ancient Britons; and of these accounts we propose noticing only such as tend to show that the aborigines were by no means of

the lowest type of barbarians, as ill-informed writers too commonly assume. They might indeed be, as the poet, speaking as a poet, and from a Roman point of view, describes them:

"Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos."[1]

but their life had still a connection with the greater life which pulsated on the continent. They had divers means of intercourse with distant peoples, and had received into their bosom many of the attributes of the old Eastern civilization.

(*a.*) *Early Notices.*

What is said by Herodotus and Aristotle is of no weight. Festus Avienus, a writer of the fourth century, in a geographical poem, furnishes a very interesting piece of information, of the correctness of which we have no reason to doubt. Avienus, be it observed, wrote in the fourth century; but his statements on the matter in hand relate to a time 700 years earlier. He says that in the fourth century before Christ, Himilco the Carthaginian penetrated beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and surveyed the coast of Britain. Pliny, referring to the same voyage, assigns it to the time when Hanno explored the Western Coast of Africa, and when Carthage was at the height of its glory—"Carthaginis potentia florente."

Now, according to Himilco, what, at that early time was the character of the Britons? They were no con-

[1] Virg. *Eclog.* I.

temptible barbarians. They were "a numerous race, endowed with spirit, very dexterous, all busy with the cares of trade."[1]

Midway between Himilco and the Christian era, Polybius simply indicates the importance of Britain by remarking, that "many had already treated of the Britannic isles and the working of tin."[2] Diodorus Siculus, a contemporary of Cæsar, says that the Britons in their wars, "used chariots, as the ancient Greek heroes are reported to have done in the Trojan war; were simple in their manners, and far removed from the cunning and wickedness of men of the present day . . . that the island was thickly inhabited—*εἶναι δὲ καὶ πολυάνθρωπον τὴν νῆσον*—that those of Cornwall were particularly fond of strangers and civilized in their manners—*φιλόξενοι τε διαφερόντως εἰσὶ καὶ δὶα τὴν των ξένων εμπόρων ἐπιμιξίαν ἐξημερωμένοι τας αγωγας*—&c.[3]

Strabo, the geographer, describes the inhabitants in a still more picturesque way: They were "clad in black cloaks (*μελάγχλαινοὶ*), with tunics (*χιτωνας*) which reached to the feet, and girt about the breasts (*ἐζωσμενοι*); walking with staves in their hands (*μετα ῥάβδων περιπατοῦντες*), and bearded like goats; subsisting by their cattle, and leading for the most part a wandering

[1] *Ora Maritima.* Ed. 1791.

" . . . . . Multa vis hic gentis est,
Superbus animus, efficax sollertia,
Negotiandi cura jugis omnibus."

Vv. 98—100.

[2] Polyb. *Hist.* lib. iii. 57.

[3] *Diod. Sic.* lib. v. 21, 22.

life."[1] Strabo was no poet, but rather a matter-of-fact geographer, and yet this description gives us the picture of a people enjoying almost ideal happiness.

(*b.*) *Cæsar and Tacitus.*

Cæsar, in his account of Britain, speaks with the ill-concealed bias of a not very successful invader, and betrays on occasions very imperfect knowledge of his subject. He never saw far into the interior, for the very reason that the inhabitants were not the barbarians he has described them, and of the Cymry especially he had clearly no knowledge whatever. Be it observed that what is implied in some of Cæsar's statements takes off completely the edge of his most damaging descriptions. For example: Britain, he tells us, was well peopled, full of houses built after the manner of the Gauls; brass and gold money was used, and iron rings of a certain weight (in barter).[2] The men of Kent were the most civilized, differing but little from the Gauls. The greater part of those in the interior tilled not their land, but lived on flesh and milk, and were clad in skins—precisely the mode of

[1] *Geogr.* lib. iii. 5. It is generally allowed that Strabo by his καττιτέριδες, and Herodotus by his κασσιτέριδες, referred to the British Isles.

[2] *De Bell. Gall.* v. 10. On the "ring money" of the Celts, Comp. Sir W. Betham's paper read before the Royal Irish Acad. Dublin 1836. On the text of Cæsar, respecting the coin of the Britons, see further under (*d*) in this Section.

life, by the way, followed by the "more civilized" Gauls. Then comes the libel about a community of wives, which hostile critics have made ready use of, but which no fair and competent historian of our day for a moment believes.[1] The position of woman and the respect paid to wedlock generally among the Ancient Britons sufficiently neutralize this unsupported assertion of Cæsar. Individual cases might occur, but the *custom* could not prevail.

But in addition to being workers in tin, coiners of a certain kind of money, smelters of iron, they were, even according to Cæsar himself, possessed of great skill and courage in battle, were competent to manœuvre with cavalry, and constructed a species of chariot-machines which did terrible execution among the Roman legions. "It evidently appeared," he somewhat unguardedly adds, "that our heavy-armed legions were no match for such an enemy."[2]

Tacitus seems to have had his doubts whether the first inhabitants of Britain had been "born of the soil" —*indigenæ*—or were adventitious settlers.[3] This he considers a question lost in the mist of antiquity—an indirect testimony of value, it may be remarked, to the remote origin of the Britons, and their long occupancy,

[1] *De Bell. Gall.* v. 10. "Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus, parentesque cum liberis; sed qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo primum virgo quæque deducta est."

[2] *Ibid.* v. 12. [3] *Vita Agric.* xi.

even then, of the island. He considers them generally similar to the Gauls, which they might well be since they were a kindred people; but he ascribes to them the superiority in energy and courage—qualities which the Gauls, after once possessing, had, through the loss of liberty, lost.[1] So independent, fierce, and obstinate were the Britons, that had there only existed among them a spirit of union and concert, they might have baffled the Roman power to the last; but wanting mutual confidence and coherence, when attacked by the foe, they fought separately, and were thus subdued.[2]

Tacitus confesses that though in the time of Agricola (circ. A.D. 80) the Britons were conquered, they were not even then disheartened; they were reduced to obedience but not to bondage. He adds that even Julius Cæsar, the first of the Romans who had set foot in Britain at the head of an army, could only be said by a successful battle to have made himself master of the sea-shore. Having failed to conquer the island, he only, as a discoverer, made it known to others who came after him. Rome could not boast of a conquest.[3]

(*c.*) *Organization and Government.*

It has been said that it is useless to inquire what form of government prevailed among a people so low

[1] It is difficult to know on what ground, in the face of Tacitus's testimony, Mackintosh could describe the Britons as generally inferior to the Gauls. *Hist. of Engl.* i. 14.

[2] *Vit. Agric.* xii. [3] *Ibid.* xiii.

in culture. This is taking for granted the thing to be proved. They were low enough in culture doubtless, but it has not been proved that they were "so low in culture" that no organization, salutary customs, and "government" existed among them.

We have the authority of Cæsar, amongst others, for saying that the Britons' form of government was monarchical. They had as many as four kings in Kent alone.[1] The power of the king was tempered by an element of popular right exercised in public assembly, and by the influence of the Druidic priesthood. This indicates organization, government, subordination of estates, checks and counter-checks—the results of experience and wisdom.

The influence of the Druids in the conduct of public affairs, whatever may be thought of their superstitions, argues the subjection of the popular mind to the governance of religious ideas; and if we are to judge of the quality of the Druidic teaching from the ethical maxims of the *Triads*, the guidance received from this quarter could scarcely be otherwise than salutary. The kings of the Britons were not tyrants, nor military adventurers, but in the main hereditary sovereigns, governing by force of public law.

(*d.*) *The Arts of Civilized Life.*

The above remarks naturally suggest the inquiry, how far those arts and usages we generally associate

[1] *De Bell. Gall.* v. 14, 18.

with the term *civilization*, and which are considered to rescue a people from a state of barbarism had a place among the Ancient Britons. If our expectations be moderate, as they ought to be, we shall not be disappointed. The Britons had some knowledge of the arts of life. They were not barbarians. Were they semi-barbarians?

Skill in warlike tactics and in the construction of war implements is not, we admit, the best exhibition of knowledge; but it yet remains *skill*, and is evidence of culture of a certain sort, however ill applied. This culture the Britons had, and Cæsar was bitterly convinced of this fact.

They were industrious, devoted to "trade." A tribe, however obscure, was never yet touched with the *negotiandi cura* ascribed to the Britons, but that it entered thereby the school of civilization. Four hundred years before Christ, or thereabouts, the Britons were found by Himilco to be adepts in the matter. They were "fond of strangers"—a sign that they were either in a helplessly early state of national childhood, or advanced beyond that condition of barbarian life where strangers are deemed as enemies. In Cæsar's time, they were workers in metals; coiners of a kind of money; builders of houses like those of Gaul; lived in entrenched towns and villages, and worshipped in colossal, though rude and mysterious, temples, which time itself seems incapable of demolishing. Cæsar testifies—not surely with the object of

exalting his own skill in taking it—that the capital of Cassivellaunus (Caswallon) was admirably defended—*egregie munitum.*[1] The Britons' skill in fortification is evidenced by the remains of their great works which continue to this day, *ex. gr.* the *dun* or *dinas* called the *Catterduns* in Scotland, *Chun Castle* and *Caer-bran* in Cornwall, the camp on the Malvern Hills, and *Tynwald* in the Isle of Man.[2]

But a word further on the account given by Cæsar concerning the kind of money used by the Ancient Britons. The text which reads, "brass money and iron rings," &c., is allowed to be corrupt. Mr. Hawkins, having examined and collated all the MSS. of Cæsar within his reach in England and on the Continent, states that *they all* give the reading of the passage thus: "Utuntur aut aere aut nummo aureo, aut annulis ferreis at certum pondus examinatis pro nummo." "They (the Britons) use either brass, or gold coin, or iron rings suited to a certain weight, for money." This is a most important correction, and gives fair ground for the confident belief that brass and gold coins were in use among the Britons before Cæsar's arrival.

The compiler of the important work issued by the Master of the Rolls, says, with respect to this question, "The existence of a large number of coins found in

[1] *De Bell. Gall.* v. 17.

[2] Confer *Monumenta Antiqua,* vol. i. p. 27; Meyrick's *Origin. Inhab.*, p. 7; *Camden,* Gough's Ed., i. 700.

various parts of the island (the types and fabric of some of which are unlike any which have been discovered in other countries, and have all the appearance of being some centuries older than Julius Cæsar's first expedition into Britain) appears greatly to support the opinion that the Britons were acquainted with and practised the art of coining previously to that event. . . If the Britons refused to take foreign money (as Solinus states) . . . and coins considerably older than Julius Cæsar's invasion are found in the island, the money so found must have been coined in the national mints of this country. . . . . The reign of Cunobelin may be considered as the time when British coins reached their highest perfection."[1] The most important work by far, which has yet appeared on the ancient British coinage, is that of Mr. Evans, where the Britons' knowledge of the art of coining is clearly proved.[2]

That the arts of life had been considerably developed among the Ancient Britons has been very unexpectedly illustrated within recent years by the opening of barrow-tombs. Proofs of skill in the manipulation of pottery are found in drinking cups, incense

[1] *Monumenta Historica Britannica; or, Materials for the History of England from the Earliest Period.* Published by command of Her Majesty. London, 1848. P. cli. Nine of the coins of Tasciovanus, supposed to be the father of Cunobeline (Cynfelin), and fifty-three of the coins of the latter, some of them showing delicate workmanship, are figured in plate I. Most of them are to be seen in the British Museum.

[2] The *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, by J. Evans, F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.

dishes, cinerary urns, of graceful forms, found in these sacred receptacles. Gold ear-rings, ornaments of amber set in gold, beads of curious construction have been discovered.[1] The bossed shields, the flat circular shields with metal coatings in the Goodrich Court Collection,[2] and the elebrated golden breast-plate, embossed with beautiful figuring, discovered near Mold,[3] all testify to superior knowledge in the metallic arts.

We thus go to the tombs of the dead to read the history and know the habits and acquirements of the living. The depositions here made are those of impartial witnesses, whom no prejudice can bias, no sophistry baffle. The great fortresses in which they dwelt, many of their majestic temples, like their weapons of war, and tools of handicraft, have passed into oblivion; but the repositories of their ashes and calcined bones have been proof against the decay of time, and preserved for us more of the history—the history of the internal life—of the people than of their mortal remains. We might distrust or smile at the glowing portraiture of the British bard, or the wondrous later legend of the romancer, and have but qualified faith in the Greek or Roman annalist; but the characters written on the walls of the solemn mausoleum, are faithful, and when read amid its

[1] Comp. Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire, passim.*

[2] See *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 95.

[3] This interesting relic is at the British Museum.

deep and monitory silence, sink with conviction into the mind.

It is of interest to notice the "imports" and "exports," such as they were, of the Ancient Britons. "Painted savages"—the reader of school histories will say—"what could they know of transactions only befitting Liverpool or London?" The plain Britons, it is granted, had no deep knowledge in trade-lists and prices current, but neither had we ourselves five hundred years ago. If we are to believe Strabo, these people carried on a good trade with the Romans[1]—sending their produce to the continent, and receiving back such articles as they had need of. Of course he speaks of their commerce at a period anterior to the Roman Conquest, and when, therefore, their ideas of trade and of luxury and their skill in working in metals and pottery had not been heightened by contact with this new instructor. Strabo enumerates among the goods exported from Britain, gold, iron, silver, corn, cattle, skins, fleeces, dogs; and among the imports, ivory, bridles, gold chains, cups of amber, drinking-glasses, &c., all articles suitable to a people whose ideas were somewhat advanced beyond the brass buttons, glass beads, and gilt paper shreds so much in demand among savage tribes.

The personal ornaments of Britons of the better class were tasteful and costly. The Gauls are said to have been fond of dress (φιλοκοσμον)[2], and to wear gold collars

[1] *Geog.* lib. iii. 197, 239; lib. iv. 278. [2] *Ibid.* iv. 197.

around their necks and arms.[1] The Gauls were now not savages, and their ornaments were not mere flaring tinsel. Now the custom observed by the "civilized Gauls" was precisely the custom which prevailed in Britain, in the kingdom of Cumbria, and doubtless in Wales, even down to the Saxon times.[2] Merddin Wyllt, in his poem, the *Avallenan* (circ. A.D. 580), says, "In the battle of Arderydd I wore the golden *torques*," and Llywarch Hen, the prince bard, bewailing the desolation of family and country (circ. A.D. 620), says :—

> "Four and twenty sons I have had,
> Wearing the golden wreath, leaders of armies."[3]

Dion Cassius informs us that five hundred years before this, Boadicea wore such a collar of gold. The poet Aneurin in his *Gododin*, describes the march of three hundred and sixty-three warriors thus decorated into the battle of Cattraeth.

Golden torques were given at a later time as prizes of skill and valour; and the phrase, *dwyn y dorch*, "to win the torque," is to this day to be heard in Wales for winning any prize, although the rings themselves have long ago disappeared.

[1] *Livy*, vii. 10.

[2] The Welsh "golden torques," found at Harlech in 1692, are described and illustrated in *Camden*. See Gough's Ed.

[3] "Pedwar meib ar ugaint a'm bu,
Eurdorchawg, tywysawg llu."

(2.) *Intellectual Culture.*

A still better proof of "civilization" is furnished by intellectual development and culture. Trade argues this; certain luxuries and refinements of life argue it; but there are positive exhibitions of it which are still more conclusive. The Druidical system was one of elaborate regulation, of stringent discipline. It is impossible to read Cæsar's account of the Druids of Gaul, without allowing that it presents an order of teachers—waiving all consideration of their religious doctrines and rites—whose sphere of thought was comprehensive and lofty, and whose method was adapted to stimulate and enrich the intellect.[1] But Cæsar also states that Britain, and not Gaul, was the proper and high seat of Druidism, and that those who wished to be perfect in the system, travelled to Britain to receive instruction.[2] An eminent modern historian, says, that the Druidic superstition took refuge in Britain in preference to Gaul, in order to find a more congenial home amongst the "blindest votaries," and to "fly from the scrutiny of civilized and inquiring men." It is rather strange that "the civilized and inquiring men" of Gaul should send their sons to be educated amongst the blindest votaries. Cæsar, who is acknow-

[1] *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. 13. Comp. *Strabo*, lib. iv. 4. Pomp. Mela, *De Lit. Orb.* iii. 2. *Diod. Sic.* lib. v., Strabo and Pomp. Mela apparently only copy Cæsar.

[2] *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. 13.

ledged to be the best authority on this matter—*summus auctorum divus Julius*, as Tacitus calls him—puts quite a different construction on the circumstance. The Gauls who wished to be perfect in the system of Druidism—the only system of Celtic intellectual culture then in vogue—went to Britain for instruction. Now, the people who thus supplied the best teaching, may fairly be considered as being themselves the most cultivated.[1]

If space permitted, it would be instructive to inquire into the intellectual and moral aspects of Druidism, as a great national force and stimulant—force and stimulant, we mean, of a mental and contemplative kind, quite consistent with, if not indeed conducive to, inefficiency in warlike conflict when opposed to odds such as the Romans presented. Into this question at length we cannot enter. But there are principles implied in Cæsar's description which may be briefly noticed as we pass. Young men, we are told, were kept under the care of the Druids, sometimes as long as twenty years. So great was the care taken in instruction—so great was the work to be done. Instruction was imparted orally, and all had to be committed to memory. This indicates, not merely initiation into ar

[1] Pliny says of the Druidic teaching:—"But why should I commemorate these things respecting an art which has passed over the sea and reached the bounds of nature? Britain, even at this time, celebrates it with so many wonderful ceremonies that she seems to have taught it to the Persians." Book xxx.

esoteric system of doctrine, kept *unwritten*,[1] the better to protect it from vulgar gaze—but also great speciality and minuteness of indoctrination.

A method so purely mnemonic, would as a matter of course employ artificial means, such as rhythmical formulæ, both to facilitate attainment and retention. Now there are signs of the descent of such a system in the early poetry as well as prose of the Britons. Probably alliteration in poetry, and the *Triad* form in prose, are nothing less than the remains of the Druidic mnemonic system. The Icelandic poets used alliteration early, as shown by Percy, and the English practised it in the middle ages; but nowhere did it exist so early, nowhere has it obtained so rank a growth, as in Wales.

Piers Plowman's Vision was written so late as the 14th century, and is about the best specimen in early English, of a poem composed on the alliterative principle; but how imperfect its alliteration, when compared with that of early Welsh!

> "In a *s*omer *s*eason | when hot was the *s*onne
> I *sh*ope me into *sh*roubs | as I a *sh*epe were,
> In *h*abit as an *h*armet | un*h*oly of werkes
> *W*ent *w*ide in this *w*orld | *w*onders to heare."

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[1] That a certain class of knowledge was kept unwritten argues the existence of writing for general purposes. That the art was known to the Britons is beyond doubt. Cæsar says (*De Bell. Gall.* iv. 13) that the Druids of Gaul practised writing, using Greek characters (Græcis utantur literis). But if in Gaul, *à fortiori*, they did so in Britain, the chief seat of their authority and learning.

This is *Piers Plowman.* But seven hundred years before this was written we find in Aneurin, along with terminal rhyme, such complex alliteration throughout the verse as follows :

" *Ca*eawc *cy*mnyvi*at cy*vl*at* crwyt
*Rh*uth*r cr*y*r* yn y *ly*r pan *ly*thiwyt
* * * * *
Hy*d*er gymm*ell* ar *v*reith*ell v*anawyt
*N*y *n*odi *nag ysg*eth na*g ysg*wyt."

The poet Golyddan, assigned to the 6th century, writes thus :

" *Dysgo*gan awen *dygo*bryssyn
*M*archann*edd* a *m*eu*edd* a *hedd* genhyn
A phenn*aeth* ehel*aeth* a ffr*aeth* unbyn
A gwedy dy*hedd* an*hedd* y*m*hob *m*ehyn
*Gwy*r *gwy*ch yn tryd*ar* casn*ar* dengyn
Esg*ud* yngnof*ud* ryh*yd* diffyn
*Gwa*ethl *gwy*r hyt *gaer Wair gw*as*gar*awdd Ellmyn
G*w*nahawn *go*rfoledd *gwe*dy *gwe*hyn," &c.[1]

In the 12th century Cynddelw makes a further advance :

" DRAGon o *dwyr*ag DRAIG o *dwyr*ain
Draig WEN *oll*EWIN *well* y dichwain
Oed CLEUdae*r oed* CLAe*r* CLEdyf uch gwain
A *llin*on yg gnif a *llaf*nae *llain*
*Lla*fn yn LLAW a *llaw* yn LLAD pennain
Llaw ar LLA*fn a*r *llafn ar* LLU nordmain
Ac *er*yfoed *trwm r*ag *trem*yd angen," &c.

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[1] Perhaps the prettiest specimen of alliteration in this early age is in another part of the same poem :—

" *Cyn*eircheid, *cyn*eilweid, unrhaith *cwy*nyn !
Un *gôr*, un gyn*gor*, un *eisor ynt*."

Let them (the Cymry) be summoned, called together, rise unanimous ! They have one heart, one judgment, one common cause.

All this at last culminated in the *Pedwar Mesur ar Hugain* (the Four-and-Twenty Metres) of the 14th century, which are still in force among the "poets" of Wales, and which operate so disastrously upon the genius of the country. Of this we have only room for one specimen, an "Englyn" by the late Mr. Davies, called *Bardd Nantglyn*—one of the most accomplished and "legitimate" of Welsh poets. The subject is the balloon. A translation, not our own, but taken from *Ceinion Awen y Cymmry*, is added, from which an idea may be formed of the "regular" poetry of the principality. The numbers mark corresponding letters.

"Awyr*en*, BEL*en*, glud BALi,—DRWY CH*wa*
1 2 3 1 2 3 a b c
DERCH *hy*nt hyd wybreni;
a b c
*Nwyf wib lo*ng, ban *nawf, heb li,*
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4
A *llaw dyn* yn *llyw dani.*"
1 2 3 1 2 3

Trans.: "That air-filled body, the *Balloon*, a silken vehicle—by a blast,
View soaring on its course through ethereal regions;
As a ship of lively range, aloft it swims, without a flood,
Having for a guide the hand of man beneath."

That the *Triad* is a relic of the Druidic system is, to say the least, highly probable. It bears the guise of antiquity, and its form is well adapted for the memory. Its quality of threefoldness, expressed in its name, may intimate a Platonic or a Christian origin.

Now we think that none will deny, after examination, that the Welsh *Triads* contain a fund of human wisdom quite extraordinary for the early times when they are

supposed to have been composed. They display a style of thought at once analytic and acute, speculative, discursive, practically ethical, sympathetic towards man, reverent towards Heaven. Their psychology and morals savour more of the Pythagorean and Platonic than of the Aristotelic. They deal familiarly with the loftiest forms of thought, without losing sight of daily human concerns. Not unfrequently, on the principle that

> " . . . . Brevity is the soul of wit,
> And tediousness the limbs and outward flourishes,"

they exhibit wonderful terseness and concentration of idea and expression. They also show by frequent peculiarities of opinion and phraseology acquaintance with the Greek writers, and occasionally with the Roman. That some of them should be embodiments of Biblical truths—which is the fact—is natural. Whatever relation they bore to the Druidical institution, in passing down the stream of ages they have become somewhat tinged with the systems of thought they encountered on the way. They have been shaped, in a measure, to meet the temper of times and faiths, and thus have exchanged the theology of Druidism for that of the Christian Religion.

Be this as it may, we take the *Triads* as a fair index to the type of mind dominant among the *Cymry* in ancient times, and to the social and moral condition of those subject to the principles they enshrine. Thought stands at the head of all affairs, and a people into

whose minds great and pure thoughts have been ingrained, cannot be a weak and contemptible people. Low as the condition of the multitude may be, while at the head of affairs there is intelligence and dignity, the whole community will be under guidance to high ends, and will more or less participate in the governing inspiration :

"Rex noster animus est,"

is the universal confession of mankind, and in so far as history affords any utterance in the matter, its one testimony is, that the Druids were not merely severe exactors of obedience, but that their superior knowledge and high character warranted the exercise of authority, and that this authority on the whole was exercised for the individual and public weal.

If the reader is inclined to take the Welsh *Triads* now existing as reflections of the Druidic teaching, well and good. If he is not, he will at least take them as faithful exponents of the condition of intellectual culture among the Welsh people at an early time in the middle ages—for *this* they are allowed by all competent judges to be. This is all we claim for them.

Let the following serve as examples of the *Triads*:[1]—

By three things shall a person be quickly known: by what he likes, by what he dislikes, and by such as like or dislike him.

The three characteristics of godliness: to do justice, to love mercy, and to behave humbly.

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[1] A collection of the *Triads* will be found in the *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii.

Three things which cannot be brought under discipline of strict law and order: love, genius, and necessity.

Three things that are honourable in a man: to have courage in adversity, to observe moderation in prosperity, and piously to conduct himself in both.

The three points in goodness: wisdom, fortitude, and love; and where those three are not found together, good qualities cannot be expected.

Three things that will discover a man's disposition and principles: his eye, his speech, and his actions.

With three things a man ought to purpose all good actions and knowledge: with all love, with all understanding, and with all ability.

Three things that, from being rightly understood, will cause peace and tranquillity: the course of nature, the claims of justice, and the voice of truth.

There are three actions which are divine: to succour the poor and feeble, to benefit an enemy, and courageously to suffer in the cause of right.

The three efficiencies of all things from the beginning: necessity, choice, and chance; and from one or other of these doth come and is done everything.

The three necessities of the Being of God; essence, life, and motion; and from these are all substance, life, and motion, by inchoation, *i.e.*, from God and his essence are all things whatsoever.

The three priorities of being—which are the three necessities of Deity: power, knowledge, and love; and from the union of these three are strength and existence.

The three foundations of wisdom: youth to learn, memory to retain what is learned, and understanding to put it rightly in practice.

Now it is by no means necessary to argue that the whole mass of the early Britons were familiar with sentiments like these, in order to entitle them to exemption from the charge of being "barbarians." In what nation, in what age have the masses been so happily

conditioned? Were they so in Greece when Plato taught, when Praxiteles all but made the marble breathe? Were they so in Rome when her legions ruled the world? Were they so in England when our Miltons and our Addisons wrote? Are they so in England *now?*

It is to be remembered that the wisdom of the *Triads*, be its value what it may, was not, in later ages at least, esoteric. Its depositaries were the bards. The bards were popular teachers through minstrelsy, song, and recitation. The retainers of every lord and prince of the land were pupils of the castle bard and genealogist, and the wisdom he happened to possess was freely imparted to them all. We are now referring to times less remote than the Roman Conquest; but there is reason to suspect that in very ancient times, before the Roman ever trod on our soil, the Cymry, as indeed many other ancient nations, had their popular bardic and minstrel institution.

Having thus in some measure stretched forward our view of British civilization and intelligence beyond the Roman period, let us now for a moment recur to that earlier epoch, and here first direct attention to a class of influences connected essentially with Druidic teaching not yet touched upon: we mean the *religious.* Of course, many of the theological dogmas of the Druids were erroneous—many of their rites would be in our day revolting. At the same time they taught elevating doctrines, stimulated the moral nature to

heroic efforts after virtue, fixed the imaginative Celtic mind on things more enduring and spiritual than the gross interests of time. Cæsar shows that they taught the immortality of the soul. Amm. Marcellinus tells us that they believed the future existence of the human spirit was in another world. Diogenes Laertius comprises their religious doctrines under three precepts: to worship the gods, to do no evil, and to act with courage. There is no reason for doubting that their doctrine concerning the Deity was monotheistic—identical, in fact, with the doctrine of Plato. Such teaching must have exerted a mighty influence on the popular mind. Lucan, in his *Pharsalia*, thus acknowledges the fact:

> "And you, O Druids, free from noise and arms,
> Renewed your barbarous rites and fearful charms.
> What gods, what powers in happy mansions dwell,
> Or only you, or all but you, can tell.
> To secret shades and unfrequented groves
> From world and cares your peaceful tribe removes.
> You teach that souls, eased of their mortal load,
> Nor with grim Pluto make their dark abode,
> Nor wander in pale troops along the silent flood,
> But on new regions cast, resume their reign,
> Content to govern earthly frames again.
> Thus death is nothing but the middle line,
> Betwixt what lives, will come, and what has been.
> Happy the people by your charms possessed!
> Nor fate, nor fears disturb their peaceful breast:
> On certain dangers unconcerned they run,
> And meet with pleasure what they would not shun;
> Defy death's slighted power, and bravely scorn
> To spare a life that will so soon return."

Let the ennobling influences of the Druidic *Religion* be added to the facts and considerations already enumerated. Do not all these together amount to more than we claim for them? Do they not present the Ancient Britons as a people free, industrious, ingenious, spirited, with some knowledge of the arts of life, working in metals, commercially enterprising, ready to welcome strangers, holding intimate communication with the continent, subsisting in small kingdoms, each under its hereditary sovereign, proving their respect for woman by entitling her to the throne, and so far advanced in intellectual, religious, and general culture, that the Gauls sent their sons to Britain for the most advanced education, especially in that higher department of wisdom officially presided over by the Druids? These, and many other equally notable features in their character and condition, we learn, not from the pens of their own historians, much less from the fervid imagination of their poets, but from Greek and Roman annalists whose words on all other matters are received with respect. We therefore, conclude that in the Ancient Britons are found a people greatly removed from barbarism, and that for hundreds of years before Cæsar's arrival they had been marked by the same characteristics.

Is it not, therefore, fair to argue, *à priori*, that such a people, if conquered, would be conquered only in one sense—in the sense of being deprived of territory and the functions of government? Failing of victory in

the field, they would conquer for themselves a position in the new community arising from the ruins of their own political and social existence, united to the materials brought in by their conquerors. To destroy them bodily were impossible. Their expatriation we know was not contemplated—Rome only wanted their tribute. To commit suicide they never attempted, but quite the reverse! A love of life, individual and national, was their passion. And if ever people clung with almost præternatural strenuousness to their native soil, their language, their customs, their name, and all that human independence would call its own—that people were the Ancient Britons, more especially in the Cymbric section of them. To suppose that such a race should vanish, because their *political* existence ceased, were to judge in contravention of all the evidence of history, as well as the dictates of common sense. The erection of the Frankish empire extinguished not the Gallic blood of France. The British rule in India will not extirpate the Hindoo race. Nay, the Anglo-Saxons themselves were not all put to the sword, or driven into the sea by the Danes, or subsequently by the Normans, though completely conquered by both. Why, therefore, stipulate that events must happen differently in the case of the Ancient Britons?

Our next step will be to furnish a bird's-eye view of the various conquests of Britain, presenting as distinctly as possible in the brief space at our disposal,

the contrasted strength of invaders and invaded, and carefully distinguishing between the founding of new *governments* and the destruction or replacement of *peoples*.

Part II.

The Invasions of Britain.

PART II.

The Invasions of Britain: The Elements of Admixture accumulating—Admixture commencing.

BRITAIN, which through various fortunes has at last fought her way to inviolable liberty and peace, and become the asylum of the oppressed of all lands, was herself for a thousand years the prey and sport of strangers. She excited the cupidity, now of imperial Rome, now of the lawless rovers of the German and Scandinavian Seas, now of the warlike and more chivalrous Normans of France. How in those rude twilight ages the mysterious virtues of this *Fêl Ynys*, this "eye of the world," this "masterpiece of nature" became so widely known, it is hard to say; but, in the absence of any but the most imperfect means of locomotion by land or water, the fame of this *Ultima Thule* seems to have reached, before the Christian Era, almost all the tribes and nations of

Europe, and many of them elected to quit their fatherlands to seek a better inheritance on her shores. Then, as now, her climate, as Tacitus describes it, was marred by frequent rains, and an overcast sky—cœlum crebris imbribus ac nebulis fœdum), her shores were rugged, her seas stormy. Nothing signified. Many an adventurous land and sea captain, with or without the rites ascribed to Brutus by our imaginative Geoffrey, heard a Diana, as clearly as Brutus heard her, say :—

> ". . . . there lies beyond the Gallic bounds
> An island, which the western sea surrounds,
> By giants once possessed; now few remain
> To bar thy entrance or obstruct thy reign.
> To reach that happy shore thy sails employ," &c.

And so it came to pass that century after century, wave after wave of incursion beat like the billows of her seas on her devoted strands. Listen we to the plain statements or the implications of classic history, or to the glowing utterances of myth and fable—they all alike echo the splashing of oars and the clash of weapons of invading hosts, or, on occasions, the friendly greeting of flocking cognate tribes. They come, and crowd from the four quarters of the heavens, from Deffrobani, the summer country, where Constantinople now stands, from Gwasgwyn, in France, from "Pwyl," from the Rhine country, from Armorica, from Northern and Eastern Gaul, from Denmark and Scandinavia—nay, the isle of Britain even excites the

ambition of great Rome herself, and she empties her coffers, pours forth the blood of her best legions, consumes the life of her best commanders, and wearies the hearts of many of her emperors through the space of 480 years in her stubborn resolve to subdue and possess it!

CHAPTER I.

The Roman Invasion.

The struggle at Rome to establish the first Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, was no sooner over than the ambitious Cæsar set out for the conquest of Britain. In B.C. 55 he finds Rome torn by faction, and hastening towards decay; and he wisely seeks relief in an active campaign, and food for ambition in conquest. Rome, if rendering herself inglorious by dishonouring her own laws, and exhibiting in caricature her own institutions, must yet be made renowned abroad by deeds of arms; and if bent on suicide, must find a saviour as well as master in him who now goes forth to win new fame for Roman valour and genius.

In all his wars with the Gauls the Britons had sent aid to his opponents.[1] He resolves to punish their audacity, and at the same time win laurels by their subjugation. Late in the season, in B.C. 55, he prepares to embark for Britain, apparently believing that for the conquest of such a people, the small portion remaining of that year would suffice. From

[1] *De Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. 18.

the coast of Gaul, somewhere between Calais and Boulogne, across the narrowest part of the channel, he views the cliffs—the towering white chalk-cliffs—of the coveted island, glistening in the sun, and prepares for embarking his legions. The little port of *Itium*[1] is the place where the great Roman, chafing at the insolence of the Britons, collects his fleet of eighty ships—collects his heavy armed legions. The eighty ships are filled with two legions, numbering about 12,000 infantry. The cavalry embark from another point, and in other boats. The great flock of triremes, with regular stroke of oars, makes across the channel, watched by the Gauls from behind, watched also by the wary Britons. After a little beating about for a convenient creek, they halt, and prepare to land. The Britons are prepared to meet them. A hard struggle ensues, without decisive victory. The Roman soldiers are shy of fighting in the water, while the eager Britons advance to attack them breast high in the sea. At last the natives fall back, and the Romans land, and wait for their cavalry. A truce is formed; the Britons conditionally submit. Again a little fighting with a foraging party, and again a truce and submission; and

[1] "Itium, which the divine Cæsar (Καῖσαρ ὁ θεὸς) used as his naval station, when about to pass over to Britain." Strabo, *Geogr.* B. iv. 278. The Emperor Napoleon, in his new work on Cæsar, maintains that the port of Itium was Boulogne, and not Witsand, as generally supposed. He is most likely right. *Life of Julius Cæsar*, vol. ii. 201.

then Cæsar, having accomplished nothing proportionate to the extent of his preparations, at once decides on quitting the island. News of this success reaches Rome, and the Senate order rejoicings for *twenty days*—a proof either that Rome must be in sad want of something to rejoice at, or that the triumph as yet obtained in Britain had been most grossly exaggerated.

Cæsar clearly felt that he had begun a work of greater difficulty than he had anticipated. Having received hostages from the Britons, he returns to Gaul to quell a rising insurrection among the Morini. He remains in Gaul over winter, and meditates a grand scheme of conquest in Britain in the spring. He makes diligent preparations—builds transport ships, collects troops, amasses material of war. The spring approaches, and nothing is left unaccomplished to secure complete success for this second expedition.

Having returned from a journey to Italy, he finds himself in the spring of B.C. 56 in possession of nearly 700 ships, all built on purpose for invading Britain. Did great Rome, and "divus Cæsar," make these mighty preparations in order to invade a handful of feeble, painted barbarians? At the same port of *Itium* (Boulogne) he puts on board his 700 transports an army of 30,000 infantry, besides a complement of cavalry, and after a delay of some weeks through adverse winds, weighs anchor and reaches Sandwich

haven in Kent,[1] about the spot of the first landing. Greater preparations on the part of Cæsar have been met by greater on the part of the Britons. They have learned wisdom, and now encounter these teeming legions, not with the piece-meal forces of individual tribes, or a small federation of tribes in the one district of Kent, but with an "allied army," combining the military strength of several powerful tribes, or so-called "kingdoms." These, probably, comprehended our modern Kent, Middlesex, Essex, part of Suffolk, Berks, &c. Cassivelaunus (Caswallon) is the brave chief to whom they entrust the command. Dreadful encounters follow. "The enemy's horse," says Cæsar, "supported by their chariots, vigorously charged our cavalry." Though gaining advantages, the Romans found it costly work. "It evidently appeared," he adds, "that our heavy-armed legions were by no means a fit match for such an enemy, nor could even the cavalry engage without great danger," because of the quick evolutions and peculiar tactics of the Britons. The bloody work, however, goes on; and at last the capital of Cassivelaunus, which Cæsar declares was admirably fortified (egregie munitum), is stormed and taken; the tribes in active hostility are subdued, promise tribute, and deliver hostages, but retain their

[1] Different opinions have prevailed respecting the point of debarkation, some identifying it with Sandwich, some with Walmer. The Emperor Napoleon decides in favour of Deal. *Life of Julius Cæsar*, vol. ii. 208.

usages, laws, and government, their kings henceforth ruling by nominal authority from Cæsar; and so, before the end of the summer of that same year the conqueror returns to Gaul, *leaving no troops in Britain.* Cæsar is destined never more to set foot on British soil; and the Britons, once he has departed, are virtually as free and independent as before. Such, and only such, was the conquest of Britain by Cæsar.

The great commander has now other work to attend to. His stormy rivalship with Pompey taxes all his energies. He succeeds; wins his way to the Dictatorship, obtains the great victory of Pharsalia, struggles up the steps of power till he is created Pontifex Maximus; and, ten years after defeating the heroic Caswallon, falls in the Senate House by the daggers of Brutus and Cassius! This was the end of him who had boastingly exclaimed, "I, by whom you have subdued the Gauls, and conquered the *Britons*," &c.,[1] an exclamation which implies volumes of eulogy on the power and valour of our ancestors! This is the poor end of thy stenuous feverish life,

> "O mighty Cæsar!" who hadst
> ". . . . got the start of the majestic world,
> And bore the palm alone!"

For a hundred years after the death of Cæsar, Rome had no leisure to molest the Britons. Augustus and Tiberius gave them rest. The islanders profited from the peace, and grew in wealth and culture. The

[1] *Dion. Cass.* xli. 34.

successor of Caswallon, Cunobeline (*Cynfelin*), ruled over a prosperous people. In his time, the Britons were not low in civilization. We have already shown that they executed a regular silver coinage, and that long before Cæsar's time they had brass and gold coin in circulation.[1] Of the coins of Cynvelin, a large number have been found,[2] and are to be seen in the British Museum, with several of still earlier date, bearing the name of *Tasciovanus*,[3] supposed to be the father of Cunobeline.

Claudius was the first Roman *Emperor* whose ambition reached so far as Britain. A year after he made Herod Agrippa King of Judæa and Samaria, in A.D. 43, he sent his General Aulus Gellius with a great force to Britain. The Trinobantes, the people of Essex and Suffolk, were now, as before, the chief to bear the brunt of the attack. Vespasian, afterwards Emperor, and his son Titus, were amongst the officers in command. Claudius himself came over. The submission of the Britons was speedily won. Claudius

[1] *De Bell. Gall.* v. 10. See amended text, p. 71.

[2] See *The Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*, by J. G. Akerman. London, 1836.

[3] See the illustrations and descriptions in the *Monumenta Hist. Britannica*, pl. 1. and p. clii., and our citations, p. 71. Also Birch's *Dissert. on Coins of Cunob., Numis. Soc.;* and Evans's *Ancient. Brit. Coins*, *passim.* Mr. Evans has illustrated and described a large number of British coins not elsewhere communicated, and has shown that the catalogue given in *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* is very defective.

obtained the honour of a triumph, and received the surname *Britannicus*[1]—another indirect proof of the importance attached at Rome to the subjugation of the Britons.

As yet, the sea coast of the south, and the country a little way into the interior alone had been brought under tribute. *Caractacus*, king of the Silures, and the Britons of the mid-country, and of north, east, and west, had not been affected.

Ostorius came next. He lost no time, but immediately pushed on towards Shropshire and Lancashire, and was brought to a stand by Caractacus. This puissant prince, after the noblest efforts on record for the defence and honour of his country, was destined to defeat at the hands of Ostorius, and to betrayal at the hands of Queen Cartismandua,[2] (a "Roman Matron," as Richard of Cirencester calls her—who had married Venutius ruler of the Brigantes) with whom he had sought shelter. But his defeat was not an easy or sudden thing. For nine whole years had this heroic man kept the field against the power of Rome, fighting meantime many battles, and inflicting terrible losses on the imperial army. When led a captive to Rome, his arrival created one of the most exciting and impressive spectacles history has depicted. "Curiosity was eager," says Tacitus, "to behold the heroic chieftain who for such a length of time made head against a great and powerful empire. Even at

[1] *Dion. Cass.* lx. 23. [2] *Aregwedd Foeddawg?*

Rome, the name of Caractacus was in high celebrity."[1] What Briton can read the speech put in the foiled warrior's mouth by Tacitus without emotion. "If to the nobility of my birth, and the splendour of exalted station, I had united the virtues of moderation [careful direction] Rome had beheld me, not in captivity, but a royal visitor and a friend. The alliance of a prince descended from an illustrious line of ancestors, a prince whose sway extended over many regions, would not have been unworthy of your choice. A reverse of fortune is now the lot of Caractacus. The event to you is glorious,—to me is humiliating. . . . The ambition of Rome aspires to universal conquest. I stood at bay for years: had I done otherwise, where on your part had been the glory of conquest, and where on mine the honour of a brave resistance? I am now in your power; if you are bent on vengeance, execute your purpose: the bloody scene will soon be over, and the name of Caractacus will sink into oblivion. Preserve my life, and I shall be to late posterity a monument of Roman clemency." Caractacus won the favour of Claudius, and was set at liberty; but whether he ever left Rome, or what became of him, or his family, history does not relate.

> ". . . . Nimius vobis [Cimbrica] propago
> Visa potens, superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent!"

Britain, as far as Yorkshire and Wales, was under Ostorius made tributary to Rome. After Ostorius, a

[1] *Annales*, xii. 36.

long line of generals, including several of the emperors in person, commanded the invading forces. A. Didius Gallus, *Suetonius*, who conquered Mona (Anglesea), slaughtered the Druids,[1] and quelled the rising under Boadicea,[2] when 80,000 men are said to have fallen—Cerealis, Frontinus, and *Agricola*, a wise and brave governor, invader of the Caledonians, and the fortunate father-in-law of Tacitus, whose pen has illuminated his life for all coming ages.[3] In this last commander's time the rampart from the Forth to the Clyde was erected, as a barrier to check the unsubduable Caledonians, and the subjugation of Britain may be said to have been in a sense completed. In A.D. 121, Hadrian the "travelling emperor," paid a visit to Britain, and "Hadrian's Wall," more southerly than Agricola's, was constructed from the Tyne to the Solway. Then came Marcellus, Albinus, and the Emperor Severus, who in A.D. 209 constructed the famous wall of solid masonry from Tynemouth in the East to Bowness in the West, and two years afterwards died at York. Next came *Constantius*, who is said to have married the British princess Helena,[4] who died also at York, and *Constantine* the Great (Cystenyn Fawr) his son, who for thirty years promoted peace and prosperity among the Britons, and died A.D. 137.

[1] Tacitus, *Annal.* xii. 30. [2] *Ibid.* 31 *et seq.*

[3] In his *Vita Agricolæ.*

[4] Geoffrey of Monm. *Hist.* v. Richard of Cirenc. ii. 1, 24. This story must be allowed to be "doubtful."

Then follow Constans and Theodosius; and lastly, Maximus (who in Welsh history is called *Macsen Wledig*), following whose fortunes many thousand British youth are said by Nennius to have left for Gaul, and eventually settled in Armorica.[1]

Overwhelming troubles were now gathering in store for the Roman Empire. The storm in which she foundered and sunk, soon broke in fury upon her. In A.D. 395 the empire is parted between the sons of Theodosius the Great. The Huns devastate the eastern provinces. The Goths, under Alaric, invade Italy, and in A.D. 410 sack and burn the Eternal City. Two years later the Roman legions are recalled from Britain, and the Britons are left their own masters and their own protectors.

The withdrawal of the Roman army from this island took place just 465 years after the first landing of Julius Cæsar. This, then, was the extreme period of the Roman occupation of Britain. But from *Cæsar* to *Agricola* was 135 years, and this length of time elapsed before the Roman arms became victorious over the southern, central, and western parts of the island, and succeeded in hemming in the Caledonians to the mountains of the north. From Agricola to Maximus was 330 years, and this long period it took, first to

[1] Nennius, *Hist.* 23. This whole story is very doubtful. Lobineau, in his *Histoire de Brêtagne*, totally rejects it, as inconsistent with the fact that Maximus's expedition landed on the Rhine, and not in Armorica.

establish a kind of general government of the island, and then to convince the Romans that the occupation was more costly than pleasant and profitable. Both these facts are of material importance in their bearing on our argument, and to them, in the proper place, we must recur.

During this long period of Roman conflict and ascendancy, a stupendous change had been effected in Britain. The Roman civilization had been completely introduced; and the condition of the Britons—barring the loss of independence and freedom for which nothing could compensate—had doubtless been greatly improved. Military roads had been constructed from end to end of the country, and vast works of public utility and ornament had been completed. The bridges, gardens, baths, and villas of Rome had been reproduced in Britain, and all the pomp and luxury of the Imperial Court made familiar to our forefathers. The complete and rigid municipal government of the Roman cities, and the Roman laws generally, had prevailed for nearly 300 years.[1] In fact, Britain had lavished upon her all the care and attention which the chiefest of Roman *Provinciæ* enjoyed. In the words of one of our ablest historians: "The country was replete with the monuments of Roman magnificence.

[1] For the laws which were in force in Britain, see Heineccii *Hist. Jur. Rom.* i. 379. The Theodosian code did not embrace the whole Roman law. As to the Justinian, or *Corpus Juris*, this of course was not yet compiled.

Malmesbury appeals to those stately ruins (which still remained in his time—twelfth century) as testimonies of the favour which Britain had enjoyed: the towers, the temples, the theatres, and the baths . . . . excited the wonder and admiration of the chronicler and the traveller."[1] William of Malmesbury says, "That Britain was held in high estimation by that people (the Romans) may be collected from their history, and be seen also in the ruins of their ancient buildings. Even their emperors, sovereigns of almost all the world, eagerly embraced opportunities of sailing hither, and of spending their days here."[2]

This impressive display of power and refinement would of itself be a valuable teacher to the youth of Britain. Prompted by natural disposition, and encouraged by their governors, they would soon lay aside the simple attire of their ancestors and don the Roman toga;[3] intermix with the lessons of the Druids the study of the pages of Cicero and Horace, and receive in silent admiration the impress of grace and beauty produced by the sculptured marble ornamenting every temple pediment, every porch, and every garden.

[1] Palgrave, *Engl. Comm.* vol. i. 323. See also Girald. Cambr., *Itin. Cambr.* lib. i. 5.

[2] *Gesta Regum Anglor.* i. 1.

[3] Agricola "encouraged the natives to build temples, courts of justice, and commodious dwelling-houses. . . . The Roman apparel was seen without prejudice, and the toga became a fashionable part of dress. . . . . Baths, porticoes, and elegant banquets grew into vogue," &c. Tacitus, *Vit. Agric.* 21.

But all was not magnificence, solidity, and peace. To counterbalance these advantages, a heavy sorrow rested on the heart of the British race. The image of their lost independence ever stood before their eye. Oppression sat as ruler. The Roman procurator was, as a rule, in those degenerate times, an extortioner; and this operated as chief cause in the insurrection under Boadicea, and in many other breaches of the public peace. The British youth were, according to Roman custom in a conquered country, drafted into the imperial legions and sent off on foreign service. An army of some 50,000 men was maintained by a grinding taxation in order to keep in subjection the very people taxed.[1] The native population, deprived of all power, restrained from the exercise of self-government, although improved by contact with refinement and knowledge, sank into a condition of inaction and dependence. Though externally cultured, they were internally debased; surrounded by all the tokens of taste and magnificence, they themselves were not the creators of them, nor received them as their own. By the prevalence of power, and even of learning, they were not in reality ennobled, but were much rather deprived of the native force and genius which in former times they had displayed. However ridiculous and unworthy of credit the exaggerations of Gildas concerning their helplessness in the face of their old northern assailants, their kindred

[1] See Horsley's *Brit. Romana*, B. i. and ii.

the "Picts and Scots," it cannot be denied that on the departure of their Roman protectors, they exhibited much of the weakness and disorder to be expected from a race which had been under tutelage, and trained to obey rather than command. And what a demonstration is here supplied of the compatibility under despotic governments of the highest culture and splendour in the governing with advancing sickliness and decrepitude in the governed!

We must not pass from this part of our subject without noticing the grandest event of all in this eventful period in British history—the *introduction of Christianity*. During these 465 years of Roman occupation what a change had this great moral power effected in the British heart and life! The people had lost their liberty, but had gained at the same time those great moral truths which gave liberty to the spirit while the person was a bondsman—truths which were destined as ages advanced to make Britain the ruling power on earth—the home of liberty and the refuge of the oppressed of all lands.

This was a stirring time, not in Britain alone. The wonderful spirit of migration and conquest which had possessed the northern barbarians, led to a remodelling of most of the communities of Europe. The Christian Church had become a great power. Her influence and life had permeated the Roman Empire, and many of the emperors had professed the faith of Christ. This was the time when Augustine and Jerome, Eusebius

and Socrates (the historian); Chrysostom, Cyril, and Theodoret, flourished. The sun of Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregorys, had scarcely set. The spirit of Denial had also confronted the Faith. The mental struggles and bold theories of Arius, of the Welshman Morgan (Pelagius), and of Celestius, belonged to this age. It may be doubted whether the stir of thought, the battle of truth and error, in our day of boasted mental activity, are greater and more earnest.

CHAPTER II.

The Anglo-Saxon Invasion.

No sooner has one affliction taken its departure, than another, and a heavier one, sets in. The occasion is known to all. The Picts and Scots of Caledonia, old enemies of both Romans and Britons, though of the same Celtic stock with the latter, rush over the wall of Severus, and devastate the land. They have learned that Rome has withdrawn her army, that the Britons are torn asunder by faction on questions of rank and precedence in the establishment of a new Government, and, taking advantage of the opportunity, they threaten suddenly to overwhelm the country. The Britons, though numerous, and determined enough to maintain their ground, having an imperfect organization, and having recently been deprived of their military leaders, find themselves unequal to the emergency.

They appeal to Rome for assistance, and Rome—to her credit be it said—came to the rescue. Although herself in greatest straits, and having hardly a man to spare, once and again she despatched a force to Britain, and assisted to clear the country of the foe.

But Rome at last grew tired of this, and, in fact, grew unequal to it. Gallio Ravennas was the last Roman general who trod on British ground. He chastised the Picts and Scots, repaired the wall of Severus, gave directions for its future defence, and, after exhorting the Britons to be brave and hopeful, took his departure for good in A.D. 427, just fifteen years after the withdrawal of the Roman army and occupation.

Would that some one had written a book—that some quiet Nennius, or Robert of Gloucester, had chronicled the events of that dreadful interval—of all intervals in the life of the British people in historic times the most fascinating! An impenetrable veil hangs over it, and yet its great eventfulness cannot be doubted. Some sort of government had been set up when the Romans left in A.D. 412. Probably several small states had been formed, and a confederacy attempted. But bitter disputes intervened, on the question especially of the Pendragon-ship. A time of anguish and perplexity, of great fears and great hopes, was this first age of recovering but tottering independence. What wonder if the longing spirit of a people wildly imaginative and fervently patriotic, after centuries of cruel subjection, should now at the first dawn of a new era of liberty, conceive wild dreams of Messiah deliverers in hero warriors of præternatural power and genius, and should see omens and miraculous prodigies? King *Arthur*; and his knights of the Round Table, whether fabulous,

or veritably historical—a question we need not strive to settle here—were characters which had their origin in this age. The terrible struggles which took place in the sixty years following the recal of the Roman legions between Britons and Britons, between Britons and the men of Caledonia, and between Britons and the Saxons, have never been recorded, and shall never more be heard of. But that was a gloomy, eventful, sanguinary time, and doubtless called for, and we would fain believe witnessed, the rise of a man of the genius and prowess ascribed to Arthur, the renowned son of the Pendragon of Britain.[1]

Vortigern (Gwrtheyrn) was, it seems, king of *South* Britain when the Britons were left in the predicament described. To him, and to the Britons for ages, as well as to the Romans, the so-called "Saxons"—a branch of the great Teutonic family which had spread itself along the shores of the Baltic, and between Holstein and the Rhine,[2] had not been unknown. They

[1] For the fabulous history of Arthur, the fertile seed of the Romance literature of all Europe in the middle ages, see *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, B. ix., and also *Nennius*, 50. For a defence of Arthur's really historic character, see Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. 1, p. 268 *et seq*. Every critic will allow that Geoffrey is highly legendary, but nothing but the dilettanteism of criticism would therefore consider as legendary the whole story of King Arthur. True, neither Bede, Florence of Worcester, nor the *Saxon Chronicle* mentions him. But Nennius does. The British Bards and *Triads* are express and circumstantial witnesses in his favour.

[2] Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* i. 15; Ptolemy, *Geogr.* ii. 2; *Sax. Chron.* ann. 449.

had frequently paid threatening visits to the British shores, and as explained elsewhere, had probably formed extensive settlements. They had obtained unenviable notoriety for their roving and plundering habits, and their terror had fallen on all the shores of the German Sea.

It would seem that about the year A.D. 449, Vortigern thought he might strengthen his claim to the Chief Sovereignty, or Pendragonship, and put a stop to the ravages of the Caledonians, by forming an alliance with some of these freebooters. Hengist and Horsa (whom we take as historical and not mythic personages) and their followers, were therefore invited to his assistance. This is the Saxon account. Their coming over was the entrance of the wedge which, by and by, totally wrenched the greatest part of the island from the dominion of the Britons.

Britain presented an appearance of fertility and beauty which the Men of the North Sea did not find in their native regions. Once they had found a firm footing, therefore, pretexts were easy for the prolongation of their stay. They had come over as the Britons' protectors; but *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* The end was open hostility, and a declared intention on the part of the strangers to enjoy a home in Britain. The scorn of the old Cymry at this proposal may be imagined. They, the original, only rightful possessors, now to be quietly deposed! Not so! But the wary north-men, to strengthen their case, invited horde

after horde of their lean and needy countrymen to join them. Their enterprise became every day more hopeful, and therefore, after their code of morals, juster. More and more adventurers arrived. They came "like swarms of bees," says an old chronicler. Repulsed at one point, they only seemed to gain renewal of strength at another.[1] The more they were slaughtered—for grim fighting had now commenced—the more they increased. News flew from the Rhine to the Elbe and thence far into Denmark, that Britain, the fairest of islands, was becoming a prey to the first comers, and the passion for settlement on her shores became so strong that, according to Bede, the regions about the Baltic and the south of Holstein—regions, however, which cannot be supposed to have ever sustained a large population—were left well-nigh depopulated. For 150 years it became the employment of the Britons to contest the possession of their country with these uncompromising invaders, and after fighting, to grant them room.

It will be sufficient for our purpose to enumerate in the briefest form the successive arrivals of the Anglo-Saxon bands, and their settlements in different provinces of Britain. The Anglo-Saxon conquest, like the Roman, were effected by slow degrees and at terrible cost to both parties. The *slowness* of the conquest is a feature which has a most material bearing upon our argument, and to this the especial attention

[1] Nennius, *Hist.* 50.

of the reader is invited. There must have been specific reasons for that slowness; and those reasons all tell, *à priori*, in favour of the conclusion, at which, step by step, we expect to arrive.

The Anglo-Saxon Arrivals.

1. A.D. 449, and just 22 years after the departure of the Romans, Hengist and Horsa by invitation of Vortigern, arrive, and after 20 *years of conflict*, succeed in founding the small Saxon kingdom of Kent in A.D. 473.[1] These were *Jutes*, and the Saxon Chronicle says their conflicts were with the *Welsh*, (*with Walas*), meaning probably "the strange people."
2. A.D. 477. The *Frisians*, or Old Saxons, make an incursion under Ella their chief, "in three ships," (*mith thry scipum*),[2] and *in* 20 *years*, or thereabouts, establish the kingdom of the South Saxons, or Sussex; that is about the year 496. They, also, fight with the *Walas*.
3. A.D. 495. Cerdic, with his son Cynric, comes to Britain "in five ships," (*mith fif scipum*), "and the same day," says the chronicler, "fought with the Welsh," (*gefuhtun with Walum*);[3] and in A.D. 519, find themselves in possession of the kingdom of the West Saxons (Wessex). This was after 24 *years of fighting*. These were Saxons.

[1] Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* i. 15; *Sax. Chron.* ann. 449—473.
[2] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 477. [3] *Ibid.* ann. 495.

4. A.D. 530. Ercenwine, or Aescwin, with his *Saxon* followers, arrives, and after *about* 12 *years' contest*, succeeds in forming the kingdom of the East Saxons or Essex, comprehending modern Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herts, &c. "It is doubtful," says Sir F. Palgrave, "whether this kingdom ever enjoyed independence." It became subject to Mercia in the seventh century, and was merged in Wessex in 823.
5. In A.D. 540, the *Angles*, under Uffa their chief, established themselves in "East Anglia," which included Norfolk and Suffolk.
6. In A.D. 547, Ida, with a tribe of *Angles*, established a footing in the North of England between the Tweed and the Forth, and formed the kingdom of North-Humber-land,[1]—the most important of all the original Anglo-Saxon settlements.
7. About A.D. 585, was established the kingdom of Mercia, it is said by Crida, whose followers were *Angles*.

This was the last of those successive incursions which may with some latitude of expression be termed "Saxon invasions," and this last took place just 136 years after the first hostile intrusion under Hengist and Horsa. What an amount of fierce conflict and carnage is here implied! And what evidence is also furnished of the power and persistency of the Ancient Britons.

[1] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 547; Ethelwerd's *Chron. ibid.;* Nennius, *Hist.* 61.

To this aspect of the question, we shall very especially and repeatedly have to recur.

It will be useful here to say a few words on the topography of the various settlements. "Winning their way by slow and painful efforts," observes Gibbon, "they advanced from the North, from the East, and from the South, till their victorious banners were united in the centre of the island." This conclusion of their labours, however, thus rather rhetorically, and in few words set forth, was not accomplished without some 300 more years of contest: for the Saxon power was triumphant in England only with Egbert of Wessex, whose reign ended in A.D. 836. The efforts were truly "slow," and equally "painful!"

The *first* invasion made the Jutes in *twenty* years masters of the whole of Kent. The *second* in another *twenty* covered Sussex and Surrey—(South-Saxons, and South-*rica*, or kingdom). The *third*, under Cerdic, included Hants, Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Berks, and Bucks. This was a work of *twenty-four* years. The *fourth* embraced Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herts; and was the work of about *twelve* years. The *fifth* included Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and part of Lincolnshire, and Northamptonshire. The *sixth*, and most important of all, made the Angles masters, we do not know in how long or short a time, of part of the South of Scotland, Northumberland, Durham, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, &c.

The *seventh* set up Mercia, the particulars of whose establishment are rather obscure: but that it embraced Chester, Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln (or part of it), Shropshire, Staffordshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Northampton, Huntingdon, Hereford, Worcester, Warwick, is known.

The question will perhaps be asked: If so, where were now the *Britons?* Another question were exactly appropriate: Where were *not* the Britons? To suppose that from all England, thus at last covered with nominal Saxon governments, the Britons had been *expelled*, is to involve the task of answering the question, *Whither?* Wales had its own people, and could at best but offer asylum to a limited number of fugitives, or persistent patriots, who refused on any terms to submit to Anglo-Saxon rule. The body of the people must have remained where they were, as far as the unsettled times would allow, taking the conquerors as their masters, but still in many instances enjoying their own customs, laws, and language, until by degrees, by intermarriage, by the experience and exhibition of kindly offices, and through the healing influence of time, they and their subduers became eventually one people. But the illustration and proof of this will be the business of the next part of our work, and here we must abstain from further entering upon it. We now only gather materials.

We have thus had just a glance at the people, who, by bold adventure and steady pertinacity, obtained the

mastery in government over the aboriginal British race, and gave England her name and institutions. The name *England* is derived from the *Angli* of Northumberland, and they succeeded in thus perpetuating their name in the country, not because the state they had founded was the most important of the Heptarchy, but probably in part because in their northern home they were the parent stock, and partly, and even chiefly, for a very different reason. It was the Church, in point of fact, that attached the name of the Angli to this land. It is at once a baptismal designation, and a memento of affliction and misfortune. All know the story about the British youth exposed for sale in the Forum at Rome, and Pope Gregory's exclamation, "non Angli sed Angeli," and the consequent mission of Augustine to the Anglo-Saxons (A.D. 597.)[1] Ethelbert, king of *Kent*, whose Teuton subjects were not Angles, but *Jutes*, was by Gregory styled "Rex Anglorum." It would appear that the inhabitants of Britain were henceforth in all ecclesiastical documents styled *Angli*, and in process of time in the Saxon language the country was by a statute of Egbert called *Engla-lond*—whence our modern *England*.

While Britain was thus the theatre of conflict between

[1] It seems almost unaccountable that the Britons had made no efforts up to this time to convert the Anglo-Saxons. The force of Christian charity seems to have been overcome by national antipathy. Gildas is not far from faithfully reflecting the British feeling when he styles the Saxons, "*nefandi nominis Saxoni, Deo hominibusque invisi.*"

the *Wealas* and their Angle and Saxon troublers, what great events were transpiring elsewhere? The whole of Europe and a great part of Asia has been in a state of ferment. The Goths have taken and consumed Rome. The Western Empire has been extinguished. The renown of Clovis, Theodoric, Alaric, Belisarius, has been established. Mohammed has founded a new religion and a new epoch; and Abu-beker, Omar, and Ali have had their names emblazoned as champions of the faith. Charlemagne has created a magnificent empire. Boethius has thought. Justinian has compiled the civil code. Aneurin, Taliesin, Merlin, and Llywarch the Aged, in the language of the Cymry, have courted the muse; and Columba and Winifred (Boniface) have gone forth in the spirit of true apostles to publish the Gospel in heathen lands. Truly, an eventful time.

CHAPTER III.

The Danish Invasion.

The Britons are no sooner overpowered by the Anglo-Saxons, than the Anglo-Saxons are invaded by predatory bands from the same country, and almost the very regions whence they themselves had come. Denmark, (*Dane-mark:* the line or boundary of the Dane) once more pours forth its fierce warriors and intrepid sea-captains on the shores of Britain, and the Saxons of the South and Angles of the North, when just beginning to settle their mutual differences, and sit down quietly in the seat of empire, are called out to measure swords with new claimants, who boldly propose to share the plunder.

As early as A.D. 787, nearly fifty years before Saxon power had been consolidated in Egbert of Wessex, the Danes begin to make their appearance in British waters. In Egbert's time they greatly increase in boldness, in strength, in mischief; and in spite of this king's success in fortifying the Anglo-Saxon cause by the concentration of power in Wessex, the Danes, inch by inch, win their ground, until at last, in about 150 years after Egbert had reached his zenith, they

succeed in placing a warrior of their own race—Canute —on the throne of *all England!*

The overthrow of Saxon power by the Danes, therefore, was more speedy than the overthrow of Ancient British power by the Saxons! This may appear very marvellous at first sight; but there is really no mystery in the matter. We have been accustomed to underrate the number, power, and civilization of the Britons at the coming of the Saxons, and hence find ourselves incapable on any rational grounds of accounting for the length of the contest they maintained. We cling fondly to a theory we have *created*, independently of facts, and are then brought to a pause by facts which totally belie it. We have been willing to forget that the Britons maintained their long and weary contest, despite the circumstance that at the outset they had been caught under the disadvantage of mutual jealousies and divisions—as they had indeed been caught before by the Romans. If we take these two circumstances into account, viz., the Britons' weakness, through division among themselves, when first attacked by the Saxons, and the fact that notwithstanding this, they contrived to rally their forces, and keep the foe at bay for 150 years, we *must*, on all grounds of truth and fairness, give them credit for a good share of political vitality, as well as material power. No historian denies that the Anglo-Saxons, when the Danes disputed with them the empire of England, were powerful, numerous, and somewhat

civilized. But, we repeat it, Anglo-Saxon power was broken by the Dane in less time than British power had been broken by the Anglo-Saxon. It has been said that the Dane had one great advantage on his side as compared with the Saxon, namely, that while the latter had to fight with a nation which came forth as one man to oppose him, the former found frequent help from the oppressed and smarting Britons, who preferred a change of masters to a continuance of the hardships they were enduring. But the former part of this representation is as contrary to fact as the latter part is in harmony with the same. The Anglo-Saxons had *not* to encounter a united British people; whole tribes, the *Lloegrians* and *Brython*, went bodily over to the foe.

Glance now at the progress of the "Danish-men." Brithric married in A.D. 787, Eadburga, daughter of Offa of Mercia, and "in his days first came three ships of Northmen out of Haerethaland (Denmark). These were the first ships of Danish men which sought the land of the English nation."[1] "First" indeed perhaps to seek the "land," but by no means the first to seek plunder. Nor are they the last. More came after them, and more again. Like the Saxons before them, they "swarm like bees." The wild rovers of the Baltic, the fierce banditti of the Norwegian and Danish mountains, embark in their "cheols" and make for the coveted isle, safe of winning something, safe of

[1] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 787.

losing nothing. They increase in number. In A.D. 840, they came in *thirty-five ships.*[1] In A.D. 851 came *three hundred and fifty ships* to the mouth of the Thames, and the crews landed and took Canterbury and London by storm; but "King Ethelwulf, with his son Ethelbald, with the army of the West Saxons, fought against them at Ockley, and there made the greatest slaughter among the heathen army" [we Saxons are Christians by this time!] "that we have heard reported to the present day, and there got the victory."[2]

But the "heathen men" were not to be cowed by a single victory. They meant to find a home, and in choosing one, were not inferior in taste, perseverance, or daring, to the Saxons. In A.D. 853 there was more hard fighting "in Thanet;" and two years later it is significantly recorded: "This year the heathen men for the first time remained over winter in Sheppey."[3] Ten years further on, "the heathen army" again "sat down in Thanet," "and the men of Kent promised them *money* for peace"![4] The "heathen men" were clearly improving their fortunes.

Ethelred, brother of the great King Alfred that was coming, now ascended the throne of Wessex—the leading kingdom of the so-called Heptarchy—and in the year succeeding his accession (A.D. 866) an army of northmen, numbering 20,000 men, landed in East

[1] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 840.
[2] *Ibid.* ann. 851.
[3] *Ibid.* ann. 855.
[4] *Ibid.* ann. 865.

Anglia, under the command of Inguar and Ubbo, sons of Ragnar Lodbrog, and at York the day declared in favour of the invaders.[1] A second fearful encounter ended in the same way. The Saxons lose heart: many fly, but a few, true and brave, resolve to make another attempt, and conquer or die; which latter they do. Through a whole day they continue immoveable against a numerous host; but the "heathen men" feigning a retreat, the patriots fall into the trap, and are surrounded and cut in pieces almost to a man. The victors spread havoc far and wide. No lives are spared. Town after town falls into their hands. The kingdom of the East Angles, as well as Northumbria, now becomes subject to the Danes.

The army of locusts moves on—eating up every green thing. In A.D. 871, "the Pagan army of hateful memory," as Asser calls it, invades the kingdom of Wessex; but at Reading meets with a severe check. "The Christians gained the victory."[2] And again at or near Ashdun or Ashdown, when young Alfred first encountered them, "the Pagans, not able to bear the attacks of the Christians, and having lost the greater part of their army, took to a disgraceful flight."[3] Their bodies covered the plain of Ashdown. In this one year eight battles were fought, and before its end peace was concluded: but the Danes were, by the terms of this peace, allowed to remain in the country

[1] Asser, *Life of Alfred*, ann. 867; *Sax. Chron.* same year.
[2] *Ibid.* 871; *Sax. Chron. ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

—though still a hostile force under arms. Two years after this "peace," the Danes took possession of the kingdom of Mercia—the last founded state of the Heptarchy—and the year following reconquered the Northumbrian kingdom, and ravaged the British kingdom of Strathclyde.[1]

Thus, while Rollo the Dane was invading France, and forming a part of Neustria into *Normandie*, his countrymen were spreading desolation over Britain, and both alike were preparing new forces which by-and-bye were to meet in deadly combat on the field of Hastings, and inaugurate a new dynasty and a new nobility for England!

The Danes swept over the country in all directions, now obtaining advantages, now encountering reverses: but wherever they went their presence was like the blast of the lightning. At last King Alfred rose to be the hero of the Saxon race. He made prodigious exertions by sea and land to meet the emergency. He collected supplies, built a navy, organized troops, fought battles, and displayed unparalleled personal bravery and endurance. In a time of extraordinary stress and agony, when Saxon liberty and Christianity itself in Britain seemed to be lost, Alfred, in bitterness of spirit, retired into the woods of Somersetshire—probably to tear himself away from the turmoil and unavailing care of the world for a season, and, in the enjoyment of internal peace to hold calm communion

[1] Asser, *Life of Alfr.* ann. 875; *Sax. Chron.* same year.

with Heaven. But in the spring of the year 878, he came forth from his retreat, and was at once surrounded by great hosts of the "men of Somersetshire and the men of Wiltshire"—almost all of the Ancient British race—who had looked upon their king as dead, "and they were joyful at his presence," and eagerly followed him to meet the enemy. Near Westbury, probably on the eminence of Eddington Hill, a great battle was fought, which ended in a complete victory for Alfred.[1]

The great army of the "heathen men," however, was soon again in action. After ravaging great part of the country, it crossed the Channel into France; returned again to England in A.D. 893, having apparently never disbanded, landing at Tynemouth in 250 ships. In A.D. 901 the good and great Alfred died, "six days before the mass of All Saints." He "was king over the whole English nation, except that part which was under the dominion of the Danes; and he held the kingdom one year and a half less than thirty years."[2] The death day of Alfred was a dark day for the land!

For thirty years after the death of Alfred England continued to be a battle-field. The sword during this weary time did not rest in its scabbard, nor the blood of Saxon and Dane cease to flow. But the balance of advantage was in favour of the Dane. The English had now been reduced to the miserable necessity of

[1] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 878. [2] *Ibid.* ann. 901.

systematically purchasing peace for *money*—so exhausted were they of soldiers and so broken in heart. At first £10,000 was given, then £48,000. The Danes for a little while retired, but soon got a pretext for returning. They continually increased their price. They next extorted £160,000, and a fixed *annual* tribute of £48,000. Thus was the country, already exhausted of men, completely drained of its money. Rage and impotence now entered into alliance, and the *massacre* of the Danes was resolved upon. Many thousands of their warriors unquestionably perished by this dreadful deed; but so far from crushing the Danish power, it only exasperated that people both in England and abroad to more terrible deeds of vengeance and "outrages even beyond the usual tenor of the Danish cruelty." Sweyn, King of Denmark, was placed on the English throne in the year 1013. Canute the Great, his son, became king of all England in A.D. 1017.

Now what strikes the reader of these stirring pages in our past history very forcibly, is the fact that these usurpations were effected by a comparatively small number of strangers. The Danes, it is true, came over in vastly greater numbers than the Saxons and Angles had done; but the Danes that came over in ships—though these ships were numbered by the hundred at a time, were but a handful compared with the people, now grown numerous on the soil, whom they contrived

to subjugate. They were in fact an organized horde of adventurers, who, by overmatching the military force of the Anglo-Saxons, usurped dominion over the land.

Long and desolating wars, such as those of the Danish period, are doubtless very destructive of population. But as both sides would suffer about equally, the proportion at the end, as between Saxon and Dane, would be the same as at the beginning. But since these were both alike of *Teutonic race*, if their united number at the end was much larger than the Anglo-Saxon population itself (with its Ancient British element omitted) was at the beginning, this excess must in fairness be specified as a gain of *Teutonic* over *Celtic* blood through the Danish conquest. That there was a gain we admit; but the gain was small.

Both the Danish and Anglo-Saxon *regimes* were purely *military* creations. The superiority which prevailed was simply superiority of fighting force. It had no relation to preponderance of *population*. The British element of population was by far the most copious in Saxon times. The British, with its admixture of Anglo-Saxon, was inconceivably the greatest in Danish times. The change was a change of *ruling men*—of legal, political, and ecclesiastical arrangement and policy. How does this tell upon the question in hand?

CHAPTER IV.

The Norman Invasion.

It has already been mentioned that the Normans, the next invaders of England, were of kindred blood with the Danes, as both were with the Angles, Jutes, Frisians, and Saxons, who had long ago obtained and now lost the ascendancy in Britain.

Rollo, the ancestor of William the Conqueror, had fought for himself a settlement in Neustria (*Normandie*) in the years 898—911.[1] A hundred and fifty years after, that is, in the year 1066, his descendant William obtains the title "Conquæstor," and sits on the throne of England. This great event of the "Conquest" was preceded by no long-continued sanguinary struggle. The fighting which took place was, appropriately, between Northmen and Northmen, and the prize the throne of a country to which neither had any right beyond the right which the sharpest and longest sword confers.

The time of a fearful retribution has now come upon the Anglo-Saxon race. Already crushed to the very dust by the strong arm of the Dane, they are now

[1] Thierry, *Conquête d'Angleterre*, liv. ii.

destined to still deeper humiliation from the heel of the contemptuous Norman. In their fall they had the consolation of seeing the Dane adopt their language; but now their language, too, is cast aside, as fit only to be articulated by "ceorls" and mean persons. Normans became the great, the "high men," and the Saxons are deemed "low men," as Robert of Gloucester hath it in his Chronicle:—

> "The Folc of Normandie
> Among us woneth yet, and schulleth ever wo:
> Of the Normannes beth thys *hey men*, that beth of thys lond,
> And the *lowe men* of Saxons."

Ethelred, the last Saxon King of England, while less than a match for the Danes, who, under Sweyn, made their triumphant progress through the land, had engaged in hostilities against Richard II., Duke of Normandy, but this dispute being arranged, he, with better policy sought the hand of the Duke's sister, Emma, in marriage, and thus, in A.D. 1002, the Northmen of England, and the Northmen of France became re-united, and the foundation was laid, which sixty years afterwards supported the claims of William of Normandy to the throne of England. Ethelred, by and by deserted by his subjects—who by force or choice became obedient to Danish rule—fled with his family to Normandy, and Sweyn first (A.D. 1013), and then Canute, A.D. 1017), obtained the title of King of all England.

Canute, who, on the death of Ethelred the Saxon,

had married his widow, Emma, of Normandy—so easily did ladies of that rank and time transfer their affections!—died in the year 1035, leaving a son by Emma, called Hardicanute. Harold, an illegitimate son, first became king for four years, and then Hardicanute for two; after him, his half-brother Edward the "Confessor," son of Ethelred the Saxon. Edward invited many Normans to England, and gave them offices, emoluments, dignities. Being himself the son of a Norman princess, and having spent the whole of his early life in Normandy, he was more a Norman than an English King; and the fact was not unfelt by his subjects. The preference he ostentatiously gave to Norman favourites, and to the Norman-French language and manners, expedited the progress of their disaffection, and prepared the way for the great events that were approaching.[1]

When William came over on a visit of ceremony to the Court of Edward—not without secret ambitious purpose—he found his countrymen teeming in every department of the public service. Normans commanded the fleet at Dover, Norman soldiers commanded the forts at Canterbury, Norman captains and Bishops came to salute him.[2] "Edward's favourites came to pay their respects to the chief of their native country, and thronged round their natural lord. Wil-

[1] Guilielm. Malmesb. *De Gesta Reg.* lib. ii.; Thierry, *Conquête d'Angl.* liv. ii.

[2] Roger de Hoveden, *Annales.*

liam appeared in England more a King than Edward himself. William's quick eye saw his advantage, and no longer despaired of being King of England: "but he said not a word."[1]

When Edward died, William averred that the King had by will made him his successor; and Harold, the illustrious son of the noble Earl Godwin, chief of the Saxon party in England, had been induced by William during his visit in France to swear a dreadful oath over relics of saints, that he would promote his claims. The nation, however, thinking they had had enough of the Normans, crowned Harold King. William, when he heard the news, was deeply agitated. He immediately began preparations for invading England, and conquering its crown by main force. What to him was the will of the people of England? Such was the prologue to the drama about to be acted.

Unfortunately for Harold, his eldest brother Tostig, at this juncture, with an army of Norwegians and Flemings, set up in opposition to him in the North—probably not without collusion with William the Norman. Many battles were fought between the two brothers. Harold's strength was thus exhausting, and William looked on, and "bided his time." At last he saw the moment to act had come. A great fleet of 400 ships, and more than 1,000 transport boats, containing, as is commonly reported, an army of

[1] Ingulf of Croyland, *Hist.* i. 65. "De successioni autem regni, spes adhuc aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit."

60,000 men,[1] crossed the Channel, and disembarked at Pevensey, near Hastings, on the 28th September, 1066. On the evening of the 13th October, the Norman army and the army of the King of England encamped confronting each other.

The morning of the 14th October dawned, and William, mounted on a Spanish charger, harangued his soldiers. The terrible man said: "Remember to fight well and put all to death; for if we conquer we shall be all rich. What I gain, you will gain; if I conquer, you will conquer; if I take their land, you shall have it, &c."[2] The conflict was stubborn and bloody in the extreme. The Normans were repeatedly repulsed. Once they fled in a panic, when the false alarm was given that Duke William himself was slain. At last, however, the tide of battle turned against the Saxons. King Harold and his two brothers fell; the English army was routed; the Normans won the victory of Hastings, and without further controversy the crown of England was placed on the head of William Conquæstor. This in brief was the *Norman Conquest.*[3]

[1] This number, however, is considered by many historians exaggerated, and 25,000 to be more like the truth. See Macintosh's *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 97, and Sismondi, *Histoire de France*, vol. iv. 353.

[2] Thierry, *Conquête d'Angl.* liv. iii.; *Roman de Rou*, ii. 187, *et seq.*; *Chron. de Normand. Rec. des Hist. de la France*, xiii. 232.

[3] See Dugdale, *Monast. Anglic.* vol. i. 312; *Chron. de Normand.* xiii. 235, 236, &c.; *Guil. Pictav.* p. 202; Math. Westmonast. *Flor. Hist.* p. 223; Guil. Malmesb. *Hist.* p. 102; Math. Paris, i. 2.

Now, what is most pertinent here to remark as touching our proper subject is this: The Normans who conquered England in 1066 were William of Normandy and his 60,000 more or less fighting men. A host of these was left dead on the field of Hastings. The Norman accession to the population of England, therefore, even if all these warriors had been of Norman blood, was not relatively large. If we allow again that already, through the favour of Ethelred, of Emma of Normandy, and of Edward the Confessor, many thousand Normans had found home and fortune in the land, and also that after the accession of William thousands more would flock over to sun themselves in the light he had created ; still the number, compared with the whole people of England, was not large. The power of the Normans, even more conspicuously than that of the Danes, was not the power of *numbers*, but of individual will and heroism on the part of William and his followers on the field of Hastings.

But this number, whether great or small, is, by authority of history, to be materially reduced, when calculated for the purposes of our present inquiry. The fact is, that a very considerable proportion of William's army was made up of genuine *Breton* soldiers. Many of his most renowned captains who became historic names among the "Norman" aristocracy of England, were of pure *Celtic* blood—cousins of the people of Wales. Each of these brought his company of retainers, also of Celtic blood, and the whole together

would constitute no slight portion of the traditional 60,000 "Norman" warriors of the 14th October, 1066. This subject shall receive careful analysis in its proper place. Meantime, it is just possible that not a few of the foremost among the "English Aristocracy" who are proud of tracing their descent from a "Norman Origin" must be allowed to be, in fact, neither English nor Norman, but authentic CELTS from *Brittany*, *Poitou*, *Anjou*, *Normandie*, and through previous emigration, from Wales itself.

Add to this that the old *Neustrians*, over whom Rollo had established sovereignty, being in the main descendants of the ancient Gauls, it must follow that the mass of William's common soldiery, though Norman in name, were of *Celtic* race. But of this hereafter.

Part III.

The Argument for Admixture of Race.

PART III.

The Argument for Admixture of Race.

The Question, To what Extent is the English Nation of Celtic Origin? *Discussed.*

CHAPTER I.

The Historical Argument.

SECTION I.

The Compound "British" People.

AFTER the details already given of the arrival of so many tribes and nations in Britain, it will excite no surprise if we now speak of the British people as "compound." The object of the sketches of the preceding pages is to lay down an historical and ethnological basis upon which to plant the argument of "Admixture," on which we are now specially entering. That the English are a mixed people, all allow. It is difficult to mention a section of the human family so heterogeneous, unless it be the Anglo-American.

The *Celtic* race—itself a compound of multitudinous elements, forms the first stratum. Next over that are placed the Romans. Then come Saxons, Jutes, Angles, Danes, Normans, Flemings, in quick and crowding succession, including amongst them fractions of numerous less important communities, but nearly all more or less connected together by a link of *Teutonic* kinship.

We have already recognised the fact that at a period of great remoteness these two generic stocks, the Celtic and Teutonic, would, if traced backwards, meet in one. That period lay in pre-historic times; but the lines drawn by history, although they disappear from our view, are converging lines, and must as unavoidably meet in a point as the rays of a candle, or the channels of an arterial system. The languages of all these people also display such congruities as justify their classification (along with many others) under one common name as "Indo-European." Very remote, doubtless, was the time when these languages all sprang from one dialect—itself again a variety of a still remoter speech. Less remote by many ages was the point of divergence of Saxons and Danes, Iberic Celtæ, and Cymry; and still more recent—so recent as to have left unobliterated the genealogies of particular households—the separation of the two Norse lines of Danes in England, and Normans in France. Not much further removed was the point of departure of the Celts of Armorica who came over in William's army, and the Celts of the

West of England and of Wales, who met them on the field of Hastings.

But, however remote or approximate the points of *departure* of these fractions of the human race from each other, their convergence and amalgamation in Britain has been the work of a few hundred years. The whole operation took place between the fifth and eleventh centuries. The cementing has been perfect—the elements of the mosaic work, except in fine shadings, are now happily undistinguishable. The foundations of the great nation—the most painstaking, the noblest in valour, charity, religion on earth—to which, indeed, our patriotism, perhaps insular in its excess, is apt to grudge no eulogy—has been laid in concrete. Its greatness and solidity are partly attributable to the smallness and variety of its component parts: for it has actualized what was symbolized in the Roman *fasces*—it has united in one the forces of many.

But while we are as a people thus furnished with a ground of boasting, we are by the same circumstance also somewhat humbled. We have little claim to a long and remote ancestry. The pedigree of our nation is ridiculously short; and the parties concerned in "founding the family" are not all of the sort to be proud of. What are we compared with Jews, Chinese, and Indians, at the door of the Herald's College? We must find a ground of boasting, if boast we will, in the fact that we are *novi homines*, or to speak in a figure, that we are the harmony arising from the junction of all

sounds—the pencil of light produced by combination of all the rays. The "Ancient Britons" have receded into the shade; the Saxons find their name a dispute among schools of antiquarians and philologists: the Danes and Normans are only spoken of as a foreign people who once held temporary and usurping rule; and the resultant community which in its comprehensive bosom holds them all in one is called the *English nation*—

> "Sic rerum summa novatur
> Semper, et inter se mortales mutua vivunt.
> Augescunt aliæ gentes, aliæ minuuntur,
> Inque brevi spatio mutantur sæcla animantum;
> Et quasi cursores, vitaï lampada tradunt."—*Lucretius.*

Again, it will not appear strange that this compound people is denominated [illegible] *ritish* people.

It is of no use our pleading that we are called the *British* people because we are inhabitants of *Brit*ain. People are not called after countries, but countries after people. The French are not called so from France, nor the Welsh from Wales, nor Scots from Scotland. The country is named from the people.

The truth, which lives in the inner sanctuary of history, will in one way or other assert itself, and it is the business of science to give it expression. Names, as memorials of the past, are true witnesses, because imposed for simple purposes, in the past, and with no view to meet and humour the conveniences or prejudices of the present. The Ancient Britons, whether or not they

are allowed to have formed the staple of the people of England during the first 700 years of our era, are commemorated in a singular way in one of the most familiar designations of our nation—*The British People.* This fact contains, at the very least, a suggestion. The *Angli*, the most influential tribe of the Jute-Anglo-Saxon invaders, are the tribe whom history has continued to honour beyond their Germanic brethren by crystallizing their name in that of *England*, and of the *English.*[1] The Jutes, who with Hengist founded the state of Kent, have now no memorial in our topographical nomenclature, the Ancient British name of Kent having to this day asserted its place, and effaced all traces of the conqueror's presence. The Frisians, who, under the command of Ella, set up the South Saxon kingdom, allowed a faint inscription on their tomb in the name of the county of *Sussex.* The extensive and powerful kingdom of Wessex—Cerdic's great achievement—is well-nigh forgotten, having no modern name to commemorate its glory—its very capital, *Win*chester, having throughout and down to the present day retained its Ancient British name.[2] The East Saxons still live to memory in the county

[1] Comp. Dr. Bosworth, Pref. to *Compend. Grammar of Anglo-Saxon*, p. ix.

[2] Welsh, *Caer Went*; the Latin modified this into *Venta* Belgarum, thence Sax. *Win*-tan-ceaster, *Win*chester. The root is *gwyn*, white, fair. The *Veneti* of Brittany, the *Veneti* of Italy, *Venetia*, or Venice at the mouth of the Po, *Vene*dotia, *Gwynedd*, *Gwent*, in Wales, are all of identical derivation.

name, Essex. The Ancient Britons and the Angles alone are privileged to furnish titles, the one to the whole *British* people, and the other to the whole territory of *England.*

This may be but the straw on the stream; but the philosophic historian may see in it much of meaning. It may be argued that the Angli only by accident gave their name to England. Had their youths not appeared as slaves in the Roman market-place, Gregory had never sent his missionaries to convert the Anglo-Saxons, nor entitled their king "Rex Anglorum"; nor would the Church ever after in her documents have maintained these designations, and thus led to their unconscious adoption in after ages by Briton, Saxon, Dane, and Norman. The people, it may be urged, are called "British," and the island "Britain," from the ancient name *Britannia*, and that name is derived nobody knows whence—from *brith*, because the natives painted their bodies in various colours,[1] or from *Prydain*, son of Aedd the Great,[2] or from some other thing or person. This is the old "Dryasdust" method—very learned, doubtless, but leaving nothing proved. The fact remains unaltered: the people found here by the Romans were then called *Britanni*—whether that name was given them by themselves, or by the Phœnicians or Greeks, may be uncertain—and the people found here to-day, notwithstanding all admixtures, are called the *British* people, and have a

[1] So Camden thinks. [2] So the Welsh *Triad* says.

pride in styling themselves "true Britons," and our Queen is called her *Britannic* Majesty. The Englishman proud of his descent from pirates, may associate the title of the Sovereign with the territory, forgetting that this, as a new application of an old name, will not really serve his purpose. This name, *British*, *Britannic*, is old, has been adopted by consent, without effort, without the force of authority—even in spite of the political and ecclesiastical prestige of the names Angli and England, adopted from instinctive perception of its suitableness as the description of a people whose infancy was purely "Briton," and whose manhood has reached its proportions through the vigorous blood and healthful constitution which that infancy imparted, together with the new blood, wholesome nourishment, and severe gymnastics, of subsequent times.

SECTION II.

The extent to which Britain was populated at the time of the Roman invasion.

How large was the population at the outset, when foreign materials began to pour in? If small, then the accessions in Roman and subsequent times, though not in themselves large, would relatively be so. If *large*, and this can be made to appear, then we have already one of the bases of our argument laid.

Again, it must be remembered, there is a possibility

that in Roman times the Celtic population of Britain, large though it might be at first, was by the invaders' policy, materially reduced. This might be accomplished by bodily expulsion of the natives, or by such measures of severity as would gradually cause them to waste away. What are the facts which bear upon this phase of the question?

We propose in this section to show: 1. That at the time when Julius Cæsar arrived, Britain was generally and even thickly populated. This is the great Roman's own statement. 2. That the expulsion or destruction of the native population was not a part of Roman policy.

1. Britain at the coming of the Romans was very generally populated.

This position would admit of strong *à priori* proof, supposing that positive statements in its favour were wanting. But let us look at the facts.

More than three hundred years prior to Cæsar's invasion, this island was the home of a people who, according to Herodotus, exported metals to the East; and who were described by Himilco the Carthaginian navigator as a "*numerous* race, endowed with spirit, with no little expertness, all busy with the cares of trade." This shadows forth to us something like a settled state of society. This people, even then, were not mere wandering hordes, existing only here and there on far distant spots, and gaining a precarious subsistence from the chase, or from their flocks. A

taste for trade, and arrangements whereby commerce with distant nations can be carried on, are conditions befitting a population numerous enough and settled enough to be under government. If the tribes of Britain, in the time of Herodotus and Himilco, were numerous and settled, is it too much to conjecture that in 300 years more they must have greatly advanced, both in number and capacity, especially since, by trading, they were brought into contact with the most enlightened people of Asia, or perhaps of the world—the Phœnicians?

But we are not left to conjecture. Allowing the 300 years to pass by without effect, we have later specific descriptions of the state of the Britons which leave no room for uncertainty. An eye-witness—a man whose professional habits, duty, and interest alike combined to make him a careful observer, and whose prejudices as an enemy were not likely to impart a favourable glow to his picture, has sent down to us certain interesting particulars on this point. True, Cæsar with his own eyes saw but little of the island, or of its people. He never set his foot in the Midland parts; never saw the *Cymry*. But Cæsar saw much himself, and made careful inquiries from others respecting the extent to which the island was peopled. His first duty as general would lead to this. He ascertained the names, localities, and importance of the various tribes, far into the interior; and the kind of rough census he thus gathered is the best that has come down to

our time. It is impossible to take exception to that census.

Cæsar tells us that when he arrived (B.C. 55), Britain *was very largely peopled.* "The population is infinite, and the houses very numerous, built after the manner of the Gauls;[1] the quantity of cattle is considerable. The provinces remote from the sea produce tin, and those on the coast iron. The inhabitants of Cantium (Kent), which lies wholly on the sea coast, are the most civilized of all the Britons, and differ but little in their manners from the Gauls. . . . . The greater part of those within the country never sow their lands, but live on flesh and milk."[2]

Note that Cæsar's account of the population as being very great, even "infinite," and the buildings or houses, "very numerous," is not, from the legitimate construction of his language, to be limited to that part called Cantium, where the people were most like those of Gaul, but is applied generally to the island. Much of the information he thus embodies in his history he has received from others; but as a keen and cautious general, assiduous in the employment of spies, and in collecting particulars from all

[1] *De Bell. Gall.* v. 12. Strabo says (*Geogr.* iv. 197), that the houses of the Gauls were generally circular, boarded, and covered with straw, Diodorus Siculus also informs us that the cottages of the Britons were constructed of wood and covered with straw. Can anything much better be said of the greater number of the houses of our English peasantry of the present day?

[2] *De Bell. Gall.* v. 12.

available quarters respecting the countries be sought to subdue, he must be taken as an adequate authority for the external aspect of the island, though not for all its institutions and customs. The designation, position, resources, and warlike reputation of tribes, would be amongst the easiest points to be ascertained, while upon habits of domestic life, and rites of religion, he might occasionally fall into grave error.

Of the southern tribes with whom Cæsar came in contact, the Cantii, who were by him distinguished as the most civilized were not those who offered the strongest impediment to his progress. Did he call them more civilized because they more tamely submitted; or did they so submit because they were less powerful than the tribes of the interior? These latter, whatever their mode of life, were at least the most difficult to overcome, even after Kent had been secured as a base of operations. The Cantii, like the Gauls, soon came to terms, and gave hostages during his first visit. Penetrating a little further inland on his second visit, he found no such ready compliance. The Trinobantes (Ptolemy's Τρινοάντες) in Essex, the Cenimagni or Iceni of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Segontiaci of Berks and Hants, the Ancalites of Wilts and Berks, the Bibroci, the Cassi, and others, were stubborn, unmanageable tribes. Whatever people were the subjects of the brave Cassibelaunus (Caswallon)—and it is difficult to determine their identity—they were beyond doubt a spirited and powerful com-

munity. Cæsar ought to have immortalized their *name*, if only for the reason that they gave the Roman legions the best opportunity of showing their power in battle. The bravery and resolution of these people —supposed to be the Cassi, and the Catyeuchlani (Ptol. Κατνέυχλανοι) inhabiting parts of Herts, Bucks, Beds, and Northamptonshire, together with the power gained by confederation, unity of action, and command in the person of Cassibelaunus, proved a worthy match to the forces which Cæsar brought over on his second expedition.

There are, in fact, good reasons for believing that the Roman general found the Britons so numerous, brave, and powerful, while the hope of booty which their patriarchal mode of life afforded in case of conquest was so slight, that he was glad to leave the island with a show of triumph, rather than risk more prolonged and unprofitable fighting. The Romans, therefore, soon withdrew, and offered the Britons no further molestation until the reign of Claudius, more than ninety years after the invasion by Cæsar.

Strabo, who flourished soon after Cæsar, in his work on Geography, speaking of Britain, says that a great part of the island had become well known to the Romans through the collectors of *revenue*. This is an important indirect testimony respecting population.

That the Britons had generally submitted to the Romans before Cæsar's departure, may be admitted. At the same time we may mark what submission in

that case signified. It signified simply that the chief states professed friendship, gave hostages, and promised to pay tribute. Technically, they were *tributarii*, who continued to live under their own laws and government, and not *vectigales*, who were subject to more severe exactions. No change had taken place in the government of the kingdoms or states; but a new class of officers were appointed as representatives of the Roman power, whose duty it was to proceed through the country under the protection of the native rulers, to receive the tribute. If the greater part of the island had become known to the Romans through these representatives of the Procurator, it must have been capable of *yielding taxes*—for on this ground alone would they make their visitations. If capable of yielding taxes, then there was a population, and not merely a population, but one that was taxable—in other words, a population possessed of goods, engaged in trade, and under distinct and fixed government. We may notice, in passing, a remark of Strabo's which shows the slightness of the hold established by Cæsar on the Britons. After saying that "divine Cæsar returned, having effected nothing of consequence, nor proceeded far into the country," he observes concerning the temper of the Britons, "they bear *moderate* taxes," and adds, that these were laid on "imports and exports from Celtica." The words which follow, are significant as not obscurely intimating the mildness of the Roman rule, and the careful

abstinence from force and provocation observed in the raising of taxes; "it would require at least one legion and some cavalry to enforce *tribute* (φόρος, *tributum*), and some danger would be incurred if force were employed."[1] The revenue raised, then, was not the *tributum* proper, but simply an impost on trade, and this was raised under the sanctions of a treaty, and without the use of force.

Britain, in the time of Cæsar and Strabo, therefore, was, from their showing, a place of large and widely distributed population, whose power required that Rome should handle it with discretion.

2. The expulsion or destruction of the natives was no part of the Roman policy. Neither in Cæsar's time, nor at any subsequent stage, was there any attempt at expatriation or extirpation. To attempt the former were in direct contravention of the invariable policy of Rome. To attempt the latter would be absurd; for the island was large, and the natives myriads in number, while the invaders were few, and their presence often elsewhere demanded by public trouble.

The Roman policy was, to subjugate in order to *use*. Hence, they sought to encourage, rather than retard, growth of population. Their keen insight had penetrated into that principle of political economy now universally recognised—that public prosperity and increase of population go together. Dead men pay no taxes. Broad acres, if not tilled, produce no corn.

[1] Strabo, *Geogr.* lib. iv. 278.

The extirpation or exile of the natives would leave the fields uncultivated and the flocks dispersed; and such fields and flocks would pay no taxes.

Cæsar manifested every desire to cultivate the friendship and alliance of the Britons, if they only consented to recognise the supremacy of Rome. He protected Mandubratius, King of the Trinobantes, and established his authority as that of an ally of the Romans against surrounding, and, as yet, unsubdued states.[1] In this, he observed the policy of his countrymen. Not only the people, but their institutions as far as practicable, their religion, and their language, were always held in respect; and thus the prosperity which lay at the basis of revenue, and the goodwill which was the best guarantee against revolt, were increased. As remarked by Niebuhr, the power of Rome over her "colonies" was in theory, and generally in fact, "the supremacy of the *parental* state, to which the colonies, like sons in a family, even after they had grown to maturity, continued unalterably subject." As to the *provinciæ*, restraint here was still more mild. But in the crude state of things in Britain, as left by Cæsar, there was neither the shadow of a *colonia* nor *provincia*, but simply the general recognition of Roman supremacy by the natives, the delivering of hostages as guarantees of fulfilment of treaties, and the payment of certain imposts in aid of the public revenue.

The wisdom displayed by the Romans in conquest,

[1] *De Bell. Gall.* v. 20.

and government of subjugated peoples, has never been surpassed. In science, in ornamental and industrial arts, in just views of the rights of the subject, the Romans have doubtless been left behind by ourselves and other nations; but in dexterous use of force in the acquisition of extended empire, and in the origination and administration of *government*, it may be doubted whether they have been outshone by any. As their own great poet has said :—

> "Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra
> Credo equidem: vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
> Orabunt causas melius; cœlique meatus
> Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent.
> *Tu* regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
> Hæc tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
> Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.[1]

Other ancient nations often pursued the blind policy of exterminating or reducing to slavery the conquered inhabitants. The Romans no sooner completed a conquest than they sought to pacify, often to initiate their new subjects into the rights and immunities of citzenship. This policy may have originally arisen, as M. Guizot suggests, from the situation of most of the

[1] *Æneid*, vi. 854:—

> "Let others better mould the running mass
> Of metals, and inform the breathing brass;
> And soften into flesh a marble face:
> Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
> And when the stars descend and when they rise.
> But, Rome, 'tis *thine* alone with awful sway,
> To rule mankind, and make the world obey:
> To tame the proud, the fettered slave to free;
> These are imperial arts, and worthy thee."

neighbouring tribes on which Rome first made war.[1] They were dwellers in towns. *Caere*, which gave refuge to the Vestal Virgins when the Celts of Gaul took Rome (B.C. 390) was the first town which preserved its laws and magistrates, and was honoured with the privileges of citizenship.[2] Others soon followed; and the precedents worked so well that a rule of policy was the result.

The Romans, however much they may have striven after Roman "unity," seem never to have conceived the idea of an Italian Nationality. From the beginning to the very end they viewed the empire, the republic, or kingdom, whichever it happened for the moment to be, more in the light of an agglomeration of states, each holding the relation of daughter to the royal mother, Rome, than of a huge and simple unity. Hence it was that they never used their power to crush and efface the institutions of conquered tribes, and reduce the whole to one level of uniformity. Liberty, independence, and territory were alone sacrificed by submission to Rome; life, religion, language, all the rights which the laws conferred, and the unfailing favour and protection of Rome were guaranteed.

Perhaps it was in imitation of this Roman principle

[1] *Ess. sur l'Histoire de France; prem. Ess.* p. 5.

[2] *Livy*, v. 1. It is obvious to remark how similar the name of this old Etruscan city is to the Cymbric *Caer*, and the pronunciation by the Roman would be identical with that of the Cymro.

of confederation that the Britons, after the withdrawal of their masters, established the sovereignty of the *Pendragon*, and that the Saxons afterwards had their *Bretwalda*, by virtue of which Wessex held a sort of supremacy over the other states.

Upon these considerations there can be no hesitation in concluding that the British population not only was not diminished, but was vastly increased during the occupancy commenced by Cæsar.

SECTION III.

The Extent and Power of the British Population during Subsequent Stages of the Roman Occupation.

We shall apply two tests: *first*, the elements of power implied in the prolonged resistance offered by the natives to the completion of the conquest: *secondly*, the statistical details left by ancient authors touching the distribution of the population.

1. The prolonged resistance offered by the Britons to the progress and completion of the Roman conquest.

The history of the Roman progress and occupation divides itself by the nature of the events into three portions: 1. The commencement made by Cæsar; 2. The period of strenuous action from Claudius to Severus; 3. The time of repose, as far as conflict for conquest was concerned, from Severus to the abandon-

ment of the province. On the first we have already sufficiently touched. The details of the second are of great significancy to our argument.

(*a.*) *From Claudius to Severus*—A.D. 43—211.

To stand against great Rome for a single day was no mean adventure. That colossal power under the emperors was the parallel of one of the great military states of modern Europe. If the conquest of India took England a hundred years to accomplish, it were a sufficient proof either of the weakness of England, or of the power of India. If we grant that England was strong, it follows that India, so long to resist it, must have been strong also. But it took Rome a *hundred and thirty years* of very determined and fierce conflict, with occasional intervals of repose—intervals quite as useful to the aggressors as to the invaded—to subdue the Britons as far as the wall of Severus. This it took them without counting the work of Cæsar, and the long interval of inactivity which followed his departure. The subjugation of Britain was not an approximate consummation until Agricola's labours were completed. The tremendous efforts it cost Rome to bring matters to this condition will be learnt by those who will take the trouble to read the eloquent pages of Tacitus. It were idle to say that she was not in earnest, and made no great sacrifices or efforts. Rome never did things by halves. Granted that times of corruption had set in, that the emperors vied with each other in dis-

gracing the old Roman character, and in humiliating the citizens—it is still true that the resources of the empire during the first 150 years of supremacy in Britain were enormous, and capable, when applied as they were applied here, of instantly crushing a weak and barbarian state. And yet the Ancient Britons supplied the Roman legions, the chiefest of the Roman generals, several of the Roman emperors in person, with more than sufficient work to complete their conquest in 150 years; and rendered it an irksome and all but impossible task to keep them in subjection for 300 years more.

The patience, the energies, and the resources of the Romans were confessedly worn out when their occupation was brought to a close in A.D. 412. This event was not occasioned by British obduracy, for under Roman tutelage the Britons had at length lost their elasticity; but it was mainly caused by the unparalleled corruptions which had crept into the administration, the general degeneracy and differences of the Roman people, and the concurrent irruptions of the northern barbarians.

For eighty or ninety years after Cæsar, Roman ascendancy in Britain was a thing in name only. Neither Augustus (B.C. 31) nor Tiberius (A.D. 14) undertook the responsibility of an expedition, but both were content with receiving such tribute as could be obtained, leaving the greater part of it permanently unpaid. The Britons had leisure to cultivate their lands, and advance in the arts of peace. Their efforts

were probably seconded by the Roman officials and merchants settled among them. Their towns grew in importance. London became a city. The coinage of money improved.[1] Many Britons travelled abroad, especially to Rome, the fame of whose magnificence had a peculiar fascination to all subject to her sway; and the sense of security and self-importance which they now began to entertain, rendered the people by degrees more tardy in their payment of tribute—a badge of subjection which no people ever bore less patiently than the Britons. This contumacy, and the pressing need of the imperial treasury, at last spurred the Emperor Claudius to action, and in A.D. 43 he sent an army to subdue the rising spirit of the islanders.

Aulus Plautius, a man of prætorian rank, was the general chosen, and four complete legions, or some 30,000 men, including the auxiliaries, were placed at his command. As Rome had a footing in the island, landing was effected without opposition. Fighting soon commenced, with results favourable to the imperial troops, but bearing evidence also of skill and stubbornness on the part of the Britons—commanded in one of two battles by Caractacus, and in another by his brother Togodumnus, sons of Cunobeline. The Trinobantes of Essex, whose capital is believed to have been Colchester (Camulodunum), were foremost in this revolt. The Emperor Claudius

[1] We have already shown that the Britons coined money previous to the Roman invasion. See *ante*, pp. 72, 99.

himself came over to superintend the campaign. The legions, it seems, were from the beginning little pleased with the duty of fighting those sturdy islanders, and it was found expedient to animate their courage by the emperor's presence in the camp. The Britons, after hard and bloody conflicts, were overcome, and Claudius, returning in triumph to Rome, received from the Senate the surname *Britannicus*, in token of his great achievement in Britain.[1] Surely, in the opinion of the Romans, Claudius had subdued no contemptible foe.

But Caractacus, who from the first arrival of Plautius held the chief command, had not yet surrendered. He collected in a short space of time so great an army that for five more years he maintained the defensive, fought between *thirty* and *forty* battles, causing the Romans infinite damage by the destruction of life and the exhausting of supplies. The Roman commander was hardly a match for him.

Plautius was succeeded in A.D. 50 by the great general Publius *Ostorius* Scapula, who at once gave promise of the distinction he was to win in Britain, by marching forthwith, although it was the middle of winter, to confront the insurgent troops. The Romans had by this time won their way as far as the rivers Severn and Avon,[2] on which streams Ostorius estab-

[1] Dion. Cass. *Hist.* lx. 2, 3.

[2] Camden is of opinion that the reading *Antona* (the river Avon), in *Tacitus*, is an error, and that *Anfona* (the Neu), would be the correct reading.

lished powerful military camps, or stations, to restrain the incursions of the natives from the West and North. The Southern and South-Eastern parts of the island, comprehending some sixteen of our modern counties, were now subjugated anew, with the exception only of the country of the powerful Iceni — the people of Norfolk and Suffolk, perhaps. These had not yet been attacked, and had not sent in their submission. They now rose in great fury against Ostorius; but after a most obstinate and heroic resistance,[1] were at length totally defeated.

Ostorius now advanced more boldly towards the North, leaving the Southern districts under the guard of strong garrisons. He found that the Britons were spread over the parts now included in Cheshire and Lancashire; but the population here was sparse and offered no resistance. It was otherwise when he went further on to the territory of the Brigantes (Yorkshire). These made a determined stand and had to be quelled by hard and costly fighting. No sooner was this accomplished than the Silures of South Wales, Herefordshire, and Monmouth were in a state of revolt under the leadership of the redoubtable Caractacus. Of all the warlike tribes of Britain the Silures proved the fiercest and most persistent enemies of the Romans. But after repeated encounters wherein neither party gained decisive advantage, they at last came to a stand and challenged battle on the intrenched eminence of Caer-Caradoc—

[1] Tacitus, *Annal.* xii. 31, 32.

as Camden judges—in Shropshire. Tacitus tells us that Caractacus harangued his brave warriors in these memorable words: "This day must decide the fate of Britain. The era of liberty or eternal bondage begins from this hour! Remember your brave ancestors who drove the great Cæsar himself from these shores, and preserved their freedom, their property, and the persons and honour of their wives and children."[1] The Britons were ardent for the fray. The Romans moving onwards for the attack, forded a stream and then came upon a strongly entrenched position which seemed to defy further progress. Ostorius was dubious of the result. The skill and science displayed in the construction of the work surprised him, and the intrepid bearing of the prodigious multitude of warriors for a time seemed to awe him. The signal for attack, however, after some hesitation was given. For a time the tide of battle was clearly in favour of the Britons; but when the helmeted legionaries pressed on to close combat, the patriots gave way, and fled to regain the crest of the hill. The day was lost to the Silures. Caractacus escaped, but his wife and daughter and brother were taken prisoners. The brave commander made his way to his stepmother, Cartismandua, queen of the Yorkshire Brigantes, who lent him but a treacherous shelter, for she heartlessly betrayed him into the hands of the Romans. He was sent in chains to Rome, where his presence created the greatest ex-

[1] *Annal.* xii. 34.

citement and curiosity, as described in a preceding section of this work.

But though their great leader was lost, the spirit of the Silures was not yet broken. In a short time they rallied their forces, fell upon the Roman camp and broke it to pieces, killing the prefect, eight centurions, and the best of the troops, and routing a foraging party sent to the relief of the camp. By energetic and rapid movements, they completely foiled the attempt to erect a line of fortifications across their territory, and made prisoners of two whole cohorts of auxiliaries.[1] Ostorius, worn by harassment and excessive fatigue, found relief in death; and it was the boast of the implacable Silures, that they had com passed his destruction, if not by the sword, at least by the toil and vexation they had occasioned him. It was more than twenty years after the death of Ostorius before this intrepid people, in the time of Julius Frontinus's command, became subject to the power of the Romans. We think these facts tell a good deal for the number and strength of the British population of these parts.

It would seem as if the power of the Romans had been paralysed by this fierce and sanguinary campaign. For a season, little or nothing was done to extend or consolidate conquest. An army of 40,000 had not done much under Cæsar. Aulus Plautius with 50,000 had done still less—for he, and his next in

[1] *Annal.* xii. 39.

command, Vespasian, afterwards Emperor, had only succeeded with this enormous force in reducing the parts south of the Thames, with a small strip of territory to the north of that river; and even this acquisition was so insecure, that, immediately on the recall of Plautius, it was retaken by the Britons. Ostorius, as we have seen, though on the whole a victor, was made thoroughly sensible that he was waging war with a race difficult to subdue. The number of his army is unknown to us; it was, doubtless, very large—proportioned to his eagerness for conquest, to the danger, and the difficulty. But it could hardly be said to have accomplished its prescribed work: it left the Silures active and defiant in the field.

The next governor of Britain was the celebrated general Paulinus *Suetonius*, who continued his command from A.D. 59 to 61. Suetonius was ardently ambitious, and bent upon making his career in Britain brilliant. He had the ill-fortune to undertake two enterprises, which, while felt to be essential to the establishment of Roman ascendency, raised to the highest pitch the indignation and enmity of the natives, and tarnished his own fame. He undertook the cruel task of exterminating the Druids in the Isle of Mona, (Anglesea),[1] and to suppress the rising under Boadicea with a coarseness of violence befitting a meaner man.[2]

To show the largeness of the population, and the strength of the Anti-Roman party, where the Roman

[1] Tacitus, *Annal.* xiv. 30. [2] *Ibid.* 31, *et seq.*

cause might be fairly expected to be strongest, Tacitus informs us, that at Londinum (London), which had now grown into a "great mart of trade and commerce"—(Copia negotiatorum et commeatum maxime celebre), though it had no name in Cæsar's time; and that at Verulamium (St. Alban's), the insurgent Britons massacred 70,000 allies of Rome.[1] Camalodunum (Colchester,) which had long been garrisoned with Roman soldiers, was desolated, and the garrison put to the sword. The ninth legion on its way to their relief, was fallen upon and nearly annihilated.[2] The statue of Victory (simulacrum Victoriæ) at Camalodunum, says Tacitus, with a tone of sadness, "fell from its base, without apparent cause, as if it yielded to the enemy."

Suetonius was now on his way to encounter Boadicea, who at the head of a vast multitude was ravaging a part of the country which acknowledged Roman rule. A dreadful battle was fought, which ended in the defeat and dispersion of the native army. The intrepid Queen, as all know, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, terminated her own life by poison.[3]

To accomplish this signal victory, Suetonius, be it observed, had to make extraordinary exertions. None of the steps he took indicate an opinion on his part that he was dealing with an impotent foe. If a woman was the leader of the native battalions, it only proved the heroic character she possessed, and the respect the Britons paid to her sex, as well as her personal merits.

[1] Tacitus, *Annal.* xiv. 33. [2] *Ibid.* 32. [3] *Ibid.* 34—37.

Though the army under Boadicea was gathered from a portion only of the British States, the Romans were evidently alarmed by the attitude they presented. So imminent was the peril from which the Roman cause was by this victory rescued, that the imperial Government, when the crisis was passed, began to devise means for conciliating so stubborn and untameable an enemy, and sent instructions to the officials to deal more leniently and justly by the Britons. The underlings of the Procurator—the tax-gatherers—had been the great oppressors, whose extortions the pillaged natives rose in fury to avenge. The Romans perceived that destroying the tax-payers would in no wise increase the revenue, and felt also that the Britons were too strong to be trodden in the dust after the manner of slaves. Suetonius received a reinforcement of some thousands of men from Germany to make sure against another insurrection, and gradually, under careful management, the excitement subsided, and peace was restored.

Suetonius was soon afterwards recalled. A period of inactivity ensued; the Romans received the tribute-money, and were satisfied. No efforts to extend dominion in the island were for a while attempted.

It was some fifteen years after Suetonius's departure when Julius *Frontinus*, in A.D. 78, felt it necessary to commence measures against the Silures. This people had maintained an attitude of opposition to Rome for a period of thirty-five years—ever since their territory was first attacked by Claudius. Wales was as yet

virtually independent; but now a time of trial comes upon her. Listen to Tacitus. "The *ablest* officers were sent to reduce the island; powerful armies were set in motion;" with the Brigantes "various battles were fought, with alternate success and great effusion of blood; the fame of Cerealis," who conducted these operations, "grew to so great a height that the ablest successor might despair of equalling it," and "yet, under that disadvantage, Julius Frontinus undertook the command," and proceeded to the task of subduing "the powerful and warlike Silures" (validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem), "winning fame and glory by the success of so great an enterprise." Evidently, therefore, these parts of the country were thickly peopled, and that by a race of no mean capacity in war.

The next Governor of Britain (A.D. 78) was C. Julius *Agricola*, whose government and military exploits in this country have been better illustrated through the graphic writings of his son-in-law Tacitus, than those of any other general. Agricola had to begin his command by repeating what Suetonius thought he had finally accomplished—the conquest of the Isle of Mona (Anglesea). This completed, he immediately gave proof of the wisdom and moderation of his nature by trying what effect kind treatment and education might have. He interested himself in the prosperity of the natives, encouraged industry and trade, and the formation of schools for the young, and testified, on witnessing the progress of the British youth in learning,

that they were possessed of natural genius superior to that of the south of Gaul ("et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre.")[1] While he conciliated by tolerance and friendship, however, he was assiduous in using every available means of extending conquest. In three years after his arrival, he had succeeded in pushing his way far into the north, making himself master probably of the whole of Lancashire (thinly populated) Westmoreland and Cumberland. About this time he created the great rampart, from the Tyne to the Solway, called after his name, as a barrier against the Caledonians.

In his next campaign, if we judge from Tacitus's narrative, he occupied himself in securing what he gained, and made no new acquisition of territory. The country now called the Lowlands of Scotland, extending from the river Tyne to the Frith of Forth, or from the wall of Agricola to the line along which the wall of Antoninus was subsequently erected, still remained to win. But was this space at that early time settled by a fixed population? If we are to judge from the dearly bought experience of Agricola and his soldiers, and of others after them, this region, as well as the great mountainous district stretching far on to the extreme north of Caledonia, even at that time swarmed with an energetic and warlike people.

The next two years, A.D. 81, 82, were, therefore, devoted to the Lowlands or Southern parts of Scotland.

[1] Tacitus, *Vita. Agric.* xxi.

Many battles were fought. In the second year Agricola boldly penetrated into the North-East of Caledonia. Fearing "some general confederacy of the nations beyond the Frith of Forth" (Bodotriam), says Tacitus, "he ordered his fleet to cross the Forth," and explore the coast. "The fleet, now acting for the first time in concert with the land forces, proceeded in sight of the army, forming a magnificent spectacle, and it frequently happened that in the same camp were seen the infantry and cavalry intermixed with the marines, all indulging their joy, full of their adventures, and entertaining each other with their respective tales of the mountains and the sea." [1]

In the Caledonians, whom Agricola now met in conflict, he found a people fierce and unbending as the Silures had proved themselves to Ostorius. They not only fought the legions in front, but by rapid manœuvres and stratagems often gained unexpected advantage. They slipped behind the army, cutting down the rear, and destroying the forts he had just erected for permanent garrisons. They attacked in the night the ninth legion, which was strongly entrenched, committing such havoc as nearly to annihilate it. More fighting, however, by and by, resulted in their dispersion.

Next year, A.D. 84, occurred the great battle of the Grampian Hills, when Agricola completely defeated the Caledonians. In this battle the native commanders

[1] Tacitus, *Vita. Agric.* xxv.

marshalled a host of 30,000 warriors. They used war-chariots with scythes in their axles as the South Britons did, and displayed other signs of acquaintance with the art of war which surprised the Romans. It is to be noted that this great force was raised exclusively in the districts of North Caledonia—for the Trinobantes, the Silures, the Brigantes, and other "great nations" of the south and midland parts were not now in a state of revolt—and these districts were populous enough to yield such an army just 138 years after the first invasion of Britain by Cæsar, when, if we believe the representations of some "historians," the interior of Britain contained hardly any inhabitants, and such as were found were naked, shrinking savages!

The description of the battle of the Grampian Hills is one of the finest passages in the writings of Tacitus. It shows, as in a dissolving scene, the impetuous attack of the patriots, the firmness of the massed Roman legions, the frightful slaughter on either side, the confusion and distraction of the natives when overpowered, and the heartrending spectacle presented by the field after the terrible work had done.[1] There are signs still remaining of the campaigns of Agricola, to the north of the Forth, in the remains of Roman forts at Coupar Angus, Invergowrie, Keithock, and other places.

Agricola, after extending the Roman possessions

[1] Tacitus, *Vita. Agric.* xxxv.—xxxviii.

far into Scotland, and placing them under such good government that for more than thirty years the island enjoyed a course of uninterrupted tranquillity and prosperity, was recalled to Rome. Domitian could not endure the growing popularity and success of so good a man; both Agricola and Roman interests, as well as the people of Britain, must suffer, rather than allow the name of a general to outshine that of an emperor.

Domitian, the tyrant, was assassinated, A.D. 96. Both Nerva and Trajan, who next enjoyed the purple, gave the Britons quiet. As usual, when the legions were reposing, the Britons unloosed their shackles, practically enjoying independence. We are told by Appian that the Roman government in his time (circ. A.D. 140) did not take the oversight of much more than half the island, and that it managed this half at a loss;[1] and we imagine the case was pretty much the same during a very large portion of the occupation.

In the reign of *Hadrian*, about A.D. 120, the North Britons once more mustered to arms. The whole of the country north of the rampart of Agricola was at once lost to Roman rule. Hadrian was wisely content with the country south of this line.

Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138, resolved to reconquer the lost territory; and later still, in 207, *Severus* made a most costly and hazardous campaign to the heart of the Highlands, penetrating even far beyond the limits

[1] Appiani Alexandr. *Roman Hist.* pref. v. and lib. iv. 5.

reached by Agricola. The perils and hardships were so great that 50,000 men are said to have perished in this expedition. But the end of the whole was that Severus hemmed in the Caledonians for a time within the rampart of Agricola, and built a solid wall on the same line as a permanent frontier, confessing by this act a consciousness of the impossibility of maintaining Roman dominion further north.

This wall of Severus was certainly a wonder of that age, and may be compared with the greatest public works of even modern nations. The stupendousness of the undertaking is an index to the power of the people it was intended to restrain, and to the value placed on the possessions it was intended to shelter. This wall, unlike the rampart of Agricola, which was of earth, with castles at certain distances, was a huge barrier of solid masonry, 8 feet thick and 12 feet high, with lofty battlements on the side facing the north. It had 81 castles and 330 turrets, distributed at certain intervals along its whole length. Its extreme length was 74 miles! So firm and durable was the construction that large portions of it remain to this day.[1]

Severus died at York in A.D. 211, while on his way to punish the Caledonians for a new display of their irrepressible courage. Caracalla, his son, made peace with them, and soon after left the island. Then supervened a period of seventy years of peace, during which

[1] In addition to the wall, a ditch, 15 feet deep, was sunk on the northern side. On the southern side a military road ran the whole

the lowlands between the wall of Severus and the Friths of Clyde and Forth were settled and cultivated. The people of the Midland and Southern parts of Britain, also, were placed by Caracalla in possession of citizen privileges; the municipal laws of the Empire were introduced, and the liberty of the subject was placed under the responsible guardianship of the magistrate. The country south of the wall of Severus was very generally, in most parts, well populated; large and flourishing towns grew up, many of them being Roman municipia and military stations, and these were connected together by high military roads passing from end to end of the island. Trade, commerce, and agriculture prospered. The military stations and the towns had their clusters of Roman people—the officials of the government and their families, with such merchants and other seekers after wealth as the fame of the province had attracted from

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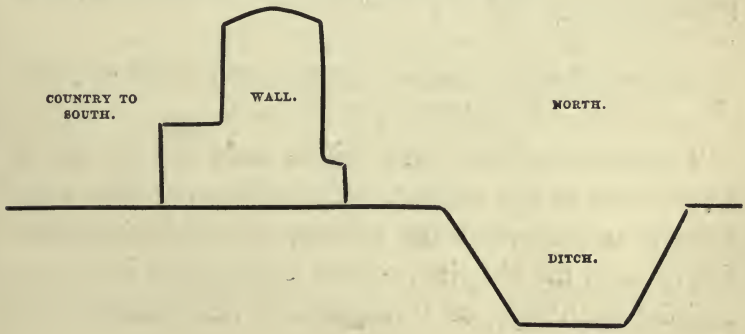
length, connecting station with station. The following rough sketch will give an idea of the wall and ditch in section.



Italy and Gaul. By this time the centres of Roman residence in Britain, such as York, Verulam, Caerleon, Richborough, would begin to emulate in the sumptuousness of their dwellings and the beauty of their gardens and terraces, the costly villas of Rome and Baiæ. But the country around, stretching from station to station and from sea to sea, while conscious of the presence of a foreign governing power, and confessing to the influence of these centres of life, was of a primitive complexion, and its population what from time immemorial it had been—*purely British.* The only change felt was a change from freedom and independence, when they called Britain and all that it contained their own, into a condition of subjection to a foreign and iron yoke. The wars had doubtless swept away large numbers of the males of the country, both British and Roman, and many of the British youth had been drafted off for foreign military service, but this diminution would be small, relatively to the whole mass, and would be speedily replaced by the growth of a young population.

(*b.*) *Retention of the Conquest; Troubles, and Preparations for Departure.* A.D. 211—412.

The events of the next reigns were not of special importance to our subject. Up to the year 284, when Diocletian ascended the throne, quietude prevailed. He divided the Empire between himself and Maximian as joint Emperors, or "Augusti"; and Galerius and

Constantius as rulers of secondary grade, or "Cæsars." The portion assigned to Constantius included the province of Britain.

Constantius found the island in an unsettled state. Carausius, a naval commander, on account of great bravery and skill in his profession, had been entrusted with the task of punishing the Saxon pirates, who in vast numbers began about this time to ravage the coast of Britain. Carausius succeeded in his enterprise; but having thereby obtained influence and wealth, he was suspected at Rome of harbouring traitorous intentions, and it was resolved to get rid of him by violent means. Understanding this, he took a bold step. Having acquired power, he resolved to use it, and is said to have got himself proclaimed by the army in Britain Emperor!

Britain had thus become a young Empire, under a usurper of daring and resources. Constantius was making preparations to assert his right over the island, when Carausius was assassinated by a chief officer, Allectus, said to be a Briton, who in turn himself, for about three years, assumed the title of Emperor, but was defeated and slain by an officer of Constantius. Both Allectus and Carausius had employed the Frankish and Saxon pirates as auxiliaries to fight against the Romans—a proof that the expedition under Hengist and Horsa was not the first from that quarter to set foot in Britain.

Constantius now came into full power. Geoffrey of

Monmouth in his beautiful romance, informs us that he married a British lady, the princess Helena, daughter of King *Coel*, who became mother of Constantine the Great.[1] She it was who became so famous in the history of the Church, as the discoverer of the Holy Cross.[2] Let these stories be taken for what they are worth.

Constantine, who was destined to become first imperial patron of Christianity, arbiter of orthodoxy at the Council of Nice, and the object of Eusebius's unmeasured laudation, was thus, if this story of his parentage be true, and we know of no reliable contradiction to it, a half-blood Briton. He began his reign over Britain in A.D. 306, and continued till 337, part only of which time he spent in the island. The Britons during these thirty years had a season of peace and growth.

About this time, the "Picts and Scots" began, under that name (instead of Caledonii) to make devastating incursions from the North. They crossed the wall of Severus, committing depredations on life and property, far into the lowlands. Great hosts of "Scots" came over from *Ireland*, their original home, and managed to settle in the southern parts of *Scotland*.[3]

[1] Geoff. of Mon. *Brit. Hist.* vi.; *Rich. of Cirenc.* ii. 33.

[2] Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* iii. 46, 47; *Zosim.* ii. 8; *Sozom.* ii. 1; *Theod.* i. 18.

[3] Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* 13; *Rich. of Cirenc.* i. 8, 9; Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* i. 1, 12, &c.

From this time forward till the year 412, when the Romans quitted Britain, the occupation of the island was as irksome to them as to the Britons. The empire was agitated by civil wars or by the inroads of the northern barbarians, and internal corruption festered in every limb of the body politic, threatening speedy dissolution. For about a hundred years Britain was left to the care of officials who won from lax supervision their own aggrandisement. The extortions of the procurators and their underlings became a matter of universal complaint. Indeed, at a period much earlier than this, Seneca (the moralist), who had lent the Britons money to the extent of £322,000, to meet exactions which he himself had promoted, by a harsh and sudden demand for payment contributed to the revolt under Boadicea.[1] Their next troubles arose from the inroads of the Scandinavian, Frankish, and Saxon freebooters on the one hand, and the Picts and Scots on the other—enemies with which the Roman forces in the island were hardly equal to cope. The retention of the province became a difficulty. The usurper Constantine, under Honorius, proclaimed emperor by the troops in Britain, took the last remnant of the army away from the island, in order to make himself master of Gaul. Rome, by treachery in her own camp, had become totally unable to defend herself

[1] Xiphilinus, *Epitomes Dion. Cassii.* lib. lxii. 1—4. This enormous amount—a thousand myriads of money (χιλίας μυριάδας)—is said by the historian to have been "lent" the Britons "against their will".

against the hungry enemies who besieged her on all sides. She left the Britons, therefore, to enjoy freedom if they could, or to be subject to the next powerful foe that cared to invade them.

(*c.*) *Recapitulation.*

From the above sketch we see that the struggle with Rome continued from the landing of Cæsar in B.C. 55, to the erection of the wall of Severus, A.D. 209, or for a period of 264 years. This period equals the time from the accession of Elizabeth to the present year of Queen Victoria. The brave Britons, though sadly disjointed, seldom, if ever, united as a whole—fought, revolted, and fought again, against the most powerful empire of the world, for as many years as it has taken the English nation to conquer almost all its liberties, and develop almost all its resources. To meet the trained legions which Cæsar brought against them, they supplied numbers, courage, and patriotism, but unequal science and inferior armour. Still, Cæsar's invasion was, as Tacitus, their own historian, has declared,[1] a failure. The only wisdom displayed by Caligula was associated with the most puerile freak recorded in history. After preparing a large army to complete the conquest Cæsar had commenced, instead

[1] Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quanquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac littore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. *Vita Agric.* xiii.

of proceeding to encounter the Britons, he commanded the troops to feign a charge upon the *ocean*, load themselves with *shells* as plunder, and return to Rome to enjoy the glory of a "triumph!"

It took Aulus Plautius *seven years* to subdue the country south of the Thames. Ostorius met in the Silures as stubborn and invincible a foe as Cyrus met in Greece; and when Caractacus was eventually led in chains to Rome, Claudius treated him with the respect due to an equal in rank, though fallen—mindful "how much the dignity of the vanquished enhances the glory of the conqueror." The victory over Caractacus "was mentioned in the Senate with the highest applause as an event no way inferior to what had been witnessed in ancient times, when Publius Scipio brought Syphax in chains to Rome, or when Lucius Paulus led Perses in captivity."[1] Ostorius died, baffled and disheartened; and his successors were for years obliged to act on the defensive. Suetonius, stern and resolute, came with a military force proportioned to meet a strong and capable enemy, and that enemy, although unsuccessful in the engagement which followed, proved how willing they were to fight, and how great a host they led to the encounter, by leaving, it is said, 80,000 warriors dead on the field. This is Tacitus's statement, and not that of a Welsh "bard." That it was no easy victory, and gained over no contemptible antagonist, is proved by the words of Tacitus: "The glory won on that day

[1] Tacitus, *Annal.* xii. 37, 38.

was equal to that of the most renowned victories of the Ancient Romans."[1] The glory of the "victory" could only be measured by the strength of the vanquished.

Frontinus and Cerealis occupied seven years in subduing the Silures and Brigantes. Agricola consumed eight campaigns in carrying the Roman arms through the north-western parts between Siluria and Caledonia. Severus, as we have seen, had hard work with the Caledonians; lost in one campaign 50,000 men; and at last confessed the invincibleness of the enemy in its own territory, and the resolution of his government to preserve the province of Britain, by erecting a colossal wall 74 miles long as a barrier against incursion.

In a word, the conquest of Britain and its retention were among the costliest labours of Roman ambition in the West. The subjugation of Gaul was easy in comparison—it was done "without much trouble to the conquerors"—and occupied not a tithe of the time.[2] The wars in Egypt, in Parthia, in Pannonia, and the successive contests with the great Mithridates, were of much less consequence, if expenditure of time, life, and treasure is the criterion of importance.

And what does all this imply? What does it imply especially with respect to the condition and power of that "barbarian" people who sustained so long these repeated shocks from a giant aggressor? Let these questions be fairly answered. Of the resources and

[1] *Annal.* xiv. 37. [2] Ammian. Marcell. *Hist. Rom.* xv. 12.

resolution of Rome we need not speak. These resources were to the fullest extent brought to bear; the resolution is legible in every appointment of a general, in every plan of a campaign, in every vote of the Senate. Let it be remembered, too, that the Britons stood alone in the conflict. We hear of no allied hosts from Gaul repaying the assistance formerly rendered by the Britons. Gaul was now herself a vanquished friend. Few or no foreign mercenaries were employed, for though the Saxon pirates hung upon the shores, the idea of conciliating them by subsidies or employment had not yet entered the mind of the Britons. They were only employed in counter movements by the Romans themselves, as in the case of Carausius. Worse than all, the Britons neutralized their aggregate strength by mutual jealousies. Mutual distrust, the evil genius of all clannish confederacies, whether Celtic or Teutonic, distracted their counsels in this time of peril, and compassed their destruction. "A confederation of two or more States, to repel the common danger," says Tacitus, "is seldom known. They fight in sections, and the nation is subdued."[1] But broken though they were into factions so suicidal, they managed to bring into the field forces capable of meeting Roman troops numbering thirty, forty, fifty thousand men at a time. The importance attached to Britain by the aggressors is in keeping with the populousness and resources here implied. Picked troops were

[1] *Vita Agric.* xii.

selected for her conquest; the most celebrated generals were put in command; the Emperors themselves in several instances, as Claudius, Hadrian, Severus, Constantine, took up their abode in the island, and superintended operations. So great an influence did successful commanders in Britain obtain throughout the Empire that they not unfrequently aspired to the imperial throne.[1] To conquer the Britons was from the first deemed the apex of renown. Hence Cæsar's defiant exclamation: "To what purpose have I so long possessed the pro-consular power, if I am to be enslaved to any of you, or vanquished by any of you here in Italy, close to Rome—I, by whom you have subdued the Gauls and conquered the Britons?"[2] "Here within these walls he (Cæsar) perished," says Dion Cassius, "by conspiracy, who had led an army even into Britain in security."[3] "To be trodden under foot by an Egyptian woman (said Augustus) would be unworthy of us—we who have vanquished the Gauls, and passed over to Britain."[4] The quality of the men employed and the eclat connected with their operations at head-quarters, are measures of the estimate formed by the Romans of the quality and power of the people they were in process of subjugating. The number and equipment of their armies

[1] On this account the island was called by Porphyry, one fertile in usurpers—*insula tyrannorum fertilis.* See Gildas, *Hist.* 2.

[2] Dion. Cass. *Hist. Roman.* lib. xli. 34.

[3] *Ibid.* xliv. 49. [4] *Ibid.* l. 24.

and the time it took them to accomplish the work of conquest offer testimony to the same effect. It were to prove ourselves either incapable of appreciating evidence, or capable of ignoring or distorting it, to deny in the face of these indubitable facts, that Britain, in the time of the Romans, was inhabited by a numerous, brave, and powerful race.

(*d.*) *The Conquests of the Christian Church in Roman Britain.*

Amid all the confusion and bloodshed of the period from Claudius to Constantine, the Christian Church had not been idle or unsuccessful. Tertullian, about the end of the second century, boasts that the Gospel had subdued the tribes of Britain, *who were yet unconquered by the Romans.*[1] Origen (circ. A.D. 236), says that the Divine goodness of our God and Saviour is equally diffused among the *Britons*, the Africans, &c.[2] British Christians were numerous at the time of the Diocletian persecution, and some of them became martyrs to the faith. "The Britons, Alban, Aaron, and Julius, with a great number of men and women, were condemned to a happy death."[3] Wales had the honour of contributing her martyrs, for though Alban was a citizen of Verulam, and has his name cor memo-

[1] *Adv. Judæos.* p. 189, Ed. 1664. "Britannorum naccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita."

[2] *Homil. in Lucam.*

[3] *Richard of Cirenc.* ii. 1, 31.

rated in the Abbey and town of St. Alban's, it appears that Aaron and Julius were citizens of the great Roman station, and *Colonia*, *Isca Secunda*, or Caerleon on Usk,[1] called also "urbs legionum." Constantius put an end to this persecution; and as a consequence, "the faithful Christians who had been hiding in woods, deserts, and caves, reappeared, rebuilt the churches which had been levelled with the ground; founded, erected, and finished the temples of the holy martyrs, and, as it were, displayed their conquering ensigns everywhere. . . . . This peace continued in Britain till the time of the Arian madness."[2]

In a few years Constantine convoked the Council of Arles, and there we find three British bishops, one British presbyter, and one deacon.[3] There were Britons present, it is thought, at the Council of Nice, A.D. 325. Pelagius, the man who startled Christendom in the 4th century with the boldness of his speculations, was a highly cultivated Briton, and a person of undoubted virtue. He erred in a too eager attempt to reconcile human responsibility with Divine grace, whereby he is judged to have lessened unduly the sphere of the Divine agency. But his countrymen—then, as now, apt for theological subtleties—in great numbers ap-

[1] Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* B. i. 7. "Passi sunt ea tempestate Aaron et Julius *legionum urbis cives*." See Geoffr. Mon. *Hist.* ix. 12; Gildas, *Hist.* 10.

[2] Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* B. i. 8.

[3] See Spelman, tom. i.; *Concil. Galliæ*, p. 9. Paris ed. 1629.

proved his speculations. Bede relates that the British bishops sent to Gaul for the assistance of logicians to confront the innovator, and adds that those who had embraced the false doctrines were confuted and put to shame, both by argument and *miracles*.[1] It appears from Matthew Paris, that the conference took place at St. Albans.[2] It must not be confounded with the battle of *Maes-Garmon*, near Mold (as if "Garmon" meant *Germanus*, one of the Gallic debaters), or with the victorious preaching of St. David, placed by tradition at Llanddewi-Brefi, in South Wales.

2. Statistical details left by ancient authors, touching the distribution of the British population in Roman times.

We have already, in Section 2, briefly inquired into the extent of the British population before and at the time of the invasion by Cæsar; and in the last section offered details of conflicts which imply a greatly augmented population in later times of the Roman supremacy. We now propose bringing forward certain statistical information respecting the position and importance of towns and cities existing in the same period, and to draw such inferences respecting *population* as they may warrant.

The simple fact, that the Roman armies met such opposition as to make the subjugation of the island

[1] *Eccles. Hist.* B. i. 20. Matt. Par. *Flor. Hist.* Ann. 446.

[2] Stillingfleet, *Origin. Brit.*; Hughes' *Horæ Britann.*; Usseri, *Eccles. Brit.* cap. xi.

the work of *two hundred and sixty-four years* (B.C. 55—A.D. 209)—that is, from Claudius' expedition to the conclusion of the contests with the Caledonians, under Severus—argues beyond contradiction, the existence of a powerful aboriginal race. It is morally certain that since Cæsar's time the population had greatly increased; and that the different communities, or kingdoms, into which it was divided, had gone on advancing in civilization; so that, when Ptolemy, the geographer, wrote his work in Alexandria, great towns had sprung into existence, surrounded in each case by a widely spread rural population, fostered not merely by the policy, but by the humane sentiments of the Romans, as well as by the growing intelligence of the Britons, and the new quickening influences which wrought upon them.

It is fortunate that we have at hand, written by men in no sense biassed, and at a time when the objects described were in existence, such statistical accounts as render it unnecessary to base our arguments on doubtful facts, or general considerations. Though we have no census of the people, no tables of property assessments, to guide us to an estimate of the wealth of the land, still we have factors of almost equal value, when the object is not to arrive at specific enumeration, but at a general estimate of the populousness of the island. The following are sources for the kind of information we wish here to supply:—Cæsar's Account of the Tribes of Britain; Ptolemy of

Alexandria's *Geography;*[1] The *Itinerary* of Antoninus;[2] The *Notitia Imperii;*[3] and Richard of Cirencester's *State of Britain.*[4]

Britain, according to Cæsar and Ptolemy, contained a large accumulation of confederacies or tribes, sometimes called "nations," but which can only be viewed as clans or princedoms with separate governments under hereditary chiefs, and speaking dialects of one common speech. Ptolemy's account was written in the first part of the second century, and is supposed to relate to the state of the island about, if not before, the time of Cæsar, so that these two authors may be taken as contemporary in the effect of their descriptions. The *Itinerary* of Antoninus was a work drawn up for the public service, of uncertain date, and contains a survey of all the roads of the empire, including the roads and towns of Britain within the Roman occupation, as they stood when the Roman sovereignty had been established. The *Notitia Imperii* contains a detailed account of all the civil and military establishments of the empire, including those of Britain. These were peculiarly *Roman*, but we argue that to whatever extent they prevailed, to that extent must

[1] *Cl. Ptolemæi Geographia.* Ed. Lugd. Batav. 1618. Analysis of, in *Monumenta Hist. Britannica.* Pp. x.—xvi.

[2] *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti.* Excerpt. in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. xx. *et seq.*

[3] *Notitia utriusque Imperii.* Excerpt. in *Ibid.*

[4] Translated in Bohn's Antiq. Libr. *Six Old English Chronicles.*

have existed also a body of Britons to be governed and taxed.

There is also a work ascribed to Richard of Cirencester, which gives a geographical and political account of Britain. The genuineness of this work is called in question by some, though maintained by many others. Professor Bertram professed to have discovered it in a MS. at Copenhagen in 1757. Opinion seems now to run in favour of the idea that it is nothing more than the composition of a clever and unscrupulous scholar of modern times, and that the author was none else than Professor Bertram himself. This controversy cannot materially affect the use here made of it. Even if a work of imagination, its geographical descriptions and historical statements may yet be in harmony with truth. Whether written at an earlier or a later period, many of its positions are borne out by ancient authors, and few of them are impeached by modern investigations.

(*a.*) *The Tribes of Britain mentioned by Cæsar.*

We have to premise that as Cæsar saw but a small portion of the island, his information must be expected to be partial, and given, though probably not inaccurately, in great part at second hand.

Tribes.	*Supposed to inhabit:*
The Cantii	Kent.
The Trinobantes	Essex.
Cenimagni (Iceni of Tacitus ?)	Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambr.

Tribes.	*Supposed to inhabit:*
Segontiaci	Parts of Hants and Berks.
Ancalites	Parts of Berks and Wilts.
Bibroci	Part of Berks and adjacent counties.
Cassii	Part of Berks (?).

Cæsar had more or less visited all these tribes, and had engaged most of them in war. Whether the names he gives be always correct, it is impossible to say. Perhaps some of them went by different names, or adopted, or were called by, other names afterwards, but it is to be noted that Ptolemy covers the regions above enumerated with tribes bearing quite other names.

(*b.*) *Tribes of Britain enumerated by Ptolemy, with the districts they inhabited.*

Tribes.		*Occupying:*
1 Brigantes	Βρίγαντες	Durham, Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire.
2 Parisi	Παρίσοι	The south-east of Yorkshire.
3 The Ordovices	Ορδούικες	North Wales.
4 The Cornavii	Κορναῦϊοι	Cheshire, Salop, Stafford, and Worcester.
5 The Coritavi	Κοριτανοὶ	Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln, Leicester, Rutland, and part of Northampton.
6 The Catyeuchlani	Κατυευχλανοί	Bucks, Beds, Herts, Huntingdonshire, &c.
7 The Simeni (Iceni ?)	Σιμενοὶ	Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge.
8 The Trinobantes	Τρινόαντες	Essex.
9 The Demetæ	Δημῆται	South Wales: Carmarthen, Cardigan, Pembroke.
10 The Silures	Σίλυρες	South Wales: Brecknock, Glamorgan, Monmouth, Hereford, Radnor.

Tribes.		*Occupying:*
11 The Dobuni	Δοβοῦνοι	Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire.
12 The Atrebatii	Ατρεβάτιοι	Berkshire (?).
13 The Cantii	Κάντιοι	Kent and parts of Surrey, &c.
14 The Regni	Ῥῆγνοι	Surrey, Sussex, and part of Hants.
15 The Belgæ	Βέλγαι	Parts of Somerset, Wilts, and Hants.
16 The Durotriges	Δουροτριγες	Dorsetshire.
17 The Dumnonii	Δουμνόνιοι	Devon, Cornwall, and part of Somerset.

These, according to Ptolemy, were all the tribes in Britain *south* of the wall of Severus, *i.e.*, in that part of the island constituting the Roman province proper, and now denominated *England and Wales*, as distinguished from Scotland. All these tribes were found in these parts in Ptolemy's time, or in the first part of the second century, and probably much earlier.

As to the people dwelling further north, Ptolemy gives some *eighteen* tribes; but their names and situations need not here be quoted.

(*c.*) *Tribes mentioned by Richard of Cirencester, which are not included in Ptolemy's account.*

The Segontiaci. The Ancalites. The Bibroci. The Cassii	As in Cæsar's enumeration.

And also :

The Hedui	In Somersetshire.
The Cimbri	In Devonshire.
The Volantii and Sistuntii	In Lancashire.
The Rhemi	In Surrey and Sussex.

These lists of obsolete names would in themselves be scarcely worth the trouble of recording in these pages, were it not for the truth they *imply*, beyond what they distinctly express. Nothing is said of the *number* of each separate clan. We are given the bare fact of the subsistence, at the time referred to, of so many more or less organised communities. But this fact of existence, when we examine it, is pregnant with meaning. Nothing less is involved in it than that the whole surface of Britain was settled upon by distinct and independent sovereignties. The population, described by Cæsar as dense—"hominum est infinita multitudo, creberrimaque ædificia"[1]—may then, or subsequently, in remoter districts, have been sparse, and there might be wide tracts still monopolised by primeval forests and morasses; but the country was recognised in all its regions as belonging to known bodies of men bearing common names, united together by common bonds, claiming possessions in land, and capable of enforcing their rights.

This is simple fact, and in its barest form is of no small import to our argument. There are implications in it of greater significance than anything shown on the surface. Of necessity, these communities, before they could for a single day subsist as independent States, must be in command of a great variety of resources. Each State, however small, must have possessed all the attributes of a kingdom, with modes

[1] *De Bell. Gall.* v. 12.

of administering laws, levying taxes for the public expense, organizing armies for offence and defence. Judged by modern notions of a "kingdom," of course these little sovereignties must appear very insignificant, but for the times, and relatively to their neighbours, they bore quite a different character. At all events each community must have possessed all the essential attributes of a "State"—the augmentation or diminution of the bulk surrounding those attributes, or vitalized by them, would not essentially affect the issue.

It is probable that a community of feeling existed among all these States arising from neighbourhood or affinity, or both. Not that they displayed any excess of virtue in the direction of peace amongst themselves. Their normal state was probably one of bickering. Even in times of national peril they found difficulty in agreeing upon terms of joint action. A personal sense of importance and strong individuality, ruled, as in similar stages of society elsewhere, if not eminently as a Celtic attribute, and led to the disaster which Tacitus, as we have shown, describes; they fought separately as tribes, "and the nation was subdued."

Still we have on record that they formed confederacies. This was shown on the second invasion by Cæsar, and frequently afterwards. The great tribe or nation of the Brigantes often sent troops to assist the southern parts in checking the advance of the Romans; and even between the clans of the extreme North and

the tribes of the South there existed a friendly intercourse. Distance, in those times, would seriously bar association; but as intelligence of events is prized, so its mysteriously rapid communication prevails universally amongst half civilized tribes. Horse and foot messengers are preternaturally fleet among "barbarians." There is reason to believe that the Caledonian clans, not only knew of events happening in the South as the Romans gained ground northwards, but that they acted from impulse of sympathy and sent their contingents to assist in repelling the foreigners. If we take the speech of Galgacus, the general opposed to Agricola at the battle of the Grampian Hills, as his own, and not the invention of Tacitus, he was well acquainted with the Roman progress through South Britain, and looked upon the subjugation of that part as a misfortune befalling kindred of his own. "In the battles which have been hitherto fought with alternate success, our countrymen might well repose some hopes in us; they might consider us as their last resource; they knew us to be the noblest sons of Britain, placed in the remotest recesses of the land, in the very sanctuary of liberty . . . . let us dare like men . . . . the Trinobantes[1] [the people of Essex] who had only a woman [Boadicea] to lead them on, were able to carry fire and sword through a whole colony, and shall not we, &c. . . . . In their own ranks we shall find a

[1] The correction of the text from "Brigantes" to "Trinobantes" is allowed by all to be good.

number of generous warriors ready to assist our cause. The *Britons* know that for our common liberties we draw the avenging sword, &c." [1] In these passages we hear the tone of national sympathy. Identity of race and identity of interest between the mountaineers of the North, and the dwellers five or six hundred miles to the South, are clearly indicated.

If, again, we limit our attention to individual tribes, we shall see that some of them, standing alone, were not so ill matched against the armies of Rome. It is sufficient to mention the names of the *Trinobantes*, *Silures*, and *Brigantes*, to justify this remark. These may be allowed to have been the most powerful in the island; but others were found whose resources and valour were by no means contemptible, as the Cantii, the Iceni, the Catyeuchlani, the Ordovices.

Now the fact that there existed south of the wall of Severus some *twenty* different States, or tribes, some of whom displayed great resources; and that north of that wall, according to Ptolemy's enumeration, there existed some seventeen or eighteen more tribes, of whose temper we may judge from what we know of the "Caledonii"; and that all these were contemporaneous and existing in the early part of the Roman occupation, is sufficient for our purpose in this place.

The strenuous opposition offered to the Romans for a period of 264 years, and this generally diffused population, explain each other. The former without the

[1] Tacitus, *Vita Agric.* 30—32.

latter were impossible. The latter makes the former antecedently probable.

In this generally diffused population—diffused, yet compacted into independent sovereignties, we find not only the reason for Rome's long labours, but for the still longer conflicts of the Anglo-Saxons. Here, moreover, we find the most indubitable proof of the preponderance of the *Celtic* element in the compound people of Britain in the early centuries of our era. Not only were these tribes Celts, but they were powerful and numerous tribes. Not only were they numerous when the Romans began their subjugation, or in the early time when Ptolemy wrote, but it is fair to conclude that during the Roman occupation they became more numerous. Rome not only settled over them a regular guardianship, but *cultivated* them, as a garden is cultivated, with a view to the produce they bore. The next part of our statistics will bear upon this aspect of the question.

(*d.*) *The Roman Settlements, Municipia, Coloniæ, &c., as Indices to the Distribution and Importance of the British Population.*

Great towns in Britain were things of Roman creation. The chief towns established were *Municipia* and *Coloniæ.* The former were free towns of the highest order, whose inhabitants enjoyed, by imperial authority, all the rights and liberties belonging to citizens of Rome itself.[1] The *Coloniæ*[2] were also

[1] Comp. Rosini, *Antiq. Rom.* x. c. 23.

[2] Savigny, *Ueber das "Jus Italicum"; Zeitschrift,* vol. v.;

privileged towns or settlements, intended by their constitution and government to be miniature representations of the parent State, as Gellius calls them—"Ex civitate quasi propagatæ, populi Romani quasi effigies parvæ simulacraque." Our information concerning the *Coloniæ* in Britain is limited, and therefore, even if it were essential to our purpose to determine to which grade of *Coloniæ* these towns belonged—for there were several kinds of *Coloniæ* as well as *Municipia*—we are not in a position to do so.

All these great settlements were centres of military power, of trade, fiscal administration, and social intercourse. In some respects they formed parallels to what we find under British rule in India, where the English residents are grouped together under the protection of the military, and where the army is made subservient to the administration of law and the collection of revenue. In these towns would appear all the indications of Roman pomp and wealth, the refinements of cultivated life, the luxury, dissipation, intrigue, which Rome herself, and the great Italian cities displayed. It may be presumed that the majority of Roman immigrants and their descendants would be congregated in these chief towns.

Now, while keeping in mind the purport of these

Niebuhr, *Rom. Hist.*; Madvig, *De Jure et Cond. Coloniarum Pop. Rom.*; Zumpt, *Ueber den Unterschied der Benennungen*, "*Municipium*," "*Colonia*," &c.; also the Articles "*Civitas*," "*Latinitas*," "*Colonia*," in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*

settlements—the *government* and *taxing* of the native population surrounding them—let us inquire into their number and locality. The number of their inhabitants we cannot ascertain—for no census has come down to us—but the names and position of the towns are fortunately within our reach. Our chief authorities are the *Notitia Imperii*, Ptolemy, and Richard of Cirencester. The *Itinerary* of Antoninus, serves to point out the military roads, and the stations which divided them.

"Among the Britons were formerly," says Richard, (or, as some think, the scholar who chose to wear the mask of Richard, and who has given a description of Ancient Britain, which at least cannot be invalidated), "*ninety-two* cities, of which *thirty-three* were more celebrated and conspicuous—two *Municipal*, Verulamium [near St. Alban's], and Eboracum," (York, the residence of the Roman Emperors when in Britain.)[1] In reply to an objection supposed to be submitted: "Where are the vestiges of those cities and names you commemorate? There are none:" he very pertinently replies: "This question may be answered by another. Where are now the Assyrians, Parthians, Sarmatians, Celtiberians?"[2]

[1] The 88th *Triad* runs thus: "The three principal cities of the Isle of Britain: Caer-Llion upon Wysg in Cymru, Caer Llundain in Lloegr, and Caer Evrawc in Deivr and Bryneich." Caer-Llion, as the seat of King Arthur, obtains from the Triadist pre-eminence even superior to the two Municipia, London and York. It would seem that when the *Triad* was written, Verulamium had fallen into obscurity, and London had taken its crown.

[2] *Anc. State of Brit.* i. 7.

Richard proceeds to describe with great minuteness the remaining great cities. We give also the Greek names by Ptolemy. Richard often gives two Latin names—adding the more recent to the older.

These nine were Roman *Coloniæ*

1	Londinium, *Augusta*,	Modern	London	Λονδίνιον.
2	Camalodunum, *Geminæ Martiæ*	,,	Colchester	Καμουλοδύνον.
3	Rhutupis	,,	Richborough, Kent	Ῥουτούπιαι.
4	Thermæ, *Aquæ Solis*	,,	Bath	Ὕδατα Θέρμα.
5	Isca, *Secunda*[1] (Silurum)	,,	Caerleon on Usk	
6	Deva, *Getica*	,,	Chester	Δηουνα.
7	Glevum, *Claudia*	,,	Gloucester	
8	Lindum	,,	Lincoln	Λινδον.
9	Camboricum	,,	Cambridge	

Of the above, only two have become insignificant—3 and 5.

Ten were under the "Latian Law":[2]

1	Durnomagus	Castor-on-Neve, or Water Newton[3]	
2	Caturracton	Now Catterick, Yorkshire	Κατονῤῥακτονιον.

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[1] Strangely enough this town, so celebrated in Roman times, is not mentioned by Ptolemy. When he wrote it had risen into notice. The only Silurian city he gives is Βούλλαιον.

[2] Cities *latio jure donatæ* were inferior in privileges to the *Coloniæ;* but they had rights corresponding to those granted to the ancient inhabitants of Latium. They were allowed their own local laws and were exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman prætors. See Rosini, *Antiq. Rom.* x.; and Art. *Latinitas*, in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*

[3] The modern name, *Water*-Newton hands down, translated, the ancient Celtic element, *Dur*nomagus; Welsh, *dwr*, water, so common in Celtic local names. See Part III. chap. ii. § 3; 1 (*b*).

3 Coccium	Now	Ribchester, Lancashire	
4 Lugubolia	,,	Carlisle	
5 Pteroton	,,	Burghead, Scotland	Πτερωτον στρατοπεδον.
6 Victoria	,,	Dealgrin, Ross, Scotland	Ουικτορια.
7 Theodosia	,,	Dumbarton, Scotland	
8 Corinium	,,	Cirencester	Κορινιον
9 Sorbiodunum	,,	Old Sarum	
10 Cambodunum	,,	Slack, Yorkshire	Καμουνλοδυνον.

Twelve were "Stipendiariæ": [1]

1 Venta Silurum	Now	Caer Gwent, Mon.	
2 Venta Belgarum	,,	Winchester	Ουεντα.
3 Venta Icenorum	,,	Caistor, or Norwich	Ουεντα.
4 Segontium	,,	Caer Seiont, Carnarvon	
5 Maridunum	,,	Carmarthen	
6 Ragæ	,,	Leicester	Ραγε.
7 Cantiopolis	,,	Canterbury	Δαρουενον.
8 *Dur*inum	,,	*Dor*chester[2]	
9 Isca	,,	Exeter	Ισκα.
10 Bremenium	,,	Ribchester, Northumberland	Βρεμενιον.
11 Vindonum	Near Andover (Egbury Camp, probably)		
12 *Duro*brivæ	Now	Rochester	

The above lists, along with the two *Municipia*, Verulam and York, embraced, according to Richard's enumeration, the *thirty-three* "more celebrated and

[1] The "Stipendiary" citizens were those who were subject to a fixed money tribute, called "Stipendium," in contradistinction to the "vetigales," who paid a certain portion, as a tenth or twentieth part of the produce of their lands, &c.

[2] Welsh, *dwr*, water. *Dor*chester is on the river Froom. All names of towns having this element in them, almost exception, are of Celtic origin. Of *dwr*, in Rochester, the *r* alone remains.

conspicuous" cities of the Romans in Britain. "Let no one," he however adds, "lightly imagine that the Romans had not many others besides those above mentioned, I have only commemorated the *more celebrated.*" Of the "ninety-two," he leaves fifty-nine unmentioned, as being less noted, and probably less populous places.

Of the size and population of these more "celebrated" towns we have no information, and must of course not judge of their celebrity from the examples of great towns of modern times. The importance of a Roman city would often depend on the strength of its fortress, or on the family or official dignity of the *comes*, *dux*, or *proprætor*, as the case might be, who formed the centre of its society, and guided its affairs.

The subsidence of many of these once wealthy and splendid cities into obscurity, so that in some instances not even a trace of them is easily discoverable—such as *Sorbiodunum* (Old Sarum), *Segontium* (Caer Seiont), and even the great Municipium *Verulamium*, itself—not only shows how evanescent are the noblest creations of man, but also how various at different epochs are the conditions under which local prosperity is guaranteed. These great cities, wasting away through sheer inanition, have totally disappeared, while the population of Britain in the gross has immensely advanced. But the conditions of urban prosperity in Britain have totally altered since those cities grew into note. Great military roads, and stations no longer nourish *nuclei*

of population into growth and wealth. Cities are born and nurtured in our times from causes totally different and superior—the demands of the arts of peace, of trade and commerce, of health and taste.

But now let us observe the *position* and *distribution* of the above principal Roman cities. We think we may find here an interesting clue to the distribution density, and wealth of the aboriginal inhabitants. These cities we consider as watch-towers to survey the surrounding population, and as granaries to be filled from the produce of their toil. If this view of the history and political life of the period is correct, then we may expect that wherever the Romans were well established —carried on a prosperous trade—had to keep in check a numerous subject race—and were surrounded with ample means of revenue—there *coloniæ*, military stations, and other purely Roman centres of population would most abound. Let us now test the theory by the facts as borne out by the preceding tables.

One only of the *coloniæ* is found in Britannia Secunda, or Wales. This is *Isca*, or Caerleon on Usk, the reputed seat of Caractacus when leader of the Silures, and in post-Roman times, of *Arthur* and his fabled Knights of the Round Table. Three other but inferior cities are located in Wales, Maridunum (Carmarthen), Segontium (Caerseiont) near Carnarvon in the North, and Venta Silurum (Caerwent, or Caergwent), on the eastern limit of Wales towards the South—thus relatively to each other occupying a triangular position,

and well distributed. These are of the inferior order of *stipendiariæ.* In Richard's enumeration, Scotland was supplied with three: Theodosia (Dumbarton), Pteroton (Burghead), and Victoria (Dealgrin); and all these belonged to the third order, or cities of the "Latian Law" (Latii Jus.)

Now as to the freest and most privileged cities: Shall we find these situated where wealth most abounded, where population was thickest, and where considerations of public safety, as against the incursions of the Frankish and Saxon plunderers, would advise their being planted? We think we shall. Let reference be made to the outline map the other side. These cities cluster about the Thames, especially in Kent, more than in any other part of the island. Here we find London, Canterbury, Rochester, Richborough, Colchester, St. Alban's, and Cambridge. They also abound in the tract of country between the Isle of Wight and Gloucester; here are Dorchester, Exeter, Old Sarum, Winchester, the town Vindonum, near Andover—of which there remains no trace—Bath, Cirencester, Gloucester, Caerwent, and Caerleon. These are suited by position not only to fleece an abounding population, but also to check the Britons of Cornwall, Devon, and Wales. But for the whole of the Midland counties in Richard's list, Leicester stands alone; and the town Venta Icenorum, near Norwich, Castor and Lincoln are the only other stations he gives for the whole of the Eastern counties as being "celebrated" cities.


ROMAN CITIES OF BRITAIN.
1. Isca (Exeter).
2. Durinum (Dorch.)
3. Sorbiodunum. (Old Sarum)
4. Venta Belgarum. (Winchester)
5. Vindonum.
6. Durobrivae.
7. Cantiopous.
8. Rhutupis.
9. Londinium.
10. VERULAMIUM.
11. Camalodunum.
12. Thermae.
13. Corinium.
14. Gevum.
15. Venta Silurum.
16. Isca Silurum.
17. Maridunum.
18. Camboricum.
19. Duromagus.
20. Ragae.
21. Venta Iceni.
22. Lindum.
23. Deva.
24. Segontium
25. Cambodunum.
26. Coccium
27. EBORACUM.
28. Cuturracton.
Dunnamagus.
R. Forth.
WALL OF ANTONINUS
R. Clyde
VALENTIA
30 Bremenium.
WALL OF SEVERUS
R. Tyne
Ligubalia
29
MAX. CAESARIENSIS
28
27
26
25
22
23
24
FLAVIA
20
19
21
CAESARIENSIS
BRIT.
18
SECUNDA
17
14
13
11
10
16
15
12
9
6
7
8
5
(3)
4
BRITANNIA PRIMA
(1)
(2)
FRANCE

Thus *eighteen* of the thirty-three important towns enumerated by our author were south of a line drawn east and west from Cambridge to Carmarthen; while only *ten* were located in the whole remaining territory, from that line to another, drawn from Tynemouth to Carlisle, or the line of the wall of Severus—a district thrice as large.

Something is doubtless to be learned from the superior celebrity of these thirty-three cities—although we must carefully keep in mind, in forming judgment respecting the number of the native population, and the Roman residents respectively, that these were less than half the actual number of towns, which Richard says existed. These were so distinguished above the rest, as to deserve, in his opinion, special mention. The remaining fifty-nine, whose names he omits, were of less importance. Since he gave his list from a document drawn up, as he says, by "a Roman general," corrected by comparison with "Ptolemy and others," we may take its contents as substantially reliable; and shall probably not be far from the truth, if we take the greater celebrity of these thirty-three cities, as arising from their military and commercial importance.

But we should fall far short of an adequate idea of the state of things in Roman Britain, if we took these as the only cities worthy of mention. Richard's may have been cities all celebrated at the *same time*—the time of the particular "Roman general," referred to —and "celebrated," by reason of attributes mainly,

which would strike a *general* as of prime value, such as their strategical advantages, their strength as fortresses, their capacity as *castra* or camps, and their situation amid a region affording abundant supplies; or they may have won celebrity at different times in the course of the Roman occupation before the document was compiled. But, that other great cities existed, which at one time or other of the Roman dominion, equalled the chief of these thirty-three of Richard's in fame and wealth, cannot for a moment be questioned. We have marked the positions of seventy or eighty of these on the map by a circlet. The names of all of them are well known, and the positions they occupy, will show no part of the island was destitute of some great centre of Roman life and influence. The following are among the better known:—

1. *In Britannia Prima,*[1] *or South Britain.*

Dubris (Dover).
Clausentum, Hants.
Avalonia (Glastonbury).
Ischalis (Ilchester).
Maldunum (Malmesbury).
Anderida (Pevensey).
Bibracte (Wickham).
Tamara (Tamerton).
Ad Aquas (Wells).
Tamesis (Wallingford).
Reguum (Chichester).
Calleva Atrebatum[2] (Silchester).
Uxella (Bridgewater.)
Abone (Bitton).
Noviomagus (Holwood Hill).

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[1] It hardly needs mentioning that the island was divided by the Romans into five parts, exclusive of Caledonia, as shown in map:— 1. *Britannia Prima*, in the south; 2. *Britannia Secunda*, or Wales; 3. *Flavia Cæsariensis*, midland; 4. *Maxima Cæsariensis*, further north, far as the Tyne; *Valentia*, thence to Firth of Forth and Clyde.

[2] See a graphic description of the present state of the site of this

2. *In Britannia Secunda (Wales).*

Menapia (St. David's).
Nidum (Neath).
Gobannium (Abergavenny).
Ad Vigesimum (Ambleston).
Bomium (Gwenny)
Ariconium (Weston)
Leucarum (Loughor)
Burrium (Usk)
Magnæ (Kenchester)
Branogena (Worcester).
Luentium (Llanddewy)
Conovium (Conway).
Bullæum (Builth)
Mediolanum (Meifod)
Varæ (near Bodffari).
Bravininum (Leintwardine).
Rutunium (Rowton).
Bovium (Bangor Iscoed).

3. *Flavia Cæsariensis.* (*Midland and Eastern parts.*)

Trajectus (Aust).
Durolitum (near Romford).
Magiovinium (Fenny Stratford).
Brinavæ (Chipping Norton).
Villa Faustini (Bury St. Edmunds).
Venonæ (Claycester)
Mediolanum (Chesterton).
Causennæ (Ancaster).
Condate (Congleton)
Durocina (Dorchester, on the Thames).
Cæsaromagus (Chelmsford).
Ælia Castra (Alcester)
Tripontium (near Lilbury).
Cambretonium (Tuddenham).
Uriconium (Wroxeter).
Utocetum (Uttoxeter).
Crococalana (Brough).
Mancunium (Manchester).
Sulloniacæ (Brockley).
Forum Dianæ (Dunstable).
Lactodorum (Towcester).
Durolipons (Godmanchester).
Iciani (Ickboro).
Derventio (Lit. Chester).
Branodunum (Brancaster).
Segelocum (Littleborough).
Ad Banum (Doncaster)

&c., &c.

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famous Roman city in C. Knight's *Old England.* "We look round and we ask the busy thatchers of the ricks where are the old walls? for we can see nothing but extensive cornfields bounded by a somewhat higher bank than ordinary—that bank luxuriant with oak, and ash, and springing underwood. . . It is a tribute to the greatness of the place, that to whomsoever we spoke of these walls and the area within the walls, they called it *the city*. Here was a city, of one church and one farmhouse," &c.

We must cease this kind of enumeration. Suffice it to say, that many more cities of note at one time or other during the Roman occupation, lie further north in the two provinces of Maxima Cæsariensis and Valentia. The names above given (which are all represented on the map by the circular marks) show how thickly strewn were the Roman settlements.

Our argument from all this is brief, and has already been stated. These settlements would have no meaning without a native population around each to govern and tax. The Romans never attempted settling in this island with the view of expelling the natives, and colonizing it with their own countrymen. Their *Coloniæ* here were what Cicero calls the old Italian Coloniæ, "propugnacula imperii," the defences of the empire, like Cremona or Placentia. They were specifically what we have described them—*military* and *trade* settlements, chiefly the former. When the soldier could no longer be spared here, the body of the Roman population left with him,—a sufficient indication of the relation of the one to the other. The greater number of chief cities being in the south, near the Thames, and the coast of Gaul, indicates a thicker native population, and more solid settlement of the invader, in these parts. From one end of the map to the other, wherever we notice the Roman city, there is the Roman military road, the favourable military post, the well-watered and productive country—and, doubtless, *there* was found, at the time the spot was fixed

upon, a surrounding native industrious peasantry, and mercantile class, whose field labours and trade would prove remunerative to the tax-gatherer. The very considerable number of these centres of military, fiscal, and municipal administration, we consider as conclusive proof of a generally diffused and numerous British population.

3. The addition to the population through the accession of Roman residents was comparatively small.

However general the answer which must necessarily be given, we cannot avoid, in the conduct of this argument, asking the question: What was the comparative strength of the British and Roman races during the supremacy of the latter in the island? If the influx of Romans was so large as to cast into the shade the aboriginal inhabitants, then the influence of ancient British blood in the future compound population must be inconsiderable. We believe, that, relatively, the Romans permanently residing in Britain were very few; and we shall by and by have to show that out of these few, only a fraction remained behind, when the imperial army was ordered to depart.

(*a.*) The first and largest accession of Roman blood was in the army. This portion, however, had little chance of settlement on the soil. They gradually disappeared through the casualties of war, natural mortality, or removal to foreign stations, and seldom had opportunity of contracting home attachments in this land. It is also to be remembered that the legions,

though called "Roman," were, in fact, recruited from all nations subject to Rome, and that those which fought in Britain were in great part recruited from Gaul. Their children, therefore, if they married British wives, as they were at liberty to do, and in all likelihood, occasionally did, would only contribute to swell the *Celtic* population. That Germans, as Leo thinks,[1] were numerous in these legions, is highly probable; nay, indeed, that men from all lands acknowledging the sway of the Romans, were found in them, is all but certain, as we shall by and by have occasion again to indicate. But the point to be here noted is, that the army, however itself compounded, was not an appreciable ingredient in the sum total of the inhabitants.

(*b.*) The next element of Roman population were the numerous civil functionaries, and their families, who, along with the military officers, and their families, would form the society of every *Colonia*, and other chief town.

Rome, and all her provinces, were eaten up by these gentlemen. Under the governor of the island, as we learn from the *Notitia Imperii*, were placed five assistant governors for the five provinces already enumerated. These were, two *Consulares*, or men of consular rank, for the two provinces of the North, Valentia and Max. Cæsariensis, and three *Præsides*, or presidents for

[1] See his *Vorlesungen über die Gesch. des Deutschen Volkes und Reiches*, vol. i. 268.

the three more southern provinces. Then there were other three great officials, whose functions were more general; one called *Comes litoris Saxonici* (Count of the Saxon shore), to watch over the piratical depredations of the Saxons on the Southern and South-Eastern coast; another, called *Comes Britanniarum*, and a third called *Dux Britanniarum*, whose duties related to the military operations and great military posts of the island.

Under these chiefs, the subordinate functionaries, military, civil, and ecclesiastical, would be counted by thousands. Then would come their families and dependents, numbering many more thousands, and forming in every Municipium, Colonia, and other city, a compact Roman and aristocratic residentiary body.

(*c.*) The merchants, tradesmen, artists, &c., formed another very considerable ingredient in the Roman population proper.

(*d.*) But all these people were confined to the cities and towns we have been enumerating; and it is to be kept in mind that in these same towns was resident a large population purely British. If the whole population in the Roman cities had been Roman, it were a serious item in the whole. But probably in these very towns the great majority of the inhabitants were natives of the country. These cities themselves, in most cases, had once been British cities, and the men and women who once ruled, as well as those who served there, had now been all made servants to the new

possessors, until such time as, one after another, they might again win their rights of citizenship. The great body of the servile class were, doubtless, Britons—the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" were not brought from Italy while so many were ready to hand among the conquered people. The masters were now Romans, the servants Britons. But all Britons were not servile. Britons would be at liberty to improve their ruined fortunes as they listed. They would be tradesmen and dealers, merchants and mechanics, agriculturists, gardeners, &c. Submission to the laws of the Roman was all that was exacted.

We have given, we think, as ample a view of the Roman element in the population as the truth requires; and yet we are fully warranted in concluding that this element, compared with the whole population throughout the country, was but a small—an almost infinitesimal—fraction.

4. The Roman residents withdrew from Britain when the military occupation terminated.

The fact stated in this heading, if true, as assumed, is a very surprising one. The Romans had been masters in Britain for more than *four hundred years.* They had been engaged in all the enterprises in which a conquering people delight in a newly acquired land. They had made colossal fortunes; had been born and educated here for eight or ten generations running in the same families; their sires and grandsires for as many generations were buried here; cities, large and

splendid—temples, classic and colossal—villas and baths, rivalling those of Baiæ and Pompeii—fortresses, roads, bridges, amphitheatres, which would command the admiration of ages, had been reared by them all over the island; and the images and altars of their gods consecrated a thousand spots from South to North; and yet, no sooner does the army vanish, than the Roman people quit the island, leaving all these splendid and precious memorials of their wealth, genius, and piety to be the property of the liberated Britons! It is an astounding fact.

The Romans must have had hard times of it in Britain, and the times must have been growing worse, to lead to such an issue. It was so. After much and long prosperity, adversity asserted her right to rule, and bore down upon them with unsparing severity. Civil commotions increased. Property became insecure. Military adventurers snatched the sceptre of authority from the hand of the ruler. The army became divided and fought against itself. Rome became incapable of protecting her distant though favourite province. The spirit of the Britons regained its elasticity, and seized on the heritage of its late rulers. The Romans saw no prospect of quiet, and so, compounding with necessity, they went to try their fortunes elsewhere.

The Saxon Chronicler informs us that in A.D. 418, "the Romans collected all their treasures that were left in Britain, and some they hid in the earth so that

no one has since been able to find them, and some they carried with them into Gaul." [1]

To the same effect is the ninth Historical *Triad*, which relates that "the third invading tribe which came to the Isle of Britain, *and departed from it*, were the Cæsarians (Romans), who through violence continued in this island upwards of four hundred years, until they went back into the country of Rhufain (Rome), to repel the hostile gathering of the black invasion, and never returned to the Isle of Britain"; and it adds these words: "and there remained of these only women and young children under the age of nine years, *who became a part of the Cymry*." [2]

Scarcely is anything of the kind known elsewhere in history; and yet we can hardly disbelieve the representation. We may have a difficulty in accounting for it, but the fact cannot be cavilled at. It is clear that, while successive Emperors had squandered the wealth of Rome upon

> "High towers, fair temples, goodly theatres,
> Strong walls, rich porches, princely palaces,
> Large streets, brave houses, sacred sepulchres,
> Sure gates, sweet gardens, stately galleries
> Wrought with fair pillars and fine imageries,"

in Britain, as if they would compensate for the decay which was wasting Rome by adorning this remote limit of the Empire, the Roman people did not find in this country a congenial home. The splendour was the

[1] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 418. [2] *Myv. Archæology of Wales*, ii. 58.

creation of the authorities. The British population were kept under guard of the military. The Roman traders, capitalists, functionaries, &c., were here to push their fortunes, as the English are now in India under protection of force. The machinery depended on the legions. When these became demoralised and faltered in their allegiance, setting up emperors of their own, until at last they were led to Gaul by their last chosen, Constantine, "the tyrant," and the island was left exposed, confusion at once ensued, and it seems that no time was lost when the legitimate Emperor, Honorius, became impotent to succour, in deciding upon quitting the island for ever. The guilty feeling of usurpers, no longer capable of holding their ground, possessed the whole body. Such only as were on intimate terms with the Britons, with young children and women, from whom nothing was to be feared, continued to live in Britain. However distinct the Roman people had kept themselves, in the mass, from the natives, it is impossible but that in 400 years alliances would take place, friendships formed, and interests established which would cause many a Roman to feel at home among the Britons and be treated by them as one of themselves. But these would be few compared with the whole. The truth remains that the Roman race quitted the land, and left the ancient possessors, who were spread, as we have shown, over its whole surface, in quiet enjoyment of all it contained.

At the departure of the Romans, therefore, the

Ancient Britons were a numerous, and comparatively unmixed people. Our conclusion on the former is categorical, and certain; on the latter, it is subject to qualification, as we now proceed to explain.

SECTION IV.

Admixture of Race during the Roman Occupation.

THE Roman law contained no prohibition against intermarriage. If any impediment arose, it would be from the repugnance of the natives. But in all nations there are persons little governed by national sentiment, ready to adapt themselves to events, and preferring personal intercourse and advantage to abstract ideas. Residence in the same neighbourhood through life would make friends of Roman and British families. In 400 years antipathy would stand little chance of retaining its vigour among the peasantry, and persons of equal rank in towns. Neighbourly feeling, cherished by deeds of common politeness, and of kindness in seasons of need, would overlay opposite sentiments, and friendships and matrimonial alliances would occur. Whether it be a fact or not that Constantius himself set the example by marrying a British princess (Helena), the circumstance that the statement was made in early times, and credited, shows that the event was not improbable—that, in other words, the relations of conquerors and conquered were not such that persons of the highest rank might not intermarry.

The soldiery who came without wives would, in many cases, marry native women. Where the soldiers were Celts from Gaul, or elsewhere, as already intimated, the junction would produce no intermixture of *race;* but we must remember that the Roman army was a conglomeration of fragments from almost every nation in the then known world. The cases of intermarriage between soldiers and British women might, therefore, include curious examples. We need only consult the *Notitia Imperii*, and the inscriptions discovered on tombs, altars, &c., to see that the legions were composed of Spaniards, Thracians, Dacians, Cilicians, Sarmatians, Dalmatians, Tungrians, Germans, Moors, and even Indians. Did some of all these marry British wives? When we remember how in succeeding generations the characteristics of ancestry reappear, as evidenced by the natural history of man, how can we wonder at the variety of physiognomy, complexion, and temperament displayed in the streets of every village and town of England and Wales!

The "women and young children" are allowed by the *Triad* to have become "a part of the *Cymry*." They merged into the mass, and, adopting the speech and manners of the Britons, were soon not distinguishable from them.

Let it be kept in mind that long before the departure of the Romans, Christianity had been embraced by a large proportion of both peoples. Constantine the Great had become a zealous patron of the Church,

and the Britons in large numbers received the faith. The wall of separation as between Christian and "heathen" had thus been broken down, and a new ground of sympathy, more sacred than any other, being found, intermarriage would more freely take place.

Rome profited from such alliances. Amity and goodwill sprang from them. Every family tie was a tie between the people and their masters, and oppression was made less galling.

Though the etymology of proper names is a dangerous guide, it is not altogether to be discredited. In times long subsequent to the evacuation of Britain there were numerous personal designations current in the island which indicated Roman origin.

The corruption of the British language by the introduction of Latin vocables, made greater progress both in Roman and post-Roman times than is usually acknowledged. In the estimation of some of our "Welsh literati" it were a proof of traitorous intentions towards the *Cymraeg* to say that its vocabulary is intermixed with Roman words; but the fact is so, as in our chapter on Philology, and in Appendix A., we shall have occasion to show. At the same time it cannot be too frequently insisted upon, that intermixture of languages is not a certain index to a *proportion* of race intermixture. In the chapter referred to, we have endeavoured to distinguish between the two, and to show how the former is an evidence of the

latter as fact, and in what respect it may be considered evidence as to its measure.

The introduction of Latin into the Cymraeg might be the fruit of respect for the speech of the ruling class; and might still more arise from the respect entertained by the better instructed—the clergy—for the Latin, as the depository of ancient learning. That the Britons had to some extent cultivated the Latin is certain. The indications of history are few, but we have shown that Agricola used special efforts to induce them so to do. The works of Taliesin (6th cent.) give some evidence of his acquaintance with the classic writers, both of Greece and of Rome, and Cymricised Latin words are often met with in his verses. Also in Aneurin's *Gododin* (6th cent.) vv. 231,239, we meet with many corruptions, ex. gr. *fossawt*, for fosse, a ditch (Lat. fossa), *Calan Jonawr*, the first of January, v. 268, (Lat. kalendæ); Llywarch Hen (6th cent.) has *gwydr* (Lat, vitrum), &c. Latin words became naturalized in the speech of the Cymry in the middle ages; thus, at the very opening of the laws of Hywel Dda[1] we meet with the word *emendaäsant* "improved" (Lat. emendo); and in the elegy of Meilyr on *Gruffydd ap Cynan* (12th cent.) we meet with the epithet, "*rex* radau," King of gifts or graces. How the terminology and technical phrases of superior languages, or the languages of superior nations are adopted as in some sort signs of presumable culture by

[1] See Walton's *Leges Walliæ.*

the uneducated, we need not say: the Welsh of the present day afford ample and humiliating illustrations.

We have few means of knowing how far the culture of Latin proceeded among the Britons during the stay of the Britons. Mr. Wright is assuredly wrong in the opinion that Latin had become the fixed and only language of Britain, and was the speech in general use on the arrival of the Saxons. Not only is there no evidence that the Romans, here or elsewhere, made a point of imposing their language; but the traditions, early literature, and subsequent vigour of the Cymbric tongue, conclusively prove that the language had remained as genuine as the people.

We have said, that Agricola set on foot measures for teaching Latin to the Britons. He wisely began with the sons of the chief people—"principium filios," expecting that the example of the high would be followed by those below. All this would prove that up to Agricola's time, when Rome had been master some hundred and thirty years, the Britons had made no acquaintance with the Latin tongue. As yet the children of even princes and the nobility had not been taught it. But soon the administration of the laws came to be in Latin. Latin was the language of official life. In two or three hundred years, it would infallibly make progress, especially among the instructed classes, and would become the chief, if not only, language spoken in the *Municipia* and *Coloniæ*,

and Roman towns; and would thus become an instrument in the fusion of the two peoples.

The languages would doubtless, as languages of daily intercourse, mutually borrow. The process for both would be facilitated by the numerous Celtic vocables already existing in the classic Latin—memorials of some ancient common origin between it and the Cymraeg—and by the similarity of articulation of the two tongues. As an example, the Welsh word *taran*, thunder, may be cited. Ennius, in earlier Latin, says, "Jupiter tarans," while Virgil has, "Jupiter tonans."

These philological indications, added to other reasons mentioned, or left to be understood, justify the presumption that amalgamation took place between Romans and Britons, but how far this fusion proceeded, we cannot of course determine. Taking what has already been shown—the relative smallness of the Roman residentiary population—as our guide, it seems reasonable to conclude, even after making the amplest allowances, that its progress was not great. When the Romans withdrew, the population of Britain was substantially Celtic, as they found it. Neither the occasional immigrants from North Germany, nor the influx from Italy during the imperial rule, produced any such change in the inhabitants as to render it inappropriate still to call them *the Ancient Britons.*

SECTION V.

The influence of the Roman Conquest in rendering prominent the Celtic character of the Western side of Britain.

THAT the eastern side of our island retains hardly any traces of the Celtic aborigines, and that the western has always been their favourite, though not their only home, cannot admit of debate. Had the Romans any hand in determining this state of things? Or were the determining causes at work in times anterior to the Roman Conquest, and have they been so still more decidedly in later times?

The great line of march for the Roman troops was from South to North through Leicester, York and Newcastle. On this line the great military stations were found. To the east of this line, from time immemorial, the piratical rovers of the German Sea would have some influence, and small settlements would here and there have been effected by them. Here probably settled the "Coritani." We read of no great Celtic power at any time inhabiting these regions; they had been always left in a state of comparative wildness, abounding in forests, moorlands, and swamps. Up to comparatively recent times, indeed, the "Fen Country" was but a thinly peopled and sadly uncultivated tract. But if we look to the Western side, along the entire length of the island, the

Cymry are found predominant—in Cornwall, in Wales, in Cumberland, and Strathclyde, far into Scotland.

Now it is by no means certain that the Romans had any special hand in causing this distribution of the Cymry. The unhistoric representation of the Romans, and after them of the Saxons, "driving the Ancient Britons into the mountains of Wales," is groundless. A preference for the West would arise from the nature of things, unless the aborigines were a people without reason. The cold morasses, stagnant waters, and tangled forests of what are now called Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Lincolnshire, were not likely to be more inviting than the clear streams, sheltered vales, and towering hills of the West. Once discovered, the western side of Britain, in the most primitive times, would be more coveted than the eastern.

Previous to Roman times also, as afterwards, the German Sea marauders were the plague of the Britons. To avoid their presence, and to keep their flocks and property out of their reach, the inhabitants would naturally move to the interior, except where their strength was sufficient to overawe their unwelcome visitors. The power of the Iceni and Trinobantes in Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, &c., was not sufficient to prevent them from committing depredations, and even forming settlements, on their shores; nor was the power of the Romans sufficient altogether to check them. It is, therefore, conceivable that their visits would cause the aborigines in their earlier stage of

possession to feel but slight attachment to those parts even if the landscape had been pleasing, and the soil fertile.

The condition of things, when the Romans began their conquests, was therefore something like the following: The southern and western parts were well peopled. As far as the mountains of Caledonia, the different tribes of Britons, all speaking the same tongue, were found in more or less teeming multitudes. In the central parts of the island also they abounded in almost equal numbers, as evidenced by the vast forces they brought into the field to stem the progress of the Romans. But in proportion as Rome established her power, in that proportion did the more brave and defiant, when resistance became useless, quit their native locality, and seek shelter among the, as yet, unconquered tribes of the West, in Wales, Devon, Cumberland, and the region still further north. Thus an intense hereditary spirit of nationality was concentrated in *Wales* which never ceased to fulminate its most terrible thunderbolts against all aggressors on the sacred soil of Britain, and has not even allowed its powerful vocabulary to fall into complete desuetude even in these latter days, although all real reason for its use has long ago vanished.

To the pirate freebooters of North Germany, possibly, allusion is made in the Welsh *Triads*, where amongst the "three invading tribes which came into the Isle of Britain, and never departed from it," are

mentioned, "the Coranians, who came from the country of Pwyl," and settled about the river Humber and the shores of the German Ocean."[1] This may refer to a period anterior to the Hengist incursion. We cannot rely upon general historical statements such as these, made without date or definite order of succession; but we may legitimately receive them as suggestive and corroboratory along with other proofs, and thus convert them into service in building up a firm structure of argument. We, therefore, accept this *Triad* as indicating one of the causes which in early times—perhaps in this case in Roman, possibly in the interval between Roman and Saxon times—forced the Cymry, not bodily, but in detail, and by degrees, towards the opposite western coast—probably in that particular case, more towards Lancashire and Cumberland than towards Wales.

There was a poetic fitness in this migration of the ancient possessors into the more hoary regions (if geology will pardon a figure) of the island. And the step might well have been suggested by a prophetic foresight also. The western side is the region of primary formations, which not only determine the rugged, picturesque character of the surface, but the invaluable deposits underground. Nearly all the mineral wealth of Britain is carefully treasured on the Western side—the region whither their good genius conveyed so many of the staunchest of the Ancient Britons. But war,

[1] *Myv. Arch. of Wales*, vol. ii. 59.

oppression, and sentiment prevented the Cymry from finding the concealed riches. Is it, therefore, that the slow and searching Englishman—the compound of Saxon and Celt—must follow them to the West, to aid in the discovery and converting to use of treasures which so long had lain under their feet? The Celt, though not wanting in constructive power, has not for many ages in the British Isles turned it to the highest account. Poetic, airy and sentimental, his aptitude is small for burrowing the earth. He is naturally at home when ranging the breezy hills, or the fairy intellectual dream-land. But when he with his quick perception and prompt action is joined to the persistent calculating Teuton, then comes forth the inventive discoverer of worlds above and worlds beneath—the man who can extract gold from the quartz rock, and dig coal and iron from the bowels of the hills.

We do not think that Roman influences contributed in very large degree to the movement of the aboriginal race westwards. They led to the overlaying of the features of Celtic nationality in the South, and all other parts except the West and extreme North; but this was done, not by displacement of the race, but of the language, and other elements of national character. That the race had not been displaced, but remained in vast numbers on the soil, was demonstrated on the departure of the Romans. The British kingdom of Lloegria was immediately set up, with London as its capital. The Saxons had to fight the old Britons

twenty years for possession of Kent; and afterwards for every inch they gained of territory from Kent to the Highlands.

Nothing can be more conclusive as proof that the Romans had never dislodged the Britons from the soil of England than the universal movement alluded to, which took place for the reconstruction of the native States, once the land was free from the repressive power of strangers; and we need no better evidence that the government of Rome had never obliterated the distinctions of rank and family recognised among the Britons, than the fact that when this reconstruction was inaugurated, the genealogies of the princes were known, and the rightful claimants to power indentified. A dispute arose respecting right of precedence to the supreme office of *Pendragon* (an office similar to the Saxon "Bretwalda"), but the princely families and their order of descent were all known, and, doubtless, the ancient laws and usages were in safe keeping against the moment of resurrection, when the barriers of political oppression were torn away from their tomb.

SECTION VI.

The Numerical and Material Strength of the Britons at the Time of the Anglo-Saxon Invasion.

We have been anxious to present as faithful a picture as possible of the Ancient Britons, their number and

distribution throughout the island, under the Romans; for here lay the basis of the whole argument. This being done, and the interval between their liberation from Roman rule and subjection to Anglo-Saxon attack being so short, part of the proof implied in the wording of this section is already accomplished. If the Britons were spread over the island, and in powerful bodies, under the Romans, and at the time of cession of Roman rule, nothing short of a miracle could prevent their being so when the incursions of the Picts and Scots, and North Germans, took place. What the Romans left them, such the Anglo-Saxons found them. This is true, notwithstanding the emigrations to Brittany, and the hosts which are said to have followed the fortunes of Maximus and Constantine the usurper to Gaul.

But we must, in the briefest form, give a few details respecting this critical period in the condition of the Ancient Britons.

1. The effect of the Roman dominion on the spirit and capacity of the nation.

It has been shown that it was in harmony with the policy of the Romans to encourage the increase and prosperity of subject races. But it was neither their policy nor their practice to develop the British *mind*, and encourage the habits of self-reliance and self-government. They consistently promoted such development as tended to the increase of revenue, without impeding the action of a rigid military rule. The

increase of population was encouraged, since it both furnished men for the army and taxes for the treasury.

But, side by side with this planting and irrigating, there was at work a method of exhaustion. The British youths were drafted into the legions, and many sent on foreign service, it being the custom of the Romans to gain new provinces by the aid of troops drawn from the old—a custom, by the way, superior in its wisdom to that pursued by the British in India until the late disastrous mutiny.

Offices of trust and emolument, calling into play talent and acquirement, were, as a matter of course, bestowed on Roman candidates. A chief qualification for these posts was indubitable loyalty. In the army, Britons might be promoted, but with discretion, and with exclusion from chief command. When a common soldier like Constantine "the tyrant," could rise to be *imperator*, nothing could prevent a Briton from occasionally obtaining subordinate command. Allectus, who rose against and destroyed Carausius, and assumed the imperial title he had usurped, is said to have been a Briton. But, as a rule, the natives were not promoted in the army.

When, therefore, the Roman Government was withdrawn, the Britons were found in a condition of prostration little adapted for the management of affairs. Bede, with a tone of deeper colouring than the truth demanded, tells us that "the South of Britain," destitute of armed soldiers, of martial stores, of all its

active youth, which had been led away never to return, was wholly exposed to rapine, as being totally ignorant of the use of weapons."[1] Gildas has already painted the same picture, but follows his bent by dashing in darker lines.[2] Things were bad enough, though not quite so bad as this. Among the chief causes of the weakness and bewilderment of the Britons may be counted the following:—

(1.) The moral impotence incident to dependence on the government and authority of others through 460 years.

(2.) Exhaustion of property by confiscation and taxation.

(3.) The necessity of creating a new army.

(4.) Divided counsels—the marked misfortune of the Celtic race.

2. The recovery of the ancient spirit and rule. Rome in recalling her army (if, in the confusion which accompanied the usurpation by Constantine, and the removal of all the troops under his command to Gaul, such an act as "recalling her army" can be ascribed to Rome) left in Britain certain officials with nominal authority and bearing nominal command, but of their functions very little can now be known. Whatever they may have been, the natives, in the absence of the army, were not likely long to respect them. The chiefs

[1] *Eccles. Hist.* i. 12. See also *Sax. Chron.* ann. 443.

[2] *Gildas*, sects. 14, 15. It is well known that Bede's account is only a copy with a few alterations of that of Gildas.

of the different tribes overhauled their pedigrees and began to advance their claims to rule the country. The people had no difficulty in recognising the true claimants—so carefully had the genealogies been kept through the 460 years of suppressed nationality.[1] The entire social and political organization of the Britons was based upon their elaborate genealogies. Never was there a people more aristocratic and oligarchical. Every district belonged to a particular family connection or clan, which had grown up around some chieftain called *Pen-teulu* (caput familiæ),[2] and no person not by birth related within the *ninth* degree to such *pen-teulu* could possess land or hold rank in that district. His pedigree therefore was the Briton's title to dignity and property. The princes and great men—precisely after the analogy of all early Oriental nations—kept their bards or genealogists in their houses as a necessary constitutional institution, and as general annalists, musicians, and teachers of morals.

The Isle of Britain was soon astir with the work of repairing the ancient desolations. Not only tribe governments or kingdoms, North, South, East, and West were established, but an effort was also made, amid much distraction and division of counsels, to cement a bond of union between the different kingdoms by a confederacy and the appointment of a supreme prince called *Pendragon* over the whole. This may

[1] Girald. Cambren. *Cambriæ Descript.* xvii.

[2] *Laws of Hywel Dda*, iii. 1.

have been an arrangement known among the Britons in ante-Roman times. Something of the kind existed among the Gauls. Or it may have been in imitation of the practice of the Romans, who always looked upon the Empire, not as an *unity* so much as an aggregation of unities, with Rome as supreme and directing centre. The seat of the *Pendragon* was London—the chief city, by this time, of the *Lloegrian* Britons.

It was in this very effort at a wise arrangement for defence, that the Britons managed to find the chief bone of contention and occasion of their own defeat. Every prince of course would like to be *Pendragon*. The Lloegrians were the tribe whose capital had been fixed upon, at least by themselves, as the seat of the *Pendragon*. But the *Cymry* claimed to be the first colonists of Britain—the descendants of the first king, *Prydain*—the hosts and patrons of all subsequently arrived tribes—and nothing appeared to them so just and natural as that their ruling prince should be *Pendragon*. The enemy was already knocking at the gate, but the wranglers could hear nothing but the din of their own tumult. Reason reeled, and amid utter confusion the appeal was made to arms. The people, who were already too feeble to repel an invader, began to increase their impotency by shedding each other's blood. In this war of rival claimants, *Vortigern*, the Lloegrian, was loudest and hence most successful in demanding the Pendragonship.

It must be confessed that the endeavour to establish

a native government after the ideal conceived was a failure. All that can be scored to the credit of the Britons during this painful interval is a spirit of thorough-going, heroic patriotism. The sorts of government that were established under Vortigern, Ambrosius, Uthyr Pendragon (said to be father of Arthur), granting for a moment that the accounts we have received are worthy of credit, were not adequate to self-protection, and were hardly anything better than fortuitous experiments of rivals for supremacy. It is impossible to determine at this distance of time how far Roman intrigue was concerned in frustrating a restored British monarchy; and how far credit is due to the representations of Geoffrey respecting *Ambrosius* as claimant with Roman proclivities against his brother *Vortigern* as the national champion. There may be truth underlying the representation. All we know for certain is that the national spirit was now thoroughly roused. Not in Wales, but over England, the Britons were politically active. The old chroniclers shadow forth to us in that dim age the appearances of weighty transactions, powerful and violent rivalries, extensive resources, audacious courage. But the scene is one of power mingled with weakness—private passion and intrigue warring against reason and the commonweal—usurpation, insubordination, interminable disorder. No picture more affecting could well be offered to the study of the historian than a noble, generous, heroic people, long-oppressed, but just let

free, holding in a trembling hand the cup of their destiny, and in the mad eagerness after a drop of its contents, dashing it all to the ground!

There now occurred a strange coincidence in the fortunes of Rome, the mistress of the world, and of Britain, her late province—both became the prey of "Northern barbarians."

3. The race of the Britons, at the coming of the Anglo-Saxons, widespread and numerous.

It has been already said, that what the Romans left the Britons, such the Anglo-Saxons found them. Numerous as they had been found to be in all parts of the island by their imperial aggressors, it is beyond dispute that their number vastly increased, in spite of all diminishing influences, during the Roman occupation, and that when it ceased they were in all conceivable respects, the practice of self-government excepted, a greatly superior people to what they were at the commencement. They were better educated, better trained to arms, better practised in all the arts of life: in a word, they had received all the advantages of the Roman civilization, and were, therefore, in point of general culture, pretty much on a par with the Romans themselves.

We take it as an intimation of the teeming numbers of the Britons rather than of their desire to abandon their native country that so many scores of thousands of them are said to have emigrated about this time to *Armorica.* Maximus is related to have led as many

as 60,000 British youths to Gaul.[1] Usher calculates that the number would be more like 30,000 soldiers, with some 100,000 peasants to form the settlement.[2] On this subject of Maximus's expedition to Brittany, there remains a good deal of obscurity. Lobineau, the historian of Brittany, disbelieves it. But nothing can discredit the fact so universally believed, that vast numbers of the Britons did settle in Brittany. Breton tradition to this day bears it out; local names and language are strongly in its favour. Our next section will show that the country was populous enough to spare these hosts, military and otherwise, and yet remain well inhabited.

4. The resistance offered to the Jutes, Saxons and Angles, an evidence of the numerical and material strength of the Britons.

It took these invading tribes, usually called "Anglo-Saxons," a *hundred and fifty years* to establish themselves on British soil. The value of resistance is to be calculated according to the force resisted.

The Anglo-Saxon invasions, and the wars which succeeded them, continued as we have shown from A.D. 449, to A.D. 828, when Egbert, of Wessex, received the dignity of Bretwalda. This length of conflict tells an instructive as well as a ghastly tale. We do not diguise the fact, that much of the obstruction

[1] Richard of Cirenc. *Anc. State of Brit.* ii. 2, 35; *Nennius*, sect. 27; *Gildas*, sect. 14.

[2] Usseri, *Antiq. Brit. Eccles.* pp. 107, 108.

to Saxon progress in the later ages of the Conquest, proceeded from the Saxons themselves—one Saxon state waging war with another—but throughout this long and most dreary period, the Britons never ceased to be conspicuous in the field, mostly as the only opponents.

When Vortigern invited Hengist and Horsa and their companions to aid against the Picts and Scots, and probably also against a party amongst the Britons who sympathized still with Roman supremacy, the martial tone and equipment of the Britons must be confessed to have been inferior. But they had men among them who knew the Roman art of war. They had workers in iron and brass, who had been taught to fabricate the Roman arms. Romans of rank, and most likely officers of the army, were still in their midst, though, not perhaps earnest helpers in the defence of the island. In Cæsar's time, the Britons had no better weapons than the Germans ; they had no steel, though probably they had bronze blades ; but after long schooling under the most martial nation on earth, they could no longer be in so ignorant a condition. Their misfortune was, that they were poor,—"without martial stores," as Bede expresses it—and that the means and men they commanded were divided under leaders of different opinions and sympathies.

Vortigern was a party leader, and many of the people of the land refused to enlist under his banners. The Welsh *Triads* inform us that the Cymry were opposed to

the invitation sent to the Saxons. But Vortigern persevered; and on this account, the invitation having turned out disastrously to the whole British race—he is always spoken of in the *Triads* with unsparing bitterness and contempt.[1] This dissension greatly reduced the force first confronted with the invaders. The party of Ambrosius was numerous, and they were opposed to all Vortigern's acts. The Cymry were also numerous, probably much more so than the Lloegrians and the Ambrosian party together. Until, therefore, the danger of losing their country stared them in the face, and their own annihilation was threatened, they kept apart and neutralized each other's effective action. The invaders had comparatively easy work of it. So it was, that Hengist managed at length to settle his handful of followers in Kent, and found there a kingdom. Even under the circumstances, however, it cost him *twenty years* of conflict to do the work.

This first troop of Jutish Saxons was by no means numerous, although they proved of great service at the first to Vortigern in repelling the Scottish Celts. But their number when they turned traitors, and forced a permanent settlement in the country, rapidly increased. An old Chronicler says, referring, it may be, to the whole of the Anglo-Saxon invaders, that a "large multitude" joined them from every province in Germany.[2] Geoffrey, with his usual magniloquence,

[1] Comp. *Triads*, 11, 24, 25, 41, 57, 98. [2] Ethelwerd's *Chron.* B. i.

assures us that Hengist raised in Germany an army of no less than 300,000 men, and fitting out a fleet, returned with them into Britain."[1] The exaggeration is palpable. Nennius says, "at that time the Saxons greatly increased in Britain, both in strength and numbers.[2] We are told by Bede that their first victories over the Picts being known in Germany, "as also the fertility of the country, and the cowardice of the Britons, a more considerable fleet was sent over, bringing a still greater number of men, who being added to the former, made up an invincible army."[3] When Bede speaks of "cowardice," it is well to remember that he was himself a rather prejudiced Saxon, and withal a borrower from the pages of Gildas—into whose trustworthiness it will be our duty by and by to examine.

With all their reinforcements the invaders made but slow progress. With all the weakness division created among the Britons, they still managed to do something in self-defence. "Four times did Vortimer (son of Vortigern—the father being for the present, according to Geoffrey, in disgrace and deposed, owing to his

[1] *Brit. Hist.* vi. 15. There is obviously here an enormous exaggeration. To convey such a multitude it would require a fleet of 1,500 vessels, giving 200 men to each; or even 7,000 vessels of the capacity of those used by Cæsar in conveying his 30,000 men across. He used 700 ships.

[2] Sect. 50.

[3] *Eccles. Hist.* i. 15; *Sax. Chron.* ann. 449; *Nennius*, sect. 43.

marrying Rhonwen daughter of Hengist,[1] and, as was suspected, secretly plotting in favour of the Saxons) valorously encounter the enemy."[2] For twenty years had the Saxons to fight their way into possession of the first corner of the country—the very corner which great Cæsar had also first coveted. They fought on, however, until the resting-place they sought was gained. "They fought at Ægelsthrep, and there Horsa was slain." They fought next year at Creccanford (Crayford), and there Hengist and Acsa his son "slew four troops of Britons with the edge of the sword." Next year after this there was a great conflict at the same place, when Hengist "slew four thousand men."[3] A few years later there were battles at Wippids-fleet, at Cymenes-ora, on the banks of the river Maercreds-burn, at Andreds-cester—all places difficult now to identify—but at the last it is said that Ella "slew all that dwelt therein, so that not a single Briton was there left." In A.D. 495, Cerdic, with his son Cenric, and "five ships," arrived, and the Britons, who by this time allowed Hengist to settle down in Kent, and Ella to settle in Sussex, contested several battle-fields in the South-West about Hampshire, disputing the ground inch by inch for a period of four and twenty years.

[1] Geoff. of Mon. *Brit. Hist.* vi. 12. "It was through the devil entering into his heart that he who was a Christian should fall in love with a pagan."

[2] *Nennius*, sect. 44.

[3] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 455, 456, 457.

Cerdic, however, a brave man, had not come over to be beaten; so in the year 519 he gained a decisive victory at Cerdicsford, "and from that day forth the royal offspring of the West Saxons reigned." But setting up a kingdom in other people's territory is not to be secure of rest. Again and again the Britons return to the charge, and not till a new invasion on another part of the coast demands their presence and prowess, is Cerdic allowed leisure to fit on his crown. "It was not until fourscore-years after the disembarkation," observes Mackintosh, "that Cerdic, at the head of the West Saxons, made a lasting impression on the Western Britons in a series of battles where he was probably resisted by the valiant Arthur."[1]

Already on the coast of Essex, Ercenwine, with a horde of pirates, challenges the Britons to come forward; and no sooner is this challenge accepted, than another is hurled at them on the neighbouring coast of Norfolk and Suffolk by Uffa and his teeming Angles. Difficulties thicken, but the islanders are not yet disheartened.

No sooner are these in turn, or simultaneously encountered, than a still more powerful force from the same inexhaustible region of North Germany invades the North. In the year 547, Ida and his Angles establish themselves between the Tweed and the Forth. The Britons of these parts have hastily to collect an army, and take the field. The regions now covered by

[1] *Hist. of England*, i. 31.

the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the South of Scotland, are now the scenes of many sanguinary conflicts. This was about the time when Aneurin and Llywarch Hên sang their verses, and this was the country which a section of the nation of the Cymry, called "Cumbrians," then called their own. At this period was contested the disastrous battle of *Cattraeth*, wherein Aneurin fought, and which forms the subject of his poem, the *Gododin*.[1] This battle deprived the Cymry of their rule in those parts. Multitudes submitted to the victors. Aneurin and Llywarch Hên, of Argoed,

> "Arcades ambo,
> Et cantare pares,"

lost their country and their state, and retired, with their spirit of poetry and liberty unshackled, into the secure asylum of the mountains of Wales.

These sore conflicts in the North took place about a hundred years after the first settlement of Saxon tribes in the South. This interval was a time of gloom and horror to the Britons. It determined the question whether Britain was to be the prey of strangers. It relegated to the care of barbarism the whole of Roman civilization left in the country. Taken at a disadvantage, torn by faction, attacked in all directions, and with a fierceness almost unparalleled, by Picts and Scots, Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, who, acting as if by

[1] The *Gododin* seems to be named after the tribe of the region, whose name the Romans varied into "Ottadini."

concert, seemed resolved upon compassing their total ruin, it had been no cause for wonder if they had succumbed to so hard a fate, and their name had been blotted out of the records of succeeding ages. But they managed to hold up their head, and to perpetuate their race and name. Whole bodies of them, it is true, entered into "confederacy" with the Saxons. The entire kingdom of Lloegria did this. The tribe of the *Brython* did this. They "became Saxons," as the *Triad* expresses it, thus diminishing the influence and power of their own brethren, and swelling the ranks, and augmenting the power and territory of the invaders. But the "true Britons," (as they might well call themselves) never wavered, never flinched. Where they could they kept possession of the walled towns, and strong castles and camps, left so thickly strewn over the island by the Romans; and, where obliged to quit these, they converted hills and forests into new fortresses, and carried on for ages a guerilla warfare in the very heart of the Saxon States.

After the Anglian conquest of the North and the setting up of the Kingdom of Northumbria, British resistance took the form, chiefly, of occasional devastating incursions, and insurrections. These were not movements originating merely in the West. They occurred as the work of a people still existing in the heart of England. The insurgents are often termed "Welsh" (*Wealhas*), but not because they came from *Wales*, but because this was the name the Anglo-

Saxons gave to a people not belonging to their own race. We find that though the Kingdom of Wessex had been in a manner founded since A.D. 495 or thereabouts, Cerdic and his successors had frequent occasion to meet the Britons in the field long years after that time. In A.D. 552, the very year Ethelbert, first Christian king of Saxon race, was born, they fought a severe battle at Searo-byrig (Old Sarum, in Hampshire); the following year at Berin-byrig (Banbury, in Oxfordshire); in 571 at a place in Bedfordshire; six years later in Gloucestershire, and seven years later still at Fethan-lea, a place identified by some with Frethern.[1]

Mighty conflicts and innumerable skirmishes of which no record has reached us must have taken place between the Cymry and the Midland Anglo-Saxons, for the Kingdom of Mercia was only founded in A.D. 586—a *hundred and thirty-seven years* after the Hengist incursion—and its position would necessitate manifold quarrels with the Britons of Wales and neighbouring regions, many of whose possessions it swallowed up.

After this we come to a period of greater repose to the Britons. The Anglo-Saxons, before they had settled all their differences with the original inhabitants, began in earnest to quarrel amongst themselves. A long series of desolating wars occurred between Wessex, Mercia, and the Northern Kingdom, which continued to rage with greater or less fury until the

[1] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 495—584.

time of Egbert, when the whole were united under one general government. For 200 years or more we hear little of contests between the Anglo-Saxons and the Britons, beyond occasional raids and outbreaks.

What has now been adduced is sufficient to show that a powerful opposition was offered to the Anglo-Saxons, and continued for some hundreds of years, by a fraction only of the Ancient Britons. If they had been all united, and presented a combined and well-compacted front to the foe, it is clear enough he could never have made good his footing in the land. Celtic disunion alone made possible Anglo-Saxon triumph, and was the "good-and-evil" agent in originating the majestic creation of the modern English nation. If, with their numbers reduced by this cause, they still accomplished what history, impartially read, gives them credit for, they must have been a people not only of undaunted courage, but of great resources and numbers. They at last set a limit to Anglo-Saxon progress. The wave of conquest met with an unyielding barrier. A people so ambitious of territory as the Anglo-Saxons were only by the sheerest inability to advance prevented from incorporating the whole of Wales, Strathclyde, and West Wales into their own proper dominion. It is quite conceivable that this work might, in course of time, have been accomplished, but for the mutual jealousies of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Northumbria would long have anticipated the conquest of Strathclyde by Kenneth III. of Scotland

(A.D. 973) if Mercia had not been treading on her heels; and Mercia would in time have incorporated Wales had not Wessex been so powerful as her rival. The different States of the Heptarchy, or rather Octarchy, and especially the three just named, had, by the tenth century, in spite of all the destruction of life by almost incessant wars, greatly multiplied in population, having received, *en masse*, the Lloegrians, Brython, and probably the Coranians, into their body at an early stage of the Conquest; they had continued advancing in numbers for three or four hundred years, and had spread themselves as naturalized possessors over the greater part of the island, excepting the countries mentioned on the Western side. Here, still, a brave people guarded their "Thermopylæ," hurling grim defiance at the invader's advance, and here the Saxons ceased advancing.

SECTION VII.

The Extent to which the Britons and Anglo-Saxons became incorporated into One People.

The preceding pages have made the conclusion certain that amalgamation between the two races took place. We have now to make manifest the extent of that amalgamation.

It is generally allowed, even by "Anglo-Saxon" enthusiasts, that the English have not derived an immaculate descent from the North Sea freebooters.

But in the conception of most people, the amount of Celtic blood intermixed is very small. "When the Saxons arrived, the Ancient Britons were all slain, or driven into the mountains of Wales." This is the strain of the "school histories of England," and from these, repeating the same note, most people take their impressions, and nurse their prejudices, and it will take a long time yet before the thorough-going, unscientific Englishman will brook the idea that he is anything less than a Saxon. Somehow this piece of adventurous imagination has been taken as a postulate in English history. Even some writers of attainment, and learned college lecturers, still slide into this fallacious mode of representation—a mode, it need hardly be said, unworthy of an age of historic research and boasted scientific progress. If the history of England, and of British Ethnology, when rightly, and only with a view to truth, read, teaches anything, it teaches that the English people have to a far wider extent had their origin in an amalgamation with the aborigines of this island, than we have been accustomed in our easy, unenquiring way, to believe. The question, however, we may note by the way, is not one relating solely to the Anglo-Saxons and the Ancient Britons, for a great variety of elements have been introduced into the population of Britain, as we have already in the course of our discussions explained. The two largest contributories to the stream of English blood are the Celtic and the Germanic, or, limiting terms more

strictly, the *Cymbric* and *Anglo-Saxon.* Our present section has to treat upon this specific part of the general subject. In showing how far the aboriginal and Anglo-Saxon races coalesced upon the subjugation of the former, we begin by proving the vast preponderance in number of the former at the outset of the struggle, and that the latter suffered as great a diminution by the casualties of war as their competitors, so that their relative strength continued the same; and then offer a variety of arguments in support of the position that the soil of Central Britain was never deserted by the first possessors, but gradually became the common inheritance of a complex but united race.

1. Gildas Examined.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to search into the foundations of the popular belief respecting the state of the Britons at the crisis of the Anglo-Saxon invasion, and their complete expulsion by that invasion from the soil of England. That belief is to the effect that the Britons, after the departure of the Romans, were in a completely prostrate condition, were incapable of offering resistance to Picts, Scots, or Saxons, and were ruthlessly mown down by the sword without deliverance, a small "remnant" only barely escaping, like sheep from the jaws of devouring wolves into the mountains of the West, or as miserable fugitives across sea to Brittany. This belief, instilled to this day alike into the child's mind in the nursery,

and the student's in the lecture-room, is, in all probability, as palpable a superstition, as devoid of foundation, as gratuitous, and as impossible of rational credence, as any wild and idle romance ever imposed upon unsuspecting childhood.

The story upon which this notion is founded is graphic and compact as any in Homer, and, of course, highly flattering to our Saxon pride, and it is only a pity it is not true. But how did it originate, and who is responsible for its first propagation? Has it any countenance in any authentic ancient historian, or in any induction which may be arrived at from contemporary circumstances and facts? We answer the former question by saying, The story is authenticated solely by the monk Gildas—himself scarcely authenticated; he is alone responsible for it: and the latter, by saying, It receives no countenance whatever from any independent and credible historian, or from the candid examination of any known contemporary facts. That a belief based on so uncertain a foundation should be found as part of the faith of modern Englishmen, only shows how fondly mankind cling to established ideas, and by what subtle and easy processes groundless ideas sometimes become established.

Let us quote Gildas's story. In a work called after his name, and entitled, *De Excidio Britanniæ*, he gives the saddest picture imaginable of the condition of the Britons after the withdrawal of the Romans, and finishes off the last and darkest shades with two strokes

of his brush representing the afflictions wrought by the Picts and Scots, and the Saxons. The Britons, now a "wretched remnant," pressed by the Picts and Scots, send a letter to Aëtius, a powerful Roman citizen, as follows:—"To Aëtius, now consul for the third time: The groans of the Britons. The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea throws us back on the barbarians: thus two modes of death await us—we are either slain or drowned."[1] This is a picture of helplessness scarcely surpassed. The Romans not responding in this last extremity, the Britons take counsel what to do. But they go from bad to worse. "Then all the councillors, together with that proud tyrant Gurthrigern (Vortigern), the British king, were so blinded, that, as a protection to their country, they sealed its doom by inviting in among them (like wolves into the sheep-fold) the fierce and impious Saxons, a race hateful both to God and men, to repel the invasions of the Northern nations. Nothing was ever so pernicious to our country. . . . A multitude of whelps came forth from the lair of the barbaric lioness. They first landed on the Eastern side of the island . . . and there fixed their sharp talons. . . . Their mother-land, finding her first brood thus successful, sends forth a larger company of her wolfish offspring, which, sailing over, join themselves to their bastard comrades."[2]

"Some, therefore, of the miserable remnant being

[1] *De Excidio Britanniæ*, 20. [2] *Ibid.* 23.

taken in the mountains, were murdered in great numbers; others constrained by famine, came and yielded themselves to be slaves for ever to their foes, running the risk of being instantly slain, which truly was the greatest favour that could be offered them; some others passed beyond the seas with loud lamentations, instead of the voice of exhortation. 'Thou hast given us as sheep to be slaughtered, and among the Gentiles hast thou dispersed us.' Others committing the safeguard of their lives, which were in continual jeopardy, to the mountains, precipices, thickly wooded forests, and to the rocks of the seas (albeit with trembling hearts) remained still in their country."[1]

This is the story upon which the popular belief has been built. We are not unmindful that Venerable Bede and Nennius give the same general account as that given by Gildas; but as these authors flourished, the former more than a century, the latter about three centuries, later than Gildas, and drew their materials from his pages, their accounts can offer no corroboration to his, and are worthy of no consideration. Besides, if any narrators subsequent to Gildas had pretended to draw from original British sources, the testimony left by Gildas would go to confute them, for he expressly states that he himself was unable to draw from such sources, there being none such in existence—but drew from foreign accounts (*transmarina relatione*). Those, therefore, who accord to

[1] *De Excid. Brit.* 25.

Gildas's account the character of credibility, must, in so far as the state of the Britons at the Saxon conquest, and the achievement of that conquest, are concerned, take Gildas as their *sole* authority.

Our attention, must, therefore, centre upon Gildas; and the value of the doctrine that the Britons were a craven crowd, incapable of resistance, instantly scattered, driven into the sea, and into the mountains, must be measured by the value of his testimony.

Let us inquire, then, briefly, into the history of Gildas, and without fatiguing the reader with minutiæ, scrutinize with some degree of care the value of his narration.

As to who Gildas was, and when he flourished, we cannot do better than quote the words of Mr. Hardy, in his preface to the great work already frequently cited in our pages.[1] "Gildas (or Gildus, as the name is given by Beda and Alcuin) claims, on account of his antiquity, the earliest place in this collection. His life has been twice written at different times; the first is attributed to St. Gildas de Ruys in Brittany, in the 11th century, and the second to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished in the 12th century.

It will appear, therefore, that these biographies were written, one five hundred, the other six hundred years after Gildas's age. Not only from this fact, but especially from the subsequent words of Mr. Hardy,

[1] *Monumenta Historica Britannica.* See pp. 59, 60.

their accounts must be held totally devoid of value. "As both these authors have confounded the actions of two persons at least of the name of Gildas, it will be advisable in this sketch of his life to rely on the few and obscure notices relating to himself, which are to be discovered in his work." Nothing of value is known of the author, therefore, except what is said of him in the work. But what is the value of this? It must be conceded, of course, that the work called by Gildas's name, was written by some one; but it is an immense demand upon our credulity to require the belief that the known work is correct in all that it says of the otherwise unknown author.

But what is the work's account of its author? Let Mr. Hardy again speak. "It appears from these notices, that Gildas was born in Britain, in the year of the siege of Mount Badon;[1] that he exercised some sort of ecclesiastical function; . . . . . that he crossed the sea, and that at the earnest request of his friends, after ten years' entreaty, he composed his epistle. Various dates have been assigned to the siege of Mount Badon, but according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, apparently the best of all existing authorities, it took place in A.D. 516, consequently in that year was Gildas born. It appears to have been generally allowed from a passage in Gildas,[2] that he wrote his epistle in Armorica. It appears that he went abroad at least as early as A.D. 550. If he took ten

[1] See *De Excid. Brit.* 26. [2] *Ibid.*

years to consider and mature his history, it would bring the period of its composition to A.D. 560." [1]

Such then is the man. His life has been written by two different biographers, but both lived more than 500 years after his time, and both have confounded together the lives of two different individuals of the same name. If they have ascribed to A, the acts of B, and *vice versâ*, it is quite conceivable that they should ascribe the acts of both to a person perfectly supposititious. These biographers being unworthy of any but the most sparing credit, we are thrown back for all that we know of Gildas upon a few obscure allusions contained in a work ascribed to himself. Gildas may have been an authentic person. But the evidence is, to say the least, defective, and it is just possible that Gildas is simply an assumed name attached by an unknown writer to a work which for the most part was a work of imagination. The name seems to have been common, for there are at least two or three persons called Gildas, contemporaries, mentioned—Gildas Sapiens (our supposed author), Gildas Cambrius, and Gildas Quartus, and it is to be noted that the work of Nennius, the *Historia Britonum*, was for many ages ascribed to Gildas.

On the whole there is reason for the language used by Mr. Stephenson in his preface to the original Latin edition recently published by the English Historical Society: "We are unable to speak with certainty as

[1] *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* p. 60.

to his (Gildas's) parentage, his country, or even his name, the period when he lived, or the works of which he was the author."

But, allowing that Gildas was an authentic person, and the author of the *Excidium Britanniæ*, how far is his book an adequate authority for the belief founded upon its representations?

Mr. Hardy says: "The Epistle of Gildas contains but very few incidents of historical interest, and those are involved in a multitude of words. The account which he gives of his materials in Chap. 2 prepares his readers to expect a very meagre narrative, and such is precisely the character of the work. In the earlier portion, he exhibits but an indistinct acquaintance with the events which took place towards the conclusion of the Roman domination in Britain and during the following century; his narrative is general, confused, and declamatory, and except in very few instances it cannot be traced to any known source. It is remarkable that when he comes to his own times, he is, if possible, more obscure and his facts less copious. As to his authorities, Gildas says that he wrote more from *foreign relation* than from *written evidences pertaining to his own country.*[1] And the vague and meagre manner

[1] Quantum tamen potuero, non tam ex scripturis patriæ scriptorumve monumentis, quippe quæ, *vel si qua fuerint*, aut ignibus hostium exusta, aut civium exsilii classe longius deportata non compareant, quam *transmarina relatione*, quæ crebris irrupta intercapedinibus non satis claret.

in which the Roman transactions in the island are hinted at, rather than described, perfectly coincides with his own acknowledgment. For the second period [the period which specially concerns our subject] his veracity must rest entirely on his authority, as none of the contemporaneous Greek or Roman writers afford it any support, *but the contrary;* his statement relative to the abandonment of the island by the Romans from the Empire of Maximus, and the subsequent erection of the Roman walls, are wholly irreconcileable with their testimony. From the early part of the 5th century, however, when the Greek and Roman writers cease to notice the affairs of Britain, his narrative, on whatever authority it may have been founded, has been adopted without question by Beda and succeeding authors, and accepted, notwithstanding its barrenness of facts and pompous obscurity, by all but general consent, as the basis of early English history." [1]

It should excite no wonder then that Gibbon should characterize Gildas and his History in the following words: "A monk, who, in the profound ignorance of human life, has presumed to exercise the office of historian, strangely disfigures the state of Britain at the time of its separation from the Roman Empire. Gildas describes in florid language the improvements of agriculture, the foreign trade which flowed with every tide into the Thames and Severn, the solid and lofty construction of public and private edifices. He accuses

[1] *Monum. Hist. Brit.* p. 61.

the sinful luxury of the British people—of a people, according to the same writer, ignorant of the most simple arts, and incapable without the aid of the Romans, of providing walls of stone, or weapons of iron, for defence of their native land."

Now it is a canon in historical criticism that an author is worthy of credence in proportion as he draws from authentic sources, or was himself an eye-witness of the events recorded; is supported by other independent testimony; and is free from bias and prejudice. On all these points Gildas falls short. He himself confesses that as to sources he was in command of "no documents of the country" where the events took place, but depended on reports which reached him beyond sea (transmarina relatione). He does not even hint that any stray documents which had escaped the fire of the barbarians and having safely crossed the seas, had fallen into his hands. So far from this he even implies a doubt as to whether any such ever existed—"if there ever were any of them" (si qua fuerint).[1] It was certainly to his credit that he delayed ten years, as he informs us, committing his story to writing, and only did so at last at the pressing entreaty of his friends; but it is just as likely that his reluctance arose from conscious untrustworthiness as from modesty or the purpose of further elaboration.

Gildas drew from no authentic sources except when treating of times earlier than the period of which we

[1] *De Excid. Brit.* 2.

are now inquiring—the early Saxon period—and even when treating of those earlier times, he comes into helpless collision with trustworthy historians, such as Cæsar and Tacitus, on points involving the credit of the Britons—points which those historians were under no temptation to distort to the advantage of the islanders. But neither was he himself an eye-witness of the struggle he portrays. In fact, he wrote a hundred years after the main events we are now concerned with had transpired.

One question remains to ask: Was Gildas an unbiassed witness? It is impossible to read his pages and note his pervading tone of depreciation towards the Britons, and of eulogy and flattery towards the Romans, without feeling that he was not. He never lets slip an opportunity of heaping on his countrymen epithets of disparagement and reproach, and he seems willing to include the Saxons, Picts and Scots, in the same category. The Britons are cowards, poltroons, hares and chickens, neither brave in war nor faithful in times of peace; the Saxons, dogs, wolves, a race hateful to God and men; the Picts and Scots, brutes, inspired with avidity for blood, and "all more eager to shroud their villanous faces in bushy hair than cover their bodies with decent clothing." But the Romans are lions and eagles, generous and noble friends, mighty in war, magnanimous in victory.

The one-sidedness and disingenuousness of Gildas are of themselves sufficient to vitiate and condemn his

work as a history. No special pleading can be history. Palpable exaggeration, strained and bitter invective, unreasoning and blundering partiality—main characteristics of Gildas's production—would disentitle any pretended annalist to credit. An example or two of Gildas's partiality and exaggeration will suffice.

His picture of Britain as a Roman province belies all history and all probability. "The Romans having slain many [Britons], and retained others as slaves, that the land might not be entirely reduced to desolation, left the island, destitute as it was of wine and oil, and returned to Italy, leaving behind them taskmasters to scourge the shoulders of the natives, to reduce their necks to the yoke, to chastise the crafty race, not with warlike weapons, but with rods." And yet we know that Britain was a favourite province, and a favourite abode of many emperors, a rich mine of wealth to numerous procurators, and a field of renown and glory to many of Rome's leading generals.

On the return of the Romans to aid against the Picts and Scots, he uses the following pompous style of description:—"Upon this the Romans, moved with compassion . . . send forward like eagles in their flight, their unexpected bands of cavalry by land, and mariners by sea, and planting their terrible swords on the shoulders of their enemies, they mow them down like leaves which fall at the destined period, and as a mountain torrent swelled with numerous streams, and bursting its banks with roaring noise, with foaming

crest, and yeasty wave rising to the stars, &c."[1] But the sentence is too long for quoting. Of the Britons, on the other hand, he says:—To oppose the Picts and Scots, "there was placed on the heights a garrison equally slow to fight, and ill adapted to run away, a useless and panic-struck company, who slumbered away days and nights on their unprofitable watch. Meanwhile the hooked weapons of their enemies were not idle, and our wretched countrymen were dragged from the wall and dashed against the ground. But why should I say more? They left their cities, abandoned the protection of the wall," &c. "The enemy butchered our countrymen like sheep, so that their habitations were like those of savage beasts, for they turned their arms upon each other," &c.[2]

He calls Boadicea "that deceitful lioness," although history has clothed her with all the attributes of true nobility and heroism. After the revolt which she headed, when the Romans sent their legions in vast force to avenge it, as already described in our pages, he asserts that the Britons had no marshalled army, no preparations for resistance, but "made their backs shields against their vanquishers, presented their necks to their swords, and stretched out their hands to be bound like women, so that it became a proverb far and wide that the Britons are neither brave in war nor faithful in time of peace."[3]

He charges his countrymen with being an indolent

[1] *De Excid. Brit.* 17. [2] *Ibid.* 19. [3] *Ibid.* 6.

and cowardly race, totally subjugated and dispersed by the Saxons from the outset, although he knew, or ought to have known, that in his own time—a century or more after their asserted total overthrow! they were still in possession of half the island, and stubbornly maintaining, though with waning fortunes, the fight against the invader.

It is time to have done with Gildas. It is clear, that, allowing he was a real person, and wrote his history at the time commonly supposed, his statements in all matters pertaining to the Britons, are wholly unworthy of credence. He pursues them with an animosity that is never satiated, and belies all authentic history in branding them with the character of timidity, cowardice, and tame submissiveness, when their country was being torn from them by strangers. It is impossible to dignify such a chronicler by the name of historian, and it is utterly impossible to receive his statements as anything else than the splenetic exaggerations of an ill-informed, and prejudiced monk.

And yet upon the representations of this writer has been based the faith of Englishmen concerning their own purely Teutonic descent. From him alone has proceeded the doctrine that the Britons were exterminated, or driven clean off from English soil into "the sea," or into "the mountains of Wales." There exists no other authority whatever for such notions. We are compelled in deference to truth to reject the

authority of Gildas, and pronounce the notions based upon it as visionary and superstitious.

Having so far cleared the way, we now proceed to consider more in detail the strength of the British population after the departure of the Romans.

2. The Aboriginal Britons surpassed in number their Anglo-Saxon Invaders.

In almost all invasions, the aggressors are few compared with the inhabitants. It was so in the Roman invasion of Britain. It was still more so in the Norman. At the time when the Saxons and Angles first made a regular attack on the island, the inhabitants—already numerous even in Roman times, as proved by the large towns, and military and fiscal stations existing all over the country, and in our pages enumerated—with the increase which had since the departure of the Romans taken place, were a powerful and widely distributed race. In the North, in the South, in Wales, the population was not sparse. In all these parts considerable states flourished. What, therefore, compared with this wide-spread and multitudinous people, for the proper government and taxation of which the Romans had at least above a hundred towns, cities, and strongholds, could the invaders, coming over in their small *cheols*, mis-called "ships,"—three "ships"—five "ships," at a time, amount to? What could they amount to, making every reasonable allowance for the thinly inhabited regions of the East,

and for the hosts which had emigrated to Gaul and Armorica? The numbers given by Geoffrey of Monmouth (300,000) as having come over to support Hengist is perfectly imaginary. It is not to be supposed that the Saxon "ships" were to be compared in capacity to the Roman triremes, and yet Cæsar had to build, as he himself declares, 700 transports to convey an army of 30,000 across the Channel, with baggage and all appurtenances. Supposing that the Saxon keels were actually equal to the Roman in capacity—it would take a fleet of some *seven thousand* such "ships" to bring an army so enormous as that mentioned by the imaginative and romantic Geoffrey! The creation of a fleet a tenth of the size is inconceivable under the circumstances.

We readily admit, for the clear voice of the old chroniclers bears out—that immense numbers of soldiers, pirates, miscellaneous adventurers, came over with, and after, the different Saxon and Anglican Chiefs. This concession is simply a relation of the truth. We have even given prominence to this fact in preceding pages, as the means of exhibiting in stronger relief the power whereby the Britons for so long a time maintained the contest. But the invading body, though large when considered absolutely, and in the mass, was still small when held in comparison with the teeming thousands which inhabited the many score cities and wide plains of Britain. The success of the Anglo-Saxons, like that of the Romans before them, and that

of the Normans against the English afterwards, was not the success of *numbers*, but of a military and brute force, superior in concert, fiercer in resolve, more practised in arms than that which it had to confront.

The people who fought the Romans for so many long years, not without some success, and who were afterwards for centuries nurtured, protected, cultivated by them; a people numerous enough to yield by taxation a revenue sufficient to maintain the military and civil service of Rome in the island, and yield a surplus sufficient to enrich emperors, procurators, governors, and their underlings for three or four centuries, however they may have passed their lives in the forced indignity of subjection, cannot for a moment be compared with any multitudes of adventurers crossing the German Sea in open boats. If the objection, already so often answered, be still repeated: "The Anglo-Saxons must have been as numerous as the Britons, because they conquered them"; we can only meet it by saying:—The Normans under William must have been, by parity of reasoning, as numerous as the people of England—an absurdity needing no exposure.

3. The Britons, during their wars with the Anglo-Saxons, did not suffer, relatively, a diminution of number.

The point is not whether they were not diminished, but whether they were more diminished in proportion than their opponents. Granted, modes of warfare in

those barbarous times were destructive enough of human life. But if well-forged and sharpened weapons counted for anything in the grim trial of battle, one would suppose that here the Britons would have a marked advantage. They had been taught the forging of blades and spear points, and the forming of shields and helmets, by the Romans, as well as all the tactics of attack and defence. However furious, therefore, the onsets of the terrible warriors of the North, there is no reason for concluding that the brave and better-trained Britons, with the advantage of a better panoply, would leave more men *hors de combat* than their enemies. The fierce and less regular movements of the latter, on the contrary, would frequently expose them to more serious losses than they occasioned to their adversaries.

The most stubborn and devastating conflicts took place, no doubt, at the first stage of the invasions, and victory at that time would be followed by unsparing severity, on whichever side it turned. Whole towns and villages would be depopulated, and misery and desolation would spread far and wide. On the other hand, it is to be borne in mind that in those more primitive times, when men were less hampered with property, and less attached to locality, the inhabitants of whole towns and districts would readily retire before an approaching foe, and find easy shelter in the forests and woodlands which everywhere abounded, and in the absence of regular garrisons, soon again return to their

homes. The Anglo-Saxons, although they never seem to have repaired, would, doubtless, at first, eagerly use the great lines of military roads constructed with so much labour by the Romans, conducting their attacks mainly along these lines, while the wide districts lying between, being less easily approached, would be passed by comparatively unharmed, and be places of rendezvous and shelter for the inhabitants.

It may be asked how, if not by the sword, were the Britons so sadly decimated? The question assumes what we deny to be the fact. The Britons, we opine, were not so sadly decimated. If so, it may again be asked, how, to all appearance, did they diminish so rapidly in number, so that very speedily all over England we find none but Anglo-Saxons? This question again assumes too much, although in perfect keeping with popular opinion. It so happens that the Britons did not "so rapidly diminish in number," even "to all *appearance*," and that we do not "very speedily find none but Anglo-Saxons all over England." Our imaginary questioner has been, to all appearance, reading his "School History," which often helps him to find Teutons where he ought to have discovered true Celts, and Anglo-Saxons where he ought to have found Britons. It is true that in process of time the Celtic language disappears from the Anglo-Saxon parts, and that gradually the population throughout the greater portion of the Heptarchy, or Octarchy, or Hexarchy, as we may choose to call the

Saxon States—for it is uncertain whether seven or eight States, properly independent, ever contemporaneously existed—assumes the appearance of a homogeneous race; but this was a result which was very slow in taking shape. It was, for example, far from complete in the time of *Athelstan;* for then communities of *Cymry*, using their own language, and observing their own usages, were in integral existence in the heart of Wessex itself. This was *five hundred years* after the arrival of Hengist. In the reign of Egbert, the counties of Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, as well as Devon, were all considered as belonging to the *Weal-cynne*,[1] (the dominion or kingdom of the Welsh) a sufficient proof of the nationality of the inhabitants. This was nearly *four hundred years* after the settlement of Hengist. Of course this designation, *Weal-cynne*, could only mean at that time that the inhabitants were the *Wealas*—"the foreigners"—as the Anglo-Saxons, with admirable audacity, termed the people, who for a thousand years had their home in the country—the *government* under which they lived was nominally that of Egbert, who was styled not merely King of Wessex, but King of England.

The Anglo-Saxons might well multiply with rapidity when whole tribes or states of the Britons entered into "confederacy" with them and "became Saxons," as the *Triad* indignantly expresses it. Lloegrians,

[1] *Will of King Alfred*, pp. 14, 15. Ed. Pickering, 1828. Reprinted from the Oxford ed. of 1788.

Brython, and probably many others did this; and the Britons would of course in appearance diminish in proportion under such a process. But this is a different question, and when thus settled, only tells in favour of the general position we adopt. If the Lloegrians, and their companions in ready submission, had their *blood* changed into other than Celtic blood by the method whereby they "became Saxons," well and good. Change of government—mere recognition of a new dynasty—is all that is required, in that case, to convert a Jew into a Gentile. The Mauritanians and Celtiberians, the Syrians and the dwellers on the Ganges, by submission to the prophet of Mecca, all became genuine Arabs according to that theory. But of the general fusion of the Celts of Britain and the Anglo-Saxons we have to treat in our next section. Our subject here is the diminution of the Britons, not through cession and absorption, but through the casualties of war.

Making every reasonable allowance for the reductions made in the British inhabitants, on the one hand by political arrangement, and on the other by sheer destruction in the field, they were still a numerous and active race two hundred years after the founding of the first Saxon Kingdom. Throughout the country, even in the central parts, as at Bedford, Banbury, Petherton, Bath, we find so late as A.D. 552, 584, 658, &c., mighty battles fought by the Britons proper of those districts, who rose to avenge the oppressive

exactions of their conquerors.[1] If these had been the incursions of marauding hordes from Wales or Cumbria, penetrating for the moment far into the enemy's country and retreating with their booty, their presence were of no value to our argument. But they were nothing of the kind. They were spontaneous movements of the dwellers in those regions. What other commotions went on throughout the country from similar causes we do not know, or have no space to relate. But it is certain that the Britons were a powerful part of the people of England in these times, either in the form of communities still wearing the badges of their nationality in language, laws, and customs; or as more complying subjects of the different Saxon states. Then it is to be remembered that during all this time "West Wales," or Cornwall and Devon, great part of Somerset, Wilts, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and the South of Scotland, as well as the whole of Wales—the *patria intacta* of the Cymry—were in the possession of those Britons who had hitherto kept themselves wholly unmixed with the Teutons. In all this there is nothing which sounds like a diminution of the British race through war.

If, therefore, the Britons were reduced in number, relatively to the Anglo-Saxons, it was the effect not of casualties of war but of absorption into the new nation-

[1] *Sax. Chron.* under those dates.

ality now in process of formation. At the coming of the Saxons, as we have shown, the Britons greatly surpassed them in multitude, and it necessarily follows, granting to each side nearly equal losses through fighting, that the great majority of the subjects of the so-called Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy were not Saxon, or any species of Germans, but Britons, and, through marriage of Saxon men with British women, half-blood Britons. Whole tribes or kingdoms of Britons had at an early stage sent in their submission. Necessity, convenience, family ties, interest, led thousands more to remain where they were, and prepare for peaceful union with the iron Northmen. As the German warriors cannot be supposed to have brought many women over, a mixed breed would speedily multiply through their taking British wives. The Cymry alone, and only the more enthusiastic and unyielding of these, retired to seek shelter with their brethren in Wales. This section of the Ancient Britons from the outset protested against all dealing with the Germans; they never ceased to criminate and denounce Vortigern for his first alliance with them; and to the last they consistently maintained an attitude of protest and defiance.[1] The remaining Britons in

[1] Thus the bard Golyddan (7th century) exclaims:

"O, Son of Mary, whose word is sacred! woe's the time that we sprang not forth
To resist the dominion of the Saxons—that we cherished them!
Far be the cowards of Vortigern of Gwynedd!"

Arymes Prydain Fawr. (See *Myv. Arch. of Wales*, i. p. 156.)

process of time "became Saxons"; and so it was that the Ancient Britons diminished in number, and the Saxons "mightily multiplied."

But we must now, with the greatest care and minuteness, search out what evidence is available upon this vital point in our argument.

4. On the Extent to which the Britons remained on the Conquered Territory and amalgamated with their Anglo-Saxon Conquerors.

The tenor of the conclusion we shall arrive at on this point the reader has already gathered from the preceding discussion. The facts there cited and the reasoning founded upon them, left us no alternative but to conclude, even long before the whole of the case was gone into, that the claims put in for the Britons were good. The additional evidence to be now presented will conduct us to the same verdict, but, if possible, with an emphasis of conviction many times multiplied. We shall distribute the results of our researches under three chronological divisions, thus: (a.) From the first Saxon invasion to the founding of Mercia. (b.) From the founding of Mercia to the union under Egbert of Wessex. (c.) From Egbert's time forward.

(*a.*) *The first Saxon Invasion to the Founding of the Kingdom of Mercia in* A.D. 586.

There can be little question but that myriads of the Britons, as soon as the territory on which they were

settled was taken possession of by the invaders, and some form of government was established, made their submission, and transferred their allegiance. It is so in almost every instance of conquest known in history. The masses are not swayed so much by sentiments of nationality as by attachment to their native soil, their homes, familiar scenes, and the property, be it ever so little, which they, like greater folk, delight to call their own. Hence the ease and apparent indifference with which they consent to a change of masters. Promises of protection under better laws and lighter taxes, of kind masters and cheaper fare, are usually abundant on such occasions, and these are the things which in the main carry influence with the impassive multitude of every country.

It is very true that times have been when the British princes had enormous influence over their followers. They could by appeals to their passions and patriotism rouse them to a frantic pitch of excitement, and bid them follow through any perils, and at any sacrifice. But the age which succeeded the withdrawal of the Romans was not the time for such enthusiasm. The Britons were fatigued and exhausted. Though they made extraordinary efforts, their movements were like those of a person toiling under bodily pain and weariness. Such was their condition when they found their country attacked at all points by a new and ruthless enemy, that they would hail peace and quietness almost at any price. None but those who were inspired by

the loftiest sentiments of patriotism, and the most powerful impulses of valour, could take the lead at such a time as this, and impart to the sluggishness of their wearied countrymen the resolve still to fight and conquer, or die.

The Lloegrians, with Vortigern as their king, and London as their capitol, at first maintained a hot contest with the invaders. But it seems that their courage at last flagged; they sued for peace; enticed by the Coranians, they entered at last into confederacy with the aggressor, and "became Saxons." The Lloegrians were a people of the same stock with the Cymry, had arrived in the island at a time subsequent to the Cymry; and, by their consent and from their Southern position, we may fairly judge that theirs was a third wave of immigration, following that of the Brython, also sprung from "the same primitive race with the Cymry," who had been pushed forward to the region about the river Humber.[1] These are said by the *Triad* to have come from Armorica. They also, since they are never said to have united themselves with the Cymry during the Saxon troubles, in all probability by degrees became, like the Lloegrians and Coranians, united to the Anglo-Saxons.

It is worthy of remark that Taliesin in his poem,

[1] In the name *Humber* we have several of the radical elements of *Cimbri, Cumbri, Cymry.* The hard initial consonant has been changed into an aspirate in *Humber*, probably in compounding *North-Humbra-land.*

Gwawd Lludd Mawr, specifies three nations besides the Cymry and Saxons as inhabiting Britain in his time (6th Cent.). These he denominates by the very intelligible names *Eingyl*, *Gwyddyl*, and *Prydyn*—Angles, Gwyddelians (or Gaels), and Britons, or *Brython*.[1] All these, excepting only the Cymry, seem to be in his time associated with the Saxons. Possibly by the *Gwyddyl* he meant the borderers on Caledonia who had been absorbed into the kingdom of Northumbria along with *Deivr* and *Bryneich*. But be this as it may, the intimation concerning the *Prydyn*, the point which here concerns us, is important.

These two communities, or nations of Celts, the Lloegrians and the Brython, along with the inhabitants of *Deivr* and *Bryneich* (Deira and Bernicia) also confessedly Celts, and by the Angles incorporated into the kingdom of *North-humbra-land*, would take at once the greater part of the Ancient Britons residing in the part of the island now denominated "England," out of the pale of the British race, and so far swell the proportions of the Anglo-Saxon population. Is it too much to say, that this incorporation alone would be so considerable as to more than double the number of the unmixed Anglo-Saxon population? We think not.

It will not be amiss to refer for a moment to the intimations given in the *Saxon Chronicle*—the most

[1] See the poem *Gwawd Lludd Mawr*, in the *Myv. Arch. of Wales*, vol. i.

reliable of all the Ancient Annals of Britain, and valuable in the present instance and throughout this Essay as being free from all favourable bias towards the Britons—as to the localities, where the Cymry were found, and found active in battling for their rights, at comparatively late periods of the Saxon contests. In A.D. 571, it is recorded in the *Chronicle* that Cuthulf fought against the Britons, or Welsh, (*Bretwealas*) at Bedcanford, (Bedford), and took *four towns*—Lygeanbirg (Lenburg), Aegeles-birg (Aylesbury, Bucks), Baenesington (Benson), and Egonesham (Eynsham). Then after six years, A.D. 577, Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons (*Brettas*), and slew three Kings, and took three cities, Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. Again, in A.D, 584, Ceawlin is said to have taken *many towns*, and spoils innumerable."[1]

Now several of the towns here mentioned were cities of importance under the Romans;[2] and if now, after a *hundred and fifty years* of opposition to Saxon supremacy, the Britons still kept them in their own possession, the fact is significant. At the date last mentioned, the invaders had not succeeded in founding Mercia, but they had in a manner established

[1] Florence of Worcester says, "Much booty and many vills." Flor. is a mere copyist from the *Sax. Chron.* and Bede.

[2] Gloucester and Bath were both *Coloniæ;* and Cirencester, a privileged town under the *Latii Jus.*, was a most important military post, having no less than six military roads meeting in it as a centre.

their rule in the other six states, Northumbria, the last, having now existed some forty years. When Mercia was set up, it completely extinguished the hopes of the Britons beyond the Severn, and doubtless converted the mass of the inhabitants from the Severn to the Wash, and northwards as far as the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire, into tolerable "Saxons."

The simple fact that at the late period mentioned the Britons were in possession of the chief strongholds of Gloucestershire and Somerset, and in the very centre of England held Bedford, and four neighbouring towns—how many others we do not know, but four they held and lost—and that besides these, Ceawlin took from them "many towns, and spoils innumerable," is decisive evidence which cannot be set aside, that they were strong and numerous in the land, and gives fair ground for the presumption that they had never yet been effectually disturbed in their possessions in these places since the time of the Romans. We shall by and by see that these were not the only places far in the interior of England which were at that period in the hands of the Britons. These were but a few of the many which they held. Others they continued in undisturbed possession of, even for hundreds of years after the last of the above dates; but these they lost, with many others only obscurely hinted at in history, when the seventh kingdom of the Saxons, Mercia, was established.

Now, what became of the subjects of the "three kings," and the inhabitants of the seven towns, and "many towns," and of the districts surrounding them, when their conquest was effected? Were all these people slain? Did the conquerors so blindly mar their own fortunes as to clear the fields of their cultivators, the towns of their merchants and traders, the workshops of their mechanics, &c., possessing themselves merely of the empty shells of walled towns, and of desolated acres, which could neither pay tribute nor provision an army? We may be sure that our Saxon ancestors had more wit than this. Once they overpowered the warrior part of the population, their policy was to obtain the submission and friendship of the rest, and as speedily as possible gain strength and profit from multiplied subjects and extended empire. The Britons, on their part, had the example of their brethren before them in yielding submission when hopelessly overcome. All around them they found their own kith and kin in the condition of a subject race. In short, necessity left them but one alternative—either accept the new rule or perish.

It was by the conversion of the former inhabitants into subjects that the Saxons could by any possibility make the territories they won into "kingdoms." They had no means of planting such a large tract as Mercia with new settlers, when, after years of ruinous conflicts, they succeeded in becoming its nominal masters. They wanted to be "kings of men," and the men

must be found, for the most part, in the Britons they had conquered. Without this, the Saxon states could not, by any method conceivable to us, become the populous communities they appear to have been in the time of Egbert and Alfred. "Some writers have asserted," says Edmund Burke, "that except those that took refuge in the mountains of Wales and in Cornwall, or fled into Armorica, the British race was in a manner destroyed. What is extraordinary, we find England in a very tolerable state of population in less than two centuries after the first invasion of the Saxons. It is hard to imagine either the transplantation, or the increase, of that single people, to have been in so short a time sufficient for the settlement of so great an extent of country."

The Saxon and Angle conquerors did not, any more than the Romans, carry on a war of extermination. Their object was to obtain settlements, wealth, and rule. They had sagacity enough to see that a large population is a source of wealth and the only means of replenishing an army. The conversion of the Britons who, by their superior civilization and their bravery in war, gave promise of good materials for the erection of new states, into friends and obedient subjects instead of having them as formidable opponents, was an object worthy of the ambition of the noblest of the Saxon chieftains. The Britons were the depositaries of all the culture which the Romans had been able by more than four hundred years of example and

instruction to leave behind them, while the Anglo-Saxons were rude and completely illiterate. If by brute force they could subjugate the Britons, the fame of ruling where great Rome had ruled, and the advantage of inheriting all the treasures of refinement and learning which Rome had bestowed upon this its valued province, would be theirs. Thus interest, generous ambition, and sentiments of humanity, combined to counsel the sparing the lives of the natives wherever submission could be obtained.

(*b.*) *From the Founding of Mercia to the Union under Egbert of Wessex.* A.D. 586—828.

Our information consists frequently of mere scraps, mere intimations, sometimes of mere implications. The old chroniclers merely wrote *lists;* they seldom reflected—never philosophized on the facts they chronicled. But the bare, isolated, unaccounted-for *facts* are now to us very precious, and at times disclose a whole world of truth respecting the political and social condition of England in early ages. Thanks, therefore, to the chroniclers.

It is seldom that we meet with such a burst of eloquent description as is contained in the following short passage of Bede's, and yet the words are more valuable to us by what they imply than by what they state. "At this time (A.D. 603), Ethelfrid, a most worthy king, and ambitious of glory, governed the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and *ravaged the Britons*

more than all the great men of the English, insomuch that he might be compared to Saul, once king of the Israelites, excepting only this, that he was ignorant of the true religion: for he conquered more territories from the Britons, *either making them tributary*, or driving the inhabitants clean out, and planting English in their places, than any other king or tribune."[1]

If the redoubtable Ethelfrid gave the inhabitants the option of becoming tributary subjects, we may safely gather that the other Saxon chieftains would do the same, and most of them even more. The tenor of the passage shows that making the Britons "tributary," allowing them to live on the land, and enjoy their own customs, was as much aimed at by this notorious ravager, as their expulsion. He was satisfied to establish his own supremacy, making their princes *reguli* under him, and receiving tribute in acknowledgment of subjection from the whole people. This being the policy of him, whom Bede afterwards describes as one "ravaging like a wolf," the presumption is legitimate, that the Saxon conquest, as a whole, was characterized by milder measures.

Moving a few years further on, we meet with the Britons maintaining their rights by wage of battle in the centre of *Oxfordshire*. "Afterwards Cynegils received the kingdom of the West Angles, and in conjunction with Cuichelm he fought against the

[1] *Eccles. Hist.* i. 34. This is the Ethelfrid who is said to have slaughtered the monks of Bangor.

Britons at a place called Beaudune, and slew more than 2,040 of them."[1] There is no shadow of intimation that these Britons, whose army was so numerous that they left 2,040 dead on the field, were intruders. They were the inhabitants of the parts. This battle was fought *a hundred and sixty-five years* after the settlement of Hengist in Kent, when Wessex was a great power, and Mercia had been established some eight and twenty years.

If we come down a little further, to the year 658, in the interior of the South-Western parts a conflict is seen raging between the Saxon King Kenwalh, and the Britons, "and he drove them as far as Pedrida" (Petherton).[2] The host was not driven farther into its own territory than Petherton, in Somerset.

It is very curious and significant that we now find a Briton by name on the throne of Wessex! All know how in the North the great Welsh Prince Cadwalla, or Cadwallader, in 634 defeated Edwin of Northumbria at Hadfield; and in 685 a king of the same genuinely British name rules in Wessex. A Briton becoming a ruler of Saxons tells much for the power of his race in the land!

We have repeatedly noted the fact, that to a late period great parts of Somerset, Wilts, Dorset, &c., were inhabited by the Britons. We see above, that they were fighting in the heart of Somerset, in the

[1] Ethelwerd's *Chron.* ch. vi. *Sax. Chron.* ann. 614.
[2] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 658; Ethelwerd's *Chron.* ch. vii.

middle of the 7th century. There will be, again, occasion to show that they were in these same parts at least two hundred years later than this date. The inference is fair that they had continued there throughout the interval, even occasionally putting a prince of their own race on the West-Saxon throne, and unless their expulsion was effected at some point subsequent to the latest period named, we must conclude that they were never expelled at all, but gradually merged into the English population of Wessex. History does not inform us of any extensive migration from these regions into Wales, or any other quarter. The conclusion is, therefore, fair, that since extermination was not the policy of the Anglo-Saxons, the natives never did migrate, but amalgamated with the ruling race.

Egbert, who mounted the throne of Wessex, in A.D. 800, found the Britons numerous and troublesome throughout his kingdom. Their discontent, and frequent insurrections in territory claimed by Wessex, had been the plague of his predecessors. Fifty years before his accession, Cuthred had to make war upon them. After him, Cynewulf "fought very many battles" with them. Payment of tribute seems always distasteful to our Britons. They are in their own country, and "before them there were none here except bears, and wolves, and the oxen with the high backs"; why, therefore, should they pay tribute to strangers? This was their favourite, conclusive argument, and this spurred them to incessant insur-

rections. Egbert made up his mind that there should be an end put to this grumbling, and Wessex should have peace from Winchester to the Land's End. After settling himself upon his throne, therefore, he gathered, in the year 813, a mighty host, and set to work against West Wales (*Weste Walas*). He "harried the land" from east to west, *i.e.*, from the settled parts of Wessex as far as he could towards Cornwall. But he failed in obtaining recognition of his authority beyond that celebrated border stream, the river *Tamar*, a stream as often made sacred by the tincture of Saxon and British blood in about equal proportions (for hereabouts both parties fought till they could fight no longer) as any in the island of Britain. The British princes paid formal court to the *Bretwalda*—the great, widely reigning King,[1] and promised some amount of tribute, and there ended the matter for a time. "All these details of indecision and repeated struggles," says Palgrave, "attest the important fact, which would otherwise be concealed, of the strength and compactness of the British population. Had they not been nearly equal to the English, such a stubborn resistance could never have been maintained."[2] Precisely so.

[1] Mr. Kemble totally rejects the idea that the *Bretwalda* was a "king of kings," or lord-paramount over the other sovereigns of the Heptarchy. The fanciful derivation, Bret-wealda, "wielder of the Britons," he also rejects. His more rational etymology is, *bryten*, wide, and *wealda*, a ruler: a great far-reaching king or governor. *Hist. of Angl.-Sax.*

[2] *English Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 409.

Now, it may be asked, how proving the persistence and continuous power of the native race contributes to a proof of their *amalgamation* with the conquerors. The question is natural and to the point; and we answer it by saying, in the first place, that the longer we can show the Britons to have endured, the higher is the probability that they were never as a race exterminated; and secondly, if we can show that so late, say, as the eighth, or ninth, or tenth century, their number was still great, their language, and some of their institutions, still tolerated, even in the midst of some of the Saxon kingdoms, the presumption is made very strong that their ultimate disappearance was not through extinction but through incorporation; at least the burden of proof is justly thrown upon those who maintain the contrary. If at the present day there existed in the midst of England the remains of an ancient people who continually harassed our rulers as the Fenians of Ireland are doing, and with far greater effect, would not the phenomenon be evidence of a state of things such as we are contending for? Or, if districts or towns were now existing in Warwickshire or Bedfordshire, inhabited by representatives of former possessors of all the surrounding territory, would that not be sufficient proof for most reasonable persons that expulsion or extermination had not been the law of the strongest? Again, if wholesale abandonment of the conquered territory had been resorted to by the Britons, should we not have some account of

it in reliable authors? From the eighth century forward to the Conquest we hear not a syllable of any migration of the Britons to other lands, any more than of measures adopted for their destruction. If they ceased to exist as "Britons," therefore, it was because they changed their form, and existed thenceforth as "Saxons."

Of the manner in which the fallen race was sometimes disposed of we have a curious and instructive instance about the end of the seventh century. Egfrid, king of Northumbria, makes a grant of the district of Cartmel, "*with the Britons thereupon*, to the See of Lindisfarne."[1] Cartmel is in Furness, Lancashire. The inhabitants of Lancashire at the date of this summary and pious transaction (A.D. 685) seem therefore to have been Britons, and it moreover appears that when an Anglo-Saxon King obtained the power of absolute disposal of the whole body of the inhabitants of a district, he exercised that power, not by their extermination, not by their consignment to perpetual and degrading servitude, but by bestowing them as a holy gift upon Mother Church, thus handing them over to the best protection then existing, and conferring upon them, what doubtless in that age would be deemed the greatest honour a subject race could receive.

Of the number and position of the aborigines in *Lancashire* about this period very little is known; nearly as

[1] See Camden, *Britannia*, Ed. Gough, iii. 380; Palgrave, *Engl. Commonw.* i. 436; *Proofs and Illustr.* cccxi.

much obscurity hangs over this great region as over the Eastern shores. So quiet, and perhaps so thinly peopled was it, that a few scattered notices of the slightest description is all that is vouchsafed to it for five or six hundred years after the Roman occupation of it ceased. The above account of the donation of the Britons of Cartmel is by far the most important of all the pieces of information received. The *Saxon Chronicle* just makes a passing allusion in the year 923: "King Edward went with his forces to Thelwall (Cheshire), and commanded the town to be built, and occupied, and manned; and commanded another force, also of Mercians, the while that he sat there, to *take possession of Manchester*, in Northumbria, and repair and man it." Manchester was nominally in Northumbria; but it was in a state of ruin without garrison. The fortress had probably been left to crumble ever since the Romans occupied it.

Thus was a district one day destined to be the centre of the manufacturing and commercial world—the most densely peopled, most industrious, wealthiest of all parts of industrious England, allowed to rest as a land of solitudes and silence. The Britons scattered over it were few, and the soil unproductive; so that the conquerors of Northumbria, though claiming jurisdiction over it, allowed its inhabitants to go and come pretty much as they listed. No one dreamed of the exhaustless treasures which lay under its moorlands. No one saw through the mists of the future the

gathering of the peoples of all lands to partake of, and multiply its wealth. For eight or nine centuries it was the most neglected by our chroniclers of all the counties of England. We think it may be inferred from this that Lancashire, and parts adjoining, were left in the quiet possession of the Ancient Britons, and that, therefore, until the late influx under the guidance of manufacturing enterprise, the mass of the inhabitants was of that race.

The notice we shall give of the North Britons lying beyond to the furthest extremities of Strathclyde, will more naturally fall under the next period.

Of the condition of the native populations of the Eastern parts during this period, nothing whatever is known. If we could venture to base a conclusion upon mere probability, it would be that the Ancient Britons there were few in number, and less unmixed in blood than in other parts of England.

The kind of conquest effected by Egbert over the Celts of the West of England, and of Wales, in no respect involved the removal of the people from the soil. All he aimed at was to extort from their princes a recognition of his supremacy, they continuing to rule as before, but under him as feudatories. It was this kind of conversion which in time made the Britons English. But it was a long process. The wars he waged were many, and extended over a long series of years. Egbert's authority was at last acknowledged by the princes of West Wales (Cornwall), and North

Wales (Wales), a few years before his death.[1] The great combination of Danes and Britons defeated at the battle of Hengistes-dûn was the last attempt to cast off his authority.[2] But this work was to be done over again, as we shall see, by Athelstan. The Britons had not diminished in number, had not left the land, had not relinquished their ancient language and usages, had not been deprived of the government of their own princes, notwithstanding all the show of supremacy which Egbert had established.

In fact, to suppose that the conquests of Egbert involved the removal of the British race from Wessex, carries with it the absurdity of supposing that the rule he established over Wales (called by William of Malmesbury "North Wales") involved their removal from Wales; and that his making the Saxon-Anglian kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria tributary (A.D. 827), involved the banishment of his own race from those regions. The Britons, when overcome, were made tributary; and the Saxons, when overcome, were made tributary; and the one, like the other, remained undisturbed on their territories, and equally contributed to build up the slowly-growing body of the great English nation.

Egbert was the man who first worked out the idea of a fusion of the different kingdoms into one. He it was who capped the whole with the name "*England*"

[1] *William of Malmesbury*, ii. 1, 6.

[2] Lappenberg, *Hist. of Engl. under A.-Sax. Kings*, vol. ii. p. 5.

—(A.-Sax. Engla-land). At a great Witenagemot, at Winchester, was this matter, by statute, accomplished. "Egbertus rex totius Britanniæ, in parliamento apud Wintoniam, mutavit nomen regni de consensa populi sui, et jussit illud de cætero vocari Angliam."[1] The collective name—the name of the island—had always been in Latin, *Britannia.*[2] The Romans had sectionized it as already shown into five portions, under the names *Brit. Prima*, *B. Secunda* (Wales), *Flavia Cæsariensis*, *Maxima Cæsariensis* and *Valentia.* Then came the different designations of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and the names the new conquerors gave the countries of the Britons—*Wealas*, &c. The *people* of the Teutonic states were most likely called *Angles*, and *Engliscmen*—the name "Anglo-Saxon" having not yet come into vogue.[3] Egbert now wished to remove all the old nomenclature, banish all division, and call the country, whether inhabited by Saxons, Angles, or Wealas—*England.* The Church first gave prominence to the name of the Angli, and the usage

[1] *Monast. Anglican.* vol. vi. p. 608. "England" is simply a *modern* English corruption of Egbert's vernacular Engla-land, literally *Anglorum terra*, taken from the master people.

[2] There are occasional instances in the Chroniclers where Wales is called by the name *Britannia; ex gr.* Asser, *Life of Alfr.* ann. 853.

[3] *Inæ Leges*, xxiv. The name "Saxons" has always been the favourite one with the Britons; and it has usually carried with it a measure of reproach, like "Sassenach" with the Irish; but this feeling is now, happily, nearly extinguished in Wales.

thus established was consolidated in the Saxon speech and the name applied to the country.

(*c.*) *From the death of Egbert to the Conquest, and forwards.*

Nothing occurred between the death of Egbert and the accession of Alfred to disturb the Britons, for other cares than their suppression or extermination pressed hard on the rulers of Wessex. The visits of the Danes became so frequent and desolating that self-preservation rather than conquest became the first idea of the English. The Britons, partly aided by the Danes, became bolder, threw off the restraints put upon them by Egbert, and revived their national character in parts where it had suffered partial obscuration. The policy of Alfred was to conciliate and unite; and he experienced the benefit of such a policy in finding the of *Britons* Somerset, &c., when he emerged from his temporary retirement, flocking by tens of thousands[1] under his standard, to fight the Danes and scatter them, on Eddington Hill.

The populations named were "true Britons"—Britons in blood as well as in spirit. They were recognised as such in the language of the time. In the age of Alfred we all know that those regions now distributed under the county names of *Dorset*, *Wilts,*

[1] "All the men of Somerset and the men of Wiltshire, and that portion of the men of Hampshire which was on this side of the sea [*i.e.*, not in the Isle of Wight], and they were joyful at his presence." *Sax. Chron.* ann. 878.

Somerset, *Devon*, were denominated in the Anglo-Saxon language, *Weal-cynne*—the territory or dominion of the "strangers," or Britons—a designation which clearly shows that though the supreme authority might by arrangement under stress of conquest, be in the hands of the Wessex King—"rex totius Britanniæ"—the Britons occupied the soil and maintained virtual rule. From before the Romans they were there. Every hill and stream throughout the region was named in their language. There, owners by original settlement, occupiers during Roman supremacy, owners again by Roman cession, from age to age they had remained, and there, under the guise of doers of homage, in the persons of their hereditary princes, to the "great king" of the West Saxons, they still continued. Why should they quit the soil of their fathers if under form of feudatorial subjection they were invited to remain? True, this kind of arrangement for a proud and warlike race was hard to bear, and the most restive and daring spirits to the end rebelled and died, or retired to plot and create insurrection; but the great majority would settle down to pursue immediate interests, reconciling themselves to an inevitable fate.

Even as late as the reign of Athelstan, who died A.D. 940, or within a hundred and twenty-six years of the Norman conquest, Exeter, the ancient capital of the Damnonii (the people of *Dyvn-naint*) was governed by a compromise between the two races. The city was

divided into two parts—the British part and the English part, and each had equal power in the government of the place. It was not till this period that this power of the Ancient Britons, in their distinct, unmixed character, was disturbed in Exeter. Till now, *by law*, their ancient authority was recognised by their conquerors as co-equal with their own. A change now took place. "Fiercely attacking them," says William of Malmesbury, he [Athelstan] obliged them to retreat from Exeter, *which till that time they had inhabited with equal privileges with* the Angles."[1] After all that had been accomplished by Egbert more than a century before, and fixing the Tamar, fifty miles further westward, as the impassable boundary, here are the Britons, under the ægis of Wessex law, maintaining intact their own nationality at Exeter, and only forfeiting their rights by the irrepressible passion of their race for uncontrolled liberty. From the Tamar to the extremity of Cornwall (the *corn*, or horn of the *Wealas*, or Welsh) they still were, in effect, rulers. Athelstan did not much trespass upon their right here.

But more than this is borne out by history. It shows us that the Britons of these parts continued to enjoy their pristine privileges when Wessex itself had fallen, and the rule of the Saxon race in England had been extinguished. The Norman conquest upset the dominion of the Anglo-Saxons for ever, and for a time paralysed the English speech, but on Cornwall

[1] *Hist. of Kings of Engl.* ii. 6.

the Conquest had but slight effect—on the Celtic *speech* of Cornwall, none at all, for that speech continued to live on, until, by natural death through absorption of the people into the English pale, it recently passed away.[1]

Domesday Book, that black and dismal record of acreage, tenements, and tax-paying human chattels, might be expected to afford valuable information in Celtic *names* of occupiers. But in this we are disappointed. Such was the rage of royal cupidity after houses, castles, acres, "sac and soc," that Domesday hardly ever takes time to afford us the slightest glimpse at the social condition, the nationality, or the speech of the inhabitants. It seems on purpose to ignore whatever did not "pay taxes to the king." Its whole strength is employed either in gloating over the taxable, or in bemoaning the ruin which the war of conquest had brought upon the taxable. Things were so and so, "tempore Regis Edwardi," acres yielding so much to the king, tenements yielding so much to the king, castles yielding so much to the king; but now, alas! they are all "vastata," and yield neither sac nor soc. Of Exeter it is said: "In this city forty-eight houses have been destroyed since the king's arrival in England."[2] The compilers in the hurry of completing inventories of all the properties in England, never

[1] See Camden's *Britann.* Gough's ed. vol. i. 15.

[2] "In hac civitate sunt vastatæ 48 domus, post quam rex venit in Angliam."

trouble themselves with the insertion of *British* names of the chief men of the *Weal-cynne* and Cornwall—a circumstance which has emboldened some writers to assert that none such existed—that the British race, in fact, had been utterly obliterated.

Now such a conclusion could only be arrived at from sheer ignorance of the history of the time, or from stubborn adherence to a preconceived theory in the face of facts. A good body of evidence exists, partly detailed already in these pages, that in a large portion of the West of England in William the Conqueror's time, no language but the Welsh or Ancient British, commonly called *Cornish*, prevailed. The inference is inevitable that many of the Thanes and heads of townships enumerated in Domesday were of British blood and British speech. But it is quite conceivable that they had assumed Saxon names, and had learned the Saxon speech in addition to their vernacular; or, perhaps, had Saxon names given them, in addition to the British, for convenience of record and other reasons.

Evidence is not wanting that, although the people of Devon after Athelstan's time were not under rulers of their own, they had still conceded them a certain amount of self-government by British law and custom. They possessed some semblance of state machinery co-ordinate with the English government, though, of course, in reality not of equal weight. They retained, for example, the power of *treating* with the King of

Wessex, respecting their peculiar rights, almost as if they still continued a separate independent kingdom. They held courts of their own, administering their own laws, in their *own language.* Compacts were formed between them and the English. The Witan of Wessex recognised the authority of the *Raed-boran* of the British as equal with its own. Each guarded the immunities of its own subjects, and when disputes arose, they met on equal terms, through representatives of equal number from each to discuss and arrange.[1] This, be it remembered, was the state of things just on the eve of the extinction of the Anglo-Saxon power through the Conquest.[2] We are thus brought to the first half of the 11th cent. *Seven hundred years*, therefore, after the landing of Hengist and Horsa, the Britons are proved to form a recognised, but separate, portion of the Kingdom of Wessex.

About this time was concluded a compact between the "lawmen" of the two parties, whose record ends thus: "This is seo gerædnisse the Angel-cynnes Witan and Wealh theode Raedboran betwox Deunsetan gesatten"; rendered thus, in Lambard and Wilkins; "Hoc est consilium quod Angliæ nationis sapientes, et Walliæ consiliarii, inter Monticolas constituerunt." Palgrave remarks: "By reading

[1] These representatives were *twelve* in number from each side; an early form, doubtless, of our modern "jury."

[2] Palgrave, *Eng. Commonw.* vol. i. 240. *Proofs and Illustr.* ccxliii. ccxliv.

De*v*nsetan instead of De*u*nsetan, all difficulties [in making out the meaning of the statement] disappear, and we find that it is a treaty between the British and English inhabitants of *Devon*, and which establishes the very important fact that the Britons still existed as a people unmingled with their conquerors."[1] The race were recognised as a distinct people, but the tenor of this compact fully implies that at the time when it was formed, viz., some fifteen years before the Conquest, they were in Devon and Cornwall, subject to the dominion of the crown of Wessex. They were bound to render tribute. It is probable that they still enjoyed many of their old customs; but they were expected to obey the ordinances of King Edgar in the same manner as the English themselves; and this they would find the less difficulty in doing since many of their own ancient laws had been incorporated in those of Wessex. "All these facts," observes Palgrave, "will afford much matter for reflection, and convince us of the great difficulty of penetrating into the real history of nations. Read the *Chroniclers*, and it will appear as if the Britons had been entirely overwhelmed by the influx of the Teutonic population; and it is only by painful and minute inquiry that we ascertain the existence of the subjugated races concealed amidst the invaders."

On the whole, with regard to the Britons of "West Wales," it may be concluded, that at the time of the

[1] *Engl. Commonw.* vol. i. 240. *Proofs and Illustr.* ccxliv.

Norman Conquest the river Exe rather than the Tamar was their boundary. From the latter stream, and probably from a point more western, they gradually shaded off, as one travelled eastward, until they assumed in Devonshire, Dorset, and West Somerset, the character of *Englisc-men.* To the West of the Tamar they were as demonstrably Celtic as the people of Wales are to-day; and to the East of the Exe, in the whole of Devon, Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset they were as *really* Celtic in race, however disguised as Saxons by the adoption of the Saxon language and manners, as are the inhabitants of modern Cornwall, or the "French" of the Côtes du Nord, or Ille et Vilaine.

We have now to cast a glance towards the North. All admit that as you travel northward in a straight line from Gloucester to Manchester and Carlisle you pass through a country which was substantially Celtic in the sixth and seventh centuries. To the east of this line the Britons who were willing to pay tribute had gradually "become Saxons." The further west you went from the same, the more purely Celtic did you find the inhabitants. To show that the bulk of the inhabitants of the Lowlands of Scotland, and of the North of England from the Scottish border to the Mersey, is Celtic, we need only refer to the ancient kingdoms of *Strathclyde* and *Cumbria,* and the comparatively recent date of their extinction. This recent

date is a very material as well as interesting point. We are not left to plead for the Celtic character of these wide tracts of country—forming along with Wales and the West of England, fully *one-fourth* of Roman Britain—at some dim legendary period of the far past; evidence is not wanting which points to comparatively recent times; and to these times alone need reference here be made. If these states existed, whether as tributary or otherwise, until within a comparatively modern period, and their inhabitants were then Celtic, then the point is settled that the bulk of the people of those regions are in blood Celtic still (with greater or less admixture of Danish and Anglo-Saxon), unless there be some ground for believing that since that comparatively modern period the original dwellers were bodily expelled, or spontaneously quitted the land. But neither of these suppositions is entertained by any one.

Northumbria obtained nominal supremacy over Bernicia (*Bryneich*), as well as Deira (*Deivyr*). But that supremacy must have been of a very short-lived, or of a very superficial character—most probably both. *Strathclyde* embraced the greater part of Bernicia. It reached from the Clyde to the Solway, and west and east from the Irish Sea to the Lothians. The kingdom of *Cumbria* continued southward from the Solway to the Mersey, including, on the west, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, and stretching considerably to the east into Yorkshire. In this great

region of Strathclyde (*Ystrad-Clwyd*) and *Cumbria*, was the chief seat of Ancient British power and culture for many centuries.

Asser tells us that the "army of the pagans" (the Danes) in the year 875, reduced all Northumberland, and ravaged the Picts and *Strath-Clydensians*.[1] Whatever may have been the meaning of the supremacy once obtained by the Angles over Bernicia, its consequence was not the extinction of the kingdom of Strathclyde. At *Alclwyd* (Dumbarton),[2] was the chief seat of the Britons continued until the Danes over-ran the country. But even then, that ancient kingdom was not extinguished; for it was in existence under a recognised sovereign of its own, in the year 924, when it is said by the Chronicler, that *the king of the Strathclyde Britons*, and all the Strathclyde Britons (*Straeclaed Wealas*), or Welsh, chose King Edward (the elder, son of Alfred), for father and for lord."[3] If it should be said that this only means that he became master of those regions, that there was actually no "kingdom" and no "king" in existence—it may be replied that

[1] *Life of Alfred*, ann. 875.

[2] *Alclwyd* is a purely Celtic word: W. *allt*, a hill or eminence, and *clwyd*, the name of the river; the hill or fortress on the Clwyd. "Dumbarton" is a curious instance of the tautology as well as historical growth of local names. The first syllable is the Celtic *dun* or *din*, a hill or fortress; the second is the A.-Sax. *burh* or *byrig*, a translation of the Celtic *dun;* the third is the A.-Sax. *tun*, a "town," or enclosure, but slightly differing in meaning from *burh*.

[3] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 924.

not only would this be in contradiction of the plain statement of a recognised authority, but it would involve the absurd conclusion that there was no "king of the Scots," and no "dwellers in Northumbria," in those days; for all these, and others, are said in the same passage to have chosen Edward, "for father and for lord."

To the same effect is the testimony of William of Malmesbury, who says, that Edward brought under all the Britons who were called Wallenses; "Brittones omnes, quos nos Wallenses dicimus, bellis profligatos, suæ ditionis subiget."[1] And Ethelred, in proof of Edward's goodness and influence, tells us that he induced "the Scots,the Cumbri, the Wallenses, &c., to choose him, not so much as lord and king, as father,"[2] This, certainly looks as if they were still in existence as distinct states.

The affection which prompted this choice of Edward seems, however, to have been but a very slight and momentary passion, for before Athelstan's reign, we see them again turning recalcitrant towards the English. Athelstan's forces, commanded by himself and his brother Edmund, regained their allegiance, without their affection, by the memorable victory of Brunanburh, gained over the combined

[1] Lib. ii. c. 5.

[2] "Eum, non tam in dominam et regem, quam in patrem, cum omni devotione eligerunt." Ethelr. Rievall. de *Geneal. Regum*, p. 356.

armies of the Scots, Strathclydians, Cumbrians, and Danes.

> "These mighty smiths of war
> O'ercame the Welsh (Wealas):
> Most valiant earls were they,
> And gained the land." [1]

Owen (Eugenius) was the name of the prince of Strathclyde in this great contest.

A few years after this the brave Cumbrians furbished their swords anew, and took the field in concert with the Danes. This time Owen's son Donald (*Dyfnwal*) was their leader; and once more were they destined to be subdued by Edmund,[2] brother of Athelstan. Edmund, now himself king, hands over his authority over Cumbria to Malcolm I., king of Scotland, on condition that he should assist the English by sea against all comers.[3] In this compact it was arranged that Cumbria should be governed not by the Scottish king, but by his son and successor (*Tanaist*).[4] In the time of Canute, Duncan was the

[1] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 937.

[2] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 945. To this same contest probably reference is made in the *Brut*: "*Ystrat Clut adiffeithwyt y gan y Saeson.*" Strathclyde was devastated by the Saxons. *Brut y Tywysogion*, ann. 944.

[3] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 945. Owing to this arrangement, Dyfnwal (Donald, Dunwallon) is deposed, and is said by some authorities to have gone to Rome. "*Ac ydaeth Dwnwallawn brenhin Ystrad Clut y Rufein.*" And Dunwallon, King of Strathclyde, went to Rome. *Brut y Tywysogion*, ann. 974.

[4] W. *tan*, under, below; *eisledd*, to sit: one who occupies the next seat of authority.

ruler of Cumbria. The Danes' authority was resisted by the Cumbrians, but they were quelled. Duncan ascended the Scottish throne A.D. 1033, and his son, Malcolm III., according to the arrangement just noted, became the regulus of Cumbria. Some twenty years only before the Norman Conquest, Cumbria was, by Edward the Confessor, vested in the Scottish king.

It was at this late date that all their territories, with their numerous inhabitants, were thus cut off from the stock of more southern Celts, and made to appear as if they belonged to a more northern race. The "Picts and Scots" are now seen melting into the one name, "Scots," and the country to the north of the wall of Severus is henceforth called "Scotland."

But although a united "Scottish" government is thus established, the older designations of the people are not all at once forgotten. In the old "*Brut* of the Princes" it is recorded that "Malcolm, son of Dwnchath, king of the Picts and Albanians, and Edward, his son, were killed by the French."[1] This was Malcolm III. (Canmore), called king of "Scotland" in the public records. The people, both "Picts" and "Albanians," were still the same—all the difference effected was a difference of government. The stone was only put in a new setting.

We find passing references to the old race of Strathclyde, under the name "Picts," at a still later

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion*, pp. 55, 57,

period than the above. John of Hexham, and Henry of Huntingdon, both mention them. They fought against Stephen in the battle of Clitheroe, and in the battle of "the Standard," in the year 1138.[1] The fight at Clitheroe was contested on the Scottish side by "Scots and Picts" against the English.[2] "The Scots, therefore, and the Picts, scarcely held on from the beginning to the third hour of the conflict," &c.[3]

From these historical notices it is evident that Strathclyde maintained its independence, or at least its form as a government either independent or tributary, much longer than the more southern Cumbria. This country of the Ancient Brigantes suffered more, perhaps, than any other district long maintaining Celtic rule, from attacks both from cognate and from alien despoilers. It was frequently set upon by the Strathclydians. Northumbrian Angles were continually ravaging it. It was seldom free from Danish incursions. The Anglo-Saxons from the South, the Scots from the North, in later ages, made it their prey. So reduced at last was Cumbria, that when William the Norman came to take his inventory in Domesday, he "found it not in his heart" to exhaust it further, but remitted all its taxes. The population

[1] *Sax. Chron.* ann. 1138.

[2] "Hoc bellum factum est apud Clithero inter Anglos, Pictos, et Scotos," &c. *Johann. Hagust.* p. 260.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 261. "Scoti itaque et Picti vix à prima hora initi conflictus usque ad tertiam perstiterunt."

had evidently become thin and impoverished—for nothing else could have mollified the heart of William—and it took long ages to repair the desolations which had been wrought. Great numbers of the Cumbri had retired into Wales after the disastrous battle of *Cattraeth.* Their places had been partly filled by Pictish incursions from Strathclyde, and by Danish settlers who had arrived by the Irish sea, and the traces of these are discoverable in the local names of Cumberland and Westmoreland to this day.[1]

At the same time we are far from admitting that any such displacement of the Ancient British element had taken place as rendered the ancestry of the present inhabitants less Celtic than Teuton. Far otherwise, sparse as the population might be, the bulk of it was Celtic. The traditions, superstitions, dialectic peculiarities of the country prove this; as do also the general character, temperament and complexion of the people.

From this survey of the extreme North of England on the Western side, including the Lowlands of Scotland, there need be no hesitation felt in asserting that the Ancient British population were never dislodged

[1] The mountains bear names imposed by the various races mentioned, as: Scaw *Fell* (Dan.); Bow *Fell* (Dan.); High *Pike* (Celt.); Black *Comb* (Celt.); Saddle-back (Sax.); *Dent* Hill (Celt.). So of rivers: Derwent (Celt.); Esk (Celt.); Sark (Dan.); *Cam*beck (Celto-Sax.—W. *Cam,* crooked; Sax. *beck,* a brook); Duddon (Celt.); Croglin (Celt.); Neut (Celt). Few streams bear other than Celtic names.

from their native soil. Where the Angles, Saxons, Danes, and Normans found them, there they left them. Partial dislodgment, doubtless, took place, as will always occur amid great commotions and conflicts of nations; but no such dislodgment is witnessed to by history, and no such wholesale immigration of foreign races, as would entitle the historian of this day to conclude that the race-character of the inhabitants had been changed.

If we retrace our steps southward, we shall everywhere find on the line of our present survey, traces of the Ancient British population at recent dates.

In the latter half of the eighth century, Shrewsbury, then called *Pengwern*, was the capital of the Kings of Powis: and Offa gave proof to succeeding ages how great was the difficulty of confining the Cymry of North Wales within limits by the construction of his stupendous "dyke."[1] That great earthwork, *Clawdd Offa*, measuring a hundred miles long from the mouth of the Dee to the Bristol Channel, is an abiding memorial of the terrible power of the Britons, and the unfailing resolution of the brave old Mercian king. In those rude times rude strength was occasionally manifested on a magnificent scale; and this is an instance of it. The modern soldier would pronounce the building of a huge rampart a hundred miles long, from sea to sea, a clumsy and unmilitary

[1] See Lappenburg, *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. i. 231.

method of checking an invader; but we must bear in mind that Offa had the example of the Romans before him, and that they had been able, with all their strategy, to discover no better method of hemming in the uncontrollable Caledonians than building great earthworks and walls across the country. Neither Offa nor the Romans had heard of the grandest erection of the kind (in existence probably even then) the wall of China! The plan was adopted in Britain as an exceptional expedient to meet an exceptional case of peril.

As to Herefordshire, not only is the staple of its population known to be purely Celtic, but it continued to a very late period to associate itself with the *Cymry* of Wales in uncompromising opposition to the Saxon kings. In the twelfth century (temp. Henry II.) Hereford city was considered as "in Wales," although it had been the chief city of Mercia in the reign of Offa. Part of the county was assigned to the Welsh by Offa's dyke; and it continued as one of the regions of the "Marches"[1]—indeed, *the* region, *par excellence*, of the "Marches," for it gave the name of "Earl of March to Mortimer"[2]—to be the general "boundary-land" between the English and the Welsh, allowed as

[1] Anglo-Sax. *Mearc*, a mark; hence a boundary-line, border, separating different kingdoms. The kingdom of *Mercia* itself had its name from its being the *mearc* or boundary region between the Britons of Wales and the East Angles.

[2] His chief residence was Wigmore Castle, in Herefordshire.

such to belong partly to both—for many ages after the kingdom of Mercia had been swallowed up in the general dominions of the English kings. All this implies an intimacy and sympathy between the *Cymry* and the inhabitants of these parts which could arise from no other cause than identity of race.

But it is needless to multiply facts to prove a point so generally admitted. Not only will no one who has pondered the early ethnography of England, deny that the people of Herefordshire were genuine Celts, but he will freely grant that the inhabitants of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire also were almost entirely of the same race. He finds no account of extensive displacement. He hears nothing of a Saxon population transported from other regions, and located in these. The country is found always peopled, apparently by the same race, whether the name it bears is *Maxima Cæsariensis*, imposed by the Romans, *Myrcnarice*, or Mercia, in Anglo-Saxon times, or the more familiar county designations of the present day. Different kings of different races rule, different laws and different languages prevail; but the *people* are immortal, conveying down from age to age the blood of the same British race (with more or less Teutonic admixtures) and continuing still, in their physiological characteristics, manners and customs, superstitions, dialects, to form a *Myrcna-rice*, a border kingdom, between the purer Celts of Wales and the Celto-Saxons of England further East.

Of *Monmouthshire* we need not speak. It was certainly from no considerations of race that this county, so late as the eighth Henry, was numbered with the counties of England. To this day a very large proportion of its inhabitants even retain the Welsh language; and the whole, with the exception, of course, of the immigrant element which the rapidly-developed trade and manufactures of the county have attracted—are of Celtic blood.

We have now completed the survey we intended making. We have seen in the early stages of the Saxon conquest, whole populations, tribes, or kingdoms, in the South, and in the Central, and North-Eastern parts—Lloegrians, Brython, the men of Galedin, the Gwyddelians, and the Coranians—pass away, and melt almost simultaneously into the mass of the Anglo-Saxon people. In the South-West the great kingdom of Wessex has by degrees stretched forth its long arms, and gathered into its embrace the Britons of the South coast counties of Hants and Dorset, along with those further North in Somerset and Wilts, casting its spell with more or less power over the dwellers in Devon, and far into Cornwall. The primary Celtic colours have slowly mingled with the complementary Teutonic hues, forming at last a settled mid colour, but fringing off at all the extreme points in the bright unequivocal "red-dragon" Celtic. In the extreme North, Strathclyde and Cumbria, large

and powerful Celtic kingdoms, covering nearly, if not fully, one-fourth of the surface of Roman Britain, eventually disappear, drawn into the all-absorbing Maelstrom of a now English-speaking race. The same sort of change is seen progressing in the intervening space along the border lands of the "Marches" —Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, and Worcestershire. Thus, in the course of 600 or 700 years, more than half the face of our island (omitting Wales and Scotland) is plainly seen with the "naked eye" of history, without telescopic or microscopic aid of conjecture, assumption, or myth, to pass by slow but appreciable gradations from a Celtic into the outward seeming of a Teutonic territory. In a word, nothing more, nothing less, can be said of the teeming multitudes of Ancient Britons once inhabiting the parts referred to, than was intimated by the 9th *Triad* of the Lloegrians—viz., that they "became Saxons;" and nothing more can be said of the agency of the Germanic and Scandinavian race in bringing this to pass than what is ascribed by the *Chronicle* to the Normans, in a particular case—viz., that they reduced all, small and great, *to be Saxons.*[1]

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion.* Rolls Office ed. by Rev. J. Williams, Ab Ithel, p. 63. This was, however, a very superficial mode of making Celts into "Saxons." It is applied to the conquest of the Isle of Anglesea, whose inhabitants have never displayed many signs of being "Saxons."

What *proportion* of Ancient British blood is indicated by this picture as having passed into the ancestry of the present English, we shall not seek precisely to determine. It however immeasurably surpasses in copiousness anything that has ever yet been acknowledged by our historians. Of the immense preponderance of the Britons over their Saxon and Angle conquerors during the first stages of the Conquest, few sane persons can have a doubt. That they did not continue to maintain this preponderance, has never yet been proved. That they gradually dwindled away in the character and outward expression of Britons, over the greater part of the island, is clear; and the causes and manner of the change have just been explained. But that this kind of change is tantamount to extinction of *race* elements, no person of ordinary capacity will pretend to believe. If that were true, the English-speaking subjects of the English crown in Scotland and Ireland would no longer be Celtic in blood, but Saxon. The radical unsoundness of the idea is seen from its liableness to be so easily reduced *ad absurdum.*

But the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, of earlier or later immigrations, are not to be considered as the only factors along with the Ancient Britons in determining the ethnological character of the English people. The Danes and Normans are also to be taken into the account.

SECTION VIII.

Influence of the Danish and Norman Invasions on the Ethnological Character of the English People.

In speaking of the English or Anglo-Saxon nation from this time forward, it must not be forgotten that they were no longer a Teutonic, but a mixed race. When the Danish and Norman Conquests were effected, the process of amalgamation with the Ancient Britons had far advanced, although still, especially in the time of the former, far from being completed.

1. The Danish invasion in its influence on the distribution and admixture of race.

The distribution or location of races in the British Isles had been pretty well completed before the settlement of the Danish rule. For many ages prior to this, and even prior to the Saxon and Anglian Kingdoms themselves, the country had been afflicted by Danish invasions on a larger or smaller scale; and Danish settlements in great number had been effected on our coasts. But neither the earlier nor the later Danish incursions materially affected the boundaries of the Cymry of Wales and Cornwall; although in Cumbria and Strathclyde they may have had some effect. The Norman Conquest having occurred still later, not only effected much less by way of race intermixture than the Danish, but in the way of race distribution produced hardly any change. All that these conquests

can be held to have done, therefore, in this relation, is the effacing still further the already dim signs of Celtic nationality on the western border of England, the displacement of a portion of the Britons of Cumbria, and the confining of the uncompromising *Cymry* more strictly within the limits of Wales, and "West Wales," or Cornwall. During neither of these conquests were large masses of Britons, except those who came with the conquerors, brought into a state of fusion with the English; nor were any portions of Wales proper annexed to the English sovereignty.

What the Saxon *Chronicler* relates of the work of Edmund in ravaging Strathclyde in A.D. 945, and granting it to Malcolm, King of the Scots, on condition of his becoming a fellow-worker with him, "by sea and by land," we have already shown. Malcolm, was, of course, to become a fellow-worker "by sea," emphatically for the purpose of checking the Danes.

The Danes, pressing especially on the Eastern coast, by degrees became masters of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia. We have shown that they indeed swarmed in prodigious numbers on all parts of the coasts of Britain, coming at one time in "three hundred ships," and numbering at another time as many as 30,000 men. Alfred, with all his extraordinary exertions, was completely unable to expel them from the Southern parts of the island. He therefore adopted the wise policy of paving the way, since they were known to be essentially of the same race with the

Anglo-Saxons, for their gradual fusion with the inhabitants. He accordingly arranged for their peaceful settlement in the country, ceded to them, under conditions, the Kingdom of East Anglia, and laboured to the extent of his power to promote a good understanding between them and their Anglo-Saxon opponents. By this time they had obtained power over nearly *two-thirds* of the territories of the Heptarchy. This they had accomplished through a series of conflicts as bloody and disastrous as any which the history of this much-enduring land has ever chronicled.

It has been stated by some writers (incorrectly, we venture to think), that the Danes about the time when their horrid massacre was planned by Ethelred, A.D. 1002, numbered nearly *one-third* the inhabitants of England. One-fifth would probably be nearer the truth, and even that proportion was diminished by the atrocious deed referred to. It was, however, more than restored soon afterwards by the avenging invasions of Sweyn, Thurchil, Knut, (Canute) and other great commanders, with their teeming hosts. Under Canute, who in A.D. 1017 became sole monarch of England, perhaps the Danish element may, without exaggeration, be said to have constituted nearly one-third of the population—the Anglo-Saxons, including the Saxonized Britons, furnishing the remaining two-thirds. The Danish element held the highest place in East Anglia, and the Eastern side of the island throughout, to the extreme of Northumbria.

The British kingdom of Cumberland was inundated in the latter part of the tenth century by the *Norwegians*, who found their way thither by the Irish Sea—a sea well known to the Northmen from times much earlier; for it was the route they pursued on their way to France. The kingdom of *Strathclyde* having by this time been annexed to the dominions of the Scottish king, it is probable that the incursions of these new Norwegian hordes affected chiefly Southern and South-Western *Cumbria*, still inhabited by the comparatively unmixed Welsh-speaking Celts;[1] and that numbers of these were forced to flee the country, and seek a home among their brethren in Wales. The Norwegian immigration was so large that it gave a Scandinavian tinge to the region now included in the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, visible, as we have shown, to this day in the local names of the district; and contributed to hasten the entire extinction of the Cymraeg of the region.[2]

We must guard, however, against the supposition that the displacement of the original population was on any large scale. The Celts and Saxons, and even Danes throughout Northumbria, had doubtless largely intermixed before the arrival of these new comers,

[1] The language of Cumbria is proved to be identical with the Welsh by the literary remains of the Cumbrian bards, *Aneurin* and *Llywarch Hên*, and by dialectic words and local names.

[2] See Ferguson's *Northmen in Cumb. and Westm.;* and Worsaae's *Danes and Norwegians in England, passim.*

giving room for the probable conjecture that those alone would be compelled to evacuate the country whose attachment to the ancient speech and usages was too stubborn to bend, and who, therefore, scorning to coalesce with the hated Northmen, retired into Wales.

Whatever may be the truth as to the Scandinavian admixture in Cumbria, it is on all hands admitted that the North of England was more affected by it than the South. But, of course, no amount of intermixture with Danes or Norwegians would affect the *race* quality of the Anglo-Saxons, supposing for the moment that the Anglo-Saxons existed now in their unmixed integrity in the land, for we all know that Danes, Norwegians, Angles, and Saxons, were all of the same Teutonic race. Under the actual circumstances, the people of England at the time being a *compound* of Celts and Teutons, the effect of receiving into their body a quantum of Danes and Norwegians would simply be the increasing of the proportion of Teutonic as compared with Celtic blood in the mass. It cannot be denied that the Danish invasion and conquest did operate in this manner. The Norman conquest, as will by-and-by be shown, contrary to the traditional faith prevailing, had hardly a preponderating effect in favour of Teutonism.

When endeavouring to gauge the influence of the Danes on English ethnology two related but antithetic ideas occur to the inquirer. The rule of the Danes

in England was brief; but the era of Danish incursions was long. They held sovereignty in this country only for some *eight and twenty years*—A.D. 1013—1041, *i.e.*, from the accession of Sweyn to the death of Hardicanute. But ever since the year 787, when they first made serious attempts upon the country, they never ceased to pour in accessions, more or less numerous, to the Teutonic population. Dr. Donaldson is therefore probably in error when denying that the Danish and Norman "settlements produced any considerable effect on the ethnical characteristics of the country."[1] In the sense of adding a new element of race, they, it is true, effected nothing; but in the sense of altering the relative proportions between the Celtic and Teutonic elements they did something, and that something was in augmentation of the Teutonic, and the production of the Dane rather than the Norman.

2. The effect of the Norman Conquest on the ethnical character of the English people.

Though we are accustomed to look upon the Normans as a new people, distinct from the Saxons and the Danes, it must be now kept in mind that they were so in reality, as far as they were Normans, only as arriving in Britain at a later time and from a different direction, and swayed by opposite interests. As the Danes were brethren—though not loving—to the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, so were the old pure

[1] *On English Ethnography, Cambr. Essays,* 1856. P. 53.

Normans brethren, or rather sons—though neither loving nor filial—to the Danes. The Northmen, or Danes, who had for ages been the plague of Britons and Anglo-Saxons, and bore rule in the country when William demanded the crown, were the same people, ethnically, who had in the early part of the 10th century entered France under Rollo, and converted Neustria into *Norman-die.* Rollo had recognised the Danes in England as brethren in race before his descent upon France, for we remember that he had come over to assist Guthrum the Dane in conquering East Anglia. Having, years after this, succeeded in establishing himself and a horde of followers, in Neustria, to which he gave the name *Normandie*, because he had converted it into an abode of the "men of the North," he began to create a race which, under the name Normans, were in reality not so. He at once adopted the language of the conquered territory, and proceeded to knead into one the Celtic inhabitants and the colonists he had introduced. The work of amalgamation proceeded; Rollo extended and consolidated his sway; the Normans became quite as much Celts as the Celts became Normans; the population grew; a feeling of kindred also prevailed between the old inhabitants of Normandie and those of Brittany—for originally they were the same Celtic race—in great measure, indeed, actual contributions to that race, as shall again be shown, from the insular Britons; and after some 150 years of advancement in

the arts of civilization under French culture, these Celto-Normans come over under William to achieve the Conquest of England.

If this representation is a correct one, it will follow that the "Normans" who conquered England were only in a very qualified sense descendants of the old Scandinavians. This representation we claim as substantially correct. It is supported by history, and contradicted by neither history nor fable. It is contradicted only by the "School Histories of England."

Even if it were true—which it is not—that the followers of William the Conqueror were in the main, or entirely, pure Normans, the ethnological revolution they would effect in England would still be very insignificant. In their application to the Norman conquest, under *this* view of it, the words of Dr. Donaldson are true: "The Scandinavian settlers were rather chieftains and soldiers despotically established in certain districts, than bodies of emigrants who affected the whole texture of the population." As already observed, the Danes through a long series of years had been pouring in their hordes, and fighting for themselves settlements in different parts of the island; but the "Normans" under William came as a body of "chieftains and soldiers," and accomplished their great exploit all at once through sheer superiority in one battle-field. The battle of Hastings, the first they fought, was also the last before their supremacy was a *fait accompli*, for what fighting followed was only in

settlement and defence of that supremacy, against the contumacy of different sections of the country. The whole of the fighting from first to last was done in *four* years. By 1071 the whole of England, from Cornwall to the Tweed, and from the Eastern borders of Wales to the German Sea, was the prize—the blood-stained prize—of the Northmen's valour! The wars with the Welsh only serve to prove the vitality—the unextinguishable spirit—which animated that people. No change was produced in their location—none to speak of in their ethnical character.

We have said that William's followers were not pure Northmen; and also that even if they *had* been such, they had only produced a faint change in the ethnical character of the English people by reason of their comparative fewness. We have already shown how the people of Normandy, from systematic amalgamation of the natives with the conquerors, were a mixed race. That the race inhabiting the old district of Neustria were in the main Celts, we need not stay to prove, for none will deny it; and that the amalgamation took place is the unambiguous testimony of history, and its truth is corroborated by the significant fact that the language of the natives became the sole language of the compound people. We have throughout rejected the doctrine that the adoption of a language is proof of superiority of number on the side of those whose vernacular it was; and we reject it here. But be the number of the natives of Neustria great or small, it is

clear that they were all taken, as they were found on the land, as subjects of the conquerors, and that in course of time a complete fusion took place between the two peoples. From the population which descended from this compound stock, William drew his "Norman" forces; and it is open to every one to judge whether the accession of 60,000[1] more or less of such a type to the population of England, would be a *Teutonic* addition. We say it was a mixed addition, and contained presumably as much Celtic as Teutonic blood. Nay, when looked into closely, probably it will be found to have contained much more Celtic than Teutonic—more Neustrian than Norman blood. The great captains, the lords of castles, were no doubt in many cases Normans, but what of the majority of the "men at arms"? Were these not, as retainers of the lords of the soil, more likely to be of the compound Norman, if not of the native Celtic or Neustrian race?

But we must cast our view further in this matter than the "Norman" part of William's invading army. It turns out to be a fact—and a most interesting fact it is, in the treatment of our present subject—that a very large proportion of William's followers were genuine *Bretons*, and that not a few were *Britons*.

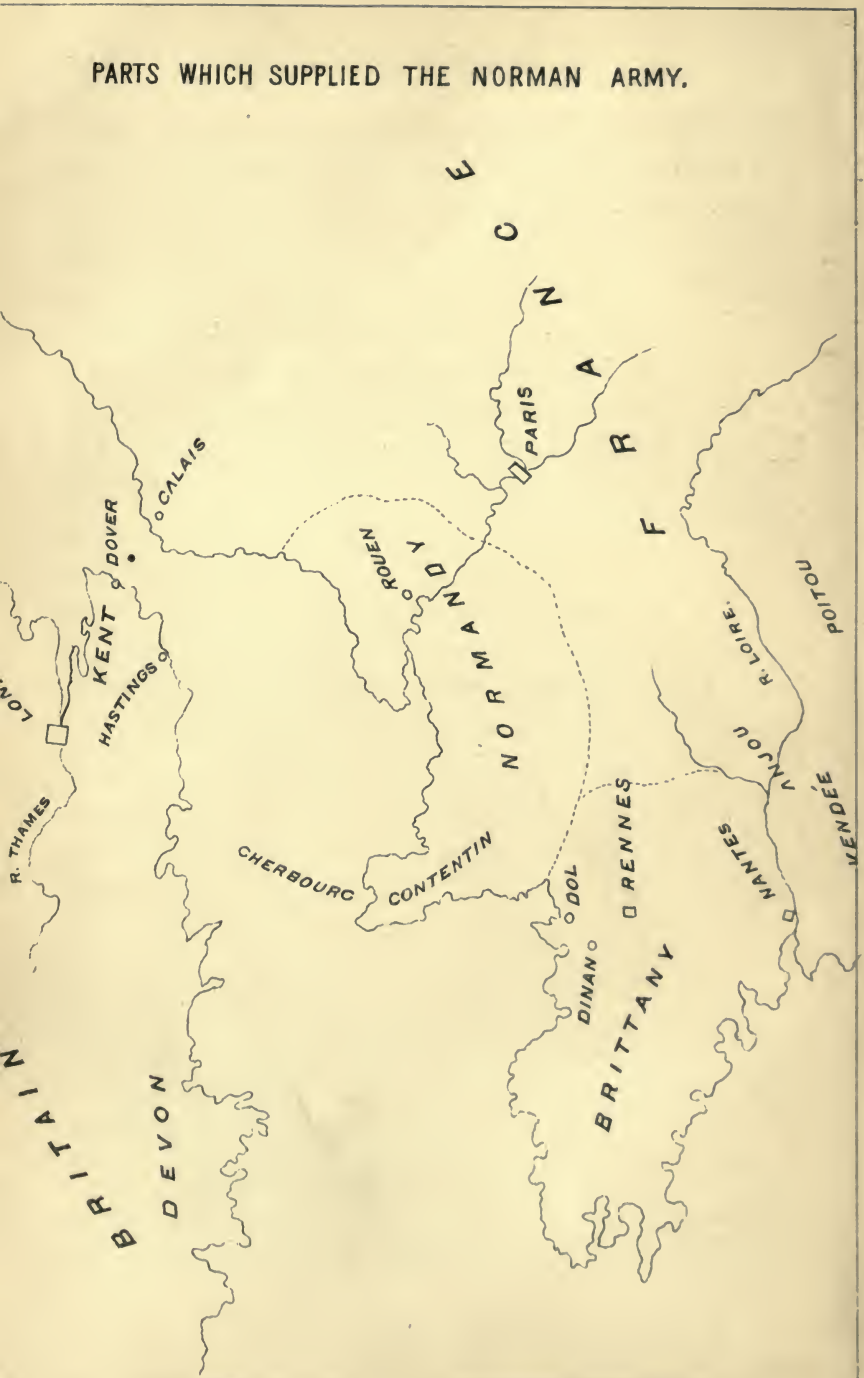
[1] It has already been observed (p. 182, note) that the number 60,000 is considered by many to be greatly exaggerated, and that 25,000 would be an estimate more near the mark. But as many came over afterwards, in William's various expeditions, the larger number may well remain undisturbed.

We advance, therefore, a *second* step. Already it has appeared that the soldiers raised by the Conqueror in his own duchy of Normandy, must in great measure have been of Celtic origin; we now have to show that in addition to these, he had in his train auxiliary forces which had no taint of Norman blood at all, but pure unequivocal Celts, close relations of the *Cymry* of Wales and Cornwall! Some of his chief captains were princes and lords of Brittany, and among these were men who became possessors of some of the chief baronial estates, and founders of some of the chief "Norman" families of England!

Of course, this statement will be received with a measure of incredulity. Many who have only read the "history of England," in their school books have never become aware of the fact. The Norman conquerors were *Normans*, representing all the puissance and chivalry of France, and, beyond dispute, of the high breed of the sea-kings and terrible warriors—the Vikings and Thunderers of the North. This is their faith. But its basis is very sandy, and when that is washed away, it will be easy to see that the Norman conquest, if it added a good deal of Teutonic, added also a good deal of Celtic blood to be already mixed blood of England. Alas, then, in many cases for the pride of pure Norman descent!

The Normans, having conquered and established themselves as rulers over the Celts of the region which they called Normandie, naturally excited the jealousy

PARTS WHICH SUPPLIED THE NORMAN ARMY.



and hostility of the Celts of Brittany; but still, amid frequent conflicts and constant rivalry, the rulers by degrees contracted alliances by marriage, and it came to pass that William the Conqueror himself, when a child, was entrusted to the care of his father's cousin, Alain, the ruler of Brittany, as guardian. If the ruling families were thus related, the populations were much more so. Originally identical in race, they had for many centuries freely settled in each other's territories, and largely contracted alliances by marriage. It was not therefore strange, if Breton soldiers came to fight side by side with Normans in William's invading army.

When William's resolve was fixed, he immediately invited all the assistance he could command. He issued a proclamation, and caused it to be dispersed through Brittany and other neighbouring countries, such as *Poitou* and *Anjou*—also inhabited by an originally Celtic race—offering good pay and the pillage of England to every "brave soldier who would serve him with lance, sword, or cross-bow." They heard the summons, liked the terms, and speedily began to flock to his standard. They came "from Maine and Anjou, from Poitou and Brittany, from the Alps and the banks of the Rhine."[1] Some asked for land in England, a domain, a castle, a town; others simply required some rich Saxon in marriage.[2] William was complaisant

[1] Will. of Malmesb. *Hist.* B. iii. Ordericus Vital. *Hist. Eccles.* p. 494.

[2] *Chronique de Normandie*, p. 227.

and full of promises; his liberality by anticipation made many friends; old feuds and sores between him and the Bretons were healed, and many of them came forward well armed for the conflict.

Eudes, whose father, Conan, William was suspected to have got poisoned, was now Count or regulus of Brittany under Norman influence. His two princely sons, *Brian* and *Alain*, were among the first to arrive, with their train of followers—strong Breton "men at arms" ready for the fray.[1] These two young leaders were called by their knightly followers "*Mac-Tierns*" —sons of the ruler (W. *teyrn*, chief, king), and both were destined, but Alain more especially, to obtain the highest prominence in the Baronage of England.

Other Breton knights of renown, each leading his company of warriors, were, *Riwallon* de Gael, otherwise called Raoul de Gael, and Raulf de Gael, lord of the castle and city of Dôl; *Bertrand de Dinand*,[2] and *Robert de Vitry*, the last two somewhat mixed in blood

[1] Lobineau, *Hist. de Bretagne*, i. 98. Alain attained to the highest celebrity in England. Brian also proved a distinguished warrior. Three years after the battle of Hastings we find him leading Norman troops to a decisive victory in Devon, on the river "Tavy," now Taw, where nearly 2,000 men on the Saxon side fell. *Sax. Chron.* ann. 1068.

[2] The pretty little town of *Dinan*, once a powerful fortress, bears to this day a purely Celtic name. The older form of it, with the terminating d, *Dinand*, suggests the derivation *dyfn-nant*, its situation being on the brink of a deep ravine. The simplest derivation, however, is *din-nant*, the hill, or fortress on the valley. Dinan is a good specimen of an old Breton town.

and bearing French names, but recognised as Breton chiefs, and, like the others, accompanied by a "numerous train of followers," all of the Breton race. The captains of companies from Anjou and Poitou are not so plainly named; but the fact is stated that many came from these Celtic[1] states, and joined the forces of the Conquest.

Allan or Alain, the son of Eudes of Brittany, already named, did noble service at the battle of Hastings, and is commemorated by the old poetic chroniclers thus:—

> "Li quiens Alain de Bretaigne
> Bien i ferit od sa compaigne;
> Cil i ferit come baron,
> Mult le firent bien Breton."—*Geoff. Gaimar.*[2]

> "Alain Fergant, quans de Bretaigne,
> De Bretons mene grant campaigne;
> C'est une gent fière et grifaigne,
> Ki volentiers prent e gaaingne.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "Bien se cumbat Alain Ferganz,
> Chevalier fu proz e vaillanz;
> Li Bretonz vaid od sei menant,
> Des Engleiz fait damage grant."—*Benoit de St. Maure.*

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[1] These were, probably, notwithstanding the Frankish conquests, as prevailingly Celtic as was Brittany itself apart from the accessions it received from the Cymry.

[2] See *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* vol. i. p. 828. "Alan, son of the Duke of Brittany, supposed by some to have been the original stock of the royal house of *Stuart*, followed his standard." Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.* i. 96. For the credit of the Breton prince, it is to be hoped he had no such posterity!

The Breton warrior did not lose his reward. A vast region of country north of York fell to his share; and here on a steep hill overlooking the river Swale he built the great castle which he called *Riche-mont* (high or wealthy hill), now Richmond in Yorkshire.[1]

Riwallon de Gael became Lord of Norfolk, and built for his residence the great fortress of Norwich Castle; but he was by and by found plotting against his master, and was obliged to retrace his steps to his native castle of Dôl.

The first Lord of *Coningsby* is by an old ballad thus traced to Brittany:—

> "*William de Coningsby,*
> Came out of Brittany
> With his wife *Tiffany.*"[2]

It may be possible, though difficult, to assign to all the Celtic knights in William's army their true localities in Brittany, and the border lands between that state and Normandy. Concerning many of them the matter is clear enough, for the towns and castles which bore their names remain, and bear their ancient names, under slight disguise, to this day. We have selected from the old lists of William's companions, still extant, those names which are plainly Celtic, whether of Breton Anjevin, or other origin. Several of the strongholds

[1] "Et nominavit dictum castrum Richemont, suo idiomate Gallico, quod sonant Latini divitem montem." Dugdale, *Monast.* i. 877.

[2] Hearne, *Præf.* ad Joh. de Fordun, *Scoti-Chron.* p. 170. Thierry, *Histoire de Conq. d'Angl.* Liv. iv.

they inhabited, it will be observed, are in the "Contentin"[1]—the intervening promontory between Brittany and North Normandy, having *Cherbourg*,[2] the great naval arsenal of France, at its extremity; but as all this district was intensely Celtic before the conquest of Gaul by the Franks, and was not much altered in its ethnical character by that event; and was moreover the part of Normandy least affected by the Norman immigration, it seems likely enough that at the time of William's expedition, people of Celtic derivation were mainly its inhabitants, and it is morally certain that those lords of castles and manors which bore Celtic names were themselves of Celtic descent. The following particulars, though highly interesting to the Celtic student, are not brought forward here as of unqualified importance, though still of some significance in our discussion. Unless we had the actual pedigree of each family before us, we cannot be absolutely certain that all knights bearing Celtic names, and holding castles bearing identical names with their own—for lord and manor had one appellation—were of pure Celtic descent; nor is there guarantee that every designation apparently Celtic is

[1] This local name, "Contentin," is a curious corruption of the name of Constantine Chlorus, who honoured the town of Constantia (now *Coutances*), with his own designation.

[2] Cherbourg is a bilingual name. Its first part is the Celt *caer*, a city, or fortress; its second, a Saxon translation of the first, *burh*, or *burg*. Its name, when Richard III. made a grant of it to King Robert's daughter, was *Car*-us-bure.

actually and undoubtedly such. The following are most probably all Celtic—as much so as Dynevor, Llanover, Powis, or Penmôn in Wales. Those situated in the Contentin are specified.

Bertrand de *Dinand* . . in Brittany. (Dinan, from *din*-as, or *din-nant.*)

De *Bri*quebec, Contentin, (*brig*, top, summit, similar to *din*, *dun*, or *tor*. See further on, on *Local Names*. (From this knight descend, by the female line, the Earls of Huntly and Dudley.

De *Mor*ville, ,, (Celt. *môr*, sea. Fr. *ville*, town: a town near the sea.)

De *Tour*ville, ,, (Celt. *twr*, *tor*, high place or fortress, as Tor-point, Tor-bay, Twr-gwyn, Hey Tor.)

De *Barn*ville, ,, (Celt. *barn*, judgment, award. So named as the castle or place where matters were decided. A court.)

De *Bol*ville, ,, (Celt. *bol*, a round body, a hill, or swelling in the surface of the earth, &c.)

De *Camber*non ,, Camber, Cimber, Cymro, are all of one derivation. This name afterwards changed into Chambernoun. The first of the name in England settled at Madbury, Devon.

De *Tre*ly, ,, (Celt. *tre*, an abode, settlement.) More than one baron of this name was settled in England. Present descendants not known.

De *Car*ences ,, (Celt. *caer*, a city, or fortress.) The *Car*bonels were owners of this castle, and came over with William, but probably afterwards returned.

De *Mor*drac ,, (Celt. *môr*, sea.) One of this house, Henry Mordrac, was Archbp. of York.

Carrog ,, From the Castle of Carrog (*Caerog*) came the Maresmenes. *Palgrave.*

De *Tre*goz	Contentin,	(Celt. *tre*, an abode, settlement.) The lord of Tregoz appears as chief figure in all lists of the Conqueror's companions.
De *Graig*ues	,,	(Celt. *craig*, rock.) The Mordrac family held this castle. Fr. orthography, though not pronunciation, is faithful to the true etymology of this name.
De *Can*isy	,,	(Celt. *can*, *cain*, white, fair.) Hubert de Canisy was a prominent man in the conquest army.

The above, along with many others, such as *Brecry* (*brig*), *Can*ville (*can*, *cain*), *Garn*ototte (*carn*, *cairn*, a heap), *Bras*ville (*brâs*, large, great), were all in the same district, a district which, from its position as a promontory, was likely to maintain its ancient characteristics of race comparatively unchanged. Some of the above names were known in pre-Roman times,—and, thanks to the wonderfully enduring nature of personal and local designations, are known to the present day; and it is not too much to presume that those warriors who bore them in the 11th century, were direct descendants of the race which had handed them down from early ages.

From a multitude of names given in the old chroniclers—names which no Celtic scholar would be surprised to find in a list of Welsh or Cumbrian magnates—we have selected the following—all of whom are given as fighting under William's standards:—

*Tur*beville	(*twr*, *tor*).	*Coudre*	(*coed*, wood, and *tre*).
Gomer	(*Cimber*, *Cymro*).	*Tracy*	(*tre*).
St. *Môr*	(*môr*, sea; or *mawr*, great.)	*Pynken*sy	(*pen*, head, end; *can*, or *cain*, fair, white).

*Ner*ville . (nêr, lord).
Penbri . . (*pen*, head ; there is a Penberi in Wales).
Talbot . . (*tal*, high, head, and *bod*, habitation).
Cantemor . (*cant*, hundred, a district ; *mawr*, large).
*Tor*nay . (*twr*, *tor*).
Bolbeke . (*bol*, and *bychan*, small).
*Tur*bemer (*twr*, *tor*).
*Car*oun . (*caer*, and perhaps *Iwan* or *Owen*).
Tragod . (*tre*, and *coed*, wood).

—*Brompton's Chron.*
(Rer. Anglican. Scriptor. Ed. Selden, i. 963.)

*Tre*gos . (*tre*).
Tregylly . (*tre*, *gelli*, grove).
*Mor*teigne (*môr*, *tain*, a plain).
*Cor*by . . (*caer* ; or *cor*, a circle, and perh. the Norse *by*).
*Mor*tivans (*môr*).
Turley . . (*twr*, *tor*, and *lle*, place ; or perh. *dwr*, water).
Morley . . (*môr*, and *lle* place ; a situation near the sea).
Kyriel . . (*caer*).
*Dur*aunt . (*dwr*, water.)
Howel . . (Cymric proper name)
*Tri*vet . . (*tre*, *tref*).
Tally . . (*tal*, high, tall ; *lle*, place).
Breton . . Same derivation as Britain and Briton).
Ry . . (*rhi*, chief, leader).
*Thor*ny . (*twr* or *tor*).
Glauncourt (*glàn*, margin ; *côr*, circle).
*Kymar*ays (*Cymro*, Cimbri).
*Tour*ys . (*twr*, *tôr* ; or *dwr*, water, and perh. *Ry* or *Rys*).
*Dor*eny . (*dwr*, water, river).
*Rys*ers . (*rhi*, or *Rys*, prop. n.).

—From *Leland.*
(Collectan. de reb. Brit. Ed. Hearne i. 206.)

Now from these dry details of names, with their probable derivations, what is there to gather ? What can we legitimately gather that will be of use in our argument ? Two things, certainly :—

First: That the addition made by the Norman Conquest to the population of England was not a clear *Teutonic* addition. And this will apply with as much

force to the chivalrous and aristocratic class as to any other.

Secondly: That, taking into account the Celtic basis of the Norman population itself, and the large number of *Breton*, Anjevin, and Poitevin, warriors, that swelled the ranks of the invading army, a very material proportion of the addition made to the population of England through the conquest was beyond all question *Celtic*.

It can scarcely be said that a moiety of William's knightly companions in arms were of Celtic race,—probably, of this class, the majority was large in favour of Norse blood; but it would require a good amount of presumption to assert that the majority of the supposed 60,000 men who fought, and won a kingdom, on the field of Hastings, belonged to the Teutonic race. It only seems a marvel that such a thing should ever have been believed.

This is about all the gain to our argument which accrues at present from this branch of our inquiry. It is a negative rather than a positive gain: but it has the effect, notwithstanding, of most seriously abating the Teutonic claims. The positive advantage it proffers is not strictly within the range of the subject matter of our essay, being in favour of the Celtic *genus*, rather than of the "Ancient British" *species*. Most undoubtedly it gives quite a new aspect to the change effected by the conquest in the ethnology of Britain, for it gives a presumption in favour of the

hypothesis that this change was in the direction of Celticizing rather than of Teutonizing the English nation.

But although it has been admitted that the Celtic addition thus made to the English, was not an addition directly derived from the Britons, and therefore cannot be fully appropriated in furtherance of our specific position, still, indirectly, by a slightly circuitous route, much of that addition may be shown to have actually come from that quarter. Great multitudes of the Cymry of Britain had emigrated to Brittany within the five or six hundred years preceding the conquest; and their descendants who joined William's army, and merged into the English people on their settlement here, may not unfairly be claimed as additions from the Ancient British stock. It is more than probable that the feeling which excited the Bretons to join an expedition intended to humble the Saxons, was a desire to avenge the wrongs which had been heaped on their ancestors, and which had forced so many of them to quit their native land to seek a shelter among their brethren in Brittany, or, as it was then called, Armorica.

Intimate intercourse had always subsisted between the Cymry and the Armoricans. They felt themselves to be but one people; and the immigrant Cymry were received and allowed to settle in Armorica just as the Armoricans, under the name Brython, had been allowed to settle in Britain ages

before. We have frequent intimations of this intercourse through the space of at least 700 years, and reaching to within a short distance of Rollo's conquest of Normandy.

Whatever may be thought of Conan Meiriadog's expedition under Maximus (in A.D. 383), as to its details, there can be no reasonable doubt but that in that age hosts of the Cymry did go over to Armorica. The Breton historian, Lobineau, rejects the story of Conan's settlement in Brittany under Maximus, on the ground that Maximus's fleet landed near the Rhine, and not on the Armorican coast. This, however, does not make it impossible that Conan and his followers should, and that under Maximus's auspices, reach, and settle in, Brittany.

M. Lobineau, who has most laboriously investigated the history of his native country, is of opinion that large settlements of Cymry were effected on the coasts of Armorica. They called the parts where they settled *Llydaw*, a word meaning "the sea-coasts," and identical in sense with Armorica.[1] They established themselves at Dôl, St. Malo, St. Brieux, Treguier, St. Pol de Leon, Quimper, Vannes, &c.; and spread gradually from those centres into the country around, and the interior. They reached Rennes and Nantes.[2] The names of Devonshire and Cornwall, which they imposed on the districts of their adoption, are evidence

[1] Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, pp. 5, 6.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 6.

that a large portion of the colonists were from those counties in Britain.[1]

It is impossible to read the local names which still survive in Brittany, some of them slightly disguised by French orthography and additions, without feeling that the people who imposed them not only used the language of the Cymry, but also were guided by the same ideas in the designation of places of abode, positions of defence, sanctuaries for Christian worship, as the Cymry. Take the following as a few specimens: *Dôl* (situated in a vale), *Dinan*, *Plancoet*, *Lanvollon*, *Lannion*, *Perrhos* (pen); *Lanmeur* (*môr*—it is on the sea); *Taule* (*doleu*, on the marshes, near the sea); *Morlaix* (*môr*, and *lle*, a place on the sea; or *môr* and *clais*, a ditch, ravine, a narrow sea entrance); *Landivisio; Lanilis; Lysnevin; Hywel-goet; Carhaix; Penmarch* (a headland); *Concarneau; Pontaven* (avon); *Pontivy; Landevan; Hennebon* (hên-bont); *Vannes; Maur; Nantes*, &c.

These were, beyond doubt, abodes and sacred spots of the old Cymry. The villages and homesteads, the brooks, ravines, hills, crags of Brittany, bearing Cymric names, are beyond number, and attest most distinctly the identity of the people with those of Wales.

In the sixth century it is said that *Caradog Vreichvras* (of the strong arm) a king of Cornwall, and a

[1] *Histoire de Bretagne.* See also Sharon Turner's *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 183.

friend of Arthur, emigrated to Armorica with a large company of his subjects.[1]

Alain of Vannes having (in the ninth century) got rid of his rival, Judichael of Rennes, became sole king of Brittany, and completely overpowered the Normans. He died in 907, and his son-in-law, Mathnedoi, unable to cope with the Normans, fled to England, and placed himself and his family under the protection of Athelstan. He does not seem to have ever returned to his home; but his son *Alan*, when he had grown to manhood, collected forces, landed on the coast of Brittany, surprised Dôl, St. Brieux, &c., and regained the throne of his ancestors.[2] This event took place within an age or two of the Norman Conquest; and it is impossible to doubt that Alan had been assisted in this expedition by the Cymry, many of whose children, or children's children, might enrol themselves among the hosts which came over with William.

Another instance is given, at an earlier period than this, of intercourse between Brittany and the Cymry. Another Alain was in the year 682 king of Brittany. The royal race of the Welsh having become extinct through the death of Cadwalader the Blessed, at Rome, "Ivor, son of Alan, king of Armorica (which is called Little Britain), reigned, not as a king, but as a chief or prince. And he exercised government over the

[1] Sharon Turner, *Hist. of Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. 189.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 190.

Britons for forty-eight years, and then died. And Rodri Moelwynog reigned after him." [1]

All these and numberless other facts show clearly that the people of Armorica and the Cymry were on terms of closest intimacy, and mutually recognised each other as one race or nation. The narrowness of the intervening channel admitted of frequent interchange of visits, and the many wars in which both were engaged gave constant opportunity for mutual assistance.

When William, therefore, invited the warriors of Brittany to join his standards, can it be doubted that thousands, allured by promises of lands and castles in the country of their forefathers, now in possession of a tottering race of usurpers—for in their estimation the Saxons were nothing else than usurpers, and that they were in a tottering condition after the wars with the Danes and the feeble reign of Edward the Confessor, no one could doubt—would eagerly respond. Hence it was that Alain Fergant, the chief prince of Brittany, and Brian his brother, and such heroic men as Raulf de Gael of Dôl, Bertram of Dinan, &c., with their numerous troops of horsemen, were among the first to proffer aid. The martial spirit and the hope of plunder, once aroused, would quickly win their way among the excitable Bretons, and all over the land the great Duke's call to arms would not resound uselessly. The feeling of friendship and relation-

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion*, in *Monumenta Hist. Bril.* vol. i. p. 841.

ship towards the Britons, of grudge and vengeance towards the Saxons who had caused the exile of their forefathers, and of eagerness for gain as well as for wild adventure, combined to draw the sons of Brittany to the field of Hastings.

The popular poetry of the Bretons is not without some allusions to the time. In Villemarqué's collection is a song bewailing the loss at sea of one of the young Breton heroes, which begins thus:—

"Between the parish of Pouldregat and that of Plouaré,[1]
Young gentlemen were levying an army,
To go to war under the Son of the Duchess,
Who has *collected many people from every corner of Brittany;*

"To go to war, over sea, in the land of the Saxon.
I have a son, Silvestik, whom they expect;
I have a son, an only son, my Silvestik,
Who departs with the army in the train of the knights.

"One night on my bed I was sleepless,
I heard the maids of Kerlaz singing the song of my son," &c.

The "son of the duchess" is understood to be the

[1] As the original supplies a good illustration of the similarity of the language to the Welsh, we give the opening portion of it:—

"Etri parrez Pouldrégat ha parrez Plouaré,
Ez-euz tudjentil iaouank o sével eunn armé
Evit monet d'ar brezel dindan mab ann Dukés
Deuz dastumet kalz a dud euz a beb korn a Vreiz;

"Evit monet d'ar brezel dreest ar mor, da Vro-zoz.
Me meuz ma mab Silvestik ez-int ous hé c'hortoz.
Me meuz ma mab Silvestik ha né meuz ne met-hen,
A ia da heul ar strollad, ha gand ar varc'héien.

"Eunn noz é oann em gwélé, ne oann ket kousket mad,
Me glévé merc'hed Kerlaz a gane son ma mab," &c.

Barzaz Breiz, &c. publié par M. de la Villemarqué, vol. i. 104.

Alain Fergant already mentioned, son of the count or duke of Brittany, here called son of the "duchess" in honour of his mother. It is worthy of special notice that this old song—and popular songs and ballads are generally good reflections of the truth—shows that many people from all parts of Brittany were collected for the war.

Facts might be indefinitely multiplied to the same effect, but these must now suffice. They establish the probability, and indeed the certainty, that great numbers of Bretons were ranked among the forces of the Conqueror. They prove beyond this that among the Bretons of those times were large numbers of the Cymry of Britain, exiles from their country by reason of the Saxon conquests; and as such men would be the first, whether in their own persons or in the persons of their descendants, to embark in a war upon the English, it were mere perversity and wanton abuse of history to doubt that a good proportion of the "Norman" settlers were genuine children of the Ancient Britons. We have thus, therefore, advanced another step, and proved, Thirdly: That a non-Teutonic element was added to the English population through the Norman Conquest which was not merely Celtic, but in substance, though not in exact form, Ancient British.

This, then, is the ethnological issue we wish to claim for the great achievement of William and his warriors. The addition made to the people of Britain was a mixed one. A large Teutonic element and a large

Celtic element came in; and a good portion of this general Celtic element, Neustrian, Anjevin, Poitevin, Vendëan and Breton, was indirectly but really *British.*

The conclusion we draw from the whole of this section, therefore, is; that while the Danish Conquest considerably augmented the Teutonic blood of England, the Norman Conquest had not that effect.

SECTION IX.

The History of the Political and Social Relations of the People as indicative of the presence of the Ancient British Race, and of its Condition, in the Settled Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms.

This is a tempting, though a difficult, subject, and its suitable treatment would require far wider limits than can be here assigned to it. Through the few openings we propose making in the veil which conceals the humble and subject class from view, while warriors and princes monopolize the open field of public attention, sufficient will be seen to form in the thoughtful reader's mind a strong abutment to the structure of argument we have been endeavouring to erect.

As far as seeing the actual condition of *society* in the mid-age of Anglo-Saxon power is concerned, the historian is as yet at a point of view far down the slope towards the dark, mist-covered valley, at the bottom of which, until recently, he had always dwelt. The

laborious investigations of Palgrave, Strutt, Sharon Turner, Kemble, Wright, Thorpe, and others in England, and of Lappenberg, Thierry, Pauli, Schmid, &c., on the Continent, have thrown much light on the subject; and probably much yet remains to be thrown, and that after a while the hill summit will be reached, and a clear view obtained of things still concealed.

Do we already know sufficient to warrant the conclusion that political and social arrangements existed among the Anglo-Saxons which indicate the presence in their midst of an Ancient British element of population? It signifies nothing here whether that element belonged to the free or to the servile class; the question is—Was it there or was it not? There seems to be more than mere intimations—something amounting to proof is, we believe, discoverable. Part of the matter bearing on this subject belongs to the chapter on Laws; here, therefore, the exhibition of even the little that is known must be partial.

1. The Constitution of Society among the Anglo-Saxons.

The entire people of England in Edward the Confessor's time—Britons, Saxons, and Danes together—are to be probably estimated at not more than *two and a half millions*—or about twice the present population of Wales. This estimate, which is the largest allowed by the researches of the most competent historians, suggests a thousand thoughts respecting the woeful

waste of life in Britain since the time when the Romans governed a population requiring a hundred military strongholds to keep it in check, and effectually to tax it!

This population of two millions and a half was divided by the same kind of demarcations of "parishes," "hundreds," and "shires," that we have at present; and it is not at all improbable that the parishes and villages of England in those times numbered more than *one-half* what they do to-day. The estimate is a moderate one, that in Edward's time England had 10,000 parishes. Our vastly increased population has not so much increased or altered the divisions of the territory, as created larger towns, and a more thickly-spread village and rural population. *Domesday Book* gives a gross population of only about 300,000; but this great instrument was drawn up, not as a census of the whole people, but for revenue purposes; and enumerates, therefore, only such persons as had property profitable for the king. Hence, it takes cognisance, *ex. gr.*, of only 42 persons as inhabitants of Dover, and only 10 for *Bristol.*

The whole country was divided into townships, or districts surrounding the *tuns*, or enclosed settlements of the lords; and into *cantreds* (*cant*, *tref*, hundred abodes) or "hundreds," a division we suspect copied absolutely from the Britons. Each *tun* had its own government—its own fiscal officer, acting under the lord of the land, but chosen by the tenants (tenentes),

who was called *tun-gerefa*, town-reeve. He received tolls and dues for the lord, who was the proprietor of the *tun*, and these dues were of the nature of rents. Each township had its own police. When a crime was committed, the "hue and cry" was raised, and the whole township was responsible for the arrest of the guilty man. The government was thus distributed over the country, each township and shire governing itself. The king was the main centre in which all the parts and authorities met and cohered.

The people were divided into two great classes—the *eorls* and the *ceorls*, or the "Twelf-haendmen" and the "Twihaendmen"—persons possessing a dozen, or only two, hands, *i.e.*, having so much legitimate power and value in the community. There was also, after the time of Alfred, but not before, a class of inferior *eorls* called *Sithcundmen*, or "six-haendmen," whose value was midway between the *eorls* and *ceorls*, because of their limited possessions.

The *theowes*, or servi, were not considered a part of the people at all; they were chattels, and counted with the cattle. They were reduced to this degraded condition as persons taken in war, as criminals, or as the descendants of such. The idea that the *theowes* were all "Ancient Britons," is entertained by no competent historian.

The *ceorls* formed the great majority of the inhabitants. They included all classes or degrees, from the humblest "legal" subject to the merchant and trades-

man, corresponding, in fact, to the whole of the "middle" and "industrious" classes of modern times. Every lay person who was neither *eorl* nor *theowe*, was a *ceorl*. The clergy were a distinct class, but being in those days the best educated men, and having by the Church cast around them a character of sanctity, were ranked with *eorls*, and were of more *value* than they; for the compurgatory oath of an eorl was only equal to that of six ceorls (or twelve hands against two), while the priest's was equal to that of 120 ceorls, a deacon's to sixty, and a monk's (neither priest nor deacon) to thirty. Bishops having much to do with law-making, it was ordained that a bishop's word, like the king's, was conclusive without oath. Every priest, even the lowest, ranked as a thane—a "mass-thane," or religious man of rank. Truly the Anglo-Saxons were very pious after a sort! Yes; but the truth of the matter is, they yielded rank to any man who had real *power*, of whatever kind, in the community.

It does not appear that the servile class, the *theowes*, numbered high. *Domesday* gives only between 20,000 and 30,000—less than one-tenth part of the men of property, leaving out of account the general body of the ceorls. They were not hopelessly shut up to perpetual bondage. They were not prevented from acquiring property, and not unfrequently purchased their own freedom. Masters often manumitted their slaves, or by will decreed their future freedom. If, therefore, it could be made out—which it cannot—that

the class of the *servi* was made up of the descendants of the subjugated Britons, no proof whatever would be thereby supplied that descendants of the Britons were not to be found in the classes of freemen, and even Thanes.

The ceorl class included a most singular subdivision. These were persons who were perpetually attached to the land on which they were born, and although "legal" and "free," passed with the land when it was sold, and were under obligation to render service to their new, as they had been to their old master. They were the cultivators of the soil, dwellers in villages—corresponding, therefore, to the *villani* of the Romans, and in some respects, to the *villeins* of feudal times. Tacitus describes a class of this sort as existing among the ancient Germans; and the laws of Howel the Good show that such existed among the Britons; probably, indeed, all the nations of Europe possessed an arrangement somewhat similar.

Now, it has been argued by some historians—very learnedly by Palgrave—that this class of the ceorls was in great measure made up of the subjugated British race. The nature of their relations to the classes below and above, gives an air of probability to the theory. The *villani* were not slaves, but at the same time they were not free. They were not allowed to leave the soil on which they were born; and they had no political power whatever—a condition likely enough to be decreed for the subject race. Whether

all classes of ceorls were thus politically powerless, may be doubted. The *bordarii*, the *sockmanni*, the *liberi homines*, were all ceorls, but of a higher order—the first holding cottages (*bord*); the second and third holding land; and as it should seem, not tied perpetually to the place of their birth.[1] The "liberi homines" were of the highest rank of ceorls, and held their land by military tenure.

That the *Britons*, to whatever class they were doomed in special instances, were on the whole treated with some consideration, we have every reason to believe. As a race, they were not merely allowed to continue on the conquered territory, but as already shown, were tempted to do so by various advantages. An extraordinary fact, surely, in a conquered country, conquered too, after unexampled sacrifices—was the continued residence of the subjugated in towns of their own, and under laws and magistrates of their own, within the bounds too of the victors' jurisdiction; and yet such was the case with the *Wealas* of Wessex (as at Exeter), until the time of Athelstan's extension of the West Saxon dominions.

Though the pride of the conquering Teuton denominated the fallen nation *Wealas*, and Wyliscmen, or strangers, it went not so far as to deprive them of all liberty. In the rank of *servi*, they were put only as Saxons, or Angles, or Danes themselves were put, *i.e.*, they were subjected to bondage when taken as

[1] See Sir H. Ellis's *Introduction to Domesday*.

prisoners of war, or when convicted of crime of a certain degree of enormity. They generally belonged rather to the different classes of *ceorls*. Their princes were allowed in some qualified form to maintain their status, though, of course, deprived of all power; and their best families were only prevented by want of means from occupying the rank of Thanes. It is true, most of the land of England had been divided among the successful warriors—the king taking a goodly portion himself; but we have no authority for supposing that *all* the land had been taken from the Britons. It was not the practice of the northern nations to rob the conquered of all their territory. The Burgundians in Gaul, the Visigoths in Spain, pursued the policy of taking only a portion of the land, charging the portion still held by the natives with tribute for the king.[1] But Saxon-supremacy had been most dearly bought in Britain—the brave Cymry having defended their own with a resolution and perseverance which found no parallels in Gaul, Spain, or Italy, and it is therefore just possible that more of their land had been taken than was usual in cases of the kind.

That there were *Wealas*, or *Wyliscmen*, who were possessors of land, and had their appropriate *wer-gild*, or personal value,[2] just in the same manner with the

[1] See Allen's *Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in Engl.* p. 138, &c.

[2] From A. Sax. *wer*, man, and *gild* money. The *wer-gild* was a

ruling race, is shown beyond all doubt by the laws of King Ina, compiled at the close of the 7th century.[1] These laws prove that there were *Wealas* who were free (for they had their *wergild*), but who possessed no land; and also *Wealas* who were proprietors, of various degrees, and subject to divers charges. If the free *Wealh* possessed no land, his *wergild* was seventy shillings;[2] but if, in addition to paying *gafol*, or rent to the king,[3] he also held a "hide" of land (variously estimated at from 40 to 100 modern acres) then his *wergild* was a hundred and twenty shillings.[4]

Now it would be impossible to find more conclusive evidence than is here supplied in support of the positions:—

(1.) That the Ancient Britons were properly incorporated into the body of the Saxon population of Wessex.

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fine which a person was obliged to pay for homicide, &c., and varied in amount according to the rank of the slain. A person's status in society, therefore, was expressed by his *wer-gild*. Slaves had no *wer-gild*. See Bosworth's *Angl.-Sax. Dict.* sub verb. *Wer*.

[1] *Inæ Leges*, 23, 33, &c. Comp. Dr. Rein. Schmid's *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, esp. on *Ine's Gesetze*.

[2] No Saxon shilling coin has been discovered, but its value is computed at about fourteen pence of our money.

[3] From Cymbric *gafael*, to hold, a "hold," signifying in this case, by payment of toll, that the king had a claim on the man. The legal term *gavel-kind* is from this same word, and represents a purely ancient British custom.

[4] *Laws of Ina*, xxxii.

(2.) That they were so incorporated, not as servile, but as free men.

(3.) That they were granted the dignity of a graduated personal value according to the property they held.

(4.) That they were holders of land.[1]

It also seems clear that the Britons, like the Saxons themselves, were free to ascend in the social scale, according to their talent, industry, and increase of means. We have already explained the rank of the "Sithcundmen" or "Six-haendmen," as the medium class of aristocracy. Now it was provided that the Wyliscman who should be in possession of *five* "hides" of land should enjoy the rank which was held by the six haendman, or Thane.[2] This was the qualification also for the Saxon's advance to the position of Thane, or titled noble. The Saxon ceorl could rise to this elevation, provided the five hides of land had been in his family for *three* generations; that is to say: A ceorl became possessor of five hides, his son succeeded to the estate, this son's son did the same, and this last man's son was entitled to the rank of Thane, by authority of Wessex law. The Briton and the Saxon were thus treated alike.

It is worthy of remark, however, that the very laws which thus secured to the Britons similar privileges to

[1] See Lappenberg *Hist. of Engl. under Anglo-Sax. Kings*, vol. ii. 320, and Schmid's *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, passim.*

[2] *Laws of Ina*, xxiv.

those of the ruling race, distinguished their nationality from that of the Saxons. They are marked as *Wealas.* A difficulty was evidently experienced in bringing about a thorough amalgamation, and toning down the meeting waves of colour, so as to present the appearance of a uniform hue. It cannot be doubted, the *Wyliscman* was then, as now, a stubborn Wyliscman, proud of his ancestry, boastful of his "antiquity," contemptuous of late-born authority obtained by brutish force, and by no means anxious to coalesce with the Saxon. The Saxon on his side, felt himself every inch the superior. Had he not beaten the silly Wyliscman in open fair fight, and taken his land by right of his broad sharp *seax*, which was his only law and title of acquisition, and gave his nation its name?[1] Thus, for ages, a line of demarcation was maintained,—old memories lingering like embers, rekindled by every casual whiff of wind, the old Cymric language cherished with brave, nervous, unreasoning earnestness, which demanded public recognition in the statutes of the realm. This was perfectly natural—the precise result to be anticipated from the temper of the Britons, and indicative too of generous and discreet policy on the part of the Saxon Kings. Let it not be said that generosity was out of the question with a people like the Saxons. The lion is at times innocent, both in look and purpose, although when occasion suits, he can

[1] The derivation of Saxon from *seax*, a sword, is familiar, and from its appropriateness naturally thought correct. They were a nation of "swordsmen."

shake the hills with his roar, and make a fearful spring on his prey. The Anglo-Saxons, though unpoetical as the plains of the Elbe, were a thoughtful purposing race, grim and iron-handed in execution, and withal capable of a sense of sweet satisfaction, when the prize of valour was won. They were not an irreligious people,[1] and though *Thor* put no veto on the "plan" which they uncompromisingly pursued :—

"That he should take who had the power,"

Odhinn counselled discretion; and there was an *Alfadur* (Father of all), higher than either Odhinn or Thor, who embraced the *Wyliscmen* like the *Englen* and *Seaxan* as his children; and a *Valhalla* above, which was more likely to be reached, if heroic fighting and victory were followed by heroic magnanimity.

2. Britons in a state of bondage.

Domesday Book gives some grounds for believing that in the latter age of the Anglo-Saxon power a large proportion of the *Theowas* were Ancient British

[1] It requires some qualification in speaking of the religiousness of the old Germans. Here, as everywhere else, since their doings on the British stage have come to view, they have not been indifferent to the "useful." Cæsar says of them: "The Germans acknowledge no gods except those that are objects of sight, and by whose means they are *plainly benefited*." (Quos cernunt, et quorum aperte opibus juvantur.) *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 21. Is this Germanic temper, with its subsequent alliance with Celtic idealism and warmth, at bottom of the fact that tendencies to superstition in England are ever put under check of rationalism, and that on the other hand a too intellectual scepticism is still tempered by an emotional piety?

prisoners of war. We have to remember that the statistics of Domesday refer to things as they actually were immediately after the Conquest. Now it is well known that the contest between the English and the Britons had of late ages been mainly confined to the border parts, between the territories of the Heptarchy and the country still held by the *Cymry*. If prisoners of war, therefore, were often consigned to bondage, we should naturally expect to find the *Theowe* class numerous in the regions referred to, especially since the struggle in more recent times was conducted with greater bitterness, if possible, than had marked it at any former stage.

Now the facts presented in Domesday very remarkably tally with this antecedent probability. The *Theowas* enumerated are found to be in the parts last yielded up by the Britons. In Gloucestershire, for every *three* freemen there was *one* bondman. In Cornwall and Devon they were in the proportion of *five* freemen and *one* bondman. Staffordshire presented the same proportion. Unfortunately, this great survey omitted the counties of *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*. *Northumberland*, *Durham*, and part of *Lancashire*, so that we have no means of judging of the condition of things in the parts embraced by the Celtic kingdom of *Cumbria*. The further we remove eastward from Wales, the fewer slaves we find enumerated. Everywhere, however, the proportion of slave to free is found to be about *one* in *ten;* that is, the reader will re-

member, one in ten of the people registered in Domesday; for Domesday took no notice of the great majority of the *ceorls*, who were possessed of no property. But there is a notable exception in the case of *East Anglia*, where the proportion of slave to free is only one in *twenty;* and a still more notable exception in the case of the Eastern part of *Mercia*, embracing the counties of Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Rutland, and of the county of *York*, where not a single slave is noticed! In Nottinghamshire the servile class was very small, amounting to one only in 215 persons registered. On the other hand, in these parts the section of ceorls attached to the soil—the *villani*—appear to be very numerous, giving rise to the suspicion that here the *theowes* had been permitted, in course of time to work themselves up to the condition of the lowest type of *ceorls*, thus securing, at least, recognition by the law as human beings, and parts of the nation, although their actual comforts might not be at all thereby augmented.

From this necessarily hasty survey of the condition of society under the Anglo-Saxon dominion, we rest in the following conclusions:—

(*a.*) That the community embraced a goodly proportion of the Ancient British race.

(*b.*) The Britons were not *as such* incorporated into the servile class.

(*c.*) They were granted the dignity of a graduated

personal value according to the property they possessed.

(*d.*) They were holders of land.

(*e.*) They were permitted, like the Anglo-Saxons themselves, to rise from one class of society to the other, even to the rank of *thanes*, and probably of *eorls*.

(*f.*) They, like the Anglo-Saxons, when taken as prisoners of war, &c., were liable to the degradation of bondage.[1]

The political and social arrangements of our ancestors viewed from a modern stand-point have their cheerful as well as their gloomy aspect. It cannot be denied that the maxims that ruled in the days we have now been reviewing, were the dicta of power rather than justice—the voice of the lord rather than of the aggregate wisdom of the many. By law, human beings were adjudged to be mere chattels, not to be counted with men, bought and sold with the acres on which they were reared—as if men were, not only according to the ancient fancy, αυτόχθονες, born of the soil, but still continued a veritable part of its substance—and had a value, recognised by society, affixed to their person and life, not as being in themselves of intrinsic worth, but of worth only in proportion as they had wealth, and the wealth of land, associated with them. By the accident of birth or fortune, the issue of a single combat, or a battle, they were made irre-

[1] Hallam is of opinion that a large proportion of the serf population consisted of Britons. *Middle Ages*, ii. 386, 387.

sponsible masters of the happiness and lives of many equal to themselves by nature, and possibly greatly superior in the higher qualities of humanity. The high were subject to the low—the refined and princely hurled down to the footstool of the accidentally powerful. And yet, in so far as society was at all settled, there was a strong law of justice recognised. The time was one of mingled darkness and light when the severities brought into vogue by ages of conquest and bloodshed and unrestrained passion were being gradually tempered by equity, and institutions which are now the pride of England were being painfully planned and reared out of ill-shapen materials, conveyed, many of them, from distant lands. Even then, struggling against the stern and brutal usages current, an instinctive sense of right made itself heard in Saxon society and the very slave was encouraged, by obedience to the hard behests of law, to hope for manumission and honour. By lawlessness nothing was to be hoped for—the strong arm ruled and would avenge the infringed law, be it the best or the worst—but by patient endurance and heroic confronting of adverse fortune, much might be hoped for, and obtained. Out of this hard nurture in adversity have come forth the solid and resolute qualities which distinguish the British race—a race which still, and more than ever, honours and maintains the supremacy of law, and also more than ever studies to moderate the rigour of justice and smooth the path of misfortune.

CHAPTER II.

The Evidence of Philology.

"Willst du die Menschheit . . . kennen lernen, so studire die Menschensprachen, und diese werden dir von manchem Kunde geben, was in keinem Geschichts-buche steht."—Dr. F. A. Pott.

It is to be noted, *in limine*, that we do not propose in this chapter to show the relations of the English language to all the Indo-European tongues. Such a field of inquiry would involve a hundred points irrelevant to the subject of this work. Our task is to show how far the Ancient Britons have entered into the body of the people now called English. By making it manifest that the *language* of the Ancient Britons has permeated the speech now spoken by the English people we shall furnish a presumptive proof that the *blood* of the former has to a greater or smaller extent tinged the blood of the latter.

This, then, being our question, we have no business to wander away into the wide domains of comparative philology. We need not touch upon the affinity of English to Sanscrit, or of Cymbric to Sanscrit, for no one dreams that Sanscrit has ever been in use on British soil. Nor must we be tempted into the en-

ticing exercise of descanting on the relation of Cymbric to Greek; for besides the fact that Greek was never as a spoken language a medium whereby Celtic words, whether in Cymbric or other form, passed into English in Britain, we are far from believing in any closer relationship between Cymbric and Greek than that of two languages proved by comparative philology to belong to one class or family of languages called Indo-European or Aryan, and to have taken their departure from the parent stock and from each other at a point less remote than the departure of the Cymbric and Sanscrit, or Cymbric and Gothic, from each other.

How far has the Celtic speech influenced the English, and how far does this render probable the coalition of the Celtic race in Britain with the so-called Anglo-Saxon? This is now our question.

The witnessing of philology on this point, is, it is believed, distinct and categorical. That Celts and Teutons lived long together, as one people, and on British ground, would be declared loudly and clearly by the English language itself even if history were silent. Much of the record once existing has doubtless been effaced; but much still remains which is perfectly legible and gives a connected and unambiguous sense.

The antipathy of race, the soreness produced by defeat, the revulsion accompanying a sense of wrong, would continue to be felt only by those British tribes

which kept separate from the Anglo-Saxon settlements, maintaining an attitude more or less defiant. Those who had submitted, continuing in their native districts, content to work their way upwards from the condition of the "ceorl" to that of the freed-man, would by degrees forget the old hatred, and would maintain friendly intercourse with the conquering race. Continuing themselves to speak their native language, their children would gain some knowledge of the Saxon also, and their children's children still more. By degrees the difference of race, commemorated by a diversity of speech, would, by the adoption of the Saxon and by frequent intermarriage, be obliterated. During this state of transition, not the Saxon only but the British tongue as well, would receive a tinge of foreign materials. The Saxon, as being the less cultivated tongue, would be most liable to innovation, supposing that the social condition of the contiguous or intermixed races were equal. New ideas, tendered by the Romano-British civilization for reception, would require terms which neither Jute, Saxon, nor Angle possessed; for ideas, and the words which are their signs, always go and come in company. The Latin language, even if the Britons generally spoke it—of which we possess no sort of evidence—was as strange to the Teutonic conquerors as the British itself. No means, therefore, remained to secure free intercourse but the vernacular of the conquered, until the conquered could be persuaded to adopt the Saxon speech.

These remarks present the general social condition under which a transfusion of British Celtic materials into the Anglo-Saxon language would of necessity take place. But as we have proceeded on the assumption that the vernacular of Britain at the time was the Ancient British, this question must receive some further notice.

SECTION I.

Early Stages of Relation between the Anglo-Saxon and British Celtic.

1. Language of Britain at the Saxon Invasion.

Of considerable significance is the question, What was the language spoken by the Britons when the Angles and Saxons came over? If it was not in the main the Ancient British, then the idea that the Saxon tongue became charged with Celtic in the early times of the Conquest, and through intercourse with the Britons, must be futile. It has been strongly maintained by some that the Ancient British tongue, during the Roman occupation, had been superseded by the Latin. To this, with due deference to Mr. Wright and other equally accomplished men, we must without hesitation demur.

It was the practice of the Romans to leave the people they conquered unmolested in the use of their own language. Agricola, after Roman power had lodged itself in this island for the space of a hundred

years, only seems to have thought of inducing the sons of the chiefs (principum filios) to learn the Latin tongue. Prichard is doubless right in saying that "in Britain the native idiom was nowhere superseded by the Roman, though the island was held in subjection upwards of three centuries." It is true that Gallia when subdued readily adopted the Roman speech and abandoned the Celtic. So did Hispania. So did Dacia. But the analogy of these countries is not necessarily followed elsewhere. It was no part of Roman policy to urge it. Besides, the continuous life of the Celtic speech in Britain to this day invalidates the theory. After the long train of conquests—Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norman, and their united dominion of 1800 years, the language spoken on British soil before Cæsar set foot on it is still the vernacular, for weal or woe, of a million and more of its people, and until very recently was the vernacular of many more. Cumberland and Westmoreland, Devon and Cornwall, the greater part of Scotland, and all Wales, along with considerable tracts adjoining, were British in speech long after the Romans retired from the country. Who will say that the central and southern parts were not likewise British?

But if the analogy of other countries is of essential import, let it be allowed. The Romans conquered Greece as well as Britain. Was Greece made Roman in speech? They conquered Northern Africa. Did Africa yield up its vernacular in exchange for the

Latin? They conquered Thrace and the two Mœsias, inferior and superior. Did these become Latin? In all these, as in Britain, the Roman provincial government was established, and Latin doubtless was used as the official speech. But the people of these countries did not therefore speak Latin. Greece retained its grand old language; and after many more conquests and revolutions—even after subjection to the Moslem, has retained it to this day. Africa cannot be shown to have done otherwise. Servia and Bulgaria are witnesses that Mœsia did not become Roman in language, and Roumelia bears similar testimony respecting Thrace. If these countries yielded not their vernaculars as did Gallia and Hispania, why should it be contended, in the face of the still surviving *Cymraeg* and the only recently exinct Cornish, that Britain did so?

The exigence of argument has led some writers, in spite of evidence freely allowed in similar cases, to question the antiquity and genuineness of the poems of Taliesin, Aneurin, Myrddin, and Llywarch Hên; but if these are allowed to be productions intended to be understood by the Britons of the 6th and 7th centuries of our era, they furnish sufficient evidence that the *Cymraeg* was at that time a language widely prevalent, not in Wales merely, but also in the north-western parts of Britain. Taliesin only was resident in Wales, the others belonged to Cumbria. Did these bards sing in Celtic to a people, who, a century or two before, knew only Latin?

But history has a still distincter voice in the matter. Venerable Bede has left on record that in his time (8th cent.) the Island of Britain, "following the number of books in which the Divine Law was written," was inhabited by "five nations—the English, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins, each in its own peculiar dialect, cultivating the sublime study of Divine Truth."[1] This was in Bede's own time (*in præsenti*), and the languages he enumerates here were book-languages, and not living tongues representing so many nations—for the "Latins," as a people, had long ago left the island. But in another passage he speaks more distinctly—not of languages, including the Latin as the ecclesiastical and book language, but of peoples, speaking different languages; and it is to be noted that he is now discoursing of an age considerably nearer Roman times than his own, and when the Latin, if ever it had attained to universal prevalence, might be expected still to be generally prevalent. All the nations and provinces of Britain, he says, in the reign of Oswald (circ. A.D. 635), a hundred years before the writer's time, were "divided into four languages (*quatuor linguas*), those of the Britons, Picts, Scots, and English."[2] The Latin is not a spoken tongue, then, in the reign of Oswald. The Britons, in the 7th cent. are denoted a separate people through the use of a separate speech. Had they managed to regain a knowledge of their ancient tongue between the depar-

[1] *Eccles. Hist.* B. i. c. 1. [2] *Ibid.* B. iii. c. 7.

ture of the Romans (A.D. 426), and the reign of Oswald (begun A.D. 634)? It is clear they had never lost it.

That the English language began its course in Britain in the form of an uncultured Gothic vernacular cut up into divers dialects, coming into contact with a literary and ecclesiastical language, the most polished then in use, the Latin—and with a nearly universally diffused British tongue, enriched with all the treasures of Roman knowledge, and largely charged with the Latin, as our first Appendix will suggest, need hardly be more than simply stated. How it has received a tinge from the former, every tyro knows: how far it became charged with the elements of the latter, it now becomes our duty to investigate. The English language, like the people who speak it, has become a great reservoir to receive the contents of many fountains. As Professor Max Müller says: "There is, perhaps, no language so full of words evidently derived from the most distant sources. Every country of the globe seems to have brought some of its verbal manufactures to the intellectual market of England."[1]

2. The Anglo-Saxon replaces the Celtic in the Anglo-Saxon States: An Objection, based on this fact, considered.

Against the doctrine, that the Britons equalled in number, if they did not vastly out-number, the

[1] *Lectures on Science of Language.* Lond. 1861.

Saxons at the commencement of the Saxon dominion, it is objected: If so, why was not the British language, in preference to the Anglo-Saxon, adopted as the language of the new kingdoms?

Doubtless the British, in point of copiousness and polish, was the superior language of the two. The Britons were also, at first, as every reader of history will allow, infinitely more numerous than the troops of invaders who came in small open boats to subdue them, and who succeeded, there is reason to fear, by treachery as much as by resolution and force. But it remains a matter of fact that the Anglo-Saxon language became, from the outset, the language of the new settlements. Is this fact calculated to excite wonder? The objection assumes that it is so calculated. Have the conquering few always adopted the speech of the conquered many? History, clearly, says not so.

It has been said that the British was the superior language; and it is clear that political wisdom would have counselled its adoption. Close and prolonged intercourse with the civilization of the Romans, and the elevating power of Christianity, had produced a mighty change in the British mind. The British tongue had correspondingly expanded. The rude Saxon must, by its side, have appeared meagre and uncouth. But the rude Saxon suited the Saxon mind; and as to its meagreness, it contained the vocabulary which corre sponded with the Saxon's wants—it had terms for fish,

flesh, and fowl—for boat, spade, and fire, and, pre-eminently, for the indispensable sword (seax), whose importance was so great in their economy, that it is said to have baptized the whole people after its own suggestive name. Then it may well be supposed that our piratical visitors had no greater respect for a cultured and enriched language than they had for the Roman villas, temples, and bridges they found in the land, and which, in their fondness for their *seaxes*, they allowed for ever to crumble and perish.[1]

On account of its superiority doubtless it was that the Latin became the language of Gaul, and was afterwards imposed by the Romanized Gauls on their Frankish and other Teutonic conquerors. It was for a similar reason that the Neustrians of the regions afterwards called Normandy, taught it in the form of French to their Norman masters, and that these same Normans at a still later period forced it upon the Saxons of England.

The Danes, moreover, as conquerors, had received

[1] Comp. Hartshorne's *Salopia Antiqua*, p. 263, &c. The Romans were celebrated for their bridge-building. How their chief religious officer came to be called *pontifex*, the bridge-builder, it may not be so easy to conceive, but the title sufficiently indicates the importance and even sacredness they attatched to the erection of bridges. See Rev. I. Taylor's *Words and Places*, p. 266. It is strange that with models before their eyes, and notwithstanding the great use of bridges for military transit, the Anglo-Saxons should have totally neglected the repairs or re-erection of the Roman bridges of Britain. Their neglect of villas and temples, less *useful* though more magnificent, is more easily understood.

the speech of the Saxons they had subdued, and received it chiefly because of its superiority and wide diffusion. It is true the Anglo-Saxon was nearly the same with the Danish, but it had, since its naturalization in Britain, become subject to the influences of a higher civilization, receiving new elements from the British, as the British had received from the Latin, and thus obtained the precedence due to merit. The Saxon of the subject paralysed the Danish of the ruler. As with other cases already enumerated,[1] similar mastery in similar circumstances was not obtained by the Ancient British.

It is quite explainable that the ruder speech of a conquering horde should displace the language of a fallen race, however cultivated. Indeed, *primâ facie*, this is the result to be anticipated. But still more likely is it, when the conquerors are confederated tribes of boundless energy, bringing along with them customs and institutions to which they are devotedly attached, including a system of religion based on a venerable mythology, which maintains its authority with an iron grasp, and which they are bent upon transplanting into their new dominions. We know that the Arabian language was thus promulgated along with the faith of the prophet of Mecca through many lands, whose inhabitants were more civilized than the Mussulmans. The Norman-French paralysed the English, while the Danish completely failed to secure

[1] See p. 356.

a footing, although introduced by teeming multitudes, and given a theatre of action in different centres north as well as south. The Norman French, introduced by a few, not only ruled supreme as the Court and official language, but its adoption by the aristocracy, and all the world of fashion, was complete. Hence its power to innoculate the speech of the nation. When its time of subsidence came round, therefore, it was found that an immense number of its vocables had found a lodgment in the body of the Saxon language (precisely in the same manner as the English is infusing its elements into the Welsh of our time), and, what is still more astonishing, that it had induced the Saxon to abandon the greater part of its old noun and verb inflexions—cases of nouns, persons of verbs, plurals especially, a sacrifice which was doubtless conceded by way of imitating the royal and fashionable tongue.

History, in short, affords abundant examples of this kind. The explanation is to be sought in other and deeper causes than mere preponderance of number. The conquered may be few, and their language may be adopted by their subjugators, or the conquerors be few, and yet dictate their tongue to the conquered. Mere numbers tell infallibly neither way.[1]

[1] Here the author of an able little brochure, *The British People*, is probably in error when he says, "The Romanic and Celtic elements in our language fairly represent the Celtic elements in the *population* of the three kingdoms," p. 60.

Nor does the simple superiority of a language, whether consisting in the perfection of its grammatical arrangement, or in the amplitude of its vocabulary, guarantee its adoption.

In the particular case of the Celtic in England, it failed to stand its ground against the Anglo-Saxon owing to such causes as the following:

1. Want of concerted action amongst the British tribes. They fought and were conquered in detail. They themselves, and their language, therefore, failed to inspire the respect which otherwise would have been conceded.

2. The different British tribes, although speaking substantially the same language, yet spoke it in different dialects—a circumstance which weakened the effect of their speech upon their conquerors.

3. The Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, all spoke the same language, and hence the general diffusion of their speech, despite their frequent quarrels amongst themselves. It is true that dialectic peculiarities existed, although not to a wide extent—except in the case of immigrants who seem to have arrived from other quarters than Holstein and Jutland.[1]

4. By means of prior settlement of Saxons in the

[1] It is more than probable that even in these early times the Saxons were not left to share the island with the Jutes, Angles, and Frisians alone, but that even Franks and Longobards, Norwegians and Danes, claimed some portion of the general spoil. See Procopius, *De Bell. Goth.* iv. 20, 93; Palgrave, *Engl. Commonwealth.* i. 2.

East and South of Britain, their language had already in a measure become naturalized, That such settlements had taken place, without conflict, in the course of ages, is more than probable. We are informed that even a century before the time when Hengist and Horsa arrived, Saxons had taken London, and slaughtered the count of the "*Saxon* shore." Why should there be a shore called *Litus Saxonicum* at all in Britain except as the result of Saxon descent and Saxon settlement? The story of the Saxon conquest of Britain, in fact, does not begin with the subjugation of Kent. Both the shores of Gaul and Britain were infested with sea-rovers and plunderers at the very time when Roman legions professed to maintain the efficiency of the imperial sway, and it was for the purpose of checking these disturbers, as already shown, that Carausius the usurper received his command. Names of places on the coast, from Norfolk to Sussex, and opposite, from Dunkirk to the Somme, to this day testify to the early settlement of Teutons in those parts.[1]

5. The elementary political and municipal principles, and the religious mythology they brought with them and so tenaciously held, could hardly be translated into the language of the Britons.

6. The implacable hostility which the leading British tribes—the Cymri and the Cumbrians—manifested towards the conquerors, of itself prevented the

[1] See Grimm, *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*, p. 626. St. John, *Four Conquests of Engl.* i. p. 44.

diffusion of the vernacular amongst them. Neither would the Britons promote it, nor the Saxons receive it if offered. So virulent was this hatred, that the Christian Britons would not even proffer the truths of Christianity to their heathen masters. They were not the men, therefore, to offer their language, which they considered, next to their religion, the most sacred of all their possessions.

3. The comparative freedom from Celtic of the earliest Anglo-Saxon literature, considered and accounted for.

Charged to repletion as the English is at present with Latin and French, Cymraeg and Irish, which, in combination, certainly more than equal the whole bulk of the purely Anglo-Saxon portion,[1] it is remarkable how free from these foreign elements it presents itself in the first stages of its history. The Anglo-Saxon of the times of *Cædmon* and *Alfred* is hardly at all impregnated with Latin, except in the terminology belonging to ecclesiastical affairs. *Biscop* (episcopus), *munuc* (monachus), *pall* (pallium), *psalter* (psalterium), *sanct* (sanctus), *maesse* (missa), *prædician* (prædicare), *pistel* (epistola), are among the terms already borrowed from the Church Latin.[2]

Nor do we find any but the sparsest signs of Celtic.

[1] De Thommerel, in his *Recherches*, after laborious computations, fixes the proportion at 13,330 Anglo-Saxon, against 29,335 other words.

[2] Comp. Guest's *English Rhythms*, b. iii. c. 3.

The "miraculous hymn" of *Cædmon*, the first Anglo-Saxon writer whose productions are extant, is free from foreign intrusions:

Nu we sceolun herigean	Now we shall praise
Heofon-rices weard	The Guardian of Heaven,
Metodes mihte	The Creator's might,
And his modgethanc,	And his mood-thought (counsel),
Weorc wuldor-fæder;	The Glory-father of works;
Swa He wundra gehwaes,	How He of all wonders,
E'ce drihten,	Eternal Lord,
Ord onstealde, &c.	Formed the beginning, &c.

Here and throughout the poem are no traces of Latin or Celtic. And though this precious relic exists in divers dialects of the Anglo-Saxon, such as the West Saxon and the Northumbrian, in none of them do we find foreign elements.[1]

Nor is the case different, if we move on to the time of Bede, Alfred, and Ælfric. The dying words of Bede, uttered in Anglo-Saxon, the versions executed by the hand of Alfred the noblest of Kings, the colloquy and vocabularies composed by Ælfric, all evidence the scrupulous care with which the well of Anglo-Saxon "undefiled" was guarded. The following specimen from Ælfric's *Colloquium ad Pueros* (10th cent.), may serve as an illustration:—

We cildra biddath the eala lareow, thaet thu taece us sprecan [rihte], fortham ungelaerede we syndon and gewaemmodlice we spreccath.	We children request thee, master, that thou teach us to speak correctly, because we are ignorant and speak badly.

[1] See Latham's *English Language*, c. iv. 61.

Hwaet wille ge spreccan ?	What do you wish to speak about ?
Hwaet rece we hwaet we sprecan buton hit riht spraec sy, and behefe naes idel othe fracod.	What care we what we speak of except it be proper and useful, not idle and bad.
Wille [ge beon] beswungen on leornange ?	Do you like to be flogged while learning ?
Leofre ys us beon beswungen for lare thaenne hit ne cunnan ac we witan the bilewitne wesan and nellan onbelæden swincgla us buton thu bi to-genydd fram us, &c.[1]	We prefer being corrected that we may learn rather than not learn, but we know thou art good-natured and unwilling to give us the rod unless we force thee to it, &c.

So again of Ælfric's *Vocabularies* (10th cent.) These consist of Latin words explained in Anglo-Saxon, as the means of teaching Latin to the English youth. It is true that, professing to give Anglo-Saxon equivalents, it was right to use Anglo-Saxon terms, pure and simple, even though the daily speech of the people were far from pure. The author would only use barbarous vocables as a matter of necessity. This is our explanation of the comparative Anglo-Saxon purity of these vocabularies. They were intended, not to reflect the barbarisms of the popular tongue, but to correct them. That, under these circumstances, they contain some few Celtic terms, not derived from Latin, as shown below, is proof of the naturalization, even at that time, of Celtic ingredients in the daily-life language of the Anglo-Saxons.

We give an extract from Ælfric (10th cent.), show

1 See *Vol. of Vocabularies*, ed. by T. Wright, M.A., F.S.A. Privately printed for Jos. Mayer, Esq. F.S.A. &c. 1857. Pp. 1, 2.

ing a slight admixture of Latin and Celtic (mainly agricultural instruments) with modern English added.

Latin.	*A.-Saxon.*
Vomer	: *Scear*, a ploughshare.
Aratrum	: *Sulh*, plough.
Aratio	: *Eriung*, ploughing.
Buris	: *Sulh-beam*, plough handle
Stercoratio	: *Dingiung*, stinking.
Fimus	: *Dinig*, dung
Dentale	: *Cipp*, harrow.
Stiba	: *Sulh-handla*, plough-handle
Occatio	: *Egcgung*, harrowing.
Rastrum	: *Raca*, a rake.
Traha	: *Cithe*, a drag.
Runcatio	: *Weodung*, a weeding,
Tragum	: *Draege*, a drag-net.
Aculeus	: *Sticel*, a goad.
Veractum	: *Lencgten-erthe*, spring
Sulcus	: *Furh*, furrow.
Circus	: *Withthe*, a band.
Funiculus	: *Rap*, a cord.
Proscissio	: *Land-bræce*, breaking the ground.
Ovile	: *Sceapa-hus*, sheep-house.
Bucetum	: *Hrythra-fald*, cow-fold.
Falcastrum	: *Sithe*, a scythe.
Serula	: *Saga*, a saw.
Plaustrum	: *Waen*, a waggon.
Rota	: *Hweol*, a wheel.
Bovile stabulum	: *Scepen-steal*, vel *fald*, sheep-fold.

Latin.	*A.-Saxon.*
Vitularius	: *Cealfa-hus*, calf-house.
Bobellum, (old form of bovillum)	: *Falt*, a fold for cattle.
Subula	: *Ael*, an awl.
Scops	: *Bisme*, a besom.
Caule	: *Sceapa*-LOCU (Lat. locus), sheep-fold.
Æquiale	: *Hors-ern*, place for horses.
Vanga	: *Spada*, a spade.
Conjuncta	: *Fortogen*, gathered.
Sarculus	: *Screadung-isen*, tearing iron.
Terebrum	: *Navegar*, a borer.
Pastinatum, (in Classic Latin, land prepared for planting)	: PLANT-*sticca* (Lat. planta), a planting stick.
Fossorium (p.-Classic)	*Costere*, vel *delf-isen*, vel *spada*, vel *pal*, a spade.[1]
Ligo	: *Becca*, a stake.
Cantus	: *Felge*, a felly.
Radii	: *Spacan*, spokes.
Sarcina	: *Berthen*, a load.
	&c., &c.

[1] The modern Welsh for spade is *pal*. If the word is not

We have also such ecclesiastical terms as the following:—

Latin.	*A.-Saxon.*	*Latin.*	*A.-Saxon.*
Eucenia	: Niwe - *circ* - halgung [from Gr. κυριακον]	Fibula	: Oferfeng, vel *dalc*, a clasp.[2]
Anastasis	: *Digel*nyssum, resurrection.[1]	Sculptura	: *Graeft*, a carving, (W. *cerfio*, to carve. *crafu*, to scrape.) See Append. B. sub. verb. *crafu*.
Capitulum (in sense of covering for head.)	: *Cap*pa(W. *cap*) a cap.		

The Saxon instrument for writing was called *graef*. The relation of this and *graeft*, sculpture, to Gr. γραφω "to write," and Welsh *crafu*, to scrape, scratch, and *ys-grifio*, to write, is obvious. But the Anglo-Saxon may have had the word previous to the time of making its habitat in Britain. *Rebellio* is explained by wither-

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Celtic, we have here an instance of an old Saxon term being preserved in the British tongue while it has no memorial in the English. So also W. *rhaith*, judgment, A.-Sax. *raed*; *caib*, a hoe. A.-Sax. *cipp*.

[1] "Digelnyssum" is clearly a hybrid word, having no proper derivation from A.-Sax., except in the *nys*, parent of Engl. "ness," marking quality, as in dark*ness*. The terminal *um* is Lat. The A.-Sax. has *digel*, but in the sense of "a secret," and having a meaning, therefore, quite the opposite of *anastasis* (αναστασις)—rising to view, a resurrection. The *digel* of the A.-Sax. is most probably borrowed from the Celtic. The Welsh has two words, *digel*, meaning open, obvious, unconcealed, from *di*, priv. and *celu*, to conceal; and the opposite *dygel*, hid, concealed, from *dy*, intens. and *celu*. The A.-Sax. *digel* seems to be borrowed from the latter; it has no cognate or analogue in A.-Sax.

[2] W. *dal*. to hold; this fibula being a dress fastener, as well as ornametn. A.-Sax. *dalc* has no cognates in that language.

cwyda, a compound term, part of which, the prep. *wither*, against, is proper Teutonic, and the latter part proper Celtic. W. *codi*, to rise, has as one of its forms, *cwyd*. The meaning, thus, would be, to rise against, to rebel. If from A.-Sax. *cwide*, speech, this again is identical with the Celtic: W. *gweyd*, to speak, *chwedl*, report, and the less satisfactory meaning of *resistance in speech* would be derived.

The above will suffice to indicate how the Anglo-Saxon of Ælfric was not free from some little admixture of Celtic, as well as Latin. The next step from the 10th and 11th centuries would bring us to the "Semi-Saxon" age, but to the peculiarities of that age we shall have occasion specially to refer under another section.

Suffice it further to remark, that the Anglo-Saxon language in the specimens we have received of it from the time of *Caedmon* to that of *Ælfric*—brief specimens it is true, but which, if prolonged, would not greatly vary the result—show a comparatively pure, yet not an entirely pure, speech; and that the reason of that comparative purity is that the specimens are reflections of the literary and not of the popular tongue.

SECTION II.

Celtic Elements in the English Language.

The revived interest now displayed in the study of Celtic literature, including the Celtic languages, assists to rescue the subject in hand from the grasp of national

prejudice, and transfer it to the care of science. We shall be led to confess, by degrees, the confused character of the conceptions we had entertained even of our own ancestry, and that the analysis of our own English language—not altogether a language "undefiled"—in the light of an improved Celtic scholarship, had been a chief means of correcting our notions.

To the Germans, as is usual in all matters of minute, painstaking scholarship, we are mainly indebted for the results already attained in Celtic studies. The extraordinary zeal and talent displayed in the study of the Celtic languages by a prince of the Imperial Family of France, Prince Lucien Buonaparte, are well known to all, and have greatly aided in giving tone and impulse to the study. German scholars have, after a fashion of their own, by laborious analysis and synthesis, determined the relation of the Celtic languages to the whole family of Indo-European tongues; and also, in a more limited field, applied the results of their labours to the elucidation of English Ethnology and English History. Adelung and Vater in their remarkable work,[1] had years ago supplied voluminous materials; Arndt, in his *Ursprung und Verwandtschaft der Europäischen Sprachen;* Diez, in his *Lexicon Etymologicon, und Grammatik;* Holtzmann, in his *Kelten und Germanen;* Leo, in his various learned productions;[2]

[1] *Mithridates, oder Allgemeine Sprachen-Kunde.* Four vols. Berlin, 1806–1817.

[2] *Vorlesungen uber die Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes und Reiches.*

Meyer, in his *Importance of the Study of the Celtic Languages;* Diefenbach, in his *Celtica;* and J. C. Zeuss, in his *Grammatica Celtica*, are amongst our chief assistants. We must not forget also the labours of Pott, Grimm, and Bopp, in Comparative Grammar and General Philology. In our own country the study has been cultivated by Edward Davies, Lhuyd, Whitaker, Prichard, Archdeacon Williams, Halliwell, Latham, Garnett, Guest, Norris, and others, with considerable success. We have now so far advanced that we cannot recede. New light will still pour in upon English ethnology and history from the searching converging lens of philology.

It comports with the nature and design of the present work to direct attention more to vocabulary than to grammar. To enter upon a comparison of Celtic and English inflexion and syntax were to begin an endless task; for, to say nothing of the complexity of the subject, from the multiplicity of Teutonic and Romance diversities represented in our present English, the changes which have occurred in the inflexion and construction of the Celtic dialects themselves, as witnessed by their written literature, would deprive us of any reliable standard by which to test examples. If, for instance, it were desired to compare the syntax or

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Three vols. Halle, 1854—1861. *Feriengeschriften, vermischte Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Deutschen und Keltischen.* Halle, 1847—1852. *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum.* Halle, 1842. A work on Saxon local nomenclature.

the accidence of Welsh with those of English, in order to show that the latter had become partaker of the features of the former, the question at once offers itself: What Welsh should be the standard—that of Taliesin, of Cynddelw (12th Cent.), or that of the present age? The truth is that the Cymraeg of to-day is as different from the Cymraeg of Aneurin's *Gododin* (6th Cent.), or even of the laws of *Hywel Dda*, as modern English is from the Gothic of Ulphilas—as different, not in lexical substance merely, but also in grammatical forms and combinations.

It were easy to fill too much space with examples; let one or two suffice. Aneurin's *Gododin* opens thus:

> "Gredyf gwr oed gwas,
> Gwrhyt am dias."
>
> "Of manly mind was the youth,
> Heroic mid din of battle."

How many of these terms and inflexions are familiar to the modern Welshman of good education? Not more than two, *gwr*, man, and *gwas*, a youth, and even the latter of these has come generally in modern Welsh to mean not "youth," but "servant." The inflexions are all obsolete.

The first line in the sixth stanza of the same poem will show how words still in use are differently inflected and governed.

> "Gwyr a aeth Ododin, chwerthin Ognaw."
>
> "The heroes marched to Gododin, and Gognaw laughed."

The line in modern Welsh would be; "*Y* (art.)

gwyr aeth*ant* (3rd pers. pl. past) *i* (prep.) Ododin, chwerthin*ai* (3rd. pers. sing. past), Gognaw." This may be taken not only as an illustration of the fact that Welsh, like English, abounds more than in earlier times in the use of the article, of prepositions and other particles; but that it also, unlike the English, has increased its conjugating forms.

Llywarch Hên's expression, in his *Geraint ab Erbin*,

> "Ac elorawr mwy no maint,"
> "And biers beyond number,"

though all the vocables are more or less familiar to the Cymro of the present time, is still as an expression completely unintelligible to him, and that by reason of the disguise thrown over the words by an inflexion no longer known, and by the use of a word in a sense no longer attached to it. *Elorawr* here is the pl. of *elor*, a bier, but the plural termination *awr* is now obsolete, the plural of *elor* being *elorau*; *no*, than, has long given place to *na*. *Maint* is now never used for number, but magnitude or quantity.

In prose the change is equally great. It is not less marked in the vowels, and mutations of initial consonants, than in numbers and cases of nouns, tenses of verbs, and connecting particles. The truth is that the modern Cymbric has felt the influence of surrounding tongues, has assimilated its grammar and syntax to theirs, while occasionally imparting to them some of its own peculiarities.

But it is clear that if any Celtic grammatical forms

are to be employed in proof of Celtic influence of this kind penetrating the English, the forms must not be those of modern but those of Ancient Celtic; and then, of course, the signs of the influence must be sought for, not in the present English, but in the language at some very distant point in its history—in Semi-Saxon, if not rather in the Anglo-Saxon itself. The signs of interchange must in all reason be inquired after under the period when the languages were most brought in contact, and were most liable to modification. Cymbric cannot be supposed to have lent its characteristics to the English in recent ages.

Mr. Pike[1] has entered upon an elaborate comparison of the Cymbric and Greek languages, with the view of proving the oft-debated point that the former is a near relation of the latter; and has displayed, as in other parts of his work, much acuteness and scholarly acquirement. But it seems to have escaped him that his theory can hardly by any amount of linguistic lore be established, if the comparison instituted is between the grammar forms of modern Welsh and those of ancient Greek. The principle holds equally good if the comparison is made with modern English. It

[1] See *The English and their Origin*, by L. O. Pike, M.A. p. 107. Though he has detected the exaggerations of Pughe in finding coincidences between Welsh and Greek, Mr. Pike has still allowed himself to be drawn too far in the same direction. Many of his coincidences are nothing but words borrowed by Welsh from the Greek—some of them through the Latin—as, *eigion*, ocean, ὠκεανὸς; *dagr*, a tear, δακρυ; *pesgu*, to feed, βόσκω, Lat. pasco.

must not be taken for granted that the mutations and inflexions of any language, Welsh included, are the same in all ages of its history; to secure this permanence the language must become "dead" and be embalmed or fossilized in written form. The grammatical features of modern are very different, as already shown, from those of ancient Cymbric.

If M. Halbertsma had known that the sound *th* was present in Cymbric of all ages (as far as the language can be traced) he would have refrained from putting the query, whether "the English *alone* could boast of having preserved the true sound of the old *etch* (th) which has disappeared from the whole continent of Europe, so as not to leave the means of forming a faint idea of the sound of this consonant without the aid of English?"[2] Mr. Pike is right in reminding us that the Welsh has this sound. It has it in both its forms, as in Engl. *the*, and Engl. *th*ought. But this can hardly be said to be proof of a peculiar connection between Welsh and Greek, which also has the sound *th*, represented by the character *θ*, because the same sound was possessed by the old Gothic and Anglo-Saxon, although it has now disappeared, as M. Halbertsma lamented, "from the whole continent of Europe." But there are signs, it must be confessed, that the sound *th*, both soft and hard, was much less frequent in ancient than it is in modern Cymbric.

When we pass from the evanescent grammatical fea-

[2] Comp. Dr. Bosworth's *Origin of the Engl. Germ. &c., Langs.* p. 37.

tures of a language to its lexical materials, the ground seems to become solid. *Words*, in their substance, though, it may be, not in their inflexional modes, are permanent. Of the language of to-day, they are as genuine parts as they were of the same a thousand years ago, and passing under various modifications into its divided dialects, and by degrees into separate languages, still continue unequivocal mementoes of a past connection and relationship of these languages amongst themselves. They are like stones which, once dug from a particular rock, and wrought into a particular temple, have passed in the course of successive ages into edifices of different styles and purposes—triumphal arches, amphitheatres, monasteries, churches, fortifications, asylums—and at each exchange of locality and service, have passed under the mason's chisel into a new form, but throughout have retained, in what remains of them, their original body, stratification, and quality, and may be compared by the geologist with rocks of the same stratum from any part of the globe.

Proceed we now to the question of the chapter—the Celtic lexical elements of the English language. The following positions are indisputable.

First.—The English language now contains a large infusion of words introduced from the Celtic tongues.

Secondly.—The English language once contained multitudes of Celtic words which it has not retained.

Thirdly.—The Celtic words it now contains have

not all been assimilated in Britain, and from the Celtic tongues in Britain. Many came along with the Anglo-Saxon from the Continent; and many, incorporated in Britain, were so incorporated from the Latin, or some other tongue than the British, whether of the Cymbric or Gaelic branch. Norman-French, Dutch, Danish, German, have been filters through which Celtic has distilled into the English, and multitudes of the Celtic ingredients it now contains had belonged to the Anglo-Saxon in common with many of the Indo-European family of languages long before Britain had become the theatre of its development. Why these materials should be called "Celtic," we shall endeavour to explain under our second head.

Now the question to be determined by this Essay being, How far the present English nation can be shown to have been compounded of Teutonic and Ancient British materials, from the evidence, among other things, of its speech, our philological argument must be shaped and limited so as to include the following topics:—1. The Celtic elements which the English language has derived directly from the Celtic tongues, and subsequent to the Saxon conquest. 2. Celtic elements in the English language derived by that language from the Latin. 3. Celtic elements in the English language derived by that language from the Teutonic tongues, and from the Norman-French.

Neither of the last two can be taken as evidencing admixture of race, as between Anglo-Saxons and

Britons, but as simply contributing to the general philological question concerned. Their importance in this last respect claims for them admission into the present discussion; and they are, therefore, introduced. Our analysis of Celtic-English shall be conducted in the order above indicated.

1. Celtic elements in the English language derived directly from the Celtic tongues, and subsequent to the Anglo-Saxon conquest.

This section itself opens before us a very wide field of treatment. It is clear that our witnesses must be summoned not only from the modern English Dictionary, but from the vocabularies of the language in any age since the Saxon conquest, and from that living English which floats on the popular tongue unconfined as yet to any lexicon. If the Celtic in Britain, whether Cymbric or Gaelic, ever infused its vocables into the Anglo-Saxon speech, even though every tittle of such infusion had disappeared from the standard tongue prior to the age of Chaucer, but still can be traced as a fact once existing, we gain force to our argument from the fact—for we have evidence of such prolonged intercourse of the two peoples, and of such junction and fusion of race as we are in search of. Again, if the living *dialects* of our English are found to contain numerous vocables which are undeniably Celtic, though never dignified with a place in the lexicon, we have as expressive and faithful indices to

the past intercourse of the two peoples as any Norman-French or Danish terms now recognised as classic can be to the junction of Normans and Danes with the population of England.

We, therefore, summon these solemn witnesses from the dead past, and these fugitive tell-tales from the obscure nooks and corners of England, to unfold to us the details of a transaction which no written history so clearly, impartially, and incontestably proves.

It is impossible now to say what multitudes of terms from the speech of the vanquished and incorporated Britons became familiar as "household words" to the English of the Heptarchy. Doubtless, they were far more numerous, in proportion to the extent of the language, in early times than at present. That in process of ages they have disappeared, leaving, however, thousands of their kindred behind, only shows that they were subject to the same law which has swept from the Saxon so many of its noblest vocables. Hosts of these, as we all know, no longer appear in the English Dictionary. Let a few instances in proof be given, under the first letter of the alphabet only:—

Abie, "to pay for."
Abraid, "to open."
Agrise, "terrify."
Afterwending, "following."
Agrill, "annoy."
Awhene, "vex."
Aken, "reconnoitre."
Allyng, "entirely."
Arm, "poor."
Alegge, "to confute."
Alond, "on the land."
Anethered, "conquered."
An, "grant," "allow."
Amanse, "curse."
Aschend, "injured."
Aschreynt, "deceived."
Atbroid, "seduced."
Awend, "go."

These were once standard words in the English, but are now not to be heard. Any reader of *Havelock the Dane*, *King Alysaunder*, the *Owl and Nightingale*, *the Ormulum*, or the *Life of Beket*, may multiply instances without difficulty.[1]

And not only have many hundred miscellaneous words disappeared, but many others, which, from their antithetic or other peculiar character, might naturally be expected to have been retained. The English was once enriched, not only with the former, but also with the latter of the following couples :—

Neither	Inmost	Income
Nother	Outmost	Outgo
Highest	Overcome	Heretofore
Nythemest	Overgo	Thereafterward
Thither	Therein	Somewhere
Therehence	Thereout	Somewanne, &c.

Indeed it may be safely affirmed that *one-seventh* of the vocabulary of the 13th century has entirely disappeared.

If the materials of the English itself have thus been disintegrated, why should it be thought a thing improbable that Celtic materials once occupying a place in that tongue should have become subject to the same fate? But, improbable or not, the thing is a simple fact, and must be dealt with accordingly.

Out of the whole body of Celtic materials now in the English language, only a small portion, as already

[1] Confer also, *A Dictionary of Oldest Words in the Engl. Language*, by H. Coleridge. Lond. 1863.

intimated, can be fairly in the interests of truth claimed as a direct witness to *amalgamation of race.* To determine that portion, and to bring it down to the smallest proportions necessary to constitute a genuine factor in the argument, certain *criteria* must be adopted, and when adopted rigorously applied. We must separate and classify under their proper heads all words which, while containing Celtic roots, are presumably or demonstrably not of *British* origin, *i.e.*, have not been incorporated *since the Saxon tongue became a denizen in Britain;* and also such as have within that very period been incorporated, but *not from the speech of the Ancient Britons.*

The magic skill of etymologists is proverbial. All dealing with the results of their manipulations requires utmost care. The transformations of words, moreover, in passing from language to language, and from land to land, the disguise they assume through transposition, elimination, agglutination of parts, and their occasional perverse change of meaning, make the labour of the most sober and painstaking etymologist by no means easy. The same word, at different periods of its history, and in the same language, assumes forms so different as to be scarcely recognisable. To give one or two familiar instances: our indefinite article, "a" was once "*ane;*" the personal pronoun, "I" was once *Yk*, *Ik*, *Iche*, and also *Ich;* "always" was once *algates;* "hateful," *ateliche* (*Owl and Night.*); "lord," *hlaford;* "lady," *hlæfdige;* "solemnly," *solempenly.* Even the

same word, in the same language, and *at the same time*, occasionally appears under very diverse shapes. The whimsical transpositions of the Welsh *'nawr* into *'rwan*, and the squeezing into both these forms of the phrase, *yr awr hon*, "this hour," will be a well-known instance to the Cymro. Again, it is not an uncommon thing to see a word retaining its form more tenaciously in a foreign language than in its own. Thus the Anglo-Saxon *pic* is better preserved both as to sound and orthography in the Welsh *pyg* than in the English "pitch"; *naeddre* is better represented by the Welsh *neidyr* than by the English "adder," and *raca* by W. *raca* than by the English "rake." Words of this sort, especially such as have relation to agriculture and domestic life, are very numerous, and a most interesting list might be collected. Such words being found in large numbers in the *Welsh* and *Cornish* are extremely suggestive as to the commingled state of the Saxons and *Cymry*, both adhering to their own languages and usages, in ages earlier than the formation of our present English.

Not only so, but the Cymbric and all the Celtic tongues may be shown to contain many Teutonic vocables, in all likelihood borrowed through intercourse and intermixture in Britain, of which there are no traces now in the English. The Anglo-Saxon *egida*, *egithe*, a rake or harrow, is preserved in W. *oged*, harrow; A.-Sax. *pal*, in Ælfric's vocabulary given as the equivalent of Lat. fossorium (post-class.), a digger's

instrument, and synonymous with *delf-isen*, "a delving iron," is not found in the English language, but is safely handed down in the Welsh *pâl*, a spade. This question, however, has another side: it is possible to argue that both these, and a hundred other words similarly preserved in the Celtic tongues (see p. 369, note 1), were not borrowed at all from the Teutonic, but are Celtic words which the Anglo-Saxon itself for a time borrowed and then relinquished.

Caution is sometimes required lest words of similar *meaning*, having also an approximately similar *form*, should be supposed to have an identical ultimate derivation. *Arsmetric* and *arithmetic* are of identical meaning, and are as much alike in form as thousands of words derived from the same source, and yet the former is from *ars* and *metrica*, the latter from αριθμος, words of totally different signification. The classical scholar will be intimate with many such instances.

Although etymology is surrounded with difficulties, it is not, therefore, to be depreciated. In our present inquiry its services are invaluable. There are many thousand words in the English language whose pedigree is as clearly ascertainable as that of any Norman baron. Many hundred words exist in the English concerning the Celtic origin of which no well-informed philologist can for a moment hesitate. But there are many of these, about the *time* of whose assimilation there is much room for debate. A few, if not several hundred

words now enrich our language, concerning which no competent Celtic and Anglo-Saxon scholar would hesitate to say that they formed no part of the speech which Hengist, Horsa, Ella, or Cerdic brought over from the Continent.

Now to distinguish these latter elements from the former is a task of prime importance to our discussion, and a task which has not hitherto, to our knowledge, been attempted. At the risk of greatly reducing what might with much reason be construed into Celtic material in the speech of Englishmen, we have adopted the following *criteria* :—

(*a.*) That a word be ascribed to that language as its *nearest* source in which it is found most accurately and fully, as to root and meaning, represented. Thus, "person" comes from Lat. *persona.* W. *carchar*, from Lat. *carcer*; "malady," from French, *maladie.*

(*b.*) That a word found to prevail in two different families of languages, such as the Teutonic and Celtic, be assigned to the one or the other, according as it is found in its authentic root to permeate most numerously the dialects or tongues of that family. An English word found in Irish and Welsh, or Welsh and Cornish, or Welsh and Armoric, or in any greater number of these tongues, and found elsewhere only in Dutch or Anglo-Norman, or German, or in more than one of them, but displaying a fainter affinity, is classified as a Celtic word, and with that branch of Celtic with which it most harmonizes.

(*c.*) When a word is equally represented in two languages, or in two families of languages, it is assigned according to preponderance of probability derived from historical, or other considerations. "Hour," W. *awr*, Fr. *heure*, Lat. *hora*, is considered as immediately borrowed from the French. "Goose," W. *gwydd*, Irish, *geadh*, Corn., *godh*, Germ., *gans*; Anglo-Saxon *gos*, is classed as Teutonic.

The Celtic elements, determined according to these *criteria* to belong to the English language, and to have coalesced with it subsequent to the Saxon Conquest, so-called, are distributed as follows:—

(1.) Celtic words in the English Dictionary.

(2.) Celtic words in the living *dialects* of England,

(3.) Celtic words once found in the written English, but now wholly discontinued.

(1.) *Celtic words in the modern English Dictionary.*

[Other derivations are capable of being assigned to several words in the following table. In such cases the question to be settled is, out of two or more possible sources, which is probably the *immediate* one whence it was borrowed by the English.

The Celtic languages are represented thus: Welsh (W.), Irish (Ir.), Cornish (Corn.), Armoric (Arm.), Manx (M.), Gaelic and Irish being so similar, are classed together. The Teutonic tongues are marked thus: Anglo-Saxon (A.S.), German (G.), Danish (Dan.), Dutch (D.)]

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
Aerie	: W. *eryr;* Corn. *er;* Arm. *erer;* Ir. *iolar;* M. *urley,* "eagle."	Gothic, *aro.* The word has no relation to Lat. *aer,* Gr. αηρ.
Babe	: W. *ab,* son; *baban,* babe; Corn. *baban* and *mab.*	G. *bube;* Arab. *babah.*
Bait	: W. *bwyd,* food; *abwyd,* bait; Corn. *buit;* Ir. *biadh;* Arm. *boued.*	A.S. *batan,* to bait; Gr. βιότος.
Bank	: W. *ban, banc;* Ir. *beann;* Corn. *ban* and *bancan;* Arm. *bancq.*	A.S. *banc;* Fr. *bavc;* Gr. βοννός.
Bar	: W. *bar;* Ir. *barra,* v.; Corn. *bara,* v.; Arm. *barren,* v.; M. *barrey,* v.	
Bacon	: W. *bacwn;* Ir. *bogun.*	G. *bache,* "wild sow."
Balderdash	: W. *baldorddi,* to babble; *baldorddus,* babbling.	
Banner	: W. *baner* (fr. *ban,* high, &c.); Corn. *baner;* Arm. *bannier.*	G. *fahne;* Fr. *banniere;* A.S. *fana,* standard.
Barb	: W. *barf;* Ir. *bearbh;* Corn. *barf;* Arm. *barf.*	Lat. *barba.*
Bard	: W. *bardd;* Ir. *bard;* Corn. *barah;* Arm. *barz.*	Lat. *bardus;* Gr. βάρδος.
Barley	: W. *barlys;* Corn. *barlys.*	A.S. *bere;* Lat. *far.*
Barrel	: W. *baril;* Arm. *baraz;* Gael. *baraille.*	Fr. *baril.*
Base	: W. *bas;* Corn. *bas;* Arm. *baz.*	Fr. *bas.*
Basin	: W. *bas,* shallow, *basn;* Ir. *baisin;* Arm. *basdhin,*	Fr. *bassin.*
Basket	: W. *basged;* Ir. *basgaid;* Corn. *basced;* M. *baskaid.*	
	Corn, *bas,* shallow; Arm. *bas;* shallow.	Fr. *bas,* low.
Bastard	: W. *bastardd, tarddu,* to spring; Ir. *basdard;* Corn. *bastardh;* Arm. *bastard.*	D. *bastaard;* Fr. *bâtard.*
Belly	: W. *bol;* Ir. *bolg;* Corn. *bol.*	Lat. *bulga;* Gr. βολγὸς.
Big	: W. *baich,* a burden; *beichiog,* "with child."	

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
Bo ! excl.	: W. *bw !* Exclamation to excite fear.	
Boil (s.)	: W. *bol* round body, Ir. *buile*, Arm. *buil;* Corn. *bol.*	A.S. *belge*, belly ; Fr. *bouiller*, to boil.
Bowel	: W. *bol.* (*ib.*) Ir. *bolg ;* Corn. *bol.*	Gr. μολγὸς, βολγὸς.
Bowl	: W. *bol.* „ „ „	„ „
Boy	: W. *bach*, little, *bachgen*, boy, youth ; Ir. *beag ;* Corn. *bechan ;* Arm. *bigan*, *bian*, little, *buguel*, a child.	Pers. *bach*, child.
Brae	: W. *brê*, mount, hill ; Ir. bri, ib. ; Corn. *brê*. *Bray*, as name of place, freq. in Cornwall. *Carn Brea*, (Corn.) *Penbrê*, (Wales) hills.	Sansc. *vâra.*
Brace (arch)	W. *braich*, arm ; Ir. *brach ;* Corn. *brech ;* Arm. *brech.*	Lat. *brachium*, Fr. *bras.* Gr. βραχίων.
Brag	: W. *brag.* a shooting forth, malt ; *bragio*, to boast.	
Brent	: W. *bryn ;* Corn. *bryn*, *bre*, hill.	
Brigand	: W. *brig*, hill, summit ; *brigant*, highlander, pl. *brigantwys*, Brigantes.	Fr. *brigand* (from W. or older Celtic.)
Brisk	: W. *brys*, haste, *brysg*, quick.	
Browse	: W. *brwys*, buds, *pori*, to browse ; Arm. *brouz.*	Fr. *brouter ;* Gr. βιβρώσκω, fut. βρωσομαι.
Bulk	: W. *bwlg*, Ir. *balc.*	
Bump	: W. *bwmp*, *pwmpian.*	
Bunch	: W. *pwng*, *pwng o flodau*, b. of flowers.	Dan. *bunke.*
Cabin	: W *caban*, Ir. *caban.*	
Cantred	: W. *cantref—cant*, a hundred, and *tref*, abode.	Lat. *centum.*
Cairn	: W. *carn ;* Ir. *carn ;* Corn. *carn*, Arm. *carn*, M. *carn.*	
Carol	: W. *carol ;* Corn. *carol ;* Arm. *caroll.*	

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
Cart	: W. *cario*, to carry, *cart;* Ir. *cairt;* Corn. *carios;* Arm. *carr;* M. *cayr.*	Lat. *carrus*, Sansc. *car.*
Cast (in play)	: W. *cast* a trick; Corn. *cast.* Arm. *cacz.*	Dan. *cast*, a guess.
Cell	: W. *cell*, closet, *celu*, to hide; W. and Corn. *celli*, a grove.	Whence Lat. *celtæ;* Gr. κελται, &c.
Clack	: W. *clec*, *clecian*, *cloch*, bell; Ir. *clogaim*, Corn. *cloch*, bell; Ir. *clog*, ib; M. *clagg.*	G. *glocke*, bell.
Clamp	: W. *clwm*, a tie; *clwmi* v.	G. *klammer*, D. *klamp.*
Clock	: W. *cloch*, bell; Ir. *clog;* Corn. *cloch*, &c.	G. *glocke;* A.S. *glucca*, or *glugga.*
Club	: W. *clob*, *clwb*, *cloppa.*	G. *kloppel*, D. *klubbe.*
Coot (fowl)	: W. *cwtiar*, from *cwta*, short; *cwtiar*, short-tailed hen.	
Cope	: W. *coppa*, *côb;* Corn. *cop.*	A.S. *caeppe*, *cop*, head.
Corner	: W. *corn*, *cornel;* Ir. *cearn;* Corn, *cornel*, Arm. *corn.*	
Coracle	: W. *corwg*, *corwgl.*	
Could	: W. *gallu*, power, also *gallud;* Corn. *gallos*, *gally;* Arm. *gallout.*	Lat. *valeo*, Sans. *galb.*
Crag	: W. *craig;* Ir. *craig;* Corn. *carrag.*	
Creak	: W. *cryg*, *crecian*, *ysgrech;* Corn. *cri*, noise; Arm. *cri.*	A.S. *cearcian;* Sansc. *kûr*, to re-sound.
Cricket	: W. *cricell*, *crician*, v.	,, ,, ,,
Cringe	: W. *crychu*, *crino*, bend, wither, *crynu*, shake; Corn. *crenne*, tremble.	G. *kriechen.*
Crockery	: W. *crochan*, hollow vessel, pot, *cragen*, shell; Corn. *crogen*, shell.	A.S. *crocca.*
Cromlech	: W. *cromlech—crom*, bending, *llech*, flat stone; Corn. *crom*, bent; Ir. *crom.*	
Crone	: W. *crino*, wither; Ir. *criona*, old.	Gr. γερων, old.
Crook	: W. *crwc*, s. *crwca*, a. Ir. *cruca.*	

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
Croom (a crooked fork, provincial)	: W. *crwm*, a bending, *crymu*, to bend; Ir. *crom;* Corn. *crom.*	G. *krumb;* Dan. *krum.*
Crouch	: W. *crychu*, v. neut, to bend, wrinkle. This is possibly the root both of "cringe" and "crouch," perhaps also of "crook," but it is more probably itself derived fr. *crwc*, with the *w* modified into *y* in the verb.	
Crowd	: W. *crwth*, mus. instr.; Ir. *cruith;* Corn. *crowd.*	Lat. *chrotta Britanna*, in Venant. Fortun.
Cudgel	: W. *cogail*, distaff; Corn. *cigel.*	
Cut	: W. *cwta*, a. short, *cwtäu*, shorten; Corn. *cot*, Ir. *cutach.* No trace of this word in any of the Gothic languages.	Lat. *curtus* seems to be of cognate origin.
Cuttle(fish)	: W. *cuddio*, to hide, *cuddigl*, retreat; Corn. *cudhe*, to hide; Arm. *cuza.* Eng. "hide" is of same origin as *cuddio*, the A.S. *hydan* substituting initial *h* for the Celtic *c* or *k.*	Sansc. *kud.*
Dad	: W. *tad;* Ir. *taid;* Corn. *tad.*	
Dainty	: W. *dant*, tooth, *dantaith*, feast; Corn. *dant*, tooth; Ir. *dead*, Arm. *dans*, ib.	Lat. *dens*, tooth; Gr. ὀδούς - οντος; Ion. ὀδων; Goth. *tunthus.*
Dale	: W. *dôl;* Ir. *dail;* Corn. *dol;* Arm. *dôl.* This word is found in names of places situate in valleys all over Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany; Dolbadarn, Dolau, Dolywhiddens, Dolgoath, Dol, &c.	G. *thal*, D. *dol*, Rus. *dol.*

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
Dally	: W. *dal*, *dala*, to hold; Ir. *dail*, delay; Arm. *dalea*, to stop, delay; Corn. *dalhen*, holding.	
Darn	: W. *darn*, a piece; Corn. *darn*, Arm. *darn*.	Fr. *darne*, slice; Sansc. *darana*.
Dastard	: W. *bastardd* (*?*) mean, of low birth. If this with change of *b* inc. into *d* is not the origin of this word, it seems impossible to discover one. The *idea* associated with "*d*astard," to some extent, though by no means wholly, enters into the word "*b*astard." Both are ignoble.	[No trace of this word in any of the other Aryan languages.]
Denizen	: W. *dinas*, city; Corn. *dinas*, from *din*, a place of strength; *dinesydd* in W. is a citizen: term. *zen* as in citizen.	[Good authorities give old Fr. *deinsein* as origin, but the word is more likely a corruption of Cymbric.]
Dicker (ten, as, a "dicker" of gloves)	: W. *deg*, ten; Corn. deg.	Gr. δεκα, Lat. *decem*.
Dock	: W. *tocio*, to shorten, clip.	
Doll	: W. *dull*, form, *delw*, image; Ir. *dealbh*; Corn. *del*, semblance, form	Gr. εἴδωλον.
Druid	: W. *derwydd*, fr. *derw*, oak; Ir. *darach* oak; Corn. *derow*, ib. Though *derwydd* is a satisfactory derivation of "Druid," it is not so clear that *derw*, oak, is the root of *derwydd*, the *ydd* taken as a termination, and giving	Gr. δρῦς, oak.

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
	the idea of a person having to do with the oak, as *mesurydd*, a "measurer," *melinydd*, "a miller." A Druid was not so much concerned with the oak itself as with religion and general knowledge under the shadow of the oak grove. True, he esteemed the fruit or seed of the oak sacred. Still this analysis of the word *derw-ydd* is more probable than Dr. W. O. Pughe's, *derw-gwydd*, "oak-knowledge,"	
Flabby	: W. *llib*, *llipa*, *gwlyb*, flaccid, soft, moist.	
Flag(stone)	: W. *llech ;* Ir. *liach*.	
Flasket	: W. *ffasg*, *flasged*, a basket made of straw or wicker.	Mid-age Latin, *flasketus*, from the Welsh.
Flimsy	: W. *llymsi*, spiritless, flimsy.	
Flippant	: W. *llipan*, a glib chatterer.	
Fool	: W. *ffol*, *ffwl*; Corn. *fol*, Arm. *foll*.	Fr. *folle*, *fou*.
Frith	: W. *ffridd ;* Gael. *frith*, a forest, park. A.-Sax., in name, *Fyrhthe*. Leo acknowledges the word to be Celtic.	["Frith," an arm of the sea, Lat. *fretum*, has no relation to this word.]
Fudge	: W. *ffug*, deception, a feigning ; Corn. *fugio ;* Ir. *bog*. "Fudge" is a made-up story, pretence, "stuff."	Lat. has *fucus*, a dye, for false appearance.
Gable	: W. *gafael*, a hold. The gable is the part where the timbers of the roof have a hold, support. Ir. *gabhaidh*, Corn. *gaval*.	
Gag	: W. *cêg*, throat, *cegio*, to choke.	

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
Grudge	: W. *grwgnach.*	Lat. *rugio*, Gr. γρυζω.
Guess	: W. *ceisio*, seek, inquire ; Ir. *geasam.*	D. *gissen.*
Guiniad (a fish)	: W. *gwyn*, white—the colour of the fish.	
Gull (bird)	: W. *gwylan ;* Corn. *gullan.*	
Gun	: W. *gwn;* Corn. *gun*, a scabbard.	
Gyve	: W. *gefyn*, fetter, *gafael*, hold ; Ir. *geibheal ;* Corn. *gavel.*	
Haft	: W. *gafael*, a hold; Corn. *gavel.*	
Hag	: W. *hagr*, ugly ; Corn. *hager ;* Arm. *haer.*	G. *hager.*
Haggard	: ,, ,, ,,	
Happy	: W. *hap*, chance, luck (?)	
Harlot	: W. *herlawd* [very doubtful etymology] ; Corn. *harlot*, a vile man, rogue, villain. Is *herlawd* itself a Cymbric or Celtic word at all ? It is given here in deference to the opinion of others. "Harlot" may have had its origin in A.S. *ceorl*, G. *kerl*, a rustic, a slave, a "fellow," and in course of time, a coarse, saucy person. The term. *ot* is not to mark the fem., as Charles, Charlotte, since in Chaucer "harlot" is used for profligate persons of either sex, whence, perhaps, the Cornish *harlot. Herlod*, boy, stripling ; *herlodes*, damsel, are Welsh, without any bad meaning attached.	[The classic tongues contain nothing cognate with this word ; *ceorl*, *kerl*, are the nearest approach to it in the Teutonic.]

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
Hiccup	: W. *hic*, a hitch, a snap. The latter part of the word is perhaps a modification of "cough."	
Hitch	: W. *hic;* Corn. *hig*, a hook; Arm. *hygen.*	
Hoax	: W. *hoced*, deceit, cheating.	
Hog	: W. *hwch*, a sow; Corn. *hoch*, pig, hog; Arm. *houch*, *hoch*, a pig.	Gr. ὗς; Lat. *sus;* G. *sau*, a sow.
Hoot	: W. *udo*, howl, *hwtio*, hoot.	
Howl	: W. *wylo*, weep, cry; Ir. *guil;* Corn. *gwelvan.*	G. *heulen;* Gr. κλάω; Lat. *fleo.*
Hurry	: W. *gyru*, drive.	Lat. *curro.*
Husk	W. *gwisg*, covering; Corn. *gwesc*, husk.	
Hush	: W. *ust!*	
Kindle	: W. *cynneu;* Corn. *cunys*, fuel; Arm. *cened;* Ir. *connadh*, ib.	Lat. *ac-cendo*, *candeo.*
Label	: W. *llab*, strip, *llabed.*	
Lad	: W. *llawd*, boy, *lodes*, girl; Ir. *ath.*	
Lagging	: W. *llac*, loose, remiss; Ir. *lag;* Corn. *lac*, M. *lhag.*	Lat. *laxus.*
Lath	: W. *llath*, rod, yard, measure. Though found in Germ. *latte* and Fr. *latté* and perh. cognate to Lat. *latus*, the terminal sound *th*, which it assumes in none of these langg., seems to suggest its immediate appropriation from the Welsh.	Lat. *latus?* G. *latte;* Fr. *latté.*
League	: W. *llech*, a slab, a stone; Ir. *leac;* Arm. *leach;* M. *leac.* A "league" was a measure of distance marked by a stone standing on end.	Fr. *lieue*, fr. low Latin *leuca*, adopted in Gaul, "Quum et Latini mille passus vocent, et Galli *leucas*. *Hieron.*

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
Loafer	: W. *lloffa*, to glean; *lloffwr*, a gleaner. A loafer is one who hangs about, picking up a precarious living.	[Certainly not from G. *laufen*, to run; running being far from the habit of such a person.]
Lubber	: W. *llabi*, *llabwst*.	
Lurk	: W. *llercian*, to loiter, lurk; Corn. *lerch*, a footstep, a trace; Ir. *lorg;* Arm. *lerch*. Because a person who lurks makes marks by which he is traced?	
Maggot	: W. *magu*, to breed, nourish; Corn. *maga*, to feed; Arm. *maga*, ib.	
Marl	: W. *marl*, rich clay; Ir. *marla*.	G. *mergel*.
Mead	: W. *medd;* Ir. *meadh;* Corn. *medh;* Arm. *mez*.	Gr. μεθυ; Sans. *madhu;* Lith. *medus*, honey.
Mew	: W. *miwian*, as a cat; a word invented to imitate the cry of the animal.	G. *miauen*.
Morrow	: W. *bore*, morning; *y foru*, to-morrow; Corn. *bore;* Arm. *beuré*. The former meaning of "morrow" was "morning," thence the morning to come — both which meanings are still retained in German. The W. has two cognate terms to express the distinctions, *bore* and *foru*. The change from W. *bore* to morrow. reducing the *b* into *m*, is less than the change of Germ. *morgen* into morrow, eliminating both the *g* and the *n*.	G. *morgen*; Gr. πρωΐ; Sansc. *prac*, fr. *pur*, to advance. The A.S. has *morn* and *morgen*.
Moult	: W. *moel*, bare, *moeli*, to make bald; Corn. *moel*, bare; Arm. *moel;* Ir. *maol*.	

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
Muggy	: W. *mwg*, smoke ; Ir. *muig;* Corn. *moc.*	A.S. *smocca*, smoke.
Mustard	: W. *mwstardd*, *mws*, a strong scent, and *tarddu*, to spring.	Fr. *moutarde* (Gallic).
Niggard	: W. *nig*, *nigio*, to narrow.	G. *knicker*, Dan. *gniker*.
Nod v.	: W. *nôdi*, to mark ; *am-naid-io*, to give a sign ; Corn. *nod*, mark, token ; Ir. *nod.*	Lat. *nota*, *nuto.*
Odd	: W. *od*, singular, notable ; *odid*, rarity.	
Pall	: W. *pallu*, to fail, weaken ; applied like the English word to failure of appetite.	
Pantile	: W. *pen*, top. A tile for the top of a house, a "roofing tile," which formerly was written *pen*-tile.	
Park	: W. *parc;* Corn. *parc;* Ir. *pairc*, Arm. *parc;* M. *pairk.* In this case, as the word *park* is not in the A.-Saxon, the Celtic is chosen as the source whence the word has passed not only into English, but also into French.	Fr. *parc ;* G. *park* (Gallic).
Paw	: W. *pawen*, Corn. *paw*, Arm. *paô.*	G. *fuss*, Gr. ποῦς, L. *pes.*
Penguin (bird)	: W. *pengwyn* (white-head), a descriptive name.	
Perk	: W. *perc*, smart.	
Pill	: W. *pêl*, a ball ; Corn. *pêl ;* Arm. *pellen.*	Lat. *pila*, *pillula*, dim.
Plait	: W. *plethu*, to weave, plait ; Corn. *pleth*, a plait, wreath ; Ir. *filleadh.*	Dan. *fletter ;* Fr. *plisser.*
Poke	: W. *pwg*, what swells or pushes ; Corn. *poc*, a push ; *pock*, a shove, is still used in the Cornish dialect.	

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
Poll (head)	: W. *pel*, ball; Corn. *pel;* Arm. *pellen.*	G. *ball.*
Posset	: W. *posel, possed,* curdled milk.	
Queen	: *Vide* Appendix B.	
Quip	: W. *chwib, chwip,* a quick flirt or turn.	
Quibble	: W. ib. To argue evasively and triflingly, ever starting and turning from the point in hand as may suit, would combine in W. both *chwipio* and *gwibio*—both perhaps in reality one word.	
Quirk	: W. *chwyrn,* rapid; also whirl.	
Rule	: W. *reol;* Corn. *rowlia;* Arm. *reolia.*	A.S. *regol;* G. *regel;* Lat. *regula;* Fr. *regle.*
Sad	: W. *sad,* firm, sober, thoughtful; applied in Eng. because of the quiet thoughtfulness of sorrow.	
Sallow	: W. *sâl,* ill, *salw,* mean; *salw'i olwg,* dejected and sallow in appearance.	
Scare	: W. *yscar,* to separate; Corn. *escar,* enemy.	
Screech	: W. *ysgrechain;* Ir. *screachaim.*	G. *schreien.*
Scrip	: W. *yscrepan, crop;* so "crop" of a fowl, which is a purely Celtic term, though found in A.S. Germ. and D. The idea is that of a place to hold, a cavity.	A.S. *crop;* G. *kropf.*
Sham	: W. *siom,* a disappointment.	
Shriek	: W. *ysgrechain,* Ir. *screachaim.* "Shriek" and "screech" are the same in derivation, varied in orthography as if to meet a slightly different shade of meaning.	G. *schreien.*

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
Slab	: W. *llab*, *yslab*, a thin strip.	Lat. *lam-ina.*
Spigot	: W. *pig*, *yspigod*, a point, spigot; Corn. *pigol*, a pick.	A.S. *piic*, a little needle or pin; G. *picke*, a pick-axe.
Spike	: W. ib. a point, a nail.	
Squeeze	: W. *gwasgu;* Corn. *gwyscel*, Arm. *gwasca;* Ir. *faisg.*	
Squeak	: W. *gwychian.*	
Stain	: W. *taenu*, to spread, *ystaen*, a covering spread over the surface, whether to colour or protect.	Lat. *stannum*, an alloy; Gr. τεινω, to extend.
Tall	: W. *tàl*, Corn. *tal; Tal Carn*, the high rock in St. Allen.	
Task	: W. *tasg*, Ir. *tasg.* Possibly the first use of the Eng. "task" was to mark a quantity to be learned, under instruction, then to be done under direction. If so, *dysgu*, to teach (the word also means to "learn," like *lernen*, in Germ.) may have been its origin.	Gr. διδασκω, Lat. *disco*, are not so likely as immediate source; Fr. *tache.*
Through	: W. *trwy;* Ir. *tre;* Corn. *tre*, over.	A.S. *thurh;* G. *durch.*
Torch	: W. *torch*, a ring, wreath; probably applied to the flaming substance on account of circling motion of flame. (*Vide* Append. B. "torch.")	Lat. *torqueo;* Fr. *torche*, It. *torcia;* Span. *antorcha.*
Torque	: W. *torch*, *ib.; tor* is common in Celtic to express roundness, protuberance, &c. *Torrog* as adj. expresses the quality of fulness; a bulging form. W. *torchog* is circling, coiling, as *y sarph dorchog*—the coiling	Lat. *torqueo.*

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
	serpent. W. *troi*, to turn, twist. W. Corn. Arm. *tro*, a turn, circuit. (*Vide* Append. B. "torch.")	
Tudor (as adj. "Tudor style.")	: W. *Tudyr*, the name of Owen Tudor, of Wales, who married Catherine of France, widow of Henry V., and from whom descended the "Tudor" Royal Family of England.	
Wail	: W. *wylo*, to cry, weep; Corn. *wole* and *ole;* Ir. and Gael. *guil;* Manx *gul.* This word appears in Semi-Saxon period, *ex. gr.* in Alysaunder, but the A.-Sax. shows no trace of it, unless by a violent interpretation it be referred to *wael*, slaughter, death, and *waelhlem*, "a slaughter, or war cry."	It. *guaiolare;* Lat. *fleo;* Gr. κλαιω.
Waist	: W. *gwasgu*, to press, squeeze. The waist, whatever the custume, country, or age, is a part of the body subject to pressure by a girdle, or other appliance, for fastening the garments. Corn. *gwyscel;* Arm. *gwasca;* Ir. and Gael. *faisg.* No trace of the word in Teutonic.	
Whim	: W. *chwim*, a brisk motion, a turn.	
Whole	: W. *holl, oll*, altogether, the whole. It is barely represented in A.-Sax., but found in Semi-Sax. *ex. gr.*	Gr. ὅλος; A.S. *al;* G. *all.*

English.	*Celtic.*	*Teutonic or other Cognates.*
	Robert of Gloucester, 377. The aspirate *wh* was more probably inherited from the Celtic than from Gr. Ir. *huile* and *oll*, Arm. *holl* and *oll*, A.-Sax. *al*, and Germ. *all*, are related. Germ. *heil*, soundness; *heil*, adj. sound, whole.	

The above list could not fairly be much augmented —it is just possible it ought to be, by one or two words, curtailed. It is much shorter than the extravagant expectations of some Celtic enthusiasts would dictate; but too ample to be received without demur by the faith of others. The Englishman who believes himself to be a pure Teuton, would rather it were not proved to him that he is every day talking so much Celtic. We have offered our best, but do not dogmatize.

Let it be noted that the affinity with Brito-Celtic claimed for the above English vocables is not that of mere general *relationship* and *similarity* existing between two branch languages of the old Aryan stock; but the affinity of distinct and immediate descent. The language now called English, it is believed, possessed not, in its earlier forms, these words. It borrowed them bodily from that Celtic speech it came in contact with in Britain, just as it has borrowed hundreds of others from the Latin. If it did not so borrow them, by all means, let it be so shown.

The Welsh, as might be expected from the greater intercourse of the Cymry, has yielded the largest number of derivatives, and its forms are the forms most closely imitated. The above list is the result of much sifting, and repeated examination of each separate term, and is presented with some degree of confidence in the Brito-Celtic character of nearly the whole, with slight reservation respecting a few, among which may be mentioned: "basin," which some may prefer deducing from Fr. *bassin;* "cope," of whose Teutonic kinship there exist some suspicious indications; "harlot," apparently disclaimed by all languages, except the Cornish; "denizen," which some, improbably, derive from old Fr. *donazon*, or *deinzein.*

In this list we have included all those Celtic vocables in our present standard English we wish to rely upon as directly evidencing in favour of our argument. These, at least, have remained to this day; how many more survive, in situations less prominent—in the dialects of the widely separated provinces of England, and in the obsolete vocabulary of ancient records only now beginning to see the light—we shall by and by have opportunity to discuss.

It is pertinent here to observe, and the philosophic historian would deem it a point of no slight significance—that the above list is an index to the social condition, as well as to the mental idiosyncracies, of the people it commemorates. Here are few terms used in law, art, science, or government. The Britons

who amalgamated with their conquerors had been taken out of these spheres of thought and action. Their power to impregnate the intrusive speech would be the power of humble daily intercourse, for the most part while engaged in domestic, agricultural, and military toil. The superior civilization they had inherited, their nobler faith and carefully digested laws, would doubtless at first have forced upon their Anglo-Saxon masters a vast number of technical terms and formulæ, names of objects and places, of customs, festivals and offices; but these were speedily got rid of when a Saxon priesthood grew up with sufficient learning to adopt their own strong and rugged speech to the new inheritance of ideas on which they had entered. We have already seen how Celtic terms were excluded from the earlier written Anglo-Saxon. The Vocabularies of Archbishop Ælfric, and the Anglo-Saxon Vocabularies of the 11th cent., furnish evidence of this; and the literary history of King Alfred—notwithstanding that this noblest of all rulers was much under the influence of a Celtic scholar, the Welshman Asser—conclusively shows that he bent all his energies to constitute his own much-loved Anglo-Saxon the vehicle of all the ideas of his time.

But, while, under royal authority, the revived Anglo-Saxon scholarship of that age rejected the "barbarisms" which had crept in, the same barbarisms continued to hold their own in the language of daily life—in the market-place, in the corn-field, in the

smithy; and by and by, like a deeper current concealed for a time from view, burst again to the surface. In the written literature of the "Semi-Saxon" period, two centuries after Alfred, we accordingly meet with a large number of purely Celtic words. To these we shall in due time return.

The train of our argument leads us in the next place to glance at the Celtic materials found in the living *dialects* of the English language.

(2.) *Celtic Words in the living Dialects of England.*

In the "nooks and corners" and over the wide plains of our country are tens of thousands of people whose scanty vocabulary contains hundreds of vocables which the columns of no standard dictionary have ever contained, and amongst these are numerous remains, pure and genuine as chips of diamond, of the Ancient British tongue. Admirable is the unconscious fidelity of these sons of toil in handing down from father to son these precious memorials of the past![1]

[1] Abundant materials in proof of this may be found in the following, among many other contributions of laborious collectors: —*Tim Bobbin; The Lancashire Witches;* Carr's *Craven Dialect; The Dialect of Leeds and its Neighbourhood;* Halliwell's *Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words;* Grose's *Glossary of Provincial Words; The Cornish Provincial Dialect;* Dickinson's *Words and Phrases of Cumberland;* Barnes' *Hwomely Rhymes in the Dorset Dialect;* Baker's *Northamptonshire Words and Phrases:* Evans's *Leicestershire Words, Phrases, and Proverbs;* Cooper's *Glossary of the Provincialisms of Sussex;* Akerman's *Provincial Words, &c., of Wiltshire;* Clark's *John Noakes and Mary Styles, in the Essex Dialect.*

To what extent the Celtic of the dialects can be claimed as *British* contributions—*i.e.*, contributions made since the Anglo-Saxon conquest—is hard to determine. Some can be traced through the Latin to the misty pre-historic times when from some unknown source Celtic drops were distilled into all the Indo-European tongues—some through the Anglo-Saxon—some through German. But many others find no reflections in these languages. A multitude confess, by orthography and signification, to relationship with the *Cymraeg.* This, as might be expected, is notably the case in Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, Shropshire, Wilts, and—what was formerly termed "West Wales"—Devon and Cornwall.

The Celtic local or geographical names, as we shall by and by have occasion to show, still in great numbers remain, clinging with far greater fixedness to the soil than do the strongest fortresses or the most renowned cities. But with a tenacity which is still more wonderful, because under conditions apparently less allied to permanency, pure Celtic idioms and vocables manage from age to age to survive, defying the purism of lexicographers, defying the withering breath of time, hiding themselves for safe shelter amid the obscurities of peasant life, and with an ingenuity like that of instinct, actually disguising themselves in such voluminous drapery of Saxon grammatical forms, as demand all the skill and patience of the philologist to unloose.

Great has been the industry of collectors of dialectic words and phrases! But great also has been their neglect of etymology. They have collected *words*, apparently without a thought of the world of ethnological interest belonging to those words. Even so valuable a work as Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, loses half its value to the thorough student through this omission—an omission, by so learned a man, scarcely to be accounted for.[1]

To give a collection of all Celtic dialectic words discoverable, were to compose a dictionary. We must select a corner of the wide field, and give the result of our gleaning as a specimen of the whole. Let us turn to Lancashire, and touch also upon a side of Cumberland. In Lancashire, almost all the Celtic words are found to be from the *Welsh*.

Celtic in the Dialect of Lancashire.

Awf, a horrid person	W. *wfft*, interj. shame! fie!
Bam, mocking tale, gibe	Armoric, *bamein*, to deceive.
Bitter-bump, the bittern	W. *bwmp-y-gors*, "the bwmp of the moor," the bittern; first word expresses the bittern's hollow cry.
Bodikin, a bodkin	W. *bidog*, dirk, bayonet.

[1] An occasional etymological note, however, is given by Mr. Halliwell. The following account of the origin of a purely Celtic word is curious:—"The word *pen* was first introduced into Cornwall where the Phœnicians had a colony, who worked the tin mines. Hence we have many names in Cornwall which begin with *pen*." *Dict. of Arch. and Provin. Words*, sub verb. *Pen*. Many more names beginning with *pen* exist in Wales. Did the "Phœnicians" also import these?

Boggart, an apparition	W. *bwgan*, hobgoblin.
Braggot, spiced ale	W. *bragod*, spiced ale.
Brawse, brambles, furze	W. *brwyn*, rushes.
Bree, to fear a person	W. *braw*, fear, terror
Byes, cattle	W. *buwch*, cow; Arm. *bû*; Ir. *bo*; Corn. *buch*, cow.
Cam, to make crooked *Cammed*, crooked	W. *cam*, crooked; *camu*, to make crooked.
Costril, a small barrel	W. *costrel*, a bottle, jar.
Craddy, *Craddins*—"to lead craddies" is to play some bold, adventurous trick or feat	W. *gwrhydri*, heroic action.
Crom, to stuff	W. *cromil*, the crop of a fowl.
Crony, a companion, intimate	W. *carenydd*, kindred; *car*, friend.
Durn, the fastening by which gates are held	W. *dwrn*, a hand clenched, a fist, a handle.
Foomart, wild cat	W. *ffwlbert*, the polecat.
Frump, to sulk, mock	W. *ffromi*, to be angry, in a pet.
Gar, force	W. *gŷru*, to drive, urge, force.
Ginnil, a narrow passage	W. *cynnil*, sparing, saving, close.
Gorbelly, large bellied	W. *gor*, extreme.
Greece, a slight ascent	W. *gris*, a stair, step (this from Lat. *gradior*).
Gealo, *healo*, modest, shy	W. *gwylaidd*, modest, diffident.
Harr, to snarl like a dog	W. *hèr*, challenge.
Hitter, keen, daring	W. *hydr*, bold, daring; *hyfder*, assurance.
Huff, *huft*, to treat scornfully	W. *wfft*, for shame, fie.
Jim, *jimp*, neat, spruce	W. *gwymp*, smart, fair.
Keather, cradle	W. *cader*, cradle.
Keen, to burn	W. *cyneu*, to kindle.
Knep, to bite readily	W. *cnoi*, to bite, masticate.
Know, a rise, a brow	W. *cwnni*, to rise; *cwnwg*, *cnwc*, summit, mound.
Lake, to idle, play truant	W. *llechu*, to hide, skulk.
Lither, to thicken broth with meat	W. *llith*, mash; Gael. *leite*, water gruel.
Lobb, a heavy, clumsy fellow	W. *llob*, a blockhead.

Luver, open chimney	W. *llwfer*, chimney.
Mulloch, dirt, rubbish	W. *mwlwch*, chaff, sweepings.
Oandurth, afternoon	W. *anterth*, morning. Can *o* in "oandurth" be the Celtic prep. *o*, "from"—"separate, or proceeding from the morning"?
Peigh, to cough	W. *peswch*, to cough; *pych*, ib.
Pilder, to wither	W. *pallder*, a failure, abortiveness.
Pinc, a finch	W. *pinc*, a finch; given to the bird from the cry he utters. Germ. *finke*, whence Engl. "finch."
Reeak, *rick*, shriek, scold	W. *crech*, shriek; *ysgrechain*, to shriek.
Rhiggot, a gutter	W. *rhig*, a groove.
Scrannil, a lean, bony person	W. *asgyrnog*, bony, lean.
Seely, weak in body	W. *sal*, ill, frail; *salw*, ib.
Shurn, dung	W. *sarn*, stable litter.
Scut, the tail of a hare	W. *cwt*, tail.
Threave, a crowd	W. *torf*, crowd, multitude (*turba.*)
Ted, to spread abroad as hay	W. *teddu*, to spread out.
Tin, to shut to the door	W. *tynu*, to draw.
Tinned, shut	W. *tyn*, drawn close, tight.
Toyne, shut *Toynt*, shut	W. ib.
Trest, a strong bench	W. *trawst*, a beam.
Turnil, an oval tub	W. *twnel*, a tub or vat.
Wear, to lay out money	W. *gwario*, to spend, disburse.
Wherr, very sour	W. *chwerw*, bitter, sharp to taste, angry.
Witherin, large, powerful	W. *uthr*, terrible, awful.
Wy-kawve, a she-calf	W. *hi*, she.
Wyzles, stalks of potato	W. *gwydd*, small trees, brushwood.
Yeandurth, before noon	W. *anterth*, morning.

This list might be largely augmented. All doubtful words, and words not properly "dialectic" have been rejected. Some, hitherto approved by respectable

authorities have been winnowed out, as not being clearly Celtic, or not properly belonging to the "unwritten" language. Dade (used in Lancashire for holding a child by the arm to teach him to walk), garth, lurch, natter, sow (for head), can hardly be derived, as Mr. Davies thinks,[1] from W. *dodi*, *gardd*, *llerchio*, *naddu*, *siol;* nor can fag-end, fog, garth, lurch (which is nothing but lurk), hap, muggy, pelt, pick (to dart), reawt (which is only a form of pronouncing "road"), spree, tackle, treddles, whop, be considered as words belonging to the Lancashire, nor, some of them, indeed, to any "dialect," and we are inclined to believe that of the above, only lurch (from *llerchu*, to skulk), pelt (from *pêl*, a ball), pick (from *pig*, a point, dart), treddles (from *troed*, foot), can be safely traced to Celtic.

In Lancashire, it is seen, almost all the Celtic words are from the Cymbric. In Cumberland they seem to have descended in about equal degree from the Gaelic, or Erse.

Celtic in the Dialect of Cumberland.

Beel, to bellow	Ir. *beul*, the mouth (bawl).
Boggle, to be brought to a stand, a ghost	W. *bwg*, hobgoblin; *bwgwl*, threat.
Cammed, crooked	W. *cam*, crooked; Corn, Ir. Arm. ib.
Corp, a dead body	W. *corph*, body, dead body. Lat.
Gope, to talk foolishly	Ir. *gob*, the mouth (gabble).
Gowl, to weep or cry	Ir. *guil*, to weep; W. *wylo*, to weep.
Lam, to beat	Ir. *lamh*, the hand; W. *llaw*, ib.

[1] See *Transactions of Philolog. Soc.* 1855, p. 210.

Marrow, equal	Ir. *mar*, like to; W. *par*, pair. Lat.
Rag, to abuse, scold	Ir. *rag*, abuse; *bally-rag*, town or street abuse; W. *regu*, curse.
Sad, heavy, thick	W. *sad*, firm, sober.

That Cumberland should present remains of the Gaelic as well as of the Cymbric Celtic is perfectly natural, entirely accordant with history. The Scots bordering on the Ancient Cumbrian kingdom were from Ireland, and they would contribute both to the population and speech of Cumbria from the North, while the Cymri did the same from the South. The two streams of men and languages in time met and coalesced, and we have proof of their admixture in the dialect of the present day. That the language of the Cumbrian Kingdom in the 6th Cent., however, was substantially the same as that of Wales, is proved by the remains of the poets, *Aneurin* and *Llywarch Hen*, both Cumbrian bards. The people of Cumbria, also, in their times of misfortune, invariably fled to Wales as their natural and ever available refuge.

The above samples of dialects must suffice. Similar contributions might be drawn from half-a-dozen other districts, all equally pregnant with the same kind of evidence. Those of Essex, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, East Yorkshire, are less charged with Celtic, a fact antecedently probable from the testimony of history concerning settlements in those parts. The whole district of "West Wales," and of the Marches of Wessex and Mercia, on the other hand, are rich in Celtic.

What, now, is the value of these dialectic facts? Do they not intimate very plainly that a subjugated race could never have so instilled its vocabulary into that of its conquerors as to form a vital portion of it after the lapse of many hundred years, unless the two peoples had long lived in intimate intercourse for a great length of time? Large bodies of Britons must have remained on the soil in the various capacities of small holders by permission, as ceorls, or servitors, tillers of the fields, and handicraftsmen. They must by degrees have merged into the dominant race, and with them, their language, in its attained portions, into the language of that race. No other hypothesis can explain a phenomenon so authentic and significant. Such a phenomenon never occurred in the history of mankind without antecedents such as are here presumed, and in our historical chapter conclusively proved.[1] The Celtic words we now find in the standard English and its dialects form a vital portion of the people's speech. They entwine themselves around the most cherished customs, and are the familiars of the most sacred associations. They bear the air of belonging as much to the soil as the peasantry which loves to articulate them, or the oak of the forest. Surely they are not there as sole memorials of their first owners. They are but audible and visible companions of the now undistinguishable British blood which throbs in the veins of those who have them on

[1] See, especially, Sections vii. and ix. (pp. 243 and 335), *ante*.

their tongues! To assume that the words of an ancient language have continued to be spoken, while the nation to which they belonged had been wholly expelled or extirpated, is to assume a marvel greatly more unaccountable than the amalgamation for which we argue.

The comparative fewness of the Celtic vocables surviving forms no ground for argument as to the *proportion* of Ancient Britons which merged into the mass of Anglo-Saxon society. Twenty to one might be Celtic among the people, as in the case of France, while the language became all but completely new, or the conquerors might adopt wholesale the speech of the discomfited race, as the Danes did in England. When conquerors are eager to establish their own language, as was the case with the Anglo-Saxons, whatever the proportion of the conquered incorporated, their language is as a *whole* under ban, and can gain admission into the authorized speech only by subtle methods, and small unguarded entrances.

From the day the Anglo-Saxons became virtually masters, everything favoured the process whereby the tide of the new speech overwhelmed the old. From that time till now the precious words which, notwithstanding all difficulties, lodged themselves in the ruling speech, have been disappearing; and yet there are many hundreds, perhaps thousands, still in being, and likely to continue. What, then, must have been their number at first? And what must have been the

number of the people who, under the circumstances, could have secured entrance for so many!

The fact, however, must be kept in mind that the subjugation of the Britons was far from being a prompt achievement. They and their language lived concurrently with the Anglo-Saxons in parts of England for many ages after the Saxon and Anglian kingdoms were first established. The Ancient British speech was under ban only in those parts where Saxon power was completely dominant, and through the space of two centuries those parts over wide England were few. It was by slow degrees that the Britons were brought under, silenced, and incorporated, and this circumstance favoured both admixture of race and admixture of language.[1]

(3.) *Celtic words once found in the written English, but now wholly discontinued.*

Some short time ago the writer made a pilgrimage to the site of the once celebrated city of Caerlleon (Isca Silurum) the reputed seat of King Arthur and the Round Table. There, in addition to a few faint indications in the external aspect of the place of its former renown and magnificence—fragments of Roman pottery, portions of the city wall, the "mound" of the castle, the circular hollow where the Roman amphitheatre stood—he found in the small museum of the local Antiquarian Society a number of disentombed

[1] See pp. 268—305, *ante.*

British and Roman remains of some interest, a partial resurrection of the great past of Britain after many centuries of oblivion. It occurred to him that, in like manner, the old British words found in the early literature of Saxon England, long entombed and forgotten, but now gradually being brought to light, and curiously examined, are exponents to us of a former state of things.

Notice has already been taken of the comparative freedom from Celtic terms of the earliest Anglo-Saxon literature (Temp. Cædmon, Bede, Alfred, Ælfric), and the reason of that freedom was conjectured. Two hundred years later, the Anglo-Saxon tongue put on a very different appearance. It became marred, or beautified—as opinion may incline to pronounce—with a multitude of foreign terms—Celtic, which had long floated in the vulgar speech, Norman-French, which had come across the Channel and conquered the Court and the *élite* of the English nation. The language had now reached the stage which we are accustomed to designate "semi-Saxon." The new importations were more Norman-French than Gallo-Celtic. These had affected the contents and forms of the English language even more materially than the men who had brought them had affected the race-character of the English nation. But Celtic elements from other quarters had also come in.

We have now to give specimens of these, that is, in so far as they have disappeared from the modern

English Dictionary. Dragged into light from rare and ancient MSS. in the Museums and Public Libraries of the kingdom, though few, they are still as authentic and vital as the wheat grains preserved in the folds of an Egyptian mummy, and tell as truly a tale of forgotten ages.

The following list, again, is only given as containing specimens. Of the Celtic contents of the English in the semi-Saxon period, a much larger number has been collected than our space will admit. Mr. Coleridge's Dictionary,[1] which has been carefully consulted, and found of service, strange to say, hardly marks a dozen words through its whole length as having their origin in the Celtic tongues.

(*a.*) *Celtic Words, from different early English Authors, now obsolete.*[2]

Old English (*now obs.*).	*Celtic Origin.*
Acele, to seal, hide (Lat. *celo*)	W. *cell*, a hiding place; *celu*, to hide; Corn. *celes*.
Acore, grieve, make sorry	W. *cur*, anxiety, pain.
Acorye, chastened, punished	W. ib.

[1] *Dict. of Oldest Words in Engl. Lang.* Lond. 1863.

[2] Our sources, with one or two exceptions, have been the following: *Havelok the Dane*, Ed. by Sir F. Madden, for the Roxburgh Club; The *Owl and Nightingale*, Ed. by Mr. Wright for the Percy Society; *Specimens of Lyric Poetry*, temp. Edw. I., by Mr. Wright; *King Alysaunder*, in Weber's Metrical Romances, Ed. by Mr. H. Coleridge; The *Land of Cokaygne*, in Hickes's *Thesaurus*, vol. i.; The *Life of St. Margaret*, Ib.; *Lazimon's Brut*, Ed. by Sir F. Madden, 1847; *The Ormulum*, Ed. by Mr. White, three vols. 1847; *A Moral Ode*, Hickes's *Thesaurus*, vol. i.; *Life of Thomas Beket*, Ed. by Mr. Black for the Percy Society; *Robert of Gloucester's*

Old English (now obs.).	*Celtic Origin.*
Arvel, a funeral, funeral cake	W. *arwyl*, funeral solemnity.
Asele, seal—(same as *acele*)	W. *celu*, to hide.
Atprenche, to deceive	W. *prancio*, to play tricks.
Avoth, take in, hear	W. *yfed*, drink, imbibe.
Awene, prompt to think	W. *awen*, the poetic muse, genius.
Bali, belly	W. *bol*. belly; Corn. *bol*, ib.
Bast, of illegitimate birth	W. *bas*, low, mean; Arm. *baz*, ib.
Bay, in the sense of "to bait"	W. *bwyd*, food.
Bemothered, confused (cogn. with *mither*); contr. "bothered."	W. *byddar*, deaf; *byddaru*, deafen.
Bick, fight	W. *bicra*, to quarrel, fight, fr. *pigo*; Corn. *piga*; Arm. *pica*, ib.
Blin, tired, fatigued	W. *blino*, to tire.
Bolken, to belch	W. *bol*, belly.
Bollen, swollen	W. ib.
Braid, treacherous (rel. to A.-Sax. *praet*, craft)	W. *brad*, treachery; Corn. *prat*, a cunning trick.
Bulies, bellows	W. *bol*, belly.
Capull-hyde, horse-hide	W. *ceffyl*, a horse.
Carke, to pine away fr. care	W. *cur*, anxiety, pain, *curio*, to pine away,
Crouthe, fiddle (mod. "crowd")	W. *crwth*, fiddle; Corn. *crowd*, ib.
Dizele, secret, concealed	W. *dygel*, concealed, *dy*, intens. *celu*, conceal.
Earth-grine, earthquake	W. *daear-gryn*, earthquake; *crynu*, to tremble.
Ferth, road (A.-Sax. *ford*, a shallow in a stream)	W. *ffordd*, road; Corn. *fordh*, ib. (*Ferth*, for "road," is Celtic *usage*, whatever the ult. derivation).
Frith, a wood, copse	W. *ffridd*, forest, wood.
Fyke, to deceive, flatter (fudge)	W. *ffugio*, to dissemble; Corn. *fugio*; Ir. *bog*.

Chronicle, Ed. by Hearne, 1810; *Fragments in Harleian MSS.*, Brit. Mus., Nos. 913 and 2277; *Vocabularies*, Ed. by Mr. Wright for Jos. Mayer, Esq., 1857.

Old English (now obs.).	*Celtic Origin.*
Gaff, an iron hook	W. *gafael*, hold (Fr. *gaffe*).
Gris, a step, a stair	W. *gris*, a step (Lat. *gressus*, *gradior*).
Gain, elegant (gainly)	W. *cain*, bright, fair; *can*, white; Corn. *can*, Ir. *can*, Arm. *can*, ib.
Gruche, to murmur, grumble (probably early form of "grudge")	W. *grwgnach*, grumble.
Hattren, clothes	W. *di-hatryd*, to doff one's clothes; *di*, privative.
Kendel, a litter of cats	W. *cenedl*, progeny; *cenedlu*, to procreate.
Ledron, thief, robber	W. *lleidr* (pl. *lladron*) thief; (Fr. *larron;* Lat. *latro.*)
Levin, lightning (A.-Sax. *glowan*, to glow)	W. *llafn*, blade, flake (a flash of light being like a bright blade).
Lowe, flame, ib.	W. ib.
Ma, more	W. *mwy*, more.
Paune, head *Poune*, ib.	W. *pen*, head; Corn. *pen;* Arm. *penn.*
Pretta, to deceive (A.-Sax. *preat*, craft)	W. *praith*, an act, a trick; Corn. *prat*, a cunning trick.
Pulk, a pool (A.-Sax. *pôl*, a pool)	W. *pwll*, a pool; Corn. *pol;* Arm. *poul;* Ir. *poll;* Manx, *poyl*, a pool.
Rhoxle, grunt	W. *rhochi*, grunt.
Shruke, wither	W. *crychu*, wither, shrink.
Teh, ill-humour	W. *dig*, angry; *taiog*, rude; Gael. *taiog*, ib.
Terry, to vex, incite	W. *taraw*, to strike, smite.
Treye, sorrow (A.-Sax, *trega*, vexation)	W. *traha*, oppression.
Unplye, unfold (*un*, priv.)	W. *plygu*, fold, bend; Corn. *plegye*, plait.

A hundred years' advance brings us to the age of Chaucer—"the father of English poetry." After a

hard heat of reading in the *Canterbury Tales*, one is startled by the reflection that Spenser has called him the "pure well of English *undefiled!*" If Norman-French can defile, surely Chaucer daubed the "English" sadly enough. But there must be truth in Spenser's judgment, and we can only therefore conclude that Chaucer, instead of running with the fashion of the day in making a display of Norman-French, moderated the mania, and aimed at restoring the Saxon to its proper place. But Chaucer moved among, and wrote for, the *élite* of the day—he was therefore bound to some extent to honour the speech patronised by courtly people. Of the want of uniformity in writing the English he complains in his *Troilus and Creseide*:—

> "And for there is so great diversite
> In English, and in writing of our tongue;
> So pray I God that none mis-write thee,
> Ne thee mis-metre for defaut of tongue."

Amid the confusion, and the fight for multiplying Norman vocables on the one hand, and restoring the integrity of the English on the other, did any Celtic terms escape destruction in the age of Chaucer? Yes, many hundreds. We have carefully culled the following from the poet's pages[1] as amongst those Celtic words which then found place in the English language, but no longer exist there.

[1] *Chaucer's Works*, Bell's Ed. Eight vols. 1854.

(*b.*) *Celtic Words in Chaucer, now obsolete.*

Augrym; "augrym-stones" were counters or calculi for facilitating calculations	W. *awgrym*, a sign, hint. W. is derived from Lat. *augur*, but the form in Chaucer is a copy of the W.
Bollen, bulged	W. *bol*, belly.
Bragat, a drink made with honey	W. *bragod*, a sweet liquor; *brag*, malt.
Brokking, throbbing, quivering	W. *bróch*, din, tumult; *brochi*, bluster.
Capil, a horse (not fr. Fr. *cheval*)	W. *ceffyl*, a horse; Ir. *capall.*
Carrik, a ship	W. *corwg*, a boat, a coracle.
Karole, to dance and sing	W. *caroli*, to sing; *cór*, a choir
Mase, a wild fancy, ecstasy	W. *más*, ecstasy; *maws*, delight.
Meth, a liquor made with honey	W. *medd*, mead, drink made with honey; Gr. μεθυ.
Nyfle, a trifle, unsubstantial thing	W. *nyfel*, *niwl*, a mist, fog.
Ocy, the nightingale's note	W. *eos*, nightingale; *eosi*, to sing like the nightingale.
Poupe, to make a noise with a horn	W. *pib*, a pike; *piban*, to sound the horn.
Rees, an exploit, eager action	W. *rhys*, ardency; *rhyswr*, combatant.
Rote, a musical instrument, to "sing by rote," to sing along with an instrument	W. *crwth*, a violin.
Scrivenlich, after the manner of a writer	W. *'scrifenu*, to write.
Strothir (prop. name), valley (North of Engl.)	W. *ystrad*, a dale, and *hir*, long.

None of these had reached the English through Latin or Norman-French. They were all, or nearly all, borrowed from the *Cymbric* language, and though now lost to the English—with one or two exceptions with a change, as "mead" for *meth*—are to this day

living portions of the language of Wales. But for Chaucer we might not have known that such fragments of the old Celtic speech had played on the lips of the courtiers of Edward III. The tongue of the educated Englishman nowhere articulates them in our day.

We have to remark in concluding these last sub-sections:

1. That if these few old chroniclers and rhymers, whose writings, along with Chaucer's, we have been putting under contribution, have furnished so many Celtic remains when the language they represent is the language of the more cultured class, then the vernacular of the common people of England at the time may be fairly presumed to have contained a much larger amount of materials of like nature. The proportion of Celtic terms to the total of the vocabulary of the peasant class, was, therefore, very large. Of the 40,000 usable words in our present English, an educated man is supposed to have at command about 10,000, while a rustic rarely learns beyond 400.[1] We conclude that the common people of the semi-Saxon period, whatever the zeal of the higher classes to cultivate an Anglo-Norman speech, had a vocabulary which owned a very large proportion of Celtic materials.

2. The critical student will also observe with regard to the first list—the British-Celtic of the modern dic-

[1] Comp. Prof. Max. Müller's *Lect. on Science of Language*, p. 268.

tionary—that a large proportion of the vocables therein contained must have been assimilated *since* the semi-Saxon period—otherwise the vocabulary of that period would have contained them. Now the interval from the 14th to the 19th century was not a time of much intercourse between the English and the Welsh, or any others of the Celtic stock—not of such intercourse, we mean, as would transfer many Celtic elements into the English tongue. The first portion of that period was a time of utter alienation between the Welsh and English. Whence, then, came the Celtic words, of clearly British origin, added during that time? They came from the lips of the common people of England! And the next coming age, under the guidance of a taste for the simpler archaic dialectic treasures of the language, Saxon or otherwise, will admit many more such materials—not indeed because they are Celtic, but because they belong to the home and heart speech of the English people. There are many, many hundreds of them in the various counties of North, West, and South, waiting for admission; and, fortunately, the Latinising rage of Johnson is not a failing of the literary men of our times.

3. It is to be noted that the great majority of British-Celtic words tabulated, whether of the standard English, of the dialects, or of the obsolete printed vocabulary, belong to the *Cymbric* branch. This is of some moment to the solidity of our argument. Facts here again echo to antecedent probability. Probabilty,

planting its argument on the intimations of history, says: If there exist Ancient British terms at all in the English language, they must be Cymbric more than Irish and Irish more than Armoric (an offshoot of Cymbric for the most part), because contact with the *Cymry* (including the Cumbrians and "West Wallians") was more close and frequent than with the Gaels of Ireland and Scotland, and contact with these was more frequent than with the Armoricans. The Lloegrians and the Brython were also of the same branch as the *Cymry*. These were completely incorporated in early times. All the nation of the Cymry, except those who fell in war, retired into Wales, or crossed over to Armorica, were also by degrees incorporated; their language therefore might well be expected to permeate in larger measure the Saxon tongue than the other branch of Celtic could have done. With this reasoning, the phenomena of modern and old English completely tally.

4. Some acute Anti-Celtic reasoners have started the following objection:—"If things are so—if admixture of language is proof of admixture of race (which is granted), and if incorporation of the Ancient Britons has carried Celtic elements into the English language, then, by parity of reasoning, since the English and the Romans on the other side have, doubtless, in some measure merged into the nation of the Cymry, there ought to be a corresponding tincture of these languages in the Welsh of to-day." The argu-

ment is perfectly fair and logical; but its effect, though expected to be crushing, is perfectly innocuous. We accept it without qualification, with all its consequences. Unhappily, it assumes what is not the fact, viz., that "the Welsh of to-day" is an immaculate Celtic tongue.

The Welsh people have, unquestionably, received an admixture of Roman and Saxon blood; and the simple answer to the above objection is, that the Welsh language has received a very considerable infusion of Latin and Anglo-Saxon words.[1] Nay, more; the Welsh people are not free from Scandinavian, Flemish, and Norman-French admixtures, as proved by history, physiology, and proper names; and the Welsh language is not free from a corresponding tincture of Danish, Flemish, and French.

The school of Dr. W. O. Pughe (who seemed to consider the Welsh a language *per se*, separate and distinct from all other languages, developing all its forms and

[1] Even so early as the time of Aneurin (see *Gododin*, vv. 630, 268, 231, 743, 629, 191) the following Latin corruptions, among numerous others, occur: *ariant* (argentum); *calan* (kalendæ); *fossawd* (fossa); *periglawr*, the word for priest, one to stand between the soul and "danger," (from periculum); *gwydr* (vitrum); *plwm* (plumbum). We find in this early age traces even of Anglo-Saxon corruptions. The bard Meigant, *circ.* A.D. 620, uses the word *plwde* (see *Myv. Arch. of Wales*, i. 160) for a bloody field, or blood, which he could only obtain from A.-Sax. *blod*, blood, *blodig*, bloody; and Aneurin has the word *bludwe* (v. 142) for what appears to have been the battle-field. No Celtic dialect now contains this corruption.

compounds from its own exhaustless store of roots) cannot well brook the doctrine that the Welsh is largely Latinized and Anglicised. There is no word which their convenient etymological legerdemain will not at a touch resolve into Cymbric "roots," however obviously Latin, Greek, or Saxon its origin.[1] The science of philology is now fast dispelling such linguistic superstitions.[2] By a rigid analysis of the materials of separate languages, it discovers what elements are common to many, or to a few, and finds here the safe principle of classification and key of relationship. It proves beyond contradiction that there is no tongue on earth which is a language *per se*, distinct from all other tongues, and devolving all its forms from its own resources. Dr. W. O. Pughe, the learned author of the chief Welsh dictionary extant, seems to have proceeded on the quiet assumption that the Welsh was such a language, and his great work contains many hundreds of derivations from Welsh "roots" which are palpably fanciful and misleading.

[1] It is impossible to argue gravely with people who will, ex. gr. derive *eglwys*, W. for church (ἐκκλησία), from such Welsh "roots" as *eg*, "what opens," and *glwys*, "fair, beautiful"—"because the church opens its doors to the holy!"

[2] Few scholars will question the correctness of Mr. Max. Müller's statement that "large numbers of words have found their way from Latin," and even German, into the Celtic dialects, and "these have frequently been taken by Celtic enthusiasts for original words, from which German and Latin might, in their turn, be derived." *Lectures on the Science of Language*, First series, p. 200. Our note p. 422; but more at length, Appendix A, will supply proof of this.

The long history of the corruption of the Cymbric language needs not to be detailed in these pages. Its stages, of course, are Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman, and English. The language has some few elements common to it with the Latin which can hardly be termed corruptions, since they seem to have been equally the property of each from a very early age, and to have been borrowed or derived by each from that primitive Aryan source which has tinged so many of the European languages, Classic, Teutonic, and Celtic alike. Hence also the Welsh has many words kindred to Anglo-Saxon and German, as *gwen*, fair, white, beautiful; Anglo-Saxon, *cwen*, woman, queen, whence Eng. queen: *côr*, a choir, Anglo-Saxon *chor*, a chorus; Germ. *chor*, a chorus: W. *malu*, to grind, *melin*, a mill; Anglo-Saxon, *miln*, a mill; Germ. *mahlen*, to grind, *mühle*, a mill: W. *pobl*, people; Germ. *pobel:* W. *cloch*, a bell, Germ. *glocke*, a bell, Anglo-Saxon, *clucge*, a bell, &c., which elements appear to be as congenial and native to the Teutonic as to the Celtic—to the Celtic as the Teutonic.

But multitudes of vocables are now found in the Welsh, and in all dictionaries assumed to be properly Welsh words, which no modern philologist can fail to recognise as foreign. Most of them belong to the Latin, and to the classic period in Latin. Some are post-classic, and belong to ecclesiastical nomenclature. But many are Teuton, derived from the Anglo-Saxon of the Conquest, and many more are immediately

derived from the English, and inherited by that language from Latin, Greek, Saxon, or Norman-French. Not a few are words which have passed directly from the Norman French, without apparent contact with the English. Such seem to be *anturio*, Fr. aventurer; *cessail*, Fr. goussel; *crys*, Fr. creseau; *dedwydd*, Fr. deduit; *gwersyll*, Fr. guerre-sella; *neges*, Fr. negoce, &c.

On account of the interest of this subject to philologists, we have taken some trouble to form a reliable list of words, usually considered Welsh, which are derived from the different sources above enumerated; but to save space, the biographies of doubtful, or apparently doubtful words, tracing the various phonetic changes they have undergone, and which it would have been interesting to add, have been omitted. The immediate derivation, and, in some cases a further or ultimate derivation is supplied.[1]

The materials of this Appendix are quite sufficient for the purpose in view. Every reasonable person will allow their force, as proving that the people and language of Wales are by no means free from foreign admixture. Let there be equal candour and obedience to evidence on the other side.

5. But besides these obviously foreign accretions, the Cymbric has a multitude of vocables which it possesses in common with many other Indo-European tongues, and which are as native to it as they are to

[1] See Appendix A.

any of the others, but which are frequently, by over-zealous classicists, considered as borrowings from Latin or Greek.[1] Such words are *argraph*, imprint; *aru*, to plough; *caer*, a fortress, a city; *genu*, to give birth to; *côr*, a choir; *llewyrch*, light; *llyfr*, a book; *mel*, honey; *medd*, mead; *sŵn*, a sound; *taran*, thunder; *torch*, a ring, wreath; *torf*, a crowd; *tŵr*, a tower, &c. In Appendix B. will be found a small collection, capable of extension, of words of this class, indicating materials inherited by the Welsh from that ancient fountain of Indo-European speech, whence the Hellenic, the Romance, the Teutonic, as well as the Celtic tongues, have so largely flowed, and which is now usually denominated Aryan. Appendix A. will prove that the writer is free from Celtic fanaticism, while Appendix B. offers a few impartial gleanings, which, if virtually justifying the claims of Celtic, also illustrate the close relationship of the various tongues and races of Europe.

2. Elements in the English language derived from Latin, which are also present in Celtic.

We have now to pass on from the consideration of *British*-Celtic materials in English—on which alone, as the reader has been already warned, we rely for direct support to the argument—to a few specimens of words found in Celtic, but whose transmission into English has been through the Latin. This is done partly by

[1] See Appendix B.

way of digression, and in the interests of general philology.

Assuming for the moment that these elements are entitled to the designation "Celtic," it is obvious that their passage into English through the Latin, without any contact between Anglo-Saxons and Celts in the British Isles, would be very possible. The Latin had brought them down from the early ages of its own history, having first adopted them either by contact with the Ancient Celts, or from the common Aryan source, whence they passed also into Celtic, and, many of them, into Gothic tongues.

Of course it is competent to ask, wherefore, then, call them "Celtic" at all? We may equally ask, why call them Latin? If on the ground of apparent natural affinity with the language in which they are found, their constant presence from early times in that language, and the absence of evidence of their ever having been borrowed from a contemporaneous tongue, words can be pronounced as belonging to the language of which they form a part, then these words can quite as properly be termed Celtic as Latin. But if to belong to a language words must be incapable of being traced to any other, then it will follow that no language has more than a very meagre vocabulary of its own. Let it be allowed that these words are also entitled to be considered Latin, since they cannot be proved to have been borrowed by Latin from Celtic; they are on the same ground, at least, entitled to the appellation,

"Celtic," since it cannot be proved that Celtic borrowed them from Latin, or any other tongue known to history. They may be, and probably to a great extent are, common property derived from a common prehistoric source, although their passage into English is allowed to have been directly from the Latin, and their use here is mainly, if not exclusively, to establish a link of relationship between the Classic, Teutonic, and Celtic tongues, as members of the Indo-European family.

Words of this class are numerous. To be on the safe side, many which have an apparently good claim for reception have been omitted. To save space, only one Celtic cognate is in most cases given. W. *Welsh;* Ir. *Irish;* G. *Gaelic;* C. *Cornish.*

English.	*Latin.*	*Celtic Cognate.*
Acclaim	Clamo	W. *llefain*, to cry, shout; C. *lef.*
Act Action	Ago, Actum	Ir. *aige*, to act; W. *egni*, energy.
Admire	Ad-miro	W. *mir*, fair.
Alien	Alienus	W. *ail*, another.
Amenity	A-mœnitas	W. *mwyn*, kind, pleasant; G. *min*, tender.
Arduous	Arduus (high)	Ir. *ard*, high; C. ib.
At	Ad	W. *at*, to.
Candid	Candidus	W. *can*, white; Ir., C. ib.
Co-eval	Co-ævus	W. *oes*, age.
Conceal	Con-celo	W. *celu*, to hide.
Congeal	Con-gelo	W. *ceulo*, to curdle.
Corrode	Cor-rodo	W. *rhwdu*, to rust, eat away.
Council	Con-cilium (fr. root *cal*)	W. *galw*, to call.
Crisp	Crispo	W. *cras*, parched, dry.

English.	*Latin.*	*Celtic Cognate.*
Crust	Crusta	W. *cras*, dry.
Dean	Decanus	W. *deg*, ten; C. *dec*, ib.
Decency	Deceo	W. *têg*, fair; C. *dek*, ib.
Decimal	Decima	W. *deg*, ten; C. *dec*, ib.
Define	De-finio	W. *min*, edge, limit.
Devour	De-voro	W. *pori*, to graze, eat.
Diminish	Di-minuo	W. *mân*, *main*, small.
Fable	Fabula	W. *ebu*, to say (?).
Incendiary	In and candeo (to shine)	W. *can*, white; Ir. ib.
Lamina	Lamina	W. *llab*, *llafn*, a slab, a blade.
Lateral	Lateralis, latus	W. *lled* breadth; Ir. *leid*; C. *ledan*, broad.
Latitude	Latitudo	W. Ibid.
Laud	Laus—dis	W. *clod*, praise; Ir. *cliu*, ib.
Mamma	Mamma	W. *mam*, mother.
Minim, Minor, Minute	Minus	W. *mân*, *main*, small.
Nebula	Nebula	W. *nifel*, *niwl*, mist; Ir., C. *niul*; G. *neul*, ib.
Negation	Negatio, nego	W. *nage*, no, *nacäu*, refuse; C. and Arm. *nag*, no.
Noun	Nomen	W. *enw*, name.
Plausible	Plaudo, laus-dis	W. *clod*, praise, *bloeddio*, to cry, shout.
Plenary	Plenus	W. *llawn*, full; C. *laun*, ib.
Radius	Radius	W. *gwraidd*, root.
Radix	Radix	W. Ibid.
Reside	Sedeo	W. *sedd*, a seat; C. *sedhva*, a seat.
Scribe	Scribo	W. *ysgrifio*, *crafu*, to scrape.
Scripture	Scriptura	W. Ibid.
Seat	Sedeo	W. *sedd*, a seat.
Senior	Senis	W. *hên*, old; C. ib.; Ir. and G. *sean*, ib.
Spike	Spica	W. *pîg*, a point.

English.	*Latin.*	*Celtic Cognate.*
Spine	Spina	W. *pin*, stile, pen.
Terrene	Terra	W. *tir*, earth, land; G. and C. ib.
Tribe	Tribus	W. *trêf*, a dwelling; Ir. *treabh*; C. *trev*.
Trope	Tropus	W. *troi*, to turn; W., C., and Arm. *tro*, a turn.
Union	Unus	W. *un*, one; Ir. *aon*; C. *un*; Manx, *un*.
Unity	Unitas	W. Ibid.
Vacant Vacation	Vaco, vacuus (root *vag*)	W. *gwâg*, open, empty; C. Arm. ib.
Venus	Venus	W. *gwen*, fair, white; used as epithet for woman, whence A.S. *cwen*; Engl. queen. *Vide* Append. B. "*gwyn*."

3. Elements in the English language, derived through the Teutonic tongues, or through Norman-French, found also in Celtic.

The Teutonic tougues, including Anglo-Saxon, Danish, German, and Dutch, are naturally entitled to be classed together as sources of modern English; and Norman-French, being mainly a mode of Latin, should, if it were convenient, be in some manner classed along with that language, or stand by itself as a hybrid. But words derived from the N.-Fr. cannot be said to be a direct gift of the Latin. They are cut off from their primal source by the intervention of this new tongue. Convenience and simplicity of arrangement have decided in favour of the present grouping.

Some words in this table are of doubtful origin; but

the contest is hot between Celt and Saxon for a right in them. For the most part we have given the benefit of the doubt to the latter. Who can decide with certainty as to the immediate quarter whence the English obtained the word *pilgrim?* We shall be told that it came from the L. *peregrinus.* Of course it did. But the question as it affects the English language is not whence it came at the *first*, but whence it came at the *last* step. From Fr. *pelerin?* Germ. *pilger?* Corn. *pirgirin?* Ir. *pirgrin?* or W. *pererin?* It is curious to note the metamorphoses of this word in the different languages. The Germ. and the Fr. have agreed to banish the *r* from the first syllable. The Engl. follows in this, as well as in the introduction of the *l.* It seems therefore to have borrowed the word from one of these languages; but you have no sooner gone to rest upon this conclusion than you observe that it has tacked to the word an ending different from both. We cast into the scale the agreement with the Germ. in the letter *g*, and give the Teuton the victory. This is the kind of chase the etymologist has often to pursue. The word *parsley* is another instance.[1] *Turnip* is quite as perplexing.[2]

[1] Gr. πετροσελινον, Lat. *petroselinon*, are plain; but the order of descent in the following is not so easily ascertained:—A.-S. *peterselige;* Germ. *petersilie;* Dan. *petersille;* (now the *t* is dropped), Ir. *peirsill;* W. *persyll;* Fr. *persil.* Which is the next of kin to the Engl. "parsley?"

[2] The Teutons and Celts alike have perceived some suitableness or other in the letters *ump* or *omp*, with a variety of initiatory forces,

It will be borne in mind that the same qualification applies to this table as applied to the last—it is not relied upon as evidence of admixture between the Ancient Britons and the English. The Celtic roots which have reached the English through the languages here given as *direct* sources, were probably the common property of the Celtic and Teutonic languages, and of the original, for the most part, of the N.-French (*Latin*) for ages far anterior to the junction of Celts and Teutons on *British* ground. Let the table be valid for its own object only—viz., to show how far the English tongue is charged with Celtic elements, or, at any rate, elements which are as much Celtic as they are anything. They may belong to a period of human speech far preceding any form which may be distinctively termed Gothic, Hellenic, or Celtic, and we might be pushed in the last resort to confess that they can only be classified in a general way as Indo-European, or Aryan, but they are found, apparently in their natural *habitat*, in modern Celtic, and offer no signs of foreign derivation or relation. They serve at the least like the preceding table to show the interrelationship of the languages concerned as members of one family.

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for expressing the idea of a full, rounded, or protuberant body; but the law which determined the adoption of this or that leader, in the shape of a first letter, may be too occult for even a clever etymologist to discover. *Trump* has these relations: *lump*, *bump*, *hump*, *rump*, *clump*, *dump*, and W. *clamp*, *swmp*; and across the Channel, Danish, German, and Swedish, *klump*; and Dutch, *klomp*.

It is especially to be noted that many of the Norman-French contributions were obtained by that language, not from Latin, but from the Ancient Gothic or Celtic. They are marked (*)

The list given is by no means complete, and only one Celtic cognate is given with each word. [A. S. Anglo-Saxon, Dan. Danish, D. Dutch, G. German, Fr. Norman-French, W. Welsh, Ir. Irish, C. Cornish, A. Armoric.]

Celtic Elements in English borrowed from Teutonic or Norman-French.

English.	*Teut. or N.Fr.*	*Celtic Cognate.*
Abide	A.S. bidan	W. bod (be).
All	A.S. eal	W. oll.
Anomaly	Fr. anomalie (ἀ ὁμαλος)	W. hafal.
Anvil	A.S. anfilt	Ir. inneon.
Ape	A.S. apa	W. epa.
Ball	Fr. balle; G.	W. pel.
Barm	A.S. beorm	C. burm.
Baron	Fr. baron	Ir. fir (L. vir).
Be	A.S. beon	W. bod.
Beak	A.S. piic	W. pig.
Beat	A.S. beatan	W. baeddu.
Bed	A.S. bed	W. bedd.
Beef	Fr. bœuf	W. buwch.
Beer*	Fr. biere	W. and A. bir.
Begin	A.S. beginnan	W. cyn.
Boat	A.S. bat	W. bâd.
Boss	Fr. bosse	W. bôth.
Bottle	Fr. bouteille	W. bôth.
Bride	A.S. bryd	Ir. brideog; W. priod.
Broth	A.S. broth	W. berwad (decoction).

English.	*Teut. or N.Fr.*	*Celtic Cognate.*
Brother	A.S. brather	W. brawd. (?)
Bruit	Fr. bruit	W. brudio, brut.
Buck	A.S. buc	W. bwch ; Ir. boc.
Cable*	Fr. cable	W. gafael.
Cat*	A.S. catt.	W. câth.
Caress	Fr. caresser	W. câr.
Care	Goth. kar	W. cur.
Cargo	A.S. carc (Span. carga)	W. cario.
Castle	A.S. castel	W. castell.
Cede	Fr. ceder	W. gado.
Chair	Fr. chaire	W. car.
Charity	Fr. charité	W. cariad.
Cheek	A.S. ceac	W. cêg.
Cherish	Fr. cherir	W. cir, câr.
Choir	A.S. chor	W. côr.
Clay	A.S. claeg	W. clai.
Clew	A.S. cleow	W. clob.
Close	Fr. clos	W. clyd.
Cloth	A.S. clath	W. ,,
Cluck	G. glucken	W. cloch.
Cob	A.S. cop	W. cob.
Come	A.S. cuman	W. cam (step).
Con v.	A.S. connan	W. gwn (I know).
Cony*	Fr. conin	W. cwning.
Coquette*	Fr. coquet	W. coeg.
Cord	Fr. cord	W. corden.
Cot	A.S. cot	W. cwt, cyttiau, pl.
Crab	A.S. crabba	W. crâf-u.
Crack*	Fr. craquer	W. rhwyg.
Cramp	A.S. hramma	W. crym-mu.
Cranny*	Fr. cran	W. ran.
Crave	A.S. cravian	W. crêf-u.
Crump	A.S. crump	W. crwm.
Cry*	Fr. crier	W. cri.
Cup	A.S. cupp	W. cwpan.
Daub*	Fr. dauber	W. dwb-io.

English.	*Teut. or N.Fr.*	*Celtic Cognate.*
Deal	A.S. daelan	W. di-doli.
Deep	A.S. deop	W. dwfn.
Demand	Fr. demander	W. mynu.
Deny	Fr. denier	W. na, nac.
Deploy	Fr. deployer	W. plygu.
Display	Fr. deployer	W. plygu.
Door	A.S. dur	W. dôr.
Double	Fr. double	W. dau-plyg.
Dower	Fr. douer	W. dodi.
Dragon	Fr. dragon	W. draig.
Earth	A.S. eorth	W. daear, âr.
Eat	A.S. eatan	W. bwydo.
Egg	A.S. aeg	W. wy.
Ell	A.S. elne	W. elin.
Employ	Fr. employer	W. plygu.
E*tiqu*ette*	Fr. etiquette	W. tòc, tocyn (a ticket).
Falcon	Fr. faucon	W. g*walc*h.
Fife	G. pfeife	W. pib.
Finch	A.S. finc	W. pinc.
Fine	Fr. fin	W. main.
Flap	A.S. laeppa	W. llab.
Flat	Fr. plat	W. lled, llydan.
Floor	A.S. flor	W. llawr.
Four	A.S. feower	W. pedwar.
Freeze	A.S. frysan	W. fferu.
Full	A.S. full	W. gwala.
Gallant*	Fr. gallant	W. gallu.
Garden	G. garten A.S. geard	W. cae, caer.
Garter*	Fr. jarretierre	W. gàr (leg).
Glass	A.S. glaes	W. glas (green).
Glave*	Fr. glaive	W. llafn, glaif.
Glen	A.S. glen	W. glyn.
Glib	Dan. glib	W. llib, llipa.
Glow	A.S. glowan	W. gloyw.
Goad	A.S. gad	W. gwth,
Goose	A.S. gos	W. gwydd
Gormand*	Fr. gourmand	W. gor, (extreme.)

English.	*Teut. or N.Fr.*	*Celtic Cognate.*
Grace	Fr. grace	W. râd.
Grave	A.S. grafan	W. crafn.
Gravel	Fr. gravelle	W. graian.
Ground	A.S. grund	W. graian.
Guard	Fr. guarder	W. caer.
Guise*	Fr. guise	W. gwedd; Arm. giz.
Herald*	Fr. heraut	W. hèr, herawd.
Hide	A.S. hydan	W. cuddio.
Hive	A.S. hyfe	W. cafn.
Horn	A.S. horn	W. corn.
Hour	Fr. heure	W. awr.
Iron	A.S. iren	W. haiarn.
Kin, Kind, Kindred	A.S. kyn	W. cyn, cenedl.
King	A.S. cyng	W. cûn.
Know	A.S. cnawan	W. gwn (I know).
Lap	A.S. lappian	W. lleibio.
Large	Fr. large	W. llawer; Corn. lour.
Lath	Fr. latte	W. llath.
Lather	A.S. lethrian	W. llathru.
Lead	A.S. laedan	W. llywio.
Leap	A.S. pleafan	W. llwff.
Light	A.S. liht	W. lluch.
Linnet*	Fr. linot	W. llinos.
Lip	A.S. lippe	W. llafn.
Load	A.S. lade	W. llwyth.
Lock	A.S. loc	W. clicied.
Lump	G. klump	W. clamp.
Mail*	Fr. maille	W. magl (net).
Malady	Fr. maladie	W. mall-dod.
Marine	Fr. marine	W. môr.
Marshal	Fr. maréchal	W. march.
Meal	G. mehl	W. mâl-u.
Mean	A.S. maene	W. mân, main.
Meat	A.S. mete	W. maeth.
Mellow	A.S. melewe	W. mâl.

English.	*Teut. or N.Fr.*	*Celtic Cognate.*
Mile	Fr. mille	W. mil.
Mill	A.S. miln	W. mâl, melin.
Mince	Fr. mince	W. mân.
Mind	Dan. minde	W. myn.
Mine	Fr. mine	W. mwn.
Minion	Fr. mignon	W. mân.
Mock	Fr. moquer	W. moc-io.
Mole	Fr. mole	W. moel.
Money	Fr. monnaie	W. mwn.
Morning	A.S. morgen	W. bore.
Mound	A.S. munt	W. mynydd.
Mount-ain	A.S. ,,	W. ,,
Mule	A.S. mul	W. mul, mil.
Murder	A.S. morther	W. marw.
Musk	Fr. musk	W. mws, mwsg.
Mutton	Fr. mouton	W. mollt.
Neat (clean)	Fr. net	W. nith.
Neck	A.S. necca	W. c-nwc.
Nedder	A.S. nedder	W. neidyr.
Needle	A.S. naedl	W. nodwydd.
Nephew	Fr. neveu	W. nai.
Nest	A.S. nest	W. nyth.
New	A.S. neow	W. newydd.
Nip	D. knippen	W. cneifio.
No	A.S. ne	W. na.
Noon	A.S. non	W. nawn.
Nut	A.S. knut	W. cnau.
One	A.S. aen	W. un.
Onion	Fr. ognon	W. wynwyn, cenin (?)
Over	A.S. ober	W. ar.
Ox	A.S. oxa	W. ych.
Pea-s	A.S. pisa	W. pys.
Peak, Pike, Pick	A.S. peac, piic	W. pig.
Pear	A.S. pera	W. pêr.
Pellet and Bullet	Fr. pelote	W. pêl.

English.	*Teut. or N.Fr.*	*Celtic Cognate.*
Pin	A.S. pinn	W. pin.
Pioneer	Fr. fr. *pioch*nier (pioche, *pic*kaxe)	W. pigo.
Pipe	A.S. pipe	W. pib.
Pique	Fr. pique	W. pîg.
Plague	G. plage	W. plâ.
Plant	Fr. plante	W. plent (ray).
Plate	G. platte	W. lled, llydan.
Plight	A.S. plihtan	W. plygu.
Pool	A.S. pol	W. pwll.
Pottage*	Fr. potage	W. potes.
Practice[1]	Fr. or Sp. (?)	W. praith.
Press	Fr. presser	W. brys.
Pretty	A.S. praete	W. pryd.
Pure	A.S. pur	W. pur.
Quern	A.S. cwyrn	W. chwyrn.
Queste	Fr. queste	W. cais, ceisio.
Quit	Fr. quitter	W. gadu.
Radish	A.S. raedic	W. rudd.
Rag	A.S. hracod	W. rhwyg.
Rake	A.S. racian	W. ,,
Range	Fr. ranger	W. reng.
Rank	Fr. rang	W. ,,
Raven	A.S. hraeven	W. brân.
Ray	Fr. raie	W. rhe, rhedeg.
Read	A.S. raed	W. raith, araeth (?)
Recoil	Fr. reculer	W. cilio.
Red	A.S. red	W. rhudd.
Rend	A.S. rendan	W. ran-u.
Rent	A.S. ,,	W. ,,
Rhyme	A.S. rim	W. rhif.
Rind	A.S. rind	W. croen.
Road	A.S. rod	W. rhawd, rhodio.

[1] The word "practice" has the corresponding Celtic root, *praith*, act, practice; but its direct descent is uncertain. Fr. *pratique* seems more probable than the Spanish *practica*. Ultimate derivation, πρασσω.

English.	*Teut. or N.Fr.*	*Celtic Cognate.*
Roast	G. rösten	W. rhost ; Ir., C., and Arm.
Rock (crag)	Fr. roche	W. craig.
Root	Dan. rod	W. gw-raidd.
Rose	Fr. rose	W. rhos-yn, rhudd.
Rot	A.S. rotian	W. rhydd.
Rough	A.S. hreog	W. garw, crych.
Round	G. rund	W. crwn.
Route* same as "road"	Fr. route	W. rhawd.
Row	A.S. rawa	W. rhes.
Royal	Fr. royale	W. rhi.
Rowel	Fr. rouelle	W. rhod.
Rub	G. reiben	W. crafu.
Ruddy	A.S. rude	W. rhudd.
Rune Runic	A.S. run	W. rin, cyfrin.
Rush	A.S. reosan	W. brys.
Rust	A.S. rust	W. rhwd.
Sack	A.S. saec	W. sach.
Saddle	A.S. sadel	W. sedd.
Sail	A.S. segel	W. hwyl.
Salt	A.S. salt	W. halen.
Scrape	A.S. screopan	W. crafu.
Search*	F. chercher	W. cyrch.
Seed	A.S. saed	W. hâd.
Senate Senior	Fr. senat (Lat.)	W. hên (old).
Serene	Fr. serein	W. sir-iol.
Shear Share	A.S. scearan	W. esgar.
Shell	A.S. scel	W. celu, cêll.
Shield	A.S. scyld	W. cel.
Similar	Fr. similaire	W. mal, hafal.
Sit	A.S. sitan	W. sedd (*t* add. in eis*t*edd).
Six	A.S. six	W. chwech.
Slough	A.S. slog	Ir. lough, loch.

English.	*Teut. or N.Fr.*	*Celtic Cognate.*
Smoke	A.S. smoca	W. mwg.
Solder*	Fr. souder	W. sawd, sodi.
Sound	A.S. son	W. sain, swn.
Sour	A.S. sur	W. sur.
Spur	A.S. spur	W. yspardyn.
Target	Fr. targe; A.S. ib.	W. taraw.
Tarry / Tardy	Fr. tardif	W. tario.
Tear, v.	A.S. taeran	W. tòri.
Tear	A.S. tear	W. dagr.
Ten	A.S. tyn	W. deg.
Tenant	Fr. tenant	W. tynu.
Tend	Fr. tendre	W. ,,
Tent	Fr. tente	W. ,,
Thatch	A.S. thac	W. tô.
Thaw	A.S. thawen	W. toddi.
Thick	A.S. thic	W. tew.
Thin	A.S. thinn	W. teneu (?)
Thorpe	A.S. thorpe	W. tref.
Thou	A.S. thu	W. ti.
Three	A.S. thri	W. tri.
Through	A.S. thurh; G. durch	W. trwy (?).
Thurs-day	A.S. Thors-daeg	W. taran (thunder).
Ticket*	Fr. etiquette	W. toc-yn.
Tin	A.S. tin	W. taenu.
Tinder	A.S. tendan	W. tân, tanio.
To	A.S. to	W. tua.
Tomb	Fr. tombe	W. tomen.
Torture	Fr. torture (L.)	W. torchi.
Tuft	Fr. touffe	W. twf.
Tumble	A.S. tumbian	W. twmp, a hillock.
Tun	A.S. tunna	W. tynnell, Celtic *tyn*, close, tight, straitened; and A.S. *ton*, a town, seems to be from same archaic root, carrying

English.	*Teut. or N.Fr.*	*Celtic Cognate.*
		the idea of an enclosure, a confined, protected place.
Turn	A.S. tyrna, turnan	W. *twr*, or *tor*, a rounded eminence, a projection, W. *troi*, to turn, W. C. and Arm. *tro*, a turn.
Vain	Fr. vain (the Lat. vanus is a contr. for vacuus, fr. root VAG.)	W. *gwag*, empty; Corn. Ar. ib., Ir. *guag*.
Vassal	Fr. vassal	W. *gwas*, a young man, a servant; Corn. *gwas*, a young person, a mean person, a fellow.
Waggon	Germ. wagen; A.S. waegn	W. *gwág*, open, empty. From same archaic root (VAG) are Lat. vagina, vaco, vanus (for vacanus), &c.; and prob. also A.S. *weg*, Germ. *weg*, a way, an *open* passage through a forest or country.
Wain	Ibid	W. ,,
Wan	A.S. wan	W. *gwyn*, white, pale.
Whine	A.S. cwanian	W. *cwyn*, complaint; Gael, *caoin*.

Concluding Remarks on the English Language.

Omitting from the account the materials derived by English from the Latin, Teutonic, and Norman-French, and confining our attention to the Tables preceding,

we see a state of things which the enthusiastic stickler for the "Anglo-Saxon" character of the English language will not without demur admit to be authentic. A simple examination of its contents, in the light of modern learning, shows that the English enshrines numerous portions of an ancient tongue nearly identical with modern Welsh. History proves that for centuries the Anglo-Saxons fought, formed treaties, intermarried with the Cymbric race, and nothing is therefore more natural than that certain portions of the speech of the latter should have been learnt and adopted by them. They received from these people the usages of civilised warfare bequeathed by the Romans—received from them the knowledge of letters—found among them the splendid architecture and sculpture which the wealth and genius of Rome had lavished on this land—learned from them how to make roads, build dwellings and bridges (though their learning in these respects produced for ages but little fruit), till the fields, cook their food, and dress their persons. They even themselves passed through intermixture out of the properly Anglo-Saxon into the Cambro-Saxon phase, constituting in fact a new race. What prohibition of fate could prevent them from learning and adopting terms by which new ideas imported were marked, as well as receive new ideas and race characteristics? Our tabulated witnesses will help to show that no such prohibition had issued. Cause and effect worked then as now, and the natural result

was the adoption of many vocables of the Cymbric speech.

Like the English nation itself, the English language is one of the most elaborate of mixtures. So rapid has been its growth and change of aspect, that like the grown man, it would hardly recognise itself in the likeness of what it was at different stages of its progress. What would Macaulay's English say of Wycliffe's, or Wycliffe's of Ælfric's? King Alfred, King Henry VII., and our lamented Prince Consort wrote and spoke a very different tongue. With the growth of the people and of knowledge, with every addition of race or cognate tribe—it has continued to widen its dimensions, little heeding whether the accretions came from the alien Celtic, the less alien Greek, Latin, or Romansh, or the nearer akin Dutch, Danish, or German,[1] so that whatever came was worth the having. Its acquisitiveness continues as keen as ever. All still comes well that suits the ever recurring new demand, and contributes to the force and fulness of a language destined to be the most widely spoken, the most comprehensive, the most learned of all the tongues of earth—the language destined, according to Jacob Grimm to be "the language of the universe." It has

[1] So great has been the accumulation of foreign materials that not more than one-third of the modern *English Dictionary* is purely Teutonic in origin. See Prof. Max. Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 76, and De Thommerel's *Recherches sur la Fusion*, &c., *passim*.

cast away, from time to time, myriads of useless and, indeed, some useful vocables, and to this day, growing in stability and more and more retentive of its acquisitions, like the most diligent of misers gathers into its treasury from every available quarter every term which the progress of science renders necessary, and which the diligence of philology can glean from the universal field of language. How long its progress onwards and upwards will continue, who can tell? It is likely enough that many of its present materials will again vanish, and many foreign take their place, and that the English of to-day, despite the fixing power of the press and of scholarship, will be nearly as strange to the people of 500 years to come as Chaucer's is to us. Thus the words of Horace will once more be realised:—

> "Mortalia facta peribunt:
> Nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.
> Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere; cadentque,
> Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, *si volet usus;*
> Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus, et norma loquendi."

CHAPTER III.

The Evidence of Topographical and Personal Names.

"In the earliest period, when our documentary history first throws light upon the subject, there are still found names unintelligible to the Teutonic scholar, not to be translated or explained by anything in the Teutonic languages; nay, only to be understood by reference to Cimric or Pictish roots, and thus tending to suggest a far more general mixture of blood among the early conquerors than has generally been admitted to have existed.—J. M. Kemble.

SECTION I.

The Enduring Nature of Local Names.

None of the traces of human doings on earth are more durable, and few are more instructive, than the names borne by the chief features of a country—its mountains, rivers, valleys, creeks, &c.—next to which for tenaciousness of life may be classed the names of early settlements, towns, castles.

To the painstaking modern philologist and eth nologist, toiling to trace the footprints of the primeval inhabitants, catch the echoes of their language, and learn their pursuits, these local names are as serviceable as the fossil shells and bones of past geological

periods are to the geologist or palæontologist when judging of the relation of species now existing to those which unmeasured ages ago waded through the marshes, rushed through the forests, or flew through the air of our planet. The *forms* of these local names, indeed, are not so proof against alteration as are those of the fossils fortified in their stronghold of adamant. Local names lie, as it were, on the surface, subject to attrition from successive waves of languages and peoples passing over them. One nation comes, another follows, and another, and another,—and the names imposed by the first, when not reduced to fixed form in writing, are taken up by each of its successors subject to its own means and methods of representing sounds, and to the caprice or occasion of the moment in adding or eliminating parts. Even the same people will, not unfrequently, mar and disfigure, through misconception or carelessness, the names bestowed by its own ancestors, and etymologically significant in its own language. If Agmondesham has been metamorphosed by the English into Amersham, Wightgarabyrig into Carisbrook, Scrobbesbyrig into the euphonious Salopia, or Badecanwylla into Bakewell, and this in recent centuries, what may we not expect from untutored nations among whom writing was unknown, and from a long series of changes of occupation?

And yet, notwithstanding all this, local names have a life almost indestructible—*monumentum aëre perennius.*

They survive the lapse of millenniums of years, and like the statue of Memnon, the Sphynx, or the Pyramids, look calmly down on the stream of coming and vanishing nations that passes by, without themselves seeming to partake in the universal change. They are more stationary than even hills and mountains. The language they once belonged to has altogether, except the parts which they themselves formed of it, vanished, may be, from the earth, the busy multitudes who articulated its sounds have all been long forgotten, and no other memorial of their existence remains,—but there, faithful to the trust reposed in them, like sentries at their posts, after thousands of years of service, stand those significant and well-chosen epithets, proffering to the modern student a clue at once to the speech and race, the migrations and era, of those who placed them there. From breezy mountain tops, from gurgling streams, from haunted ruins of once majestic temples and more majestic cities—the spirit of a forgotten race speaks to men of the present time, and tells them who, and what sort of people, first called those mountains, rivers, cities their own, and gave them names corresponding to their nature, as Adam is said to have done to the creatures of a new creation.

A nation may disappear, and its place be repeatedly taken up by another, different in language, religion, and race, yet its local names survive throughout. There are local names still in Britain which were given by heathen Romans, heathen Saxons and Angles, nay,

even anterior to all these—by heathen Cimbri and Gaels. There are names now in Palestine, and they are of world-wide fame, which were given by the Canaanitish tribes before the Hebrews had become a nation—as Baal-Hazor, Baal-Tamar, Kirjath-Arba, Kirjath Sepher, Luz, &c.,[1] and by the Hebrews a thousand years before the Moslems who now rule there had received their faith—as Bethel, Beersheba—and neither change of race, of faith, nor of time, has much altered them. Egypt is Turkish to-day, but its great cities, temples, river, are not named by Turks. The Northern States of America are inhabited by an English-speaking people, mainly English in blood, religion, and customs; but how many of their local names are memorials of a vanished Indian race! Alleghany, Mississippi, Wabash, Shenandoah, Potomac, Niagara, Massachusetts, Rappahannoc — their very sound is barbarian!

SECTION II.

The various Uses of Local Names.

We derive from local names a four-fold service—*philological*, *geographical*, *ethnological*, and *historical*. Local names are shrines preserving precious relics of ancient tongues, not at all, or but imperfectly known, and aid us in tracing the nature and family relations of these tongues. They assist us in judging of the

[1] See Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p. 275.

aspects of the scenery, the fauna and flora of the country, the relations of land and water, courses of rivers, positions of shipping-places, and the changes which have taken place since the names were imposed. They give a clue to the migrations and intermixture of nations, the succession of their occupation of the same country, and their settlements.

No descriptive geography, except that of local names, is required to inform us that the district known as *Traethmawr* in North Wales (*traeth*, sea beach; *mawr*, large, extensive) was once a sandy sea shore, though now a fertile agricultural tract of country—that the *Isle* of Thanet, now a part of the main land, was once an island—that Chert*sey*, Bermond*sey*, Chel*sea*, were once islands (A.-Sax. *ea*, *ey*, as Anglesey, Angles'*ey*, the Angles' island) or that the Cotswold hills (Welsh, *coed*, wood, forest, and A.-Sax. *weald*, forest, — a one-word description in two languages!) were at one time a forest. While the local names of this quarter of the globe remain there will be no lack of evidence that the face of Europe was once swept, or rather settled upon, by a race speaking a Celtic language.

Very various are the aspects under which local names may be classified, according to the occasion which in each case determined their first use. They are epitaphs or dirges, marking the graves of the fallen, or the site of some terrible catastrophe—as *Waedd-grug*, in Flintshire (W. *gwaedd*, a cry, and *crug*, hoarse) the reputed locality of a great slaughter of the Picts

and Saxons by the Welsh;[1] *Battle*, in Sussex; *Leckford* (Germ. *leich*, a dead body) in Kent; the villages *Slaughter* and *Leach*, in Gloucestershire;[2]—votive offerings, as *Bethel*;—altar inscriptions, as *Baalbec* (Syr. the *bec*, or city of Baal); *Frathorpe* (Dan. the *thorp* or village of the deity Frea); *Godstow; Llanfair* (Mary's holy place):—geographical descriptions, as Ochill Hills (*ochill* or *uchel*, high); *Eryri*, Snowdon (W. *eira*, snow); *Dinmore* (W. *din*, fortress; *mawr*, great); *Ebb-fleet*, a port in the 12th cent., though now half a mile inland;—fortress ensigns, as *Caer*fyrddin, Win*chester*, Edin*burgh*, Wood*stock*;—homestead memorials, as Camberwell, Hampstead, Trevychan, or Cheltenham;—mementos of great achievements, as America, Columbia, Ware,[3]—tributes to personal worth and public services, as Washington, Jefferson, Pennsylvania.

Many places which are now of great importance, continue to be designated by names indicating a very humble beginning. The French Emperor's chief residence is the *Tuileries*, or "tile-yard," the place, when Paris was as yet small, where they manufactured building tiles. The *Vatican*, a word of potency

[1] On the alleged "Alleluia victory," under Garmon, or Germanus, see Rees's *Welsh Saints*, p. 121, and St. John's *Four Conquests of Engl.* vol. i. p. 56.

[2] Camden's *Britannia*, by Gough, vol. ii. 131.

[3] Ware is said to bear the name of the "weir" which King Alfred's genius constructed across the River Lea, whereby he cut off the retreat of the Danish fleet. Camd. *Brit.*, vol. ii. p. 68; Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 398; Taylor's *Words and Places*, p. 321.

throughout the Roman Catholic world, was the name borne by a small hill outside of ancient Rome. *Lambeth* is the "loam hithe," or landing-place once existing on that part of the Thames. The aristocratic residents of *Mayfair*, rejoice in a designation which originated in a rustic annual "fair" held in that locality when London was east of Temple Bar. *Covent Garden* was the garden of a convent, and the *Strand* was simply the river bank or "strand," along which people walked in going from London to Westminster.

SECTION III.

The Ethnological Value of the Celtic Local Names of England.

1. The Celtic local names of England as evidence of Celtic settlement.

As history is so distinct upon the settlement of the Celts in England, *i.e.*, generally over the whole face of Britain, the fact need not here be treated by way of proof, but simply illustrated, by reference to the names of places. The Ancient Britons, *Cymri* or *Gaels*, have left their marks, inscribed in their own proper tongue, all over the island from Lon*don* to *Dover* in one direction, and to *Glou*cester, *Man*chester, *York* (*Evrog*), E*din*burgh and *Aberdeen* in another. On the eastern side of the island, these marks are fewer than in other parts—a fact in harmony with the

tenor of history—for at no period in the annals of Britain do we find those districts much frequented by the Celtic race.

It is remarkable that almost all the principal *rivers* of England bear Celtic names. The other great natural features of the country—its mountains, hills, valleys, brooks, creeks, downs, also abound in them. The sceptical reader will want proof, and we proceed to give it.

(*a.*) *Mountains and Hills*[1] (*omitting Scotland and Wales*).

Cymbric words applied to elevations in the earth's surface, are: *pen*, head, end, outstretching part; *din*, a high place, a place of defence; *cefn*, a ridge, back; *carn*, *carnedd*, a heap, mound; *craig*, a rock, a crag; *ar*, *arran*, over, high; *bryn*, hill; *moel*, a bare eminence; *tŵr*, similar in signification to *din*, a high place of defence, natural and artificial; *bàn*, peak, high land, beacon. Examples in Wales: Penmynydd, Penrhyn, Penmaenmawr, Dinas, Denbigh, Dinevawr, Cefn-pennar, Cefn-llys, Carnedd-Llywelyn, Craigfargod, Penygraig, Twrcelyn, Arran-Fowddwy, Arran-y-Gessel, Brynllys, Bryn-Croes, Bànnau Brycheiniog.[2]

[1] On Celtic local names of mountains, &c., comp. Diefenbach, *Celtica*, i. pp. 104, 157, 170, &c.; Adelung's *Mithridates*, vol. ii. pp. 54, 67, &c.; Zeuss, *Gram. Celt.* vol. i. p. 77, &c.

[2] In Welsh, *pen* and *bàn* are of like signification; *pen*, however, is in most use. The *bàn* of Wales is the *ben* of Scotland, as *Ben Lomond*, *Ben Nevis*. The plural of *bàn*, *bànnau*, is seen in *Bànnau Brycheiniog*—the Brecknockshire Beacons. Great stress, therefore,

Brandon Hill,	Ess.	Lon*don*.	
Brandon Hill,	Dev.	Mal*don*,	Ess.
*Bren*don,	Dev.	*Mal*pas (moel),	Derb.
Brent (bryn) *Tor*,	Dev.	*Mal*vern,	Worc.
Bredwar*dine*,	Heref.	*Pem*bridge,	Heref.
*Brin*ton,	Norf.	*Pem*bury,	Kent.
*Brin*sop,	Heref.	*Pen*coed,	Heref.
Bryn-tor,[1]	Devon.	*Pen*comb,	Heref.
Chevin,	Shrop.	*Pendenn*is (dinas),	Corn.
*Corn*wall,		*Pen*dleton,	Lanc.
Cow*den*,	Kent.	*Pen*hill,	Som.
Crick,	Derb.	*Pen*keth,	Lanc.
*Crick*howell,	Mon.	*Pen*nard,	Som.
*Crick*lade,	Wilts.	*Pen*nigant,	York.
Croken Tor,	Corn.	*Penn* Castle,	Salop.
*Den*nis (dinas)	Corn.	*Penn*,	Staff.
*Don*caster,	York.	*Pen*,	Som.
*Dun*dran,	Cumb.	*Pen*,	Bucks.
*Dun*dry Hill,	Som.	*Penrhyn* (pen bryn),	Corn.
Dunmow,	Ess.	*Pen*rith,	Cumb.
*Dun*nose,	I. of W.	*Pen*shurst,	Suss.
*Dun*stable,	Bed.	*Pen*tir,	Corn.
*Fen*draeth Hill,	Dur.	*Pen*tridge	Wilts.
Fur *Tor*	Dev.	*Pen*ton,	Hants.
Hey *Tor*	Dev.	*Pen*twyn,	Heref.
High *Down*,	Herts.	*Pen*yard,	Heref.
*Ken*chester (cefn),	Heref.	*Pen*ylan,	Heref.
*Ken*sworth,	Herts.	*Pen*zance,	Corn.
*Keyn*ton,	Shrop.	*Tor*marton,	Glouc
Lex*don*,	Ess.		

&c., &c.

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must not be laid on the *pen* of Wales and the *ben* of Scotland as test words in proof of a distinct and *prior* occupation of the country by the Gaelic branch of the Celts. See, *ante*, p. 59.

[1] This is one of the numerous cases occurring where a name is made up of two synonyms, sometimes of different, sometimes of

As proofs of Celtic settlements in other countries of Europe we have *pens*, *duns*, *thors*, and *bryns*, &c., as *Pen*march, *Pen*herf, in Brittany; *Pin*dus in Greece; probably the Ap-*pen*-nines; Campo*dun*um (now Kempten); Taro-*dun*um, now Dornstadt, in Germany; *Thun*, Switzerland; Melo*dun*um (Milan) in Italy; Lug*dun*um (Lyons); Vero*dun*um (Verdun) in France; Lug*dun*um (Leyden) in Holland; *Braun*berg, *Brenden*kopf, *Branden*burg, in Germany: *Tau*rus, *Tyr*ol, &c.[1]

(*b.*) *Celtic Names of Rivers and Streams in Britain*[2] (*omitting Wales and Scotland*).

Almost all the chief rivers of England bear *Cymbric* appellations. Cymbric words applied to water, running water, rivers, brooks, are these: *Aw*, *wy*, *dwr*, water; *avon*, flowing water, collection of waters; *wysg*, water in rapid motion; *rhyd*, stream, also a ford across a stream; *clais*, an archaic word for brook; *nant*, a stream, or valley.

Examples in Wales: *Avon* and *dwr* are common nouns, applied, with some other qualifying term, in a multitude of cases. *Tav*, *Taw*, *Tawe*, *Towy*, *Teivi*, apparently compounds of *aw*, are familiar names,

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allied languages. Both here are Celtic; so also Brandon, Pendennis, Penrhyn. Brinton, Cotswold, Pembury, Penton, on the contrary, combine Celtic and Anglo-Saxon.

[1] Comp. Diefenbach, *Celtica*, ii. pt. i. p. 337, &c.

[2] Comp. Vilmar, *Ortsnamen in Kurhessen*, in the Hessian Zeitschrift des Vereins, for 1837, p. 255; Adelung, *Mithridates*, vol. ii. 57; Pott, *Etym. Forschungen*, vol. ii. p. 103.

some of them being names of many streams. *Dwr*dwy, or *Dyfr*dwy, *Wysg*, *Rheid*iol, *Wy*, *Gwi*li, Llu*gwy*, Ed*wy*, Dau*ddwr*.

A*dur*	Suss.	*Dur*beck	Notts.
Aune	Dev.	*Esk*	Dev.
Auney	Dev.	*Ex*	Dev.
Avon	Glouc.	*In*ney	Corn.
Avon	Worc.	*Ive*	Cumb.
Avon	Hants.	Med*way*	Kent.
Axe	Dev.	Na*der*	Wilts.
Cal*der*	Cumb.	*Ouse*burn (Wysg).	
Cal*der*	Lanc.	*Rhea*	Staff.
Cal*der*	York.	*Rhey*	Wilts.
*Dar*ent	Kent.	*Sev*ern	
Dart	Dev.	*Stour*	Ess., &c.
*Dar*wen	Lanc.	*Tees*	Durham.
Dee (dwy)	Chesh.	*Thames* (W. *Taf*wys).	
*Der*went	Lanc.	*Thur*	Norf.
*Der*went	Yorks.	*Wash*burn (Wysg).	
*Der*went	Derb.	*Wey*	Dorset.
Dour	Kent.	*Wey*	Surrey.
Dore	Heref.	*Wye*	Heref.
*Dour*water	Yorks.	*Wye*	Hants.
Durra	Corn.	*Wyre*	Lanc.

&c., &c.

A multitude of our English rivers again, have names, purely Celtic, expressing a certain quality, such as colour, smoothness, roughness, noisiness, slowness, briskness, &c. *Dulas* and *Dou-glas* both mean dark brook, from *du*, dark, and *clais*, old W. for brook, still used in South Wales, but still more in Ireland.

Aire	(W. *araf*, slow),	York.
Arav	(W. *araf*, slow),	
Arun	(W. *garw*, rough),	Suss.

Arrow	(W. *garw*, rough),	Heref.
Cam	(W. *cam*, crooked),	Glouc. Ess. &c.
Cam	Ib.	Cambr.
*Cam*beck	Ib.	Cumb.
*Cam*il	Ib.	Corn.
Creke	(W. *crêch*, rugged),[1]	Lanc.
Crouch	(W. *croch*, loud),	Ess.
Deben	(W. *dyfn*, deep),	Suff.
Dove	(W. *dôf*, quiet, tame),	Derb.
Esk	(W. *gwisgi*, fem. *wisgi*, quick, brisk, gay),	Devon. Cumb. &c.
Gara	(W. *garw*, rough),	
Garrow	(W. *garw*, rough),	Heref.
Lavant	(W. *llefn*, smooth),	Sussex.
Leden	(W. *llydan*, broad),	Glouc.
Ledden	Ib.	Heref.
Leven	(W. *llefn*, smooth),	Cumb., &c.
Morcambe Bay	(W. *môr*, sea; *cam*, crooked; a tortuous estuary),	
Rother	(W. *ruthro*, to rush),	Sussex.
Wear	(W. *gwyro*, to deviate, wander),	Dur.
Yar	(W. *garw*, rough),	Norf.
Yarrow	Ib.	

In continental countries known to have been inhabited by the Celtic race, we find numerous streams bearing primitive names, identical in signification with those of Welsh, Scotch, and English rivers. In *France: Avon*, joining the Loire; *Avon*, joining the

[1] It may be doubted whether the Lune, the Allan, the Ellen, the Aln, and others of like elements, are not from the W. *alon*, harmony, *alaw*, music; or from *alwyn*, white, fair; or again from *ellain*, fair, shining, splendid. Corn, *elyn;* Ir. *aluin*. The names Ribble, Irwell, Ouse, Tyne, are obscure. *Tr*ent is probably but a contracted form of *Dar*ent, *Der*went, from *dwr*.

Seine; Cal*avon*, Gar*umna*, Mat*rona*, *Dur*anius, *Dor*dogne, An*tura*, *Dru*entia, *Thurr*, *Dur*dan, *Dour*don, *Dou*ron. In *Germany:* The *Lahn*, Arg*ana*, Mer*ina*, O*der*, *Dur*bach, *Dürr*enbach, *Dürn*bach, *Dur*en, *Rhi*ne, *Re*gen; and, perhaps, the *Ei*sach, *Esch*az, *Eisch*bach, *Etsch*bach, *Esch*elbrunn, *Ags*bach, &c.[1] In *Spain:* The *Dour*o, *Tor*io, *Duer*na, *Dur*aton, *Avono*. In *Hungary:* The *Thur*oig, *Waag*. In *Italy:* The *Aufen*te, *Aven*tia, *Savone*, *Avens*.

(*c.*) *Celtic Names of Valleys, Dales, &c., in England* (*omitting Wales and Scotland*).

Welsh words signifying various kinds of surface depression are the following: *dôl*, a dale; *cwm*, a hollow, bottom, dingle; *nant*, a dingle, also a brook (Corn. *nans*); *cil*, a recess, corner (Corn. *cil*, a recess, Ir. *kil*, *cul*, Arm. *kil*.)[2]

Examples in Wales: *Dol*badarn, *Cwm*bran, *Nant*mel, *Nan*teos, *Cil*maenllwyd, *Cil*bebyll, *Dol*gelley.

Apple*dur-comb*,	I. of W.	*Combe*,	Oxf.
Chala*combe*,	Dev.	*Combe*	Hants.
*Chum*leigh,	Dev.	*Comb*ermere	Chesh.
Combe,	Dev.	*Comb*erton	Worc.
Combe,	Som.	*Combe*abbas	Som.

[1] In fact, it is the testimony of Leo—and none is more competent to pronounce an opinion—that almost every river name in North Germany is of Celtic origin. See his *Vorlesungen über die Gesch. des. Deutschen Volkes*, &c., vol. i. p. 198.

[2] *Kil*, in Irish, has been extensively applied in the sense of an enclosure or retreat of a *sacred* nature (like *llan*, in Welsh); but this is a secondary use of the word—a specific and religious use.

*Combe*long	Oxf.	Gat*combe*	Glouc.
*Combe*field	Worc.	Ilfra*combe*	Dev.
*Comb*hay	Som.	*Kil*burn	Mid.
*Comb*martin	Dev.	*Kil*danes	Lanc.
*Comb*pyne	Dev.	*Kil*dale	Yorks.
*Comp*ton	Surr.	*Kil*ham	Yorks.
*Dal*ton	Lanc.	*Kill*peck	Heref.
*Dol*ton	Dev.	*Kil*mersdon	Som.
*Daw*lish	Dev.	*Kils*by	North.
*Daw*ley	Salop.	*Kil*worth	Leic.
Fa*comb*	Hants.	Para*combe*	Dev.

Cumberland abounds in *cums*, as shown by one of its native rhymers—

"There's *Cum*whitton, *Cum*whinton, *Cum*ranton,
*Cum*rangon, *Cum*rew, and *Cum*catch;
And mony mair *Cums* i' the country,
But nin wi' *Cum*divock can match."

Wiltshire is equally rich, the name Combe, Coombs, in some of its forms, being frequently borne by families.

*Nant*gissel	Corn.	*Naun*ton	Worc.
*Nant*wich	Chesh.	Pen*nans*	Corn.
*Naun*ton	Glouc.	Tre*nans*	Corn.

On the Continent are: *Nant*es, *Nant*ua, *Nan*cy, in France; and Val di *Nant*, *Nant* Dant, *Nant* Bourant, &c., in Switzerland. In the grandest depths of the Savoyard Alps, near Chamounix, several *Nants* still survive; a fact very remarkable.

(*d.*) *Cities or Fortresses, Towns, Homesteads, &c., in England, bearing Celtic Names.*

Cymbric words in use are: *bod*, *tre*, *caer*, as *Bod*-edern (Edern's abode), *Tre*madog (Madog's home), *Caer*narvon (the fortress in Arvon), &c. The prefix

tre has been largely used in recent times, many scores of farmhouses in Pembrokeshire or Carmarthenshire alone being so designated. To the word *tre*, signifying abode or home, is generally added the name of the person who formed a settlement or built a house on the spot.[1] The prefix *caer*, a fortified place, almost invariably marks a work of defence of great antiquity —in the majority of cases coeval with Roman or even ante-Roman times.

The following are a few from among the multitude of names of this class found in England:—

*Bod*min	Corn.	*Car*go	Cumb.
*Bod*iham	Suss.	*Car*ham	North.
*Bod*enham	Heref.	*Car*hampton	Som.
*Bod*ney	Norf.	*Car*kin	Yorks.
*Bot*hel	Cumb.	*Car*perly	Yorks.
*Bot*hergest	Heref.	*Car*rocke	Cumb.
*Bot*ley	Berks.	*Car*lisle	Cumb.
*Bot*ley	Hants.	Daven*try*	North.
Brain*tree*	Ess.	*Tre*gonna	Corn.
*Caer*went	Mon.	*Tre*gony	Corn.
*Caer*leon	Mon.	*Tre*ligga	Corn.
*Car*den	Chesh.	*Tre*low	Corn.
*Car*thorpe	Yorks.	*Tre*neglos	Corn.
*Car*hallock	Corn.	*Tre*silian	Corn.
*Car*eby	Lin.	*Tre*thurgi	Corn.
*Car*colston	Nott.	*Tre*vissick	Corn.
*Car*brooke	Norf.	*Tre*vulga	Corn.
*Car*burton	Nott.	*Tre*wadlock	Corn.
*Car*deston	Salop.	*Tru*ro	Corn.
*Car*ey	North.		

[1] The terminating *try*, in Oswes*try*, is not, as some have supposed, the Welsh *tre*, but the English "tree," as applied to the Cross. The Welsh name is *Croes*-Oswallt, Oswald's Cross.

Towns named from their situation on the water side are numerous. The Celtic *dwr*, water, sometimes taking the form *dour* or *tur*, is often found in names of Continental towns as well as rivers. *Tour*s, ancient *Tur*ones; *Tour*nai, ancient *Tor*nacum; *Douvr*es, ancient *Dubr*is; several ancient Bi*tur*iges in Gaul, indicating the meeting of *two* waters. Probably the incipient Bi (bis) was prefixed by the Romans to mark the confluence of two streams, both called *dwr* or *tur* by the natives. Instances in England are: *Dover*, ancient *Dubr*is; *Dor*king, *Dor*chester, *Dur*ley, a village in Hants; *Dur*sley; *More*cambe, W. *môr*, sea, *combe*, a valley, or *cam*, crooked; *Wey*mouth, W. *wy*, water; *Aber*ford, village in Yorkshire, W. *aber*, a confluence, &c.

Less obvious Celtic derivations, but still genuine, are such as these: *Lin*coln, W. *llyn*, a pool, lake—the *coln*, Latin *Colonia*; in Ptolemy's Greek Λινδον, the *dun* or place of strength, or high place, on the pool—a name identical therefore with *London; Glou*cester, W. *gloyw*, fair, pure, bright, old W. name *Caerloyw; Man*chester (W. *man*, place, settlement); *Tiver*ton (W. *dwr*, *dwfr*, water)—the town on the water—Tiverton being situated at the confluence of the rivers Exe and Loman; *Dur*ham (Lat. Dunelm, W. *dwr*, and Norse *holm*, an island), Leland and others tell us, was originally a rock forming a river island; *York* (W. *Evrawg*), old W. name *Caer-Evrawg*. The *Cots*wold Hills (W. *coed*, wood, and A.-Sax. *weald*, also wood), display the primitive Celtic and

its Saxon translation in one word. *Cumber*land is the land of the *Cymbri* or *Cumbri*. The people of "Devon" were by the Romans named *Damnonii*, in imitation of the Celtic *Dyfnaint* (W. *dyfn*, deep, and *naint*, pl. for valleys), the land of deep valleys or dingles. *Corn*wall, formerly written "Corn Wales" (W. *corn*, a horn, projection, and A.-Sax. *wealhas*, the Welsh), *i.e.*, strangers or foreigners—a name applied by the Teutonic race to all except themselves. *Wilt*shire—the shire of *Wil*ton—the town of *Wealhas* or Welsh, before their national characteristics of language, laws, and customs had died out in those parts. Many of the Waltons were probably "Welsh towns," as Nuces Gallicæ, walnuts, were "Welsh-nuts." (Germ. *Wälsche nuss*, *i.e.*, foreign nut.) *Dor*set, the settlement of the *Durotriges*, as they were called by the Romans (W. *dwr* water, and *trigo* to dwell) dwellers near the water or sea, and so on in great numbers.

In short, to trace all the Celtic elements found in names of places in England would occupy scores of pages. Let the above suffice as a fraction of a body of evidence to the ethnologist most interesting. Whithersoever the *Cymry* have gone, whether into the body of a new race by junction with their conquerors, or to find shelter among their already teeming brethren in Wales, there remain the memorials of their former residence in England, unobliterated by change of language or lapse of time. These names are not those of regions of country, kingdoms, or of a whole

land, which might have caught hold of their objects fortuitously, or might afford room for much uncertainty as to their real meaning and origin; but they are the names of hundreds and hundreds of the rivers, brooks, hills, vales, hamlets and homesteads of England. They mark the places of chief importance in early periods of society, and in times when the inhabitants had to watch their foes from their *dins*, and protect themselves from attack in their *caers*. They lived in the sheltered dingles (*nants*), pastured their flocks in the fertile vales (*dôls*), marked their localities and judged of distances by the highest surrounding hills or mountains (*pens*, *craigs*, and *tors*), and drew their subdividing lines along the course of the rivers and brooks (*avons*, *dwrs*, *rhyds*, &c.) They gave all these names, according to some specific feature in each, constituting its *differentia*, and these names and objects have come down, or rather have remained stationary, witnessing the lapse of many ages, until we have made our appearance on the scene to read their history, admire their appropriateness, and dream of the long past which their scanty light enables us faintly to discern. They speak to us in the language of the *Cymbri*, and, amongst other things declare, in clear accents, that the *Cymbri*, or *Cymry*, not only lived at the foot of those *pens* and *craigs*, on those *dôls*, and in those *caers*, but that when disturbed and dispossessed, they still continued so long and held such place of influence amongst their

conquerors, that the names of all the chief features of the country, although purely Cymbric, became familiar to the Saxons, were adopted by them in detail, and became part and parcel of their tongue.

2. The Celtic local names of England as furnishing evidence of admixture of race.

Is it not a fact virtually indisputable that the adoption by a new people of local names imposed by their predecessors involves *conditions* which unavoidably imply race-amalgamation? The case is precisely analogous to that of language. The language of an intrusive people cannot be penetrated and tinged, deeply and permanently, by that of the people subdued—as we have proved the English language to have been by the Ancient British—in the absence of that prolonged and familiar intercourse which could not fail of issuing in those social and domestic ties and that mutual good understanding, which, by degrees, would obliterate all prominent distinctions of race. That the Anglo-Saxons should receive the geographical nomenclature of the Britons, if, as argued by some, the Britons had been swept from the land, must for ever remain inexplicable. The assumption of the displacement of the British race is so gratuitous that had it not become the basis of a national article of historic faith, it could deserve no serious consideration. That it is entirely unauthorised by history, the reader, we would fain hope, is by this time fully persuaded.

For any reliable and distinct statements which have reached us to the contrary, we are at perfect liberty to maintain that the Britons were no more displaced by the Saxons than were the Saxons afterwards by the Danes or Normans. They had not been driven out by the Romans; they had formed the habit, so to speak, of clinging to their native soil under the rule of strangers; the new rule of the Saxons found them a people partly predisposed, if an heroic effort for independence failed of success, to submit, and continue on the land which from time immemorial their fathers had called their own. Only the most stubbornly persistent patriots, too dazzled by the brilliant prospects of liberty to see the inevitable *fact* of their national overthrow, continued to struggle, receding further and further to the West with the setting sun of their hopes, and entrenching themselves at last in the natural fortresses of Cambria. Never did they cease, for seven hundred years, to do two things—fight the Saxon, and pronounce maledictions on those "recreant" brethren of theirs, who, by entering into "league and confederacy with the Saxons," took the "crown of monarchy from the nation of the Cymry."[1]

At the same same time, though local names prove much, they have a limit in value; and that limit must be defined.

Topographical names, traceable to a certain language, are witnesses to the settlement in those locali-

[1] *Triad* ix. *Myv. Arch. of Wales*, ii. 58.

ties of a people speaking that language, and that they were either the first or the most influential, or the longest dwellers in those regions, so that the rivers, lakes, mountains, &c., ever after bore the designations they had impressed upon them. But they do not absolutely prove the aboriginal character of their authors; for in times when nomadic people moved freely from place to place, repeated occupation might occur before a settlement prolonged enough to tabulate the natural features of the country under fixed names was effected. Nor do they absolutely prove, of themselves, that the prolonged settlers who gave them, did not afterwards move off to foreign climes, and have a long series of successors to their ancient property before the properly historic age arrived, and that property was permanently appropriated. To make their evidence conclusive as to this matter, the witness of history must be introduced.

But granting all deductions and qualifications, topographical names have a substantial value in proof of national incorporation. Their transmission could only be effected by *intercourse.* In those days when the Ancient British local names of England were transfused into the alien Anglo-Saxon speech there were no works on geography, no accurately drawn and coloured maps, no surveys with a well defined nomenclature published, whereby, without *personal association* and *oral teaching*, the long imposed names of river, crag, and forest, fortress, road, and mountain, could be accurately learned. The Britons had no *itinerary*

describing their highways and military posts, no *Notitia Imperii*, naming every town and castle, river, marsh, and mountain, in the land, by the reading of which on their casual discovery, and after the gigantic achievement of learning the unknown tongue in which they were written—a practical impossibility on the hypothesis that the whole race had suddenly and totally disappeared—the new comers might learn the names which had been in use. How then could the Anglo-Saxon come at a knowledge of the *avons*, the *pens*, the *dôls*, &c.? How could he manage to make his own language talk of the geographical divisions of the country—the *cantreds* (W. *cant*, hundred, and *tref*, dwelling, abode), the *commots* (W. *cwmmwd*, subdivision of a hundred), the *tres*, &c., &c.? Imagination can only descry one way. The Anglo-Saxon accomplished this difficult task in Celtic nomenclature—so uncongenial to ages of war and semibarbarism—by the slow but certain method of *personal intercourse* with the ancient inhabitants. The land, we argue, was still in the main peopled by the aboriginal population—now, indeed, in a subject state—tilling the fields, clearing the forests, forging war implements, and fighting battles for their masters, and by degrees winning freedom and citizenship by length of service and accumulated wealth. Many portions of the country, many important towns in the heart of what is now "Old England," were still entirely in the hands of the Britons, who maintained their own usages, laws, and

language intact, acknowledging the Anglo-Saxons only as nominal masters, and exercising over them the kind of influence which the pupils of the Romans, unsuccessful now in war, might be expected to use towards the untutored, but strenuous children of Schleswig and Holstein. By degrees, the geography of the country would be learned; the very dingles, rills, heaps of stones, cromlechs, camps, castles, nay, the individual homesteads of the different neighbourhoods, would become familiar by their own proper Celtic names; the native language would die away into the aggressive Saxon, and the native population itself, forgetting old grudges, would form with the ruling race an undistinguishable mass.

The three following positions are established by history and the nature of the case.

1. Except where a developed literature exists, unless there be a fusion of peoples no fusion of their languages takes place.

2. Where no fusion of languages occurs, in the absence of writing transmission of local names will be scanty.

3. 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 argued.

Let those who cannot deny the Celtic origin of thousands of the geographical names of England ex-

plain how these could have been adopted on any other hypothesis than that now maintained.

The aboriginal race of Britain, unfortunate in being commemorated by little of what may be termed authentic history, and in having this little discredited by its alliance with that mythic and traditional lore which at least represents the spirit rather than the form and reality of their existence, are still fortunate in having the evidence of their earliest possession of the soil, and of a language of a well-ascertained type, inscribed on the rocks and mountains, and over all the great natural features of the country, as with a pen of adamant indelibly and for ever. Nations have existed which have passed away leaving no trace of long and eventful histories except a few scattered names of places, enshrining, as the amber does the fly, mememtoes of their speech, and leaving to the research and learning of the ethnologist to conjecture to what stock and era they belonged; and here the poetry and romance of local names are perfect. The old Britons have not thus entirely disappeared, and therefore, while their identity is better authenticated, the charm lent by mystery and distance is not cast around their story to the same extent.

Not only the *fact* of the occupation of Britain by various races is attested by local names, but the very *order* of occupation is clearly defined. No student of these interesting and instructive relics can doubt that

the oldest of them belong to the Celts and the more recent to Danes, Normans, and English. The primeval footprints have been trodden upon by less ancient travellers, and the impressions made by these are again traversed, in some cases nearly effaced, by their pursuers. All the impressions bear a character, and are as incapable of being confounded with each other or referred to the same age or people as the legends of coins, the inscriptions of monuments, or the caligraphy of manuscripts of different eras and countries. The names which stretch back to the remotest historic, and doubtless to pre-historic times, and which have played on the lips of all the generations which have come and gone during the ages, as those of mountains, rivers, estuaries, unquestionably belong to the Celtic race. The great natural strongholds, which became in course of time cities, are either Celtic or Roman, or Roman and Celtic joined, as London, Chester, Manchester. Towns, again, which bear purely Saxon names are of more modern growth. The creeks, headlands, and maritime positions which have Norse appellations—the *wicks*, the *nesses*, and *holms*—are easily referred to the times of Scandinavian incursions. Norman local names are few, and younger than the Danish; while properly English names, though numerous, are demonstrably of very recent birth.

In some cases we find the history of a thousand years, with the order of occupation, and the nationality of the name-givers, compressed in the hieroglyphics

of a single local name. DUM*bar*ton has the same idea of an entrenched place thrice repeated, covering, in due order of succession, Celtic, Saxon, and later Saxon or English periods; PENT*low*hill, in Essex (Celt. *pen*, A.-Sax. *hlaew*, a heap, Engl. hill), BRIN*don*hill, in Somerset, "hill" again thrice repeated in different succeeding tongues, cover likewise pre-Roman, Roman and Saxon, and post-Saxon ages. Moving onwards and to shorter periods, we find in *Chester*ton the Roman and Saxon ages combined; in *Sand*wich and *Fish*guard the Saxon and Danish; in Ash*by*-de-la-Zouch the Danish and Norman-French; in Richmond (riche-mont) and Montgomery, Norman-French itself; in Haverford, Norman-French (*haver*, a port) and English. But in *Dour*water (Yorkshire), the great gulf from Ancient British to English times is completely bridged across, leaving conjecture to say how the Celtic *dwr* (water), was allowed so long to remain unwedded to a sympathetic synonym, and the modern "water" came at last to see in it a thing of its own flesh and blood.

It is much to be desired that the local names of Britain afforded a sufficient light upon the supposed priority of the Gaelic to the Cymbric tribes as colonists. The test-words hitherto so much relied upon; *wysg*, *ben*, *inver*, *bally*, &c., as evidence of prior occupation by the Gael of North and East Scotland and Ireland, as well as parts of central Britain, are quite unsatisfactory. These words may have been present in ancient Cymbric though absent from modern Welsh,

for an enormous portion of the language has changed, and the value of the theory now examined depends exclusively on the supposition of a stability in human unwritten speech through thousands of years which all experience disproves. We rather rely on the probabilities of the case, as arising from ethnological and historic facts. It is more likely that the tribes which pushed their way farthest, and have in all historic times dwelt in the remotest quarters of North Britain and Ireland were the first to colonise these islands. New arrivals would be more likely to urge forward the earlier occupiers to fresh pasturage and settlements, than to outstrip them in the race; and that disembarkation from the Continent took place in all cases on the South Coast is morally certain. But if shades of distinction can be found in *aber* and *inver*, *pen* and *ben*, *tref* and *bally*, assigning the former to the Cymbric, the latter to the Gaelic dialects, by all means let probability, having otherwise gained a footing, have its position thereby to some small extent strengthened. As *wysg*, however, and *gwisg* (see p. 41, note), are to this day present in Welsh, and *pen*, also present in it, is almost as near *ben* as it can well be without being identical, it is fair to surmise that *bally* and *inver* may have once been the common property of Cymbric and Gaelic—in fact, that the former is only an euphonised form of *ban*, high, and *lle*, a place, all cities in early times being places of strength built generally on bold and high situations; and that *inver* and *aber*

only represent the different ways in which the ancient scribes imitated the native pronunciation of the same thing—namely, a confluence of waters—an hypothesis rendered highly probable by the occurrence of other variations of the terms on the Continent, as *Havre*-de-Grace, *Avr*-anches, at the mouth of the sea, &c.

On the whole, therefore, although not assigning the first importance to local names as proofs of race-admixture, we are far from considering them as insignificant in their bearing on the argument. Where they fail to prove, they render probable; where they fail to render probable, they at least significantly suggest.

SECTION IV.

English Proper Names and Surnames.

We have seen it argued with great warmth, and equal ignorance, that since Englishmen are not called by Celtic names they have no participation in Celtic blood. A sufficient reply to this would be, that since Englishmen are not called after the names of their alleged forefathers, Hengist, Horsa, Cerdic, Ella, Ercenwine, Ida, and their distinguished pirate companions—therefore they have not descended from them, and since there remains no more probable ancestry, they have descended from none, but are veritably sons of the soil—*indigenæ aborigines;* or, if this be thought too absurd, then, as the Ancient Britons are declared by authentic history to be in-

habitants of Great Britain before Hengist and Horsa's arrival, Englishmen must have descended from them.

But, in truth, strange as it may seem to some, the bearing of personal proper names and surnames on the core of the subject is very slight. We introduce them here, rather with a view of demonstrating this fact, and thus of disencumbering the question of any adventitious matter, then of adding material force to the argument. At the same time we shall be treading on the heels of the subject, and shall occasionally really touch it, adding meantime a few points of specific interest to the historian and ethnologist.

1. Surnames a modern invention in England.

All names, philosophically considered, are simple signs to distinguish individuals, so that they may be described when absent. A person would naturally be described by some personal mark, ownership, or locality. The nations of antiquity usually gave a person one name—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob; Pericles, Themistocles, Phidias; Caradog, Taliesin, Gwyddno; Edwin, Gurth, Harold, Rollo, &c. To define him more specifically, he was called the son of such a person, or (inhabitant understood) of such a place.

The Romans surpassed other early nations in the multiplication of names. Caius Julius Cæsar, Publius Cornelius Scipio, Cnæus Julius Agricola, Caius Cornelius Tacitus, Marcus Tullius Cicero, &c. The object was twofold—definition and dignity.

The Normans first established the practice of surnames in England, and probably first adopted it after their arrival here. Surnames—that is, names in addition to the single personal name, now called "Christian" names, and descending in the same family from generation to generation, were not known among the Britons and Saxons. Even after the Conquest, the practice was not introduced among the Saxon population, so far as reliable records testify, for one or two hundred years.

In Domesday Book, the Norman families often bear names of addition, descending to their posterity. Darcy, Arundel, Devereux, Perci, Laci, are examples.

As late as the fifteenth century surnames were only of partial use in England. Thus in 1406, a person describes himself as Willielmus filius Adae Emmotson, who, in 1416, is Williemus Emmotson—showing progress towards a settled surname. Another curious example; a person described as Johannes filius Willielmi filii Johannis de Hunshelf, appears soon after as Johannes Wilson.[1]

The length of Welsh and Irish pedigrees is proverbial. In the later Middle Ages a man had one name, and was defined as the *Mac* or *Ap* (son) of another, he of another, and so on, in long series. In Wales, in the 15th and 16th centuries, the patronymic *ap* or *ab* is used not unfrequently as many as six times.

[1] Confer *Penny Cyclop.* vol. xvi. p. 71.

Ex. gr. Gruffydd ap Will. ap Rob. ap Cadwal. ap Mered. ap Hug. ap Ievan. A document of the year 1460, relating to the Herbert family, is signed by two gentlemen styling themselves, "Ievan ap Rhydderch ap Ievan Lloyd, Esq.," and "Howell ap David ap Ievan ap Rhys, Gent.," followed by three others calling themselves "Bards."[1] But early British history shows the same usage as existing, though in more moderate form, among the Ancient Cymry. Caractacus is often styled *Caradog ab Brân*, and his grandson was *Coel ab Cyllin*.

As specimens of the names prevailing among the better classes of Wales in the 13th and 14th cents., we may quote from the lists still preserved in the *Bibliotheque Royale*, in Paris, of whole companies of Welsh soldiers who had fled their own country, and entered the service of the French King. The name *Gallois*, or *de Gallois*, is not uncommon in France, and is known to be borne by descendants of these Welsh refugees. The foremost of these was a young chieftain of the family of Prince Llewelyn, called by the French *Evain, or Yvain de Galles* (Owain of Wales), an especial favourite at the French Court. He and *John Wyn*, or *Win*, *Robin ap Llwydin*, *Edward ap Owen*, and *Owen ap Griffith*, were all captains of troops of Welsh soldiers in the wars of France against England. Among the 100 Welshmen, more or less, following the fortunes of brave Owain, or

[1] Fenton's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 47, App.

Yvain de Galles, were men bearing the following names:—

Hywel Ddu (standard bearer).
Morgan de[1] (ap) David.
Einion de (ap) Hywel.
Gruffydd de (ap) Iorwrch.[2]
Ithel de (ap) Iorwerth.
Madog de (ap) Gruffydd.
Hywel de (ap) Einion.
Ioguen ap Morbran.
Robin ap Bled.
Gwilym Gôch.
Ieuan Gwilym ap Ogwen.
Llewelyn ap Jorwerth.
Ieuan ap David Bâch.
Madog du ap Greffin.
Iorwerth ap Grox ap David.
Cadwaladr Hael.
Ieuan ap Gruffin ap Rait.
Robin Uchel.
Gwilym Gwenarth.
Einion ap David *Sais*.
Griffin ap Ieuan ap Roger.
Hary Walice Mon.[3]

&c., &c.

Here, and in the other lists of followers of *John Win*,[4] *Robin ab Llwydin*, &c., such names as Ieuan, Hywel, Davydd, Gwilym, Robin, Gruffydd, abound. The same names occur often—a fact still observable in the onomatology of Wales. The few here pointed out are the chief names of the Welsh to this day, both Christian and surname: Jones, Howells, Davies, Williams, Roberts, Griffiths, are their Anglicised forms. *Ieuan* has propagated itself in a great variety of shapes, for from this one original appellative have descended the whole troop of John, Owen, Evan, Jones, Ioan, &c.

[1] The French substitutes the *de* for *ap* in some though not in all cases.

[2] A mistake apparently fr. *Iorwerth*. Many of the names, as given by Thierry, are evidently incorrectly spelled.

[3] *Biblioth. Royale, Cabinet du Sainte Esprit.*

[4] *Ibid. Titres Scellés de Clairamboult*, t. 114, fol. 8925.

2. The value of English surnames as proofs of intermixture.

It must be confessed that surnames, being of recent origin, can be of no great value as evidence of early intermixture between Celts and Saxons, though half the population were called Jones, Davies, Williams or Roberts. They can only be proofs of *recent* intermixture. Modern English surnames are the creations mostly of the last 400 years. Multitudes of them are based on personal qualities, localities of birth, handicrafts, &c. (as were those of Wales, and as are those of Germany), and are often found to be not only pertinent and expressive, but even beautiful—while a large proportion must be allowed to be grotesque, ludicrous, absurd, and not a few even indecent.

The *Christian* names of Modern England, so far from being either Celtic or Saxon in origin, are actually in the major part derived from the Greek and Hebrew *Scriptures*. The influence of religion among Welsh and English has expelled most of the national names of both races, substituting others consecrated by Old and New Testament associations. The names which are now in common use, and which cannot be cast aside without apparent singularity, are only some *fifty-three* in number! The following *twelve* are constantly occurring: John, William, Henry, George, James, Robert, Thomas, Francis, Charles, Edward, Richard, Samuel. Of these, *four* are Scripture names, *four* Norman, *one* pure Saxon (Edward), three are

from other sources. Not one of these is purely British. Of the 41 other names, composing the total 53, 28 are names of religion: so that out of the 53 current names which distinguish the many millions of our male population, 32, or *three-fifths*, are *taken from the Scriptures!* If this were proof of piety, how pious were the people of England! Twenty-five of the 53 are of *Hebrew* origin, so that, if modern names were sufficient evidence of consanguinity, we should nearly all be proved to be of the seed of faithful Abraham!

3. The disuse, in modern times, of both Celtic and Saxon names.

As far as personal nomenclature is concerned, modern Celts and Saxons alike have denied their progenitors, calling themselves after the names of strangers. Foreign languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, have lent designations to *five* out of every *seven* of the males of England and Wales!

The *Cymry* have dropped the renowned old names,

Caradog, Caswallan, Einion, Arthur, Cadwgan,
Ednyfed, Cynvelin, Aneurin, Cynddelw, Rhiwallon,
Taliesin, Merddin, Madog, Goronwy, Edeyrn.

And the English have abandoned their equally noble

Winfrid, Thorold, Ida, Harold, Aldred, Ailwin,
Egbert, Ella, Ethelbert, Ethelred, Kenelm, Oswald,
Offa, Kenric, Ailred, Egfrid, Sigebert, Adda,

have never repeated even Hengist and Horsa, who at least had the merits of adventurous and successful colonists; and of the illustrious names of their ancestors

have honoured as they ought only Albert, Alfred, Edwin, and Edward. The Queen of England has added new lustre to the British *Arthur*, by giving it a place in the royal circle, and it were well if so high an example were followed in many directions, both as to Celtic and Saxon names.

In the names of *females*, the departure from the custom of our ancestors, both British and Anglo-Saxon, has been equally marked. Among the female names of the Anglo-Saxons were,

> Elfheld, Adeleve, Edburh, Algifa, Edgifa, Athelgifa,
> Winfreda, Aethelheld, Ethelfritha, Bertha, and Editha,

of which the last only has been retained. In the Cottonian MS. Tib. B. 5, the names of a whole Saxon family are given thus:—"Dudda was a husbandman in Haethfelda: and he had three daughters: one was called Deorwyn, the other Deorswytha, and the third Golde. Wullaf, in Haethfelda, hath Deorwyn for his wife; and Aelfstan, at Kengawyrth, hath Deorswythe, and Ealhstan, the brother of Aelfstan married Golde."[1] We submit that we have here finer female names (all of which are also beautifully significant in Anglo-Saxon) than our modern Florence, Georgina, Frances, Henrietta, Charlotte, Grace.

4. Recent Celtic Names.

If we look at the extent to which modern Celtic surnames prevalent in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland,

[1] Comp. Turner's *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii. p. 9.

have found their way into England, and take this as evidence of intermixture in *modern* times, we shall doubtless build on a good foundation. Only let this branch of evidence be understood as applied with this limitation. Names, usually considered Welsh, which have a large place in every English Directory of our day—the *London Post Office Directory* especially—are the following:—Jones, Williams, Hughes, Thomas, Griffiths, Owen, Parry, Bowen, Lloyd, Evans, Morgan, Jenkins, Lewis, Howell, Powell, Rees, and Davies. *Jones* in the London Directory fills about half the space occupied by the all but ubiquitous *Smith*. *Williams* fills lengthy columns; also Griffiths, Thomas, Davies, Lloyd, &c., &c. The general conclusion to be drawn is, that the prospect of advancement in England has attracted large numbers from Wales within recent years. The process is still rapidly going forward: and it is observable that the Welshman, once he has acquired the manners, language, accent, of the Englishman, carries nothing in his complexion or physiognomy, and little now in his name, to distinguish him from the general type of Englishmen.

But large as has been the influx of Welsh names, that of Scotch and Irish has been far greater. If statistics of those who every year "cross the Tweed" and "never return," and of those who come over from the Green Isle to make friends with "Sassenach" were carefully taken, perhaps many who believe in the

Teutonic purity of the English would feel a measure of dismay. Who can number

> The Camerons, Campbells, Craigs, Cunninghams,
> The Dixons, Douglases, Duffs, Duncans,
> The Grahams, Grants, Gordons, Guthries,
> The Macdonalds, Macgregors, Macleans, MacLeods,
> Muirs, Munros, Murrays, Murdochs,
> The Reids, Robertsons, Rosses, and Scotts:

And

> The O'Briens, O'Neills, O'Connors, Murphys,
> Dalys, Falloons, Donovans, Flannagans, Mullonys,
> Sullivans, Brandys, Donnels, and Patricks,

who contribute so much to the variety of our nomenclature and to the balance and suppleness of our national mind? What should we do without the prudent painstaking Scotchman, quick in finding his opportunity, and never remiss in its improvement? and what without the effervescent hearty Irishman, who hews our wood and draws our water, and withal imparts elasticity to our Teutonic rigidness, and replaces with poetry and humour much of our dull matter-of-fact uniformity—although in his natural unmixed state, he often occasions us no end of trouble? Welshman, Irishman, Scotchman, German, Frenchman—all come with a welcome to our all-absorbing English; weld them all into one mass, and forth there comes a "good man and true," fit for any noble deed of mind or hand that mortal can perform!

5. Teutonic Names of Persons and Places in Wales.

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, Simner, Saunders, White, Smith, Hooper, Marychurch, Warlow, Cleaton, Gibson, &c.

In the parts of Pembroke and Glamorgan colonised by Flemings, temp. Henry I., and earlier by Danes, it may be expected that Teutonic names should abound; and such is the case. A multitude of names suggestive of Anglo-Saxon, Flemish, and Danish origin are to be found. In these districts, the language spoken is a kind of English. The areas occupied by the Saxon tongue and by Saxon and Norse local and personal names, are about the same in extent, and nearly coincide.

Saxon names in Pembrokeshire. Starbuck, Taplin, Stokes, Sinnett, Barham, Tucker, Scowcroft, Watt, Perrott, Nicholas, Scourfield, Mansell, Parsell, Reynish, Brigstocke.

Norman-French names of persons and places, are also in good number to be met with—continuous memorials of the Normans brought to Pembrokeshire by Henry I. and his more illustrious predecessors. Such names are Roche, Devereux, Bonville, Arnold, Raymond. There are places called *Filbatch*, from William de Filbatch; *Hascard*, from Richard de Hascard; *Dale*, from de Vale; *Picton Castle*, from William de Picton, &c.

Danish local and personal names. Such a harbour as Milford Haven was not likely to escape the notice of the Vikings. Hence the whole of that neighbourhood, both on the margin and in the interior, shows

signs of their presence. History is nearly silent, but the faithful voice of local and personal designations leaves us in no uncertainty as to the fact that those terrible sea-rovers who, before the Danish conquest of England, had left their marks on almost every creek and headland of Britain, had also made their presence known in Pembrokeshire. *Wick* (a creek), *stakr* (a column of rock), *holm* (an island), *by* (a dwelling, a village), *thorpe* or *throp* (a village), are Danish words, and are all, with several others of kindred origin, to be found in Pembrokeshire. We give a few.

Good*wick*.	Ox*wich*.	Skok*holm*.
Gellys*wick*.	*Stack*pole Head.	Steep*holm*.
Wath*wick*.	*Stack* Rocks.	Freys*trop*.
Little*wick*.	Penyholt *Stack*.	Goul*trop*.
Hel*wick*.	St. Bride's *Stack*.	Ten*by*.
Mussel*wick*.	Burry *Holmes*.	Der*by*.
Carn ar *wig*.	Grass-*holm*.	Col*by*.
Wick Haven.	Flat*holm*.	Fish*guard*.

Then there are such obviously Scandinavian names as Caldy, Skomer, Skerryback Islands; Studdolph, Hasguard, Haroldston, Hubbaston, Gomfreston, Herbrandston, Strumble Head, &c.

As to *personal* names, Danish traces are discoverable in, Colby, Skyrme, Buckley, Lort.

These phenomena in Pembrokeshire onomatology are indications of considerable intermingling of races in that part at different periods, early and more recent, and are to be taken in that incidental relation to the argument we are pursuing. One thing is evident,

here as elsewhere in early British, and more recent Saxon, history, viz., that the lines of demarcation between Briton and Saxon have been gradually wearing out (as is always and unavoidably the case, when two types come in contact), and that this process is brought to pass chiefly by the merging of the Briton in the Anglo-Saxon.

CHAPTER IV.

Evidence of the influence of the Ancient British race upon the Anglo-Saxons, supplied by the development of early English Law.

Common sense and experience unite in telling us that if a conquering nation receive in whole or in part the laws of the conquered, the circumstance argues:—

First: The probable intellectual superiority, or superior civilization, of the subjugated race; and

Secondly: That the conquest was not one of extermination, but of incorporation where the triumph was complete, of subjection to tribute where incomplete.

The phenomena of the Norman Conquest confirm this hypothesis; but more especially in its second branch; for it scarcely can be said that the Anglo-Saxons were, *intellectually*, in advance of the Normans. But William conquered England, not with the view of expelling the inhabitants, but with the view of making them his subjects; and he found it desirable, nay indispensable, in order to rule such a nation, to respect its laws and institutions. He swore, after much manœuvering to avoid it, to "rule according to law,"—not the law of Normandy, not the more con-

genial one of his own overbearing will, but the law of the English nation—that law which in its great formative elements had long before William's era swayed the British mind, and continues to rule it still.

Now what is demonstrably true in the case of Normans and Anglo-Saxons, is constructively true, to say the least, in the case of Anglo-Saxons and Britons. If the Normans, having prosecuted a war of conquest and not of extermination, freely appropriated the laws of the country, the probability is that the Angles and Saxons, if their object was to make a war of conquest and not of extermination, would in like manner respect the chief articles of public law with which the conquered were familiar. This is hypothesis: we want facts.

The question, therefore, is, *did* the Anglo-Saxons to any extent adopt the Ancient British laws? If they did, we hold it next to certain that they so did, because of the reason involved in our hypothesis, and which has been seen to govern in the case of the Norman Conquest, viz., that the people whose laws they were, continued in great part to be the subjects under rule.

Let us for a moment advert to the other reason which might be expected to obtain in the case of the Ancient Britons more than in that of the Anglo-Saxons, viz., their undoubtedly superior intellectual culture, and nearer approximation to a state of civilization.

A less civilized people is ever subject to the spell which the institutions of the more civilized are fitted to cast around them. We all know that the Britons of this island, after nearly five centuries of Roman government and culture, were a civilized people, and that the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons were not. Britain, at the arrival of these strong-armed, earnest-minded, needy aggressors, was such as the pride, favour, taste, and resources of Rome could have made her. She was deserted (under stern decree of necessity) as a jewel is relinquished — as is a long-inhabited, sumptuously furnished mansion. The superb architecture, the refinement of manners, the well-adjusted machinery of public law which Britain presented, could not be witnessed by the rough but keen-eyed Teutons without winning for the people of whose minds they were the exponents—though they were a fallen people—a good measure of respect and veneration. Who does not remember the striking analogy of the conquest of Greece by the old Romans? If that martial people in their earlier, less corrupted days, conquered Greece, the art, splendour, wisdom of Greece also conquered them. Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, like Normans and Romans, were men—neither better nor worse than men; but it were to argue on the assumption that they were something in stupidity and blindness which men never yet have been, if it were contended that their admiration was not excited both by the material magnificence and the intellectual endowment, and

social culture which they encountered for the first time in this island.

We must now recur to our question:—Did the Anglo-Saxons to any extent adopt the Ancient British Laws? We are not writing for the information of lawyers: they all know that the question can only be answered in the affirmative. In truth, we are not writing for the purpose of informing any intelligent person on this subject; but simply of recording an almost universally admitted truth. The Anglo-Saxons, certainly, did, to some extent embody in their code, when they became ripe to construct one, elements belonging distinctly to the Ancient British jurisprudence. The quantum was small, but it was there.

The chief articles of public law, in those times, referred to the relations of king and people respecting the tenure of land, to the class relations of the people among themselves, to the administrative divisions and tribunals of the country, &c. If in these, or some of these, we find exact correspondence and agreement in the Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon laws, our conclusion must be that the latter borrowed from the former—unless indeed it can be shown that both equally borrowed from a common source, *ex. gr.*, the Theodosian Code.

Now on this point, Sir F. Palgrave, no mean authority, has written thus:—"Opposed as the native and the stranger were to each other, the main lines and landmarks of their jurisprudence were *identical.* They

agreed in their usages respecting crimes and punishments; they agreed in allowing the homicide to redeem his guilt by making compensation to the relatives of the slain; they agreed in the use of trial by ordeal and by compurgation; and these being the chief features of the law, and of its administration, the question whether such analogous customs be of British, or of Saxon origin is little more than a mere verbal dispute," &c.[1]

Lest it should be thought that language to the same effect as the following, if it came from the present writer, would be that of a special-pleader for a foregone conclusion, we shall again quote Sir F. Palgrave in the judgment he pronounces upon the *quality* of the Ancient British legislation. The readers of the "School Histories of England," will of course decline to understand such language. The Britons are known to have been "barbarians," and "therefore," such sentiments must be absurd, &c.!

"The historical order prevailing in this code,"[2] says

[1] *Rise and Prog. of the Engl. Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 38.

[2] The Code of Howel the Good (*Hywel Dda*), King of Wales, A.D. 906—948. The Code was a revision of the Laws of *Dyfnwal Moelmud*, which had long existed among the Britons, and of the tenor of which King Alfred had doubtless been carefully informed by his Welsh instructor, *Asser*. The Code of Hywel gives its own history thus:—"Howell the Good, son of Cadell, Prince of Cymru, summoned to him six men from every cantrev [hundred] in all Cymru. . . . And they examined the laws: such of them as might be too severe in punishment to mitigate, and such as might be too lenient to render more rigorous. Some of the laws they suffered to

Palgrave, "shows that it was framed with considerable care, and the customs it comprehends bear the impress of great antiquity. . . . The character of the British legislation is enhanced by comparison with the laws which were put in practice amongst the other nations of the Middle Ages. The indignant pride of the Britons, who despised their implacable enemies, the Anglo-Saxons, as a race of rude barbarians, whose touch was impurity, will not be considered as any decisive test of superior civilization. But the Triads, and the laws of *Hoel Dda*, excel the Anglo-Saxon and other Teutonic customals in the same manner that the elegies of Llywarch Hên, and the odes of Taliesin, soar above the ballads of Edda. *Law had become a science amongst the Britons;* and its volumes exhibit the jurisprudence of a rude nation shaped and modelled by thinking men, and which had derived both stability and equity from the labours of its expounders."[1]

Great mystery hangs over the derivation of the greater part of the common law of England. We have no means of knowing how much of the customs, so-called, was included in the *Dom-bec* of King Alfred, who collected and digested the laws of the Heptarchy—for that precious book is lost; nor can we ascertain the contents of Edward the Confessor's Digest, this also

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remain unaltered; others they willed to amend; others they abrogated entirely; and they enacted some new laws." *Ancient Laws and Institutions of Wales.* Record Commissioners' ed. B. iii. c. 1.

[1] *Rise and Prog. of Engl. Commonw.* vol. i. p. 37.

being lost. The three celebrated codes in operation before Edward's time—the *Mercen-lage*, the *West Saex-enlage*, and the *Danelage*, doubtless contained a large portion of what is now called the "un-written" law of England, and were probably brought together in a somewhat classified form in the Confessor's Code, as intimated by Roger de Hoveden;[1] but no certain information on this point is within our reach. Many of the rules, and very much of the terminology of our jurisprudence, are derived from the Normans. Our "common" law, however—termed "common" probably from its being "common to all the realm"[2]—has no special paternity. It is a collection brought in from all quarters—extracted from the wisdom, consecrated by the usage, and corrected by the experience of all ages, and of all the nations now blended in the one compound people of England. It may, therefore, contain an indefinite amount originally derived from the Ancient Britons; and much of that amount may have been previously derived by the Britons from the Theodosian Code.

It is universally admitted that the law of *Gavel-kind*, in Kent, and other parts—which ordains, among other things, that the father's inheritance, including his lands, shall be divided among all his sons equally—is borrowed from the Ancient British law. This law was in force all over Wales till the time of Henry VIII.

[1] *Annals*, vol. ii. On Hen. II.

[2] Stephen's *Blackstone*, vol. i. p. 44.

Its designation is purely Welsh; *gavael* meaning in that language, a "hold," a "grasp," "*tenure*"; *kind* being probably the Anglo-Saxon *cind*, "kindred," "relation," signifying a law which gave to a man's family, or children, a hold or claim upon his property.[1]

The Ancient British law of *vassalage* was in many points an exact pattern of the Anglo-Saxon. The *villain* among the Ancient Britons, however, was not so degraded a being as the *theowe*, but corresponded rather with the ceorl (*villanus*) among the Saxons. He was a "bondman," but he was still a man, not a mere thing, or animal. He held his *gavel* by prædial service rendered to the king, just as the Saxon ceorl held his "gafolland." Work was to be done on the king's manor; a thirlage[2] rendered to the mill. The king's corn was to be reaped by the British vassal, and his hay to be mown: his hawks were to be kept, and his hounds fed.[3] The rent paid in "kind," which was denominated the "farm[4]" among the Anglo-Saxons, is regulated in the same way, and described in nearly the same words in the laws of *Hywel Dda*, and in the Code of Ina.[5]

[1] This is a better derivation than *gafael-cenedl*, which is rather uncouth and very improbable, *cenedl* meaning not children or family, but "tribe" or "nation."

[2] A.-Saxon, *thrael*, a bond-servant; hence Engl. "thrall," and "thraldom."

[3] Some faint reflection of this is to be witnessed to this day, where the small farmer has to keep the squire's hound or spaniel.

[4] A.-Sax. *feormian*, to supply provisions, to entertain.

[5] See Wotton's *Leges Walliæ*, pp. 166—168, 175; *Laws of Ina*,

We have already shown that among the Anglo-Saxons the ceorl could rise to the rank of a *six-haendman*, and be considered a person of gentle blood, if property to the amount of five hides of land had continued in his family for three generations; and it has also been shown that the same privilege was granted to the *Wealas*, or Ancient Britons, settled among the Anglo-Saxons. Now there was a law precisely to this effect among the Britons themselves. The laws of *Hywel Dda* enact that the descendants of a bondman shall become free in the fourth generation, if by grant from the king, he and the intervening descendants shall have held five acres of land[1]—the acre of the Britons being about the same measurement as the Saxon "hide." This fact, says Sir F. Palgrave, "evinces a further conformity between the British and English laws."[2]

On the whole, though we have no positive evidence on the subject, it appears highly probable that the Saxon laws which Alfred found scattered among the three divisions of the country, the *Mercen-lage*, the *West-Saexen-lage*, and the *Dane-lage*, were largely derived from the codes existing among the Britons, and which themselves had been partly inherited from

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lxxv. A more accurate and accessible work than Wotton's is the edition of the Welsh Laws of Hywêl, issued by the Record Commissioners—*Ancient Laws and Institutions of Wales.*

[1] Wotton's *Leges Walliæ*, p. 154.

[2] *Rise and Progr. of Engl. Commonw.* pp. 30, 31.

the Romans. Of the laws of Mercia this is especially probable, since a vast proportion of that recently-erected kingdom's subjects were Britons. Nor is there much reason to adopt a different opinion with respect to the laws of Wessex. The revisal of Alfred and the revisal of *Hywel Dda*, therefore, might be concerned with the very same ancient materials; and it is not improbable that Hywel, who came last, might profit from the work of Alfred, as Alfred, through his Welsh counsellor Asser, was likely to have profited from the ancient laws of Wales beyond the border.

One thing is certain: the Britons, who had enjoyed such prolonged intimacy with the Roman mind and institutions, had an immense advantage, as compared with the Angles and Saxons, in the performance of any such task as the compilation of a code of laws. The Britons were at the outset in possession of this advantage. The Anglo-Saxons, at the outset, were a rude and illiterate people. For many ages their only work was fighting. Until they were Christianized they had but a poor pretence to civilization. As they had absorbed large numbers—even whole States—of the Britons into their dominions, it was but natural that they should avail themselves of the legal customs already prevailing among that people, and which were superior to anything which they could be supposed to have transported with them from the wild regions of the Baltic and the Elbe.

Appropriation has always been a law of action with

the Anglo-Saxon race: appropriation of the *best*, come whence it may. This has been the rule followed with respect to territory, language, population, laws. Nothing comes ill that answers a good purpose; nothing is rejected for its foreign origin, its novelty, its apparent want of artistic harmony with things already appropriated. Two questions alone are asked: Will the thing be useful? and: Is it obtainable? The next step is action and acquisition. Out of many sources of greatness, which the English nation may claim, this unfettered spirit of trading for material and institutional gain is one of the chief.

The corroboratory evidence furnished by these few particulars touching English law may be very small; but, so long as it adds something to the balance of probability, we care not to claim for it any more important function.

CHAPTER V.

The Evidence Supplied by the Physical, Mental, and Moral Qualities of the English.

We have hitherto been ranging distant fields of inquiry;—now, we return home, and sit down by the hearth. It is to be hoped that the handfuls of produce we have gathered from the far-distant Celtic and Teutonic times and regions, and the larger results of our gleaning in the broad and fertile fields of British History and Celtic Philology, have been found to furnish a somewhat substantial treasury of evidence in favour of the position we have adopted—viz., that a large proportion of the blood of England is truly Celtic blood. Our next contribution of evidence is to be drawn from the living England of to-day—the personal qualities of the Englishman himself. We must try to understand this singular, and yet complex, personality, the authentic Englishman; taking him first as a whole, in his synthetic unity, and then, with little ceremony, dissolving the bonds of cohesion and reducing him to his original elementary constituents.

What, then, is the "Englishman," and whence did

he proceed? To define him, draw a line around him, marking off all projecting angles, all furtively receding niches, and all points, at which he, the Authentic Englishman, type of our great English nation, is alone occupant, and where neither Cymro, Saxon, nor Norman, in any of his essential traits, has the least chance of standing-room, may indeed, be a task impossible to perform. But, as in a rainbow we can tell where the red and where the yellow is, though we fail to put our mathematical finger on the point where it ceases to be, so we may be able approximately to define and distinguish the Englishman. But, to define the Englishman is to define the English nation, and a definition of the English nation will bring it into comparison with the ancient Teuton and Celt, as well as with the modern Teuton and Celt, and empower us to judge whether it most resembles the one or the other, or partly resembles both.

Our present chapter embraces two distinct branches of science—one referring to characteristics belonging to physical organization, the other to mental characteristics, and we shall briefly survey them in this order.

SECTION I.

Physical Characteristics of the English People.

Amongst us English are to be found specimens of every description of physiognomy, complexion, temperament, cranial formation discoverable among all the

European and Asiatic varieties of the race. We are truly a "motley crew." The ethnological student, walking along one of the great thoroughfares of London—that "Babel" which forms, not the point of dispersion, but the point of junction of all incongruities—with a slight effort at abstraction, forgetting for the moment that all the busy myriads that hurry to and fro are veritable English people, with, of course, not a few distinctly marked visitors from foreign lands——might fancy that he had unconsciously entered some great "exhibition," where every typical human *physique*, profile, cranium, complexion under the sun, had been accumulated for the inspection of the curious.[1] Complexions dark and light—faces round, oval, triangular—profiles perpendicular, angular, slanting—eyes black, blue, grey, brown, oblique as Chinese, large and dazzling as Iberian—hair white as flax, black as jet, red as fire, brown as copper, strong as bristles, fine as silk, lank, straight, or curly; the high Caucasian brow, the low, retiring, animal pate, hardly deserving the name of forehead; the broad, thick, pugnacious head and neck; the projecting chin and large jaws; lips as large as negroes'; small and delicate as an Italian

[1] London is a good speculum in which to view the whole people of England, for its population is drawn from all parts of the island. Our *Population Abstracts*, published by direction of Government, prove that considerably more than *one-half* the inhabitants of the two metropolitan counties, Middlesex and Surrey, are born beyond the limits of those counties.

Madonna's—noses as straight as Apollo's—as crooked as a son of Abraham's.

But all this disjointed heterogeneous crowd—so infallibly suggesting the idea of Babel—if it but once speak, articulates, unlike that of Babel, only one speech, and in its movements displays the one leading characteristic of Englishmen, take them in London, Calcutta, or elsewhere — earnest pursuit of some gainful, honourable calling, and unflagging resolution to "make the two ends" more than "meet."

If our abstracted observer visit Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, the result will be nearly the same. Not precisely the same; for in the North, and in the West, a larger proportion will be visible of forms distinctly and prominently Celtic. In the North, too, there will be frequent appearances of the light *Scandinavian* complexion — permanent witnesses of the settlement of the Danes in Northumbria and Caledonia. But with all this, there will be infinite variety everywhere. Dark, light, and many intermediate complexions — every conceivable form of limb, profile, and skull.

From this strange and perplexing variety has arisen the strength, genius, and glory of England. The blended rays have flashed forth in light. The noble daring, the dogged perseverance, minute care, patient silent application, ingenuity, force of muscle, clearness and grasp of intellect, wealth of fancy, flight of imagination, humour and drollery, and warm sympa-

thetic emotion, which have made the English nation the wonder and the envy of the world, come from that wonderful combination of races which is reflected in that indescribable crowd. But not these alone, alas! appear in that motley multitude. There appear also signs not a few of all that is feeble, base, wicked, and miserable!

If our observer proceed to a centre of population less affected by extraneous influences, and, therefore, approximating more nearly to the staminal type of the *British people* proper—say of the time of Alfred—when the Britons and the Anglo-Saxons had become pretty well kneaded into a consistent mass—*ex. gr.*, if he go to Winchester, Reading, Leicester, or Lancaster, he will still, indeed, find variety, but not the same crowding, confounding superfluity of it. He will see the Celtic and Teutonic races in their chief features, very plainly depicted; but there will be a nearer approach to unity and homogeneity than he could hope to find in the Strand or Cheapside.

Our supposed ethnological student will now wish to find still greater simplicity—a sharper division of the Celtic from the Teutonic complexion and conformation; in other words, he will be ready to witness the process of *analysing* the complex Englishman, and inspecting microscopically the dismembered parts of him. He will be inclined to go to Wales to see some portions, and to the most sequestered parts of Norfolk, Lincoln, or perhaps Denmark, to see the others. If he will permit a caution from those who

have been to those same parts, on the same errand before him, he may be informed that the step would be comparatively useless and disappointing—that, in fact, the pure breed of Celt is now rarely to be found, even in Wales, and that the pure Teuton is nowhere to be met within the British islands. He must be content to listen to descriptions of ancient writers, and to the results of modern scientific research. These, if carefully attended to, will tell him a good deal more respecting the origin and constituent parts of the present English people than he will learn from any number of "School Histories of England," even though of the approved and established authority of Oliver Goldsmith.

What, then, according to early writers, were the distinguishing physical characteristics of the Celts and Teutons of past ages, and what are the conclusions of science respecting them now?

Space will admit of the treatment of only two leading and testing characteristics—*complexion*, and the *form of the cranium.*

1. Complexion, or Hair Colour.

What is the testimony of ancient writers respecting the complexion of the Gauls and Ancient Britons, or *Celts*, on the one hand, and Old Germans, or *Teutons*, on the other? The answer to this will help us in the analytic part of our inquiry. We shall afterwards arrive at the synthesis in the modern Englishman, and

shall be able to judge how far he, in his complex personality, represents one or other, or both of these. The popular belief is, as already often intimated, that the Englishman is a descendant direct of the Saxons and Angles of Schleswig and Holstein—a belief as groundless and fallacious as ever easy credulity entertained, and capable of being in some measure corrected by the discussion of our present subject.

Let us premise that it is more than probable that the Greeks and Romans, to whose writers we are indebted for certain minute descriptions of the personal characteristics of the ancient Teutons and Celts, were themselves of a prevailingly *dark* complexion. Hence it is, that according to the usual rule of setting a high value on that which is rare, they took especial notice of the light or "yellow" hair of the Germans, and of the less light hair of the Gauls and Britons, as a feature of comeliness. So great, indeed, was their admiration of the German red tints, that the ladies of Rome, in their enthusiasm, hesitated not to have recourse to the use of a colouring mixture in order to give their slighted raven locks the hues of aristocratic German yellow! The fever, swelling to the height of the silliest worldly fashion, had gone all abroad, even in the ranks of professing Christian ladies, as far as Africa, and in that quarter called forth the following severe castigation from the faithful outspoken Tertullian :—" I observe certain ladies who change the colour of their hair with the crocus (saffron). They are ashamed of their own

nation, because they were not born Germans or Gauls; and thus value their native land less than a head of hair!"[1] We need not render the remainder of the invective; the metaphor used is strong. Possibly the ladies of England, who are said to have a weakness now-a-days in favour of red hair, might hear of it in church in the nervous language of the fiery African presbyter!

Our first authority is Tacitus. When Tacitus speaks of "Germans," let us bear in mind that he speaks of a people whose country comprehended all that wide region stretching from Bohemia to the Baltic northwards, and from Poland, westwards, to the Cimbric Chersonese, the cradle, therefore, of the Teutonic tribes who conquered Britain, and whose children the modern English are popularly supposed to be.

Now Tacitus tells us distinctly that the "Germans" were a *red* or *reddish* haired people; and he goes so far as to say that they *all* bore this character—a comprehensiveness of statement which we may, at least, understand as signifying that the general run of Germans were red haired. His words are: "Unde habitus quoque corporum, quanquam in tanto hominum numero, idem *omnibus*, truces et cœrulei oculi, *rutilæ comæ*, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum

[1] "Video quasdam et capillum croco vertere. Pudet eas etiam nationis suæ, quod non Germanæ aut Gallæ procreatæ sint: ita patriam capillo transferunt. Male ac pessime sibi auspicantur flammeo capite. Nam quod mali auspicii ait flammeum caput, intellegit omen ad flammas æternas." Tertull. *de Cultu*, ii. 6.

valida."[1] "Hence (because they bore a distinct national character), although so numerous, they have the same personal appearance, and they have all fierce blue eyes, *red* (or yellow) *hair*, and large frames powerful for attack."

Juvenal was a poet, but poetic *allusion* is often the best history. Alluding to the same peculiarity of the German complexion, he says:—

> "Cærula quis stupuit Germani lumina? *flavam*
> *Cæsariem*"[2]

Calpurnius Flaccus calls the Germans a people "*red* in their personal appearance": *rutilæ* sunt Germanæ vultus, &c.[3] This, it is true, may mean only ruddy, healthy, of fresh colour; but, interpreted by the descriptions of other authors, it must be understood to mean more. And he is evidently referring to natural complexion, not to an artificially-produced appearance through painting; for, he adds, "Non eodem omnes colore tinguntur. Diversa sunt mortalium genera; nemo tamen est suo generi dissimilis."

Strabo informs us that the Germans chiefly differed from the Celts (Κελτοι, as he called the Gauls), by their greater stature and more xanthous hair. But of this again.

There can be no question, therefore, that in the opinion of both Greek and Roman writers, both poets and historians, the Germans of antiquity were a fair-

[1] *Germania*, c. iv. Ed. Bekker, 1831. [2] *Satir.* xiii. v. 164.
[3] *Declamat.* ii. Ed. Gronovii.

complexioned, *blue-eyed*, *red*, *reddish*, or *yellow haired* people. Now Baron Bunsen had a little difficulty about this matter; and it so happens that his very difficulty turns eventually to the advantage of our argument. He informed Dr. Prichard that he had "often looked in vain" among his Prussian countrymen for the auburn or golden locks, and the light cerulean eyes of the old Germans," and never verified the picture given by the ancients of his countrymen until he visited *Scandinavia; there he found himself surrounded by the Germans of Tacitus.*"[1] Bunsen, probably enough, saw a smaller proportion of Prussians xanthous than corresponded with the strong description of Tacitus; but most observers in England know that the Germans who settle in this country are more frequently marked by fair, reddish, or dun-coloured hair, than are the English, and those of us who have spent any time in Germany, have seen there the same approximately xanthous complexion prevailing which is represented by the German residents in London or Manchester. The hair colour of the people alone tells you that you are out of England. The same dry, unclear complexion of skin —the same dry, dun, third-part black, third-part red, third-part yellow, hair, is seen everywhere. The colour in the majority of instances is so peculiar, that while you cannot describe it, you unfailingly recognise and classify it as "German": it is a dingy tan produced nowhere but under the German sky—a kind of

[1] Prichard's *Natural Hist. of Man*, p. 197. Ed. 1843.

compromise or transition colour, which has departed from the regular red of Tacitus's German, and is now apparently on its way towards a higher "development."

But the fact that Bunsen found in the North of Europe, in "Scandinavia," the country of the Danes and Normans (from whom William *Rufus* came), and the seat of the early Angles (for Denmark was in blood and genius truly Scandinavian), the very characteristic described by Tacitus, is an interesting one. In those northern parts the early race has escaped the influences of admixture, and has preserved its pristine features with greater completeness than was possible to the dwellers in less Northern and central Germany. The testimony of the acute and philosophic Bunsen is thus a strong support to that of Tacitus, and other ancient historians, to the effect that the Ancient Germans were a *red* or *reddish* haired people.

But now comes the question: do the *English people* who are said to have descended from those Ancient Germans, display these same characteristics of race? Are they prevailingly *blue-eyed*, and *red*, or *yellow haired?* Nothing of the sort. We have only to open our eyes to see the contrary. Some ladies, by their skilful toilet-dyeing, testify to the contrary! So rare is the genuine red, that it attracts attention, in a crowd, on the street. Either, therefore, the Ancient Germans are not correctly described by history; or the English are not descendants of the Ancient Germans. But, if history of the kind we have quoted is to be rejected,

a new historic criticism must be invented; the utter uselessness of all records of the past must be demonstrated, and history must be made to mean nothing more than the private reminiscences of each individual, as furnishing evidence to himself alone, of things which he himself has seen.

It is unquestionably our fortune, as English, to be so far from fair-haired, that we are at the nearest possible approach to what Prichard denominates the *Melanic* type of complexion. In twenty large assemblages of English persons of both sexes, and all ages—and a person in childhood is known to be more fair-haired than he turns out to be when adult—where 10,000 complexions have been marked for the purposes of this essay, not one-fourth of the number were red, reddish, or yellow-haired. The following tables contain an approximate exhibition of the general result:

In London.

TOTAL OBSERVED.	BLACK AND BROWN.	LIGHT AUBURN.	FAIR.	RED.
6,000	4,500	1,000	350	150

North of England.

TOTAL.	BLACK AND DARK.	LIGHT AUBURN.	FAIR.	RED.
5,000	3,550	930	360	160

[1] Though made quite independently, our observations have led

This result is given as an approximation to actual fact. But the process is at the command of any one, and there is, therefore, no need to depend on authority. It is believed, however, that the effect of observation will in all cases generally harmonize with the above figures, with the allowance of a small margin of diversity for different parts of the kingdom, and the different conceptions observers may entertain of what is meant by red, fair, auburn, dark, brown. Our tables show that the red and light colours prevail in the North of England, where the influence of the Scandinavian settlements in Caledonia having been felt more than in London. It is highly probable that observations in the West of England, or in Wales, would give a larger proportion of *black* and "brown" than in London, the Celtic stock being in those parts less affected by admixture with the light Saxon.

Now, as race is proved by science and history to be, not absolutely unchangeable, but, on the whole, if kept free from admixture, permanent in its chief characteristics, it is incumbent on those who believe in the Anglo-Saxon derivation of the English people to explain, and account for this strange and wide departure from the original type complexion. How have we English become a generally *dark-haired* race? Even granting that from difference of habit, town life, nature of employment, food, &c., some slight variation

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to results very nearly approximating those tabulated by Mr. Pike. See *The English and their Origin*, p. 134.

may have been caused in the complexion, as Dr. Prichard believes;[1] and that thus the Germans and the English alike have grown darker, much has yet to be accounted for in the wide divergence observed. Besides, on that theory, the people of Wales, as well as others, ought to be growing darker; dwellers in towns ought to be distinguished for their jet; and the negro race, from age to age ranging the open hills, desert, and jungle, ought to be found something else than black.

Recurring to our question we again ask: How have the English become a *dark-haired* race? Is there any way of solving the difficulty besides the too usual, but always unsatisfactory, one of "cutting the knot?" What help does science proffer? We are a scientific people, or are in process of becoming such. The "Anthropological Society" is in our midst. We have a British Association for the advancement of Science. Can we advance the science of our own ethnological relations? The *traditional* ethnology, which now rules, and which is ever iterating the dogma that the

[1] *Nat. Hist. of Man*, p. 179. See also a Paper by Dr. J. Beddoe, *On the Permanence of Anthropological Types*, published in the Memoirs of the Anthrop. Soc. of London. Vol. ii. 37. As far as town life is concerned, Dr. Beddoe is not of opinion that it has any influence in darkening the hair. In some cases, as in Somersetshire, he has found the natives of towns to be lighter than those of the surrounding country. P. 42. At the same time his observations quite confirm the opinion "that the invading Teutons were fairer than the prior inhabitants" of the parts of Britain to which he refers.

English are descended from the Germans, or, which, as intended, is the same thing, from the Anglo-Saxons, is in direct conflict with the findings of history, physiology, the natural history of man, and *ethnology*. Some of our men of science delicately and apologetically hint that perhaps the Ancient Britons have had some little hand in the matter of beclouding the bright gold of our Saxon complexion; and an occasional "historian" when he wants to account for so many slaves in Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is willing to venture a guess that they *might* be Britons. But on the whole we cling to our ancient faith, and allow science to go for nothing.

There is one hypothesis at hand of accounting for our complexional change—an hypothesis, too, which, if we mistake not, both history and physical science justify: The people of England have abandoned the "fierce blue eyes" and "red locks" of ancient times in favour of the hazel, brown, and black eyes, and brown and black hair, through some decided modification of race relation. Has this modification been occasioned by contact with the Celtic aborigines of Britain? The affirmative of this seems to be the honest utterance of modern science.[1]

[1] M. Edwards says that while the great Italian linguist, Mezzofanti, recognised in the *irregular pronunciation* of English the influence of the Welsh language, he, M. Edwards, saw in the complexion and *features* of the English people, the images of the Ancient Britons. *Des Caract. Physiolog. des. Races Humaines*, p. 102 et seq.

But are we sure that the Celts, and amongst them the Ancient Britons, were themselves of dark complexion? This we have hitherto of necessity assumed, and must now briefly prove.

The Welsh of to-day, though not free from admixture—with Flemings and Norsemen in Glamorgan and Pembroke, with Danes in Anglesey, &c., with Iberians or Celtiberians—a modified form of their own stock—in the whole district embraced by ancient Siluria, and with English more or less all around the Principality, are on the whole the purest Celts we have in Britain (though by no means so unmixed as their cousins in Ireland), and are a prevailingly dark-haired people. They were so in the middle ages; they were so in the times of the Romans.

No one can observe the names of persons scattered through the ancient records of Wales, the *Mabinogion*, the *Triads*, the *Bonedd y Saint* (genealogy of the saints), the *Bruts*, the *Laws*, &c.; and the names of families, chiefs, bards, &c.; without being struck with a phenomenon which the records of no other people perhaps so amply exhibit. We mean the frequent occurrence of names taken from the *colour of the hair*. It was a principle of name-giving with the Welsh to embody in the name (or surname, or nickname) the personal quality most observable in the man, or the most marked circumstance connected with his history. The principle was one indeed followed by other nations, by the Teutonic nations, by the Romans. William I.

was William the *Bastard;* William II., his son, was William *Rufus;* John was John *Lackland; Caligula* the emperor was known by this nickname (from *caligæ*, the foot-dress of the common soldiers) which he received when a boy, though his proper name was Caius Cæsar. The Welsh had a liking so deeply inwoven into their nature for marking personal peculiarities by names, that they have not to this day altogether abandoned it. In some districts it develops a vicious habit of using nicknames; but more generally it is a traditional semi-literary semi-heraldic custom, closely allied, however, in its seriousness to the serio-comic, and frequently in healthy keeping with the unbounded humorousness of the race. Vortigern is doomed for ever to be known by the alliterative nickname, Gwrtheyrn *Gwrtheneu* (of perverse lips), because he invited the Saxons (who indeed required no invitation) over to Britain. Warriors are often complimented for their strength, as Caradog *Vreich-vras* (of the large or strong arm); good princes for their moral qualities, as Ivor *Hael* (the generous), Hywel *Dda* (the good). Among the idiosyncracies registered, as we have said, the colour of hair is very frequently found.

The two colours most attended to are *black* and *red*, but with a considerable preponderence in favour of the former. Bards, when distinguished by their complexion, are almost always black or red, *du* or *côch*. Thus Gwilym *Ddu* (William the black); Llywelyn *Goch* (Llewelyn the red.) The softening of the initial

consonant of the qualifying word is always observable —*d* into *dd*, or soft *th*, and *c* into *g*, &c. Along with "black" and "red," we occasionally meet with "white" (*gwyn*), "grey" (*llwyd*), but never, that we remember, "yellow."

Among the "bards" registered in the *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales* between A.D. 1280 and 1330, there are six bearing names of colour: *four* "blacks," one "red," and *one* "grey"—Gwilym *Ddu* (black), Llywelyn *Ddu*, Goronwy *Ddu*, Dafydd *Ddu*, Llewelyn *Goch* (red), and Iorwerth *Llwyd* (grey.)

In the registers of the Welsh "men at arms" who followed *Yvain de Galles* (Owen of Wales), *Jehan Win* (John Wynn), and *Robin ab Llwydin* (Robin the son of the little grey man), to France in the 14th century, we find several persons distinguished by the colour of their hair; but perhaps the soldier's partiality for the "red" led some to assume an epithet which their physical aspect but approximately justified—at all events, although this indicates but little, in these lists the "reds" are nearly as numerous as the blacks.

On the whole, there exist general indications of this kind sufficient to show that the dark complexion was prevalent among the Welsh of the middle ages, and we all know that such is the case at the present day. If persons of royal rank, like Boadicea, or others of commanding positions, who were not positively dark, or who fell in with the fashion of imitating the admired Germans by using saffron, are described

in poetic phrase as "golden-haired," we know what value is to be attached to the description.

But now as to the complexion of the *Ancient Britons.* Of them, specifically, in this matter, few notices remain, but as the Gauls and the Britons were identical in race, we can receive the description of one as applicable to all.

Tacitus,[1] speaking of the Caledonii, who were largely impregnated, be it remembered, with Scandinavian blood, says they had yellow hair (*rutilæ comæ*); but as, with the eye of a keen observer, he sees in their complexions and stature signs of derivation from the Germans (*Germanicam originem*), he probably was writing only of the seacoast settlers, who, at different times, had crossed over from North Germany and Scandinavia.

Of the *Silures* of South Wales, who were Britons, whether of Celtic or Iberian race—certainly more genuine Celts than the Caledonii—Tacitus says, they had dark embrowned complexions (*colorati vultus*), and those nearest Gaul resembled the Galli. We must then ask, what were the Galli?

With respect to the Gauls in the matter of complexion, we fear they had a weakness for *paint*—positively red paint—for the hair! Livy writes that they had, not *rutilæ comæ*, red hair, but *rutilatæ comæ*, "reddened hair." A fashion fever had laid hold upon them. They had learned and had seen that the great, terrible nation of the Germans had by nature flashing "blue

[1] *Vita. Agric.* 11.

eyes," and glowing "red hair." How could they be equal to the Germans, and strike terror into their enemies in the field by the fierceness of their looks, as well as participate in the admiration which all tribes around them felt for the Germans? The Germans were red by the gift of nature; they would, since nature had been more niggard in their case, make up the deficiency with *paint*. So they became a people possessing, not *rutilæ comæ*, red or ruddy hair, but "*rutilatæ comæ*," hair made or *coloured* red. Would any people whose complexion and hair were by nature light and red, buy saffron to paint themselves?[1]

We now recur to Strabo's words, already mentioned, where he said that the Gauls were not so red as the Germans, or, which is the same thing, that the Germans were redder than the Gauls. The Gauls' attempts at colouring were not quite successful; the disguise was too transparent; they were held to be a darker people than the Germans.

But we have another piece of information by Strabo which is very useful in this place. While the Gauls

[1] We have pleasure in giving here the opinion of a very acute ethnological observer, the Rev. Dr. R. Williams, who, in a note upon this passage, in MS., says:—"I rather hold that Northmen, Germans, Gauls, were all light, or xanthous—the Northman lighter, Gaul yellower, German redder; but I still hold that 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. Are not such characteristics generated *in situ*, and not merely inherited?"

were less xanthous than the Germans, he tells us that the Britons were still less xanthous than the Gauls. "The men are taller than the Celtæ (Gauls), *with hair less yellow*, and looser built in their persons."[1]

Suetonius says that Caligula compelled certain Gauls to *redden* and let loose their hair, as well as learn the German language, and assume barbarian names.[2] This were work of supererogation, in the matter of *rutilare*, if their hair was already red. At least these particular Gauls neither had red hair by nature, nor had yet learned the art of painting it.

Modern ethnology pronounces the Celts of the Silurian branch "*black* in eyes and hair; complexion dark, with a ruddy tinge."[3] "But," we may be told, "the Silurians may have been Iberians." Yes, but the Siluro-Iberians may also have been Celt-Iberians.

Need more be said to prove that the Celts, both of Gaul and Britain, were darker than the Germans or Anglo-Saxons?

The conclusion we arrive at is, that the dark hair and complexion of the modern English, amounting, at least, to an average of *four-fifths*, or 80 per cent. of the population, the proportion approved by Prichard, are

[1] Ὁι δὲ ἄνδρες εὐμηκέστεροι τῶν Κελτῶν εισι, καὶ ἧσσον ξανθότριχες, χαννότεροι δὲ τοῖς σώμασι. *Geogr.* lib. iv. p. 278, Ed. Oxon. 1807; *Monument. Hist. Brit.* vol. i. p. vi.

[2] "Coegitque non tantum rutilare et submittere comam, sed et sermonem Germanicam addiscere et nomina barbarica ferre," Sueton. *Vita Calig.* c. 47.

[3] Latham's *Varieties of Man*, p. 530.

owing in the main to admixture on a large scale with the *Ancient Britons.*

2. The form of the cranium.

The attention bestowed of late years by scientific men upon the study of the human skull, has been fruitful in most valuable results. A classification has been established which forms the basis of all approved comparison and reasoning on the subject. This classification is of special use in the present case.

It has been ascertained that a certain form of skull distinguishes each great variety of the race; that savage races have a form of head quite different from the civilized; and that the most civilized and cultivated nations are easily classified together by the mere study of their crania. The influence of culture goes so far as to bring the skulls of different races into near approximation to each other, and it has been ascertained that the most developed and cultured nations have a form of skull more approaching the *long oval*, than the "square," or roundish, or short oval. "The most civilized races," says Prichard, "those who live by agriculture, and the arts of cultivated life, all the most intellectually improved nations of Europe and Asia, have a shape of the head which differs from both the forms above-mentioned" (the Australian and Mongolian). "The characteristic form of the skull among these nations may be termed oval or elliptical." [1]

[1] *Nat. Hist. of Man*, p. 108.

Referring to the study of ancient skulls discoverable in pre-historic barrow-tombs in Denmark, Britain, and other parts, as means of judging of the primeval inhabitants, the same excellent writer says: "There seems to be good reason to believe that by a collection of skulls and skeletons from these different sets of barrows, an historical series may be established, each set displaying the remains of the races of people by whom they were erected.[1]"

Much of the work thus suggested by Prichard has now been performed both in Denmark, Scandinavia, and Britain, and the result, though not free from perplexities, yields on the whole a substantial aid to science. The most eminent Ethnologists, Palæontologists, and Anatomists, nearly coincide in the opinion that the typical *Celtic* and *Ancient British* skull is elongated—*long oval;* and that the typical *German* and Scandinavian skull, both ancient and modern, is not elongated, but rather spheroidal, or *short-oval*—"roundish," "broad and short," "square."[1]

[1] *Nat. Hist. of Man*, p. 192.

[2] See a paper by Dr. J. Beddoe, *On the Head Forms of the West of England*, published in the *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London*, vol. ii. 348. Dr. Beddoe's careful measurements confirm the opinion that the Celts were and are moderately dolicocephalic. The results of the Rev. Canon Greenwell's examinations of early British barrow-tombs on the Yorkshire Wolds have not yet been presented to us except in somewhat brief newspaper reports. They may be expected to throw much light upon the prevailing form of the ancient British cranium, and to assist in testing the value of Dr. Thurman's theory, which, as yet, is quite unsettled, and which

ANCIENT GERMAN SKULL.
(Denmark)

FIG. I.

ANCIENT "CELTIC" SKULL
(Denmark)

FIG. II.

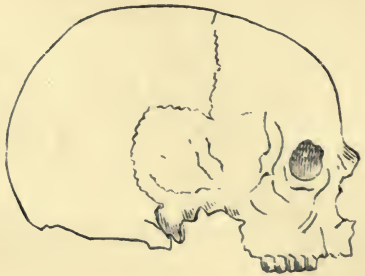
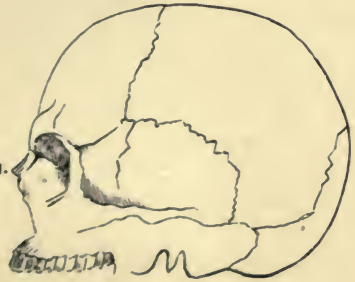


FIG. III.



EUROPEAN TYPAL SKULL.

FIG IV.

GREEK SKULL

To all rules there are exceptions: otherwise the science of probabilities would have no functions to perform, would, in fact, have no existence. It is not meant that among crania recognised as *Ancient British* or "Celtic," there are none found which approach to the short oval, or rounded pyramidal form; or that among the latter, there are none of the long oval form. That were contrary to fact, and contrary to the known results which the freedom exercised by nature everywhere produces. All that is meant is, that scientific induction sanctions the general principle that Ancient British and Celtic skulls are *long-oval* (dolicocephalous); and that Ancient German and Scandinavian skulls are short-oval or roundish, (brachycephalous). We supply an illustration of both forms in Fig. i. and Fig. ii., taken from Lyell's *Elements of Geology*, 1865, and also an European and Greek head (Nos. iii. and iv.) from Prichard's *Natural History of Man*, which are of the same class of form as the Celtic. The Greek profile and cranium are usually considered the most beautiful in form of all.

The Danish and Scandinavian sepulchres yield two types of skull—the roundish and the oval, and there is room for a difference of opinion as to their com-

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affirms a coincidence almost too singular to be true, namely, that the skulls and the barrows in which they are found are of corresponding form—"long barrows, long skulls; round barrows, round or short skulls." See *Journal of Anthropological Society*, Oct. 1867, p. cxxiv.

parative antiquity; but there is no difference as to their classification. They are said to belong to the successive periods of stone, bronze, and iron. "In the antecedent era of stone, the primitive population of the North," (Scandinavia) "are said to have buried their dead in sepulchral vaults, carefully constructed of large blocks of undressed stone.[1] From such burial places many skulls have been obtained by Scandinavian Ethnologists which show that the ancient race had small heads, remarkably *rounded in every direction*, but with a facial angle tolerably large, and a well developed forehead."[2]

Some of these rounded skulls are found, according to Drs. Davis and Thurnam, the authors of the *Crania Britannica*, among the properly Celtic, oval skulls, in the ancient tombs of France, Ireland and Scotland. According to the Swedish ethnologist, Retzius, they are "so like those of the modern Laplanders, as to have suggested the idea that the latter were the last survivors of the stone period in the North of Europe."[3]

Retzius, however, we must mention, gives it as his opinion, that the earliest barrow or stone immured skulls of Denmark, are *Celtic;* and these skulls are *oval.* He also calls the "long oval skull" of the

[1] See, for a full account of these burial-places, Worsaae's *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, pp. 76—115. Lond. 1849.

[2] Lyell, *Elements of Geology*, ed. 1865, p. 113.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 113.

modern French and English, "the real Celtic";[1] and the "shorter oval," with more protuberant sides, which he also observed in the same countries, he terms "Norman, and nearly related to the German."

The two following positions with regard to the Teutonic skull seem to be pretty well established:

1. The typical German skull is the broad and short oval.

2. A decided resemblance exists between the old Anglo-Saxon skulls found in the burial grounds of England, and the typical German skull.

We are now, then, in a position to state, without presuming too much, that modern science on the whole, is in favour of the conclusion, that Celtic skulls, including Ancient British, are of the *long oval* shape; and that Teutonic skulls, including German and real Anglo-Saxon, are of the roundish, spheroidal, or *short oval*, shape.

But, then, what of the modern Celtic, and the modern English? Our whole labour would be useless without a comparison of its results with the English cranium.

Now, it cannot be questioned, that the prevalent form of head found in Wales, in Ireland, and in the Celto-English districts of Cumberland, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, is *long oval,* and that the prevalent form found throughout England generally, is *long oval* also. There seems to be no visible difference. In

[1] *Ethnologische Schriften*, p. 65.

North Wales, in Anglesey more especially, there occur frequent instances of a high round head—the result, probably, of Danish admixture; and in the South, in Pembrokeshire, colonised by Danes, Normans and Flemings, the same phenomenon is visible; but taking Wales throughout, the prevailing head form is long oval.

That the general form of the skull in England is long oval need hardly be proved. Retzius's judgment is justified by every one capable of observing. Shorter in the main than the ancient *Celtic*, and perhaps on an average very slightly shorter than the modern Welsh, it is still far from being the "square," broad, or globular German or Scandinavian head.

How are we to explain this phenomenon? How have the descendants of the "square" headed, stern, pugnacious Saxons, become in the real, as they undoubtedly always have been in the figurative sense of the word, "long-headed"? We venture to announce, from the preceding findings of scientific and antiquarian research, that they have become possessors of skulls of the *Celtic* type *by extensive amalgamation with the Celtic race.* We do not question but that this junction may to some extent have taken place in the Cimbric Chersonese—probability lies strong in favour of such a supposition, and that the Celtic form as well as the Teutonic became subject through this junction to modification, presenting thenceforth more freely the variety of "long" and "short" skulls, which Dr. Thurnham has found so puzzling, and which has given

origin to his theory of a two-fold type of cranium representing two different waves and periods of early inhabitants—but the process must have mainly taken place on British ground.

On this whole question science has yet much light to throw. Many patient inquirers must institute investigations, take measurements, and classify facts. It is a fertile and interesting field of study. At present, so far as researches have proceeded, the state of knowledge seems to be decidedly in favour of the view above enunciated. It is not advanced, however, as in itself conclusive; it is a contribution, a small weight thrown into the scale of our general argument.

SECTION II.

Mental and Moral Characteristics.

Here, again, we must necessarily limit our field of discussion, fixing only on some few leading features in the mental character of the English which suit our subject, and whose partial treatment will not distort, though it but imperfectly expound it.

If, in finding the synthesis of the English character, we discover that it accords not with the old Teutonic character, we must search for the ground of the difference; and if that ground is revealed in the known characteristics of the Ancient Britons, we need not further pursue our search.

First, let us mark the broad characteristics of the

generic stocks—the *Celts* and the *Teutons.* No appreciable difficulty is encountered by philosophers in determining these two sets of general characteristics; they stand out in relief, inviting recognition; but as the inquiry approaches the specific branches which have shot out from the respective stocks, as, for example, the Scotch people on the one hand, and the Prussian on the other, divers difficulties, not easily got rid of, obstruct the way.

Dr. Kombst has given as fair and comprehensive a description of the Celtic and Teutonic idiosyncracies as any we know. The main points are the following:[1]

Celtic Race.	*Teutonic Race.*
Quickness of perception; great powers of combination; application; *love of equality, of society, of amusement, of glory; want of caution and providence;* · · · · *national vanity;* fine blandishing manners; great external politeness, without internal sympathy; *irascible;* not forgetful of injuries; *little disposition for hard work*; (*abounding in wit,* &c.)	*Slowness* but accuracy of perception; slowness but *depth* and penetration of mind; not brilliant in wit like the Celts; distinguished for acuteness; fondness for independence more than rank; *provident, cautious,* reserved, hospitable; with aristocratic conservative tendencies; respect for women; *sincerity, adventurous,* &c.

This is the substance of Kombst's analysis, and it must be allowed to be on the whole faithful. In his full description, however, it is evident enough that he had the French before him as the type of the Celtic

[1] See Berghaus's *Physical Atlas,* Johnstone's edition (Kombst's Ethnographic Map of Great Britain and Ireland).

character; hence he has introduced some features which are by no means prominent in the Celtic populations of Britain, such as "great external politeness" "without internal sympathy," "love of glory," &c. It may also be fairly questioned whether he is right in including "application" as amongst the idiosyncracies of the Celtic race; this quality most certainly does belong to the Teutonic.

We want, however, to find out the *differentia* of the true Englishman as compared with the true Celt, and true Teuton. The Englishman is by no means a faithful copy of the genuine German of ancient times. He exhibits intellectual and ethical characteristics which did not prominently enter into the synthesis of the old German character—we are not speaking of the modern German, for that would be beside the point and unquestionably unjust—such, for instance, as inventiveness, quickness, constructiveness, imaginativeness, tenderness, benevolence, liberality, individuality, and religious ideality. And as to the Celt, again, a great number of the weighty, solid, strong qualities of the English separate them widely from him.

The whole story of the Celt is, as Mr. Matthew Arnold has pictured it,[1] marked by not a little grandeur and mystery. He certainly has been a roving child of nature, wild, impulsive, proud, irascible, uncalculating,

[1] See *Cornhill Magazine*, March, April, May, 1866. These able articles, original, and somewhat peculiar, have since been published in vol. form, entitled, *On the Study of Celtic Literature.*

feeble in purpose, unapt for government, ever attempting the sublimest, often the sublime and ridiculous in one —as *ex. gr.* now in Ireland—but ever accomplishing a failure. His deeds in past ages have been unique, heroic, terrible, and his miscarriages affecting. The Celts' progress through Asia and Europe, seen in the dim light of an imperfect history, and, therefore, probably partaking of the fascination and grandeur which mystery never fails to cast around an object, deserves to be painted in hues befitting the trail of a comet. If you compare their march to that of a river, it is a succession of cataracts and foaming torrents. Everything seems to be abnormal and exceptional. Growth is not a steady development; enterprise is not according to plan; the reality of the most momentous predicaments is not believed in, or appreciated; means are not measured to ends; the creations of fancy are taken as realities. The Britons in all ages have been examples of all this. Vast numbers of the Irish of to-day are, beyond all comparison, its most striking illustrators. Mr. Matthew Arnold, with the insight of genius, has happily hit upon the chief weakness of the Celt—his disbelief in the authenticity of *fact.* The present disturbers of the peace of Ireland persistently ignore the magnitude of the power they wish to foil. The true Celt idealizes his own future according to instinct and will, ungoverned by reflection, and uninfluenced by adverse realities, and proceeds to the enjoyment of that future like one whose path was clear,

and whose success was decreed by fate. Hence the grand attempts often made—the occasional heroic achievements—the frequent, even customary abortions. Physiology and psychology tell us that the great characteristics of the different branches of the Celtic race are brilliancy of conception, ardency of temperament, and uncontrollable desire for action. We all know how quick, fitful, whimsical, and emotional they are, and how inapt for council, diplomacy, organization, patient labour, and "biding of time."

The fancy and imagination of the Celt, as displayed in Middle Age literature, have never yet been duly recognised. Their exhibitions were often grotesque, rude, unconnected, inharmonious, but most undoubtedly bore upon their front the imprint of genuine poetry. Mental gifts and habits, like physical characteristics, may re-appear after long, partial, or total temporary obscuration. A nation's life, like an individual's, may through violence or disordered function, be subject to suspension, and after a while, and by degrees, again recover its former consciousness and brightness. The seeds of poetic inspiration and genius lodged in the Cymbric mind, once under Roman culture, were buried under heavy masses of rubbish during the barbaric wars of the Saxon conquests. Little time was then enjoyed for letters, and the stores of literary treasures accumulated were rudely swept to the abyss. New generations with slighter culture grew up, and the

intellect of the Cymry waned into a condition not out of keeping with the sterner barbarism of their Anglo-Saxon neighbours. The force which prevented the return of deeper chaos and night, however weakened by superstitious corruption, was Christianity. But though the depressing influences were strong, the Cymbric intellect was not wholly stupefied; its native elasticity, for a time overpowered, by and by makes itself visible, and to the *Cymry* of Wales, it is more than probable, is due the honour of having imparted to the thought and literature of Europe an impulse far more powerful than was imparted in those times by any other people. The mixed race peopling England were slow in developing any kind of literature. The still comparatively unmixed Celts of Wales and Armorica were far in advance of them, and by a happy combination of constructive power, love of the marvellous, and a fancy of boundless range and fertility, succeeded in creating a type of literature until then probably unknown in Europe. The Romance poetry and prose which in the Middle Ages swayed with such potency in Brittany, Provence, Italy, Germany, and England, it is confidently believed had its origin amongst the *Cymry*. Geoffrey of Monmouth seems the parent of the whole brood. The adventures of Merlin, King Arthur and his knights, Richard Cœur de Lion, and a host of others, follow, and culminate by degrees in the Trouveres poems of France, the Italian epic romances, and, with increasing extravagance and superstition,

in the saintly fables of the Church. Among the Welsh *Mabinogion* are remains indicating a fancy as playful, and a feeling as delicate and tender, as are found in the productions of any age. How came this to pass? Can it be explained as being anything less than the re-appearance of hereditary characteristics? The culture and genius which, dating from the pre-Roman times, had received elaboration from Roman enlightenment, and asserted their presence from age to age, even under the disadvantages of incessant political disaster, broke forth at last from obscure situations, and spread a light and a vivifying power over many lands, which the conquering Teuton scarcely as yet knew how to appreciate.

Indeed the Romance literature was of too airy a nature to emanate from, or easily find entertainment by the truly Teutonic mind—even allowing to that mind a larger share of poetic susceptibility and inventiveness than is meted out to it by the severe balances of Mr. Matthew Arnold. But in truth no such Teutonic mind has existed in Britain since the first ages of the Saxon Conquest. Even the new race of amalgamated Britons, Saxons, and Angles, called English, was too matter-of-fact and sensuous, or too much under the guidance of its ever present δαίμων *common-sense*, to relish these imaginary creations about giants, elves, and enchanters. These were the proper products of the Celtic imagination, and found congenial reception among all the nations of the con-

tinent, especially in Brittany, Normandy, and Provence, where the Celtic race abounded.

Now, whatever the value of the Romance literature considered in itself, it undoubtedly speaks much for the people who gave it birth. We refuse credit to the pages of Geoffrey as descriptions of authentic facts, simply because they are not history but fiction; but estimated as fiction, it is impossible not to accord to them admiration. The question is not as to the absolute value, *per se*, of certain productions concerning heroic or præternatural beings and adventurers, but the mental force and fertility of invention they exhibit. In so far as the Middle Age Romances display these, they display the genius and culture of the Celtic race of the times.

The quantum of proof in favour of our general argument derivable from these considerations may be small, but to the extent of its measure, is, we believe, unassailable. The higher tone of mind in Britain, in the Middle Ages, was among the *Cymry*, as proved by its literary products. If the Semi-Teutonic mind of England and Normandy followed in the same wake and produced a Romance literature of equal or superior merits when the example had been set, it may be worthy of commendation as a follower and improver, but not of the crown of honour as originator. To the Celtic mind belongs this honour; and this mind was capable of the achievement by reason not merely of its race characteristics of impulsiveness, sensibility, and

brilliant fancy, but also of its antecedently inherited culture, which in its effects lay hid, like the latent force of a seed to be developed into vitality and visible form when the external conditions of germination favoured.

So far at present of the Celt. But now what of the Teuton—the old genuine German-Teuton, the ancestor, according to popular apprehension of the Anglo-Saxon, and through him, of the great English race. At what point of time can he have broken off from the vivacious imaginative Celt? By what strange differencing influences of climate, mode of life, intermixture with phlegmatic races, can he have been met since he quitted the paternal roof where the Celt and he were brothers? As long as history has known him, he has been a rather slow, deliberate and cautious individual; and yet, though slow, a moving steady-going individual. You may, perhaps, expect nothing brilliant, tender, poetic, from the true, typical German; but it will excite no surprise if he achieve something strangely great, in thinking or acting—for he is deliberate, clear-headed and strong! This in brief is the German-Teuton.

Now what shall we say of the Englishman? Is he a faithful reflection of either Celt or German-Teuton? Of the Celt, he certainly is not; most certainly not of the German-Teuton! Can it be said that he is a copy of both combined? Beyond question, think we, he can. His qualities are a selection from the best of both.

The English *must* be either Celtic, or Teutonic, or both. They have no choice of other derivation. But they are not Celtic: they present leading features diametrically opposed to the Celtic idiosyncracy, and we find on examination that these features are German and Saxon! On the other hand, they are not German; for they present leading features which the slow deliberate old German never could have worn, and these features are *Celtic!*

The natural history of the English nation, we suspect, must turn out to be a description of the processes and stages whereby Celt and Saxon were welded into one, and came to exhibit the characteristics, in one personality of two antecedent national factors. "School histories" will continue for many years yet to say: "When the Saxons came over, all the Britons retired into the mountains of Wales." "There were no Saxons in England after the battle of Hastings," may quite as truly be said. But "school histories" are not always the most critically accurate of informants; and it seems full time to put faith in better guides on the present subject. Whether our hypothesis be that there has been a large intermixture of Celtic with Anglo-Saxon blood in Britain, or the contrary, it is at least demonstrably certain that the present English people are the exact similitude of *the result which might be expected from such intermixture.* A people which is at once loftily ambitious and plodding; imaginative and practical; proud and patient;

energetic and cautious; religious and "worldly"; fertile of philosophers and traders; of inventions and traditions; declares on every page of its autobiography as read in the deep imprint of its actual, and incomparably earnest life, that it is neither of Saxon nor of Celtic descent, but *of both.* And if not of both *equally*—than comes the question, on which side does the advantage lie.

It may be objected that our representation of the Celt is not correct; that, for example, the French have displayed great aptitude in diplomacy and government, although substantially a Celtic people. This is true. But the French people had the advantage of a Roman political education, and of intellectual culture through the wholesale adoption of the Roman language, which the Celts of Britain and Ireland had not. Despite all this, and much besides, however, the French people display to this day the most essential characteristics, and amongst them, some of the weaker and more damaging characteristics of the Celtic race. Of these, we may mention a passion for excitement, political disquietude, frivolity, national vanity. The French want nothing for the accomplishment of the highest destiny, but a strong infusion of the Teutonic steadiness and gravity.

It may again be argued that our description of the Celt does not agree with the Scottish character, which is known by all to exhibit as much caution and steady plodding as that of the Englishman. We answer that

our description of the Celt may be true, notwithstanding that it tallies not with Scottish idiosyncracies. The Scotch are much less Celtic than the Welsh—infinitely less so than the Irish. The prevalence of brownish and yellow hair in Scotland is a living history of the Scandinavian descent of a large portion of the inhabitants. From the earliest periods, Danes, Norwegians and Low Germans made settlements on the Caledonian Coasts, especially North and East—as the local names of those parts, notably of the Shetlands and Orkneys, to this day testify; and all know that these islands, originally peopled by Celts, were in after times mainly peopled by Northmen, and long remained under Danish or Norwegian rule. The Danish conquest of England settled vast numbers of Northmen in the South of Scotland, and the Western coast was seldom free from the irruptions of Norwegian and Danish adventurers. All these sources of admixture have well-nigh obliterated the Celtic features of a large proportion of the Scottish people, and given them several of their most marked and valuable characteristics.

But to recur to our question: On which side does the advantage lie? In the constitution of the English people, does the Celtic or the Teuto-Germanic ingredient preponderate?

One man will say, the Germanic, because the language is chiefly Anglo-Saxon. But in the first place the English language is *not* chiefly Anglo-Saxon, and

in the second place, even if it were so, the adoption of a language has no bearing on the question of *proportion* of race admixture. The language of Gaul became Roman, although few Romans merged into the population. The Norman conquerors of Neustria, on the other hand, adopted the French. In England the English people received the Norman.

Another will say the Germanic, because the government proves to be in the hand of the Saxon. But this again says nothing as to preponderance of race, and it moreover assumes a very important point—viz., that the people who now govern are proper Saxons. The Danes obtained the government: Were they therefore more numerous than the former inhabitants? The Normans obtained the government. The Roman legions gained the government of all Gaul. The English now govern the millions of India.

A third will "take the bull by the horns," and say —with a logic, by the way, more characteristic of the Celt than of the Saxon—the Germanic, because the whole character of the people of England is truly Anglo-Saxon—the mental genius of the nation is German from first to last. Now this is just what we have been showing that it is *not*. The character of the English is exceedingly far from being a copy of the Anglo-Saxon or Germanic; and the *differentia* cannot be traced to the effects of external influences—not even to the powerful agencies of secular civilisation and religion.

Let the following summary of the leading psychological and ethical features of Celt, German,[1] and English be pondered. The characteristics given are universally allowed. Each student can judge for himself from which side—the Celtic or the Teutonic—the eclectic Englishman has borrowed most.

Summary of English Psychological Characteristics.

Celtic.	*English.*	*German or Saxon.*
	Deliberativeness.	Slowness.
	Accuracy and thoroughness.	Accuracy.
	Directness.	Steady purpose.
Quickness and clearness of perception.	Clearness of perception.	
Powers of combination.	Powers of combination.	
Imagination.	Imagination.	
Wit, humour.	Wit, humour.	
	Providence.	Providence.
Individuality.	Independence.	
Loyalty to Princes.	Aristocratic tendencies.	Aristocratic tendencies.
	Adventure.	Adventure.
Love of society.	Sociability.	
Patriarchal or family government.	Sentiment of Home.	
Reverence.	Reverence.	
	Patient labour.	Patient labour.
	Silence and reserve.	Silence and reserve.
Generosity.	Generosity.	

[1] The word "German" as used here cannot be taken as indicative of the people of modern Germany. It were incorrect to say that the Prussians, for example, are not an inventive people; and to

The following are qualities which the English may be said to have inherited from Celt and Saxon alike.

Celtic.	*English.*	*German or Saxon.*
Quickness of perception.	Power of abstraction and generalization.	Depth of thought.
Hospitality.	Hospitality.	Hospitality.
Courage.	Courage.	Courage.
Individuality.	Self-assertion.	Sternness.

There are certain great features of the English people of which it is hard to say whence they have been derived. Are *truth*, *fidelity*, *sincerity*, characteristics of the Celt? Would the Cymry allow that these virtues belonged peculiarly to the kin of Hengist and Horsa? Public benevolence, or organised charity, seems almost to be an idiosyncracy of the English.[1]

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pretend to believe that the modern Germans are not possessed of a poetic imagination while they own the names of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Klopstock, Körner, Arndt, and Uhland, to say nothing of the unparalleled imaginative creations in philosophy of the schools of Leibnitz, Fichte, Hegel, Schleiermacher, and Schelling, were a mark of either ignorance or disingenuousness. But the modern Germans can have no material share in the parentage of the English people.

[1] The appearance of Mr. Smiles's book, *The Huguenots: their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland*, reminds us of an accession in modern times to the Celtic element of the population of England, seldom thought of, but of a peculiarly interesting and valuable kind. The French Protestants, who, between 1550 and 1700, but chiefly during the "wars of religion," and on the "revocation of the Edict of Nantes," took refuge in this country, were vast in numbers and of inestimable worth to the moral life and industry of England. For a hundred and fifty years

Here ends our psychological discussion. It is simply suggestive—in no sense exhaustive. But it seems to prove that some of the noblest qualities, mental and moral, of Englishmen, are of *Celtic origin.*

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the flow of Protestant refugees, the flower of the population of Flanders and the different provinces of France, was almost incessant. Not less than 400,000 emigrated at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, London alone contained, among a population comparatively small, not fewer than 10,000 foreigners, mainly *Huguenots.* They were also found in all the larger towns, in some, as Norwich, numbering several thousands. They were mostly of the merchant, manufacturing and artisan classes, and brought with them not only a peaceable, serious, religious spirit, but knowledge and skill in the industrial arts, especially in weaving, dyeing, tanning, and work in the precious metals. "Wherever they settled they acted as so many missionaries of skilled work, exhibiting the best examples of diligence, industry, and thrift, and teaching the English people in the most effective manner the beginning of those arts in which they have since acquired so much industry and wealth." They excelled as market gardeners, and the famous gardens of Wandsworth, Battersea, and Bermondsey, were amongst the results. Those who found refuge in England are estimated at *one hundred thousand persons.* They became leaders in the art and merchandise of the country. In paper-making they were supreme, and one of their descendants Mr. De Portal, is maker of our Bank-note paper of the present time. Many of their names became distinguished in English history, literature, and science. Their hard application led to fortune and distinction, and some of our peerages are inherited by descendants of Huguenots, such as Radnor, Clancarty, De Blaquiere, Rendlesham, Taunton, Romilly; and their blood is mixed with that of Russell, Elliot, Temple (Palmerston), Cavendish, and Osborne. Speaking generally, the blood of the Huguenots was Celtic (Gaelic) blood, and was therefore a contribution to the Celtic element in the English nation.

In reviewing this whole subject of physical, mental, and moral characteristics, it appears that he must be a bold man, if a genuine Englishman, who will declare that he is more Teuton than Celtic, or more Celtic than Teuton; and he must be a bolder man still who will assert that he is purely Celtic and not at all Teuton, or purely Teuton and not at all Celtic. The anthropology of the English nation we conclude is in favour of the position held in these pages—viz., that the English owe their origin largely to the Ancient British race. The evidence, in this branch of it, is deposed by a witness that cannot err. That witness is Nature, not History. Its evidence depends not on opinion, theory, illegible parchment, distorted party representation, vague tradition. It is read in the ineffaceable characters of living features of myriads of men, and beams forth perpetually in the intellectual and moral activities of the nation. The signs of descent supplied by the *physique* and mental manifestations of a people are more infallible in the estimation of science than even the most categorical declarations of individual historians. On the skin, in the eyes, on every fibre of hair, is written the pedigree of the man. It is useless for him to refer to mere personal names, family parchments, traditions of descent, &c., for though twenty generations ago he had William the Norman as his ancestor, the blood of the Norman has been intermixed many hundred times with many hundred times mingled blood of other races in the

interval, and must by this time have become sadly diluted. To rely on the loose statements of popular historians in a matter of science were absurd. The deliverances of anthropology, anatomy, physiology, and psychology, as well as the patient findings of antiquarian research, as contributive aids to ethnology, are clear, positive, unhesitating. They prove that the English nation is a Mosaic work of divers and harmonious colours; but there are two colours which still predominate high above the rest—the light Teutonic, and the dark, brown Celtic. The English *mind* is a compound of two classes of activities each of essential moment in the creation of the highest order of thought—the energetic, warm, and ornamental Celtic, and the patient, profound and stable Teutonic.

"Genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque alta mœnia Romæ."

RECAPITULATION.

It may not here be out of place to refresh the memory of the reader by bringing into a focus the chief lines of our argument, or rather of its results—necessarily omitting all details of facts and minute witnessings of history, science, and logic, which often carry with them the most convincing force.

The reader can mentally retrace from his present point of view (he will pardon us the natural vanity of believing that he has passed through all the tangled wilderness we have spread out for him), all the main paths he has traversed. The different inhabitants of Britain at the time of the Roman invasion, though divided into many tribes or states, are seen to be all of one race—"the Ancient Britons." Their number is great—spread out over all the land from Kent to the Highlands. They are far advanced in the arts of life, are fond of trade, work in metals, carry on commerce with distant countries, are terrible in battle, have a regular kingly government, coin silver money, &c. The Romans themselves have hard work to subdue them after a hundred and fifty years and more of fighting, and having at length accomplished this

task, are obliged to garrison some hundred fortresses to maintain order and draw revenue.

The Romans after bestowing above 400 years of culture on Britain, resolve to leave it to the care of the natives, who at once set up rival governments in different parts of the country, and are caught in the confusion of reorganization by foes from without and from within, and are compelled while suicidally fighting with each other, to fight for home and life against a fierce and terribly needy foreign foe. They are found to be so numerous, brave, and powerful, that, though fated to compass their own ruin through perverse dissension and refusal to combine in time against the common enemy, they still manage by the piecemeal efforts of disjointed hosts, to dispute the ground for some hundred and fifty years, although in that time whole states, "becoming Saxons," had joined the aggressor, and turned their swords against their own countrymen.

No signs appear of an "exterminating" warfare being carried on by either Romans or Germans. The natives, if submissive, are everywhere allowed to remain in their native districts—their title to property and liberty being changed—by the Romans they are invited to the privileges of citizens of maternal Rome, and by the Germans they are pressed to "become Saxons." Whole tribes pass over accordingly, and hosts of the common people of other tribes follow. Those who wish to retain their language and customs

are allowed to live in towns of their own, or to possess parts of towns, even within the bounds of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and to live also under laws and magistrates of their own. Some 500 years after the first Saxon invasion, a great part of the South and West of England is called *Wealh-cynne*—the dominion of the Welsh, and the whole of Devon and Cornwall is still decidedly Celtic. In the North the kingdom of Strathclyde survives till within a few years of the Norman Conquest. At this time the inhabitants of Britain are mainly composed of the descendants of the Ancient Britons!

The Danes, if they add to the Teutonic population in their own persons, have previously greatly reduced it by their most sanguinary and desolating wars. The Normans bring over as many Celts as Teutons.

The subject Britons are seen dwelling on the land under the protection of Saxon laws—holding land from the king—rising in the social scale from lowly to high conditions through possession of property—and having a personal *wergild* value, &c., just like the Anglo-Saxons themselves.

The English language, through the presence in the heart of the country of a population continuing to speak the Celtic tongue, becomes saturated with Celtic elements. Those elements are not such as were common to Anglo-Saxon and Celtic from times anterior to the Saxon Conquest—though many such exist—the result of pre-historic intercourse in the Cimbric Cher-

sonese and North Germany—but actual introductions since the two races met on British ground.

The local names of England, imposed by the Ancient Britons, and adopted from them by the Anglo-Saxons — by their number and their prevalence in distant localities almost all over the island, are clear witnesses not only of *previous* occupation by the Britons, but of *conjoint* occupation for a great length of time—for by such conjoint occupation alone could a strange people speaking a strange tongue, and having no knowledge of writing, become familiar with the names whereby not only the great natural features of the country, such as the mountains, hills, rivers, vales, &c., but less prominent objects in sequestered situations, such as rivulets, dingles, knolls, homesteads, &c., had from time immemorial been known among the natives.

To the vast proportion of Britons thus seen to be mixed up with English society, and, under the ameliorating laws of the later Middle Ages, rising from a depressed to a free condition, and gradually forming an essential part of all ranks of the community, is added in later times, and especially in the present age, a constant stream of Celtic elements flowing in from Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, so that the name "Jones" is now more prevalent than either "Brown" or "Robinson," and is closely followed by the "Scotts" and the "Murphys," and only eclipsed by the unapproachable "Smith!"

If after this any doubt should exist as to whether the greater part of the actual population of England is a contribution from the Celtic race, nothing is wanted but simply to look the English in the face, scan their features, measure their skulls, and watch the rapid, lofty, and profound operations of their *minds*, and the humane and pious actions of their lives. In all these things they are now what they never were in the persons of their partial ancestors before they trod on British ground, and had the good fortune of "taking in," in more senses than one, the simple Wylisc-man!

CONCLUSION.

We have been engaged in slowly tracing the beginnings and early developments of one of the most colossal creations of time—the English nation! Were we to examine the field of universal history, our survey would command no other such ethnological marvel. In no epoch, in no land has anything of the sort appeared. It would seem as if the world, at the birth of the British people, had grown consciously old and desolate, and that, like the fabled Phœnix, it had undertaken, by a painful but sublime process of fire, to renew itself; and the island of Britain was selected as the theatre where the prodigy was to be accomplished.

It took a long time to lay the foundations of this great national superstructure. Some thousand years elapsed before all the materials were brought together. The Celtic tribes had inhabited the island probably for many hundred years before the republic of Rome was inaugurated; but being too solitary and self-contained, they possessed but an insufficient amount of the elements of expansion and development required for national maturity. The Roman added a mighty impulse, and lodged in the mass the seeds of the civilization of the old world. Christianity added a still mightier and

sublimer force. The Saxons, Danes, and Normans, a rough and energetic race, poured in their successive contributions of influence; and by the union of all into one body, and the tempering of the mass by long and painful discipline, under the guidance of courage, religion, commerce, war, science, education, and the supplementary Celtic additions from Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and France, in more recent times, the result has come forth in the shape of this "English nation," which is to-day not the "envy" so much as the pattern and friend of all surrounding peoples, and promises to continue for many ages the exemplar and director, if not the virtual ruler of the civilized world.

We have on more than one occasion alluded to the secret of the greatness of the English race, namely: the complexity of its origin. It is inconceivable that any one of the races which have contributed towards the formation of this people could ever of itself have attained to this greatness—let the time given be however prolonged, and the circumstances however propitious. The best proof of this is the actual performances of unmixed races. The Saxon, wanting in vivacity, has here been supplemented by the excitable and imaginative Celt; and the Celt, fitful, incautious, irascible, believing in the unseen, "building castles in the air," and neglecting what lay at his feet, has been moderated and tempered by the infusion of the deliberate, "practical," persevering, and impassible qualities of the Teuton.

The English people by this admixture are possessed of all the attributes which are required for government, the development of science, the advancement of religion, the prosecution of trade, and the peaceful acquisition of territory. The love and practice of liberty—a liberty not related to lawlessness—exists nowhere, as the normal condition of the people, as they do in England. Religion goes forth to subdue the superstitions and idolatries of the world from no country as it does from Britain and the United States. The industrial arts, practical science, the enterprises of commerce, are by no other people pursued with such absorbing delight, and unfailing success.

If we look to the relative power, fame and distinction of the British people—the wide reach of their dominion—(though their home is but this small island of the West) the solidity and moral influence of their character, and the prodigious wealth of their resources, we naturally feel an inward exultation, which requires for its moderation the memory of the fate of other illustrious nations which from being high and commanding have long ago perished out of sight; and are legitimately proud of belonging to a country which has been the cradle and the home of so mighty and peerless a race.

The doctrine of our essay being, that a good proportion, probably the larger part, of our nation is of Celtic blood, we are here supplied with a new ground of alliance and friendship with our distinguished neigh-

bours of *France*, who are almost entirely Celtic in blood, although not in language. The policy of less enlightened times produced between us and that great nation sentiments of antipathy not in keeping either with our mutual interests, or ancient race relations. France has had her times of error and false ambition: she has had rulers and leaders whose trade was revolution, and whose intruments were rapine and blood. But she is now, we trust, taking the road of peace, and, under better counsel, aims at husbanding her great resources, becoming our rival, not in the barbaric pursuit of arms, but in the arts of industry, the creation of wealth, the culture of mind, and the guidance of nations. The Celtic race in Britain should learn to look with new interest on France in this her time of regeneration, and especially on that western corner of France, Brittany, where the old decaying language is still lingering, an object of admiration to the antiquary and linguist, but a serious impediment to the people's progress, and where the Celt is seen in his integrity quite as much as in the mountains of Merionethshire, or the Vale of Teivy, while in the one like the other of these regions, he has enjoyed the advantage of a slight commingling with the Teuton, which he had lacked in the South and West of Ireland.

The student of history, and the ethnologist, are beginning to view with increasing interest that remnant of the old race and language of Britain still found in the Principality of Wales, and a feeling of reciproca-

tion is growing in the Principality. These pages develop the reason of this. The fundamental rule of science, whether in history or elsewhere, is not what has been believed, but what is true. The inquiry into what is true, on the present subject, discovers a strong link of relationship between the *Cymry* and the English —a link of relationship, indeed, made doubly strong by the entrance on a scale of magnitude hitherto but slightly recognised, of Cymbric blood into the people of England, and also, on a smaller scale, of English blood into the inhabitants of Wales. This being the case, let us ask what sentiments, on this ground of ethnological relationship alone, these two classes of the Queen's subjects ought to cherish towards each other. If considerations of race can be allowed to sway at all in the guidance of feeling between communities, they can be so allowed, and are trebly meritorious, when, as in the present case, the feeling generated is conducive to public order and the strength of the empire. We see no reason whatever for the cultivation of a narrow feeling of nationality on the part of the Welsh. Its root is ignorance, and its fruit disaster. Estrangement between two peoples under one rule helps only to starve the weaker. The Scotch have had perspicacity enough to recognise their own predicament, and profit from a rational course of conduct. Ethnologically, the pure Irish of the South and West do not occupy the same parallel. The Welsh of Wales, who, if our survey in the preceding pages be accurate, are now the most

prominent and faithful representatives of the old *Cymry*, who contributed the chief materials at least for the *foundation* of the English nation, and who, therefore, are entitled to see in that nation a near relation, are not so prompt in recognising their consanguinity, and claiming its advantages as they ought to be.

Instead of seeking to establish an exceptional state of things on their own behalf in Wales—a permanent wall of separation in language, and the revival of sore memories—let them further the process of coalescence, and claim, not the title of ancient possessors merely of the soil of Britain, but, with a nobler and more profitable audacity, property in the greater part of the present British people! The foundation of this great national superstructure was laid by them: the "ground colour" in the texture belongs to them. If in suffering the lopping off of the branches of their own national vine, they have only aided its propagation in more fruitful soil, why should they not rejoice? If they have lost the greater part of their ancient territories—and over which they generally managed so heartily to quarrel—they have the consolation of having, in that very process, contributed to constitute the nation which now rules; for without the Celtic ingredient the British race could not have had existence. *Language* is not a differencing attribute of nations. To consider language the main characteristic, and especially to deem all beyond the circle of its use as of another *race*, were wilfully to ignore the truth of fact. The

French of to-day are not the less Celts because they happen to speak a modified Latin; nor are the French-speaking Teutons of Canada the less Teutons for their French articulations; nor indeed are the negroes of the United States the less negroes because they speak a kind of English. In like manner the blood of Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans flowing in the veins of Scotch, Ulster Irish, and Welsh, is not the less Teutonic because it happens not to be accompanied in every case by the tones of the respective languages once belonging to it; nor is the ancient Cymbric blood now flowing in English veins the less Cymbric although the persons owning it speak the English language. There is much more Cymbric blood in England this day than in Wales, despite the fact that more Welsh is articulated in Cardiganshire than in all England together. Language is not by itself an index to race.

No valid reason exists, accordingly, why the Welsh should not feel that they and the English are ethnologically one people; and it is better they should share in the honour and dignity, the intelligence and enterprise of England, than rest contented with the obscurity which blind adherence to antiquated customs, and to a speech which can never become the vehicle of science or commerce, must entail upon them. The Welsh, like the Scotch, should aspire to be in intelligence, enterprise, culture, all that the English are, feeling that,

"Frei athmen ist das Leben nicht."

Merely to enjoy freedom is not to reach the highest ends of national, any more than individual, life. Let the earnest *life* of England—its strong steady aim at the high and excellent, pulsate through all Wales, and the highest models in thought, art, character, be emulated; let the *English language*, which is destined soon to "make the whole world kin," and which is the only medium for the introduction into Wales of all the life and civilization of England—without prejudice to the Welsh as long as the popular instinct cleave to its use—be diffused far and wide among the people. Let EDUCATION—the most urgent need of Wales to-day—the best, the highest education, be promoted both by the zeal of the people, and by the just and paternal care and liberality of the Government—care and liberality which up to the present time have been almost exclusively reserved for other parts, not more loyal, not more needy, of the empire.[1]

[1] We believe that this would be a better course for Welshmen to pursue than follow the counsels often given them at some of their popular quasi-literary gatherings. Not a few people still survive who foster a tendency to estrangement rather than coalescence between the Welsh and the English, and generate a spirit which in essence is not dissimilar to the Hibernic furor, though without a particle of its disloyalty. Efforts are made to maintain a clannish isolation, which, if left to the arbitrament of social progress and "the course of things," would soon cease to be. The sensitiveness displayed under public criticism when *ex. gr.* the *Times* applies its caustic, or the *Saturday Review* its nitric acid, to things which, if treated in the light of comedy, might pass unnoticed, but when engaged in seriously, must, even to many of those concerned in them, appear ludicrous, only proves a consciousness of weakness in

This subject should awaken certain wholesome reflections in that portion of the English mind which, through want of thought or want of information concerning its own ethnical antecedents, delights to consider itself *par excellence*, *Saxon*, as opposed to Ancient British—*Teutonic*, as opposed to Celtic. It is owing to this want of reflection that we so often hear of the wondrous achievements of the "Anglo-Saxon" in legislation, science, arms—of the sagacity, enterprise, practical aptitudes, &c., of the "Anglo-Saxon" —of the destiny of the world to become subject to the leadership and rule of the "Anglo-Saxon," and divers other things of like nature.

A few years ago a journal called *The Anglo-Saxon*, destined not long to live, was brought out to sound abroad these sentiments, and doubtless has had some share in establishing wrong notions in the public mind respecting the purely Anglo-Saxon descent of the English people and language. It was conceived and executed in the poetic style, much like orations at Welsh *Eisteddfods*, and, therefore, obtained no hold on

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the case, and that the critics are partly right. At the same time these labours of a few to move back the dial of progress in Wales, though it demonstrates the truth of Mr. Arnold's finding—that the Celt is capable of resolutely disbelieving the reality of *fact*—are virtuous compared with the headlong folly, and guilty as well as blundering use of means to an end, displayed at present by "Fenian" disturbers of the peace in Ireland. The two things are similar only as mistaken race aspirations. The former co-exists with the warmest loyalty—the latter is conspiring and traitorous.

the minds of scientific men. "The editors hoisted the standard of the race on the first day of the year one thousand eight hundred and forty nine (p. 5), and an Anglo-Saxon messenger was forwarded by rail and steam to every corner of the globe recognised as an Anglo-Saxon settlement." Of course they were not oblivious of the saying of Gregory, *Non Angli sed Angeli*, "when the youthful Angli,[1] early leaflets of the mighty Anglo-Saxon branch, drew all the eyes of Rome to their angelic forms." The editors were not quite sure whether "the good old man, like the High Priest of old, spoke, not of himself, but by the spirit of prophecy; but whether inspired or not, the saying has not fallen to the ground. From that time forward the tree of the Anglo-Saxon race took root and flourished; for a thousand years the mighty trunk grew and shot upwards, rude and rugged perhaps in appearance, and then it spread forth its branches to the uttermost ends of the earth, affording shelter, and protection, and support to the other families and less favoured races of mankind. The Anglo-Saxons have been accomplishing their destiny. . . . The whole earth may be called the fatherland of the Anglo-Saxon race," &c. (p. 4). A map was given in which the whole of North America, the whole of Hindostan, the whole of New Holland, was coloured as peopled by "the Anglo-Saxon race."

[1] Most probably British children sent as slaves to the Roman market by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers.

The doctrine taught concerning the Britons, as a matter of consistency, was the traditional one: "When the Saxons were the conquerors, they became so entirely masters and possessors of the land, that the ancient inhabitants were either banished to the mountains [the usual "of Wales" is omitted], or perished by the sword." (p. 104). This was bad history. When speaking of the English language, the *Anglo-Saxon* was not learned, for it added on the same page: "If we trace it (the English) from its primitive, oral, and extemporaneous state, to the age of Alfred, when it assumed a written form, and from Alfred through Wickliffe and Chaucer to the reign of Elizabeth, when it put on a more classic and elegant dress, and even from Elizabeth to the present time, notwithstanding the corruptions which commerce or science, affectation or vanity, have introduced, the English language—simple, earnest, homely, expressive, is still substantially the same." This is rather strong, when we remember that our present English, though more than ever "expressive," is not to half its extent derived from Anglo-Saxon, and that in grammatical inflection and construction it has almost totally changed since the time of Alfred.

The *Anglo-Saxon*, in truth, was simply the representative of a species of fanaticism, and, like all such productions, disdained close examination of facts, and scientific induction. Its career, therefore, though doubtless "brilliant," was deservedly brief.

Now whatever may be thought of the existence, in times past, and in other lands, of communities which might be correctly denominated Anglo-Saxon, it is manifest that in Britain no such community has been known since the period of the so-called Heptarchy. The "Saxon" and "Anglo-Saxon" people of England have, from the first establishment of their rule in this land, been blending themselves inextricably with the old British race, and have won many of their most valuable mental and moral characteristics through this very circumstance. The people of England to-day are even less Anglo-Saxon than their speech. As to America, it is obvious that the great branch of the "Anglo-Saxon" race on that continent is still less Anglo-Saxon than their brethren of England. The first colonizers of North America were of the same ethnic mixture with our own ancestors; but for a hundred years and more the American people have been constantly receiving accessions of blood from all the nations of Europe, and some from Asia and Africa, and from the aborigines of America itself. They have already assumed a character in points strikingly differing from the parent stock in Britain, and in all these points they present a tendency to diverge from the "Saxon" type. It is a nice question, and one for which physiological science is scarcely as yet ripe, to determine how much of this differentia is owing to climate, food, and mode of life; but it is not too much to say, that one of its chief causes is admixture of

races. It is well that that great community, the inhabitants of the United States, should be called "Americans," for they are not English, and much less Anglo-Saxon in type.

In fine, this people of England, so strong in mind, will, and hand, must learn to consider itself as something else than Anglo-Saxon; for this it certainly cannot in strictness be called, whatever style of loose nomenclature its humour may lead it to adopt. If it is more Teuton than Celtic, more Germanic than British, let the proof be forthcoming. Ever since the time of Gildas, the plea has been put in, and solely upon his worthless authority; but the argument and the evidence have never been offered, and probably will be long in making their appearance.

Appendix A.

Welsh Words derived from the Latin and other Languages.

The most probable source is put next after the English word.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Achos,	Cause,	Lat. causa.
Actau,	Acts,	,, ago, actum.
Adail,	Building,	,, ædilis.
Addurn,	Ornament,	,, ad-orno.
Addurno,	Adorn,	,, Ibid.
Addysgu,	Instruct,	,, ad-disco; Gr. διδασκω.
Adferu,	Restore,	,, ad-fero.
Adnod,	Verse,	,, ad-nota.
Ais, asen,	A rib,	,, assis.
Amddiffyn,	Defend,	,, defendo.
Aml,	Numerous,	,, amplus.
Ammhosibl,	Impossible,	Bor. from English; Lat. in, and possibilis.
Angor,	Anchor,	Lat. anchora; Gr. ἄγκυρα.
Anifail,	Animal,	,, animale.
Andras,	Desperado,	,, Andrasta, goddess of fury.
Anrheithio,	See "*rhaith.*"	
Antur,	Venture,	Fr. aventurer.
Anwiredd,	Falsehood,	See "*gwir.*"
Appwyntio,	Appoint,	Fr. appointer.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Aradr,	Plough,	Lat. aratrum; Gr. ἄροτρον. Name of instrument, is clearly from Lat., but word for "act of ploughing" belongs as clearly to Celtic, Gothic, Greek, &c. W. *aru,* to plough; Gael. *ar,* to plough; Corn. *aras*; A.-Sax. *erian,* to plough; Gr. ἀρόω; &c. Eng. *ear* (of corn), earth; W. *ár, daear,* (earth); A.-Sax. *eard;* Germ. *erde;* &c. See "aru," Append. B.
Arch,	Chest,	Lat. arca; Fr. arche.
Arf,	Weapon,	,, arma; A.-Sax. earm.
Araeth,	Oration,	,, oratio, oro; Ir. oraid.
Argyhoeddi,	Convince,	,, arguo.
Arian,	Silver,	,, argentum; Ir. airgiod.
Arth,	A bear,	,, ursa.
Asen,	An ass,	,, asinus.
Assio,	Solder,	,, ad-suo.
Astud,	Attentive,	,, studio.
Astudio,	To study,	,, ibid.
Athrist,	Sad,	,, tristis.
Astell,	A board,	,, assula.
Aur,	Gold,	,, aurum; Ir. or.
Awch,	Edge,	,, acies.
Awdl,	An ode,	,, oda.
Awdwr,	Author,	Fr. auteur; Lat. auctor.
Awdurdod,	Authority,	Lat. auctoritas.
Awgrym,	A sign,	,, augur.
Awst,	August,	,, Augusti (mensis).
Awydd,	Desire,	,, avidus.
Bacsen,	Foot-covering,	,, baxea.
Bagl,	A crutch,	,, baculum.
Bathu,	To coin,	,, batua.
Bedydd,	Baptism,	,, baptizo; Gr. βαπτιζω.
Bedyddio,	Baptize,	,, ibid.
Bendigaid,	Blessed,	,, benedictus.
Bendith,	Blessing,	,, benedictum.
Bendithio,	Bless,	,, benedico.
Benthyg,	Loan,	,, benefactum, facio.
Benyw,	Woman,	,, fœmina; but, Gael. bean.
Berf,	Verb,	,, verbum.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Bersa,	Barrow,	A.-Sax. berewe.
Berwi,	To boil,	Lat. ferveo; Gael. bruich.
Bilwg,	Bill-hook,	From the English.
Bôch,	Cheek,	Lat. bucca.
Bollt,	Bolt,	From the English.
Boreu,	Morning,	Gr. πρωΐ in the morning; A.-Sax., morne, morgen; Ger. Morgen.
Braich,	Arm,	Lat. brachium.
Brawd,	Brother,	A.-Sax. brother; Lat. frater.
Brefu,	To low,	Lat. fremo; Gr. βρεμω.
Brwmstan,	Brimstone,	From the Engl. A.-Sax. bryne (a burning), and (stan) a stone.
Budr,	Filthy,	Lat. puter, putris.
Bugail,	Shepherd,	,, vigilo.
Bresych,	Pot-herbs,	,, brassica.
Bwrdais,	Burgess,	English, fr. A.-Sax. burgh.
Bwrdd,	Board, table,	A.-Sax. bord, a plank.
Cadair,	Chair,	Lat. cathedra; Gr. καθέδρα.
Capten,	Captain,	Fr. capitaine; Lat. caput. The Welsh spelling *cadben*, as if from *câd*, battle, and *pen*, a chief, is a fanciful adaptation.
Cadwyn,	Chain,	Lat. catena.
Calan,	First day of month,	As calan Mai, calangauaf, dydd calan; Lat. calendæ.
Calenig,	New year's gift,	Ibid.
Calch,	Lime (chalk),	Lat. calx.
Caled,	Hard,	,, calleo, callus.
Call,	Wise,	,, callidus.
Camp,	Exploit,	,, campus (Martius), Roman place of games.
Canu,	To sing,	,, cano.
Cantwr,	Singer,	,, cantator.
Cancr,	Cancer,	,, cancer.
Cant,	Hundred,	,, centum. But the *hund*, in "hundred" (from A.-Sax. *hund*, 100) and Lat. *centum*, W. *cant*, Gael. *cend*, &c., are all from one etymon, the strong breathing being represented in one by *h*, in the other by *c*.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Canwriad,	Centurion,	Lat. centurio.
Canwyll,	Candle,	,, candela.
Carchar,	Prison,	,, carcer. The direct descent of the whole, *carchar*, is doubtless from Lat., but *car* or *caer* is common to Celtic, as *caer*, a place of defence. The Lat. may be but a reduplication of the same early Aryan word, *car-cer.*
Cardod,	An alms,	Lat. caritas. But the etymon, *car*, is common to Celtic, as W. *cár*, a friend; *cariad*, love, Gael. *car*, *caraid.*
Carrai,	Thong (of shoe),	Fr. courroie, Lat. corrigia.
Carw,	Stag,	Lat. cervus.
Castell,	Castle,	,, castellum.
Cawl,	Broth,	,, caulis (herbs)
Ceulad,	Runnet,	,, coagulo
Cawn,	Reed-grass,	,, cauna
Caws,	Cheese,	,, caseus, or A.-Sax. cese; Germ. Käse
Cebystr,	Halter,	,, capistrum
Cedrwydd,	Cedar,	,, cedrus
Cegin,	Kitchen,	,, coquina, coquo.
Cengl, or Cingel,	Girth,	,, cingula, cingo.
Cessail,	Armpit,	Fr. goussel, Lat. axilla.
Cest,	Paunch,	Lat. cista; Gael. ciste, likewise borrowed.
Cestog,	Large-bellied,	,, ibid.
Cist, as cist-faen,	A sepulchral chest,	,, ibid.
Chwefror,	February,	,, Februarii (mensis).
Ciniaw,	Dinner,	,, cœna.
Claddu,	To bury,	,, claudo, to shut up, inclose.
Clawdd,	A ditch,	,, ibid.
Cloddio,	To dig,	,, ibid.
Claer and clir,	Clear,	,, clarus.
Cleddyf,	Sword,	,, gladius, Fr. glaive.
Clo,	A lock,	,, clavis, claudo, Gr. κλείω.
Cloi,	To lock,	The same elements of the word, *c*, or *k*, and *l*, only transposed, are found in the A.-Sax. *loc*, a lock, *locian*, to lock. The Germ. *Schloss*, has the Latin order.
Clôs,	A yard,	Lat. claudo.

Welsh.	*English*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Cóch,	Red,	Lat. coccus.
Codwm,	A fall,	,, cado.
Coeth,	Purified,	,, coquo, coctus.
Cóg,	A cook,	,, ibid.
Cogi,	To cook,	,, ibid.
Coleddu,	To cherish,	,, colo.
Colofn,	Column,	,, columna.
Colomen,	Dove,	,, columba; Fr. colomb.
Condemnio,	Condemn,	,, con-damno.
Congl,	Corner,	,, angulus.
Coron,	Crown,	,, corona; Germ. Krone. See "*cor*," Append. B.
Corph,	Body,	,, corpus.
Coryn,	Top of head,	,, corona.
Credo,	Belief,	,, credo.
Credu,	To believe,	,, ibid.
Crefft,	A trade,	Eng. craft, A.-Sax. craeft. The form *crefft* is borrowed; but the Celtic, like the Teutonic tongues, have the etymon. Craeft, craft, and crefft alike indicate skill, manual and mental, but the former is the first and literal meaning—skill in using the hand, cutting, *carving.* Welsh *crafu, cerfio,* to scratch, carve. Gael. *grabhal,* to carve, vide "*argraph*" and "*crafu.*" Append. B.
Creadur,	Creature,	,, creatura, creo.
Creu,	Create,	,, creo.
Creawdwr,	Creator,	Lat. creator.
Crefydd,	Religion,	(cred-ffydd) Lat. credo-fides.
Croesaw,	Welcome,	Lat. recipio.
Croes-ffordd,	Cross-road,	,, crux; and A.-Sax. ford, a shallow to cross a river.
Crys,	Shirt,	Fr. creseau.
Cufydd,	Cubit,	Lat. cubitus.
Cúr,	Care, pain,	,, cura.
Cwccwll,	Cowl,	,, cucullus.
Cweryl,	Quarrel,	,, querela. In Pughe's Dict., but scarcely naturalized in W.
Cwestiwn,	Question,	From the English; scarcely naturalized in W., but in common use.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Cwlltwr,	Coulter,	Lat. culter, colo.
Cwnseri,	To conjure,	,, conjuro.
Cwmmwl,	Cloud,	,, cumulus.
Cwyr,	Wax,	,, cera; Gael. ceir, also bor-
Cybydd,	Miser,	,, cupidus, cupio. [rowed.
Cyffes,	Confession,	,, confessio.
Cyllell,	Knife,	,, cultellus, dim. of culter.
Cymmar (*cyd* and *par*),	Partner,	,, par.
Cymharu,	Compare,	,, comparo.
Cymmell,	Compel,	,, compello.
Cymmwys,	Suitable,	,, commodus.
Cymmysg,	Mixed,	,, commisceo.
Cyndyn,	Stubborn,	,, contendo.
Cynnwrf (*cyd* and *torf*),	Disturbance,	,, con-turba. But root of turba is frequent in the Celtic: W. *tor*, a heap, *tyrru*, to crowd, *tyrfa*, a multitude (same as Lat. turba), Gael, *torr*, to heap up, &c.
Cystal, / *Cystadl,*	As good, equal,	Lat. constatus.
Cysson,	Agreeing,	,, con-sono. But see "*swn*," "*sain*," in Append. B.
Cyssyl,	Council,	,, concilium, con-calo.
Cyssylltu,	To join,	,, con-solido, or sulo.
Cystudd,	Affliction,	,, castigo.
Dagrau,	Tears,	Gr. δάκρυα.
Damnio,	Condemn,	Lat. damno.
Dannod,	To cast in the teeth,	,, dens.
Dant,	Tooth,	Fr. dent; Lat. dens-tis.
Dâs,	Mow or stack,	,, tas.
Dawn,	A gift,	Lat. dono, donum.
Deddf,	Law,	,, datum.
Dedwydd,	Happy,	Fr. deduit.
Dewin,	Wizard,	Lat. divino.
Diafol,	Devil,	,, diabolus; Gr. διαβολος.
Dibynu,	Depend,	,, dependo.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Difyr,	Amusing,	Lat. diverto.
Difyru,	To divert,	,, ibid.
Diffrwyth,	Fruitless,	,, de-fructus.
Diffyg,	Defect,	,, de-fectus, deficio.
Diffyn,	Defend,	,, de-fendo.
Dilëu,	Wipe out,	,, deleo.
Diliw,	Deluge,	,, diluvium.
Diserth,	Desert,	,, deserta, sero, to *sow*—an unsown waste.
Disgyn,	Descend,	,, descendo.
Diwrnod,	Day,	,, diurnum.
Doctor,	Doctor,	English; Lat. doctus.
Doeth,	Wise,	Lat. doctus, doceo.
Dolur,	Pain,	Fr. douleur; Lat. dolor. The orthography and pronunciation of this word favour its reception through the Norm.-French.
Dosparth,	A section,	Lat. dis-partio, pars.
Dosparthu,	Classify,	,, ibid.
Draig,	Dragon,	,, draco.
Dur,	Steel,	,, durus (hard).
Dwbl,	Double,	English, from Lat. duplex.
Dwl,	Dull,	,, ,, A.-Sax. dol.
Dydd,	Day,	Lat. dies; A.-Sax. daeg.
Dylifo,	To flow,	,, diluvio.
Dysgl,	A dish,	,, discus; Gr. δίσκος.
Dysgu,	Learn,	,, disco; Gr. διδασκω.
Dysgedig,	Learned,	,, ibid.
Dystryw,	Destruction,	,, destruo.
Dystrywio,	Destroy,	,, ibid.
Ebol,	Colt,	,, pullus; Gr. πῶλος.
Ebrill,	April,	,, Aprilis (mensis); aper, a boar.
Effaith,	Effect,	Prob. borrowed from English; Lat. efficio, effectus.
Efyll,	Twins,	Lat. gemellus.
Eglur,	Clear,	,, clarus.
Eigion,	Ocean,	,, oceanus; Gr. ὠκεανὸς.
Eistedd,	Sit,	,, assideo.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Elfen,	Element,	Lat. elementum.
Eli,	Ointment,	„ oleum; Gr. ἄλειμμα.
Elusen,	An alms,	„ eleemosynæ; Gr. ἐλεημοσύνη.
Erthygl,	Article,	English, from Lat. articulus.
Esgus,	Excuse,	„ „ „ excuso.
Esgyd,	A shoe,	A.-Sax. gesceod, shod, from *sceo,* shoe; Germ. Schuh.
Esponiad,	Exposition,	Lat. expositio, ex-pono.
Esponio,	Expound,	„ expono.
Estron,	Stranger,	„ extraneus.
Estyn,	Extend,	„ extendo.
Esgyn,	Ascend,	„ ascendo.
Ewyllys,	Will,	A.-Sax. willice, willingly; willa, will; Lat. voluntas.
Ffaelu,	To fail,	English; A.-Sax. feallan, to fail; Germ. fehlen.
Ffagl,	Torch,	Lat. facula.
Ffair,	A fair,	English; Germ. Feier (holiday, festival), and this from Lat. feriæ (Roman holidays), or from forum (market-place).
Ffaith,	A fact,	Lat. factum, facio.
Ffald,	A fold,	A.-Sax. fald.
Ffals,	Cunning,	English, false; Lat. fallo, falsus.
Ffenestr,	Window,	Lat. fenestra.
Fferm,	A farm,	English; A.-Sax. feorm, food, support—hence the land which yielded support.
Ffarmwr,	Farmer,	English.
Fflàm,	Flame,	Lat. flamma.
Fflangell,	Scourge,	„ flagello; Germ. Flegel, whence Engl. flail.
Ffoi,	To flee,	Lat. fugio.
Fforch,	Fork,	English; Lat. furca.
Ffordd,	Way, road,	A.-Sax. ford, a shallow in a stream, a ford.
Ffortun,	Fortune,	Lat. fortuna.
Ffôs,	A ditch,	„ fossa, fodio.
Ffrwyn,	Bridle,	Fr. frein; Lat. frænum.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Ffrwyth,	Fruit,	English; Lat. fructus.
Ffugyr,	Figure,	Lat. figura.
Ffumer,	Chimney,	Fr. fumer (to smoke); Lat. fume- [rium.
Ffurf,	Form,	Lat. forma.
Ffurfio,	To shape,	,, formo.
Ffurfafen,	Firmament,	,, firmamentum.
Ffyst,	Flail,	,, fustis.
Ffwrn,	Furnace,	Fr. fourne, Lat. furnum.
Ffynon,	Fountain,	Lat. fons.
Ffyrf,	Firm,	,, firmus.
Gafr,	A goat,	,, capra.
Gardd,	Garden,	A.-Sax. geard; Germ. Garten.
Garth,	Inclosure,	Ibid.
Gem,	A gem	English, from Lat. gemma.
Gonest,	Honest,	,, ,, honestus.
Goreuro,	To gild,	See "*aur.*"
Gormod,	Excess,	Lat. modus; and W. *gor,* extreme.
Grissill,	Gridiron,	,, craticula.
Gradd,	Degree,	,, gradus.
Grammadeg,	Grammar,	,, grammatica; Gr. γραμμα,

(writing). From one etymon have sprung γραμμα, from γραφω, Welsh *crafu, cerfio,* Gael. *grabbal,* A.-Sax. *craeft,* also, perh. writan, to cut, write, Germ. schreiben, schrift. The first part of the word "gram," therefore, may be considered pure Aryan.

Grawn,	Grapes,	Lat. granum.
Gronyn,	A grain,	,, granum.
Gwag,	Empty,	,, vacuus.
Gwael,	Vile,	,, vilis.
Gwain,	Scabbard,	Fr. gaine; Lat. vagina.

Gwàl, A wall, Lat. vallum. Corn. *gwal;* Ir. *gal,* and *bala;* Germ. *Wall;* Sansc. *valan.* The form in modern Highland Gael. is *balla* and *balladh,* but that *gwal,* or *wal,* or *val* was the earliest adopted form is evident from the well-known instance *Peanfahel,* mentioned by Bede as a Pictish name of a place at the *head* or *end* of the *wall* of Severus. Bede i. 12.

Gwastad, a plain, Lat. vasto, to waste, to level by cutting down trees, &c. A.-Sax. westan.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Gwastraff,	Waste,	Lat. vasto, or A.-Sax. westan, to waste, and Welsh *rhafu,* to spread.
Gwastraffu,	To waste,	
Gweddw,	Widow,	Lat. vidua.
Gwedyd,	To speak,	A.-Sax. cwedan. But conf. "*gweyd,*" Append. B.
Gwener (*dydd*),	Friday,	Lat. veneris (dies).
Gwenwyn,	Poison,	,, venenum.
Gwers,	Verse, lesson,	,, versus.
Gwersyll,	Camp,	Fr. guerre (war), and selle.
Gwiber,	Viper,	Lat. viperis.
Gwilio,	To watch,	,, vigilo.
Gwin,	Wine,	,, vinum.
Gwisg,	Garment,	,, vestis.
Gwyrth,	Miracle,	,, virtus.
Gwydr,	Glass,	,, vitrum.
Gwyl,	Festival,	,, vigil; Fr. veille.
Gwyllt,	Wild,	A. Sax. wild.
Gwynt,	Wind,	Lat. ventus, or A.-Sax. wind.
Gwyrdd,	Green,	,, viridis; Gael. *gorm*; A.-Sax. grene; Germ. grün.
Gwyryf,	Virgin,	,, virgo.
Gyrru,	To drive,	,, curro.
Hat,	Hat,	A. Sax. haet.
Heddyw,	To-day,	Lat. hodie.
Helyg,	Willow,	,, salix; Gael. *seileach,* fr. same.
Hogi,	Sharpen,	,, acuo.
Hosan,	Hose,	,, A.-Sax. pl. hosan.
Hwyr,	Late,	,, sero.
Hynod,	Notable,	,, notus; W. *hy,* (apt), giving emphasis.
Iau,	Jupiter,	,, Jovis.
Iau (*dydd*),	Thursday,	,, Jovis (dies).
Iau,	A yoke,	,, jugum.
Ionawr,	January,	,, Januarii (mensis).
Iuddew	A Jew,	,, Judæus; Gr. Ιουδαιος.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Ieuangc,	Young,	Lat. juvencus.
Iwrch,	Roebuck,	,, hircus.
Llabyddio,	To stone,	,, lapido.
Llaes,	Loose,	,, laxus.
Llaeth,	Milk,	Fr. lait; Lat. lactis; Gr. γαλα, gen, γαλακτος, whence lactis. Celtic and Teutonic cognates with this Gr. genitive, are Gael. *leig*, to milk; A.-Sax., meolc; Germ. Milch; Eng. milk. Prob. the Fr. lait, has descended from Belgic or Gallic. Ital. latte. All from Aryan root.
Llafur,	Labour,	Lat. labor.
Lle,	A place,	Fr. lieu; Lat. locus.
Lledr,	Leather,	A.-Sax. leder; Germ. Leder.
Lleidr,	Thief,	Lat. latro.
Lleisw,	Lye,	,, lixivium; A.-Sax., laeg.
Lleng,	Legion,	,, legio.
Llesg,	Faint, feeble,	,, laxus.
Llew,	Lion,	,, leo.
Llewpard,	Leopard,	English. Lat. leo-pardus.
Llinell,	A line,	Lat. linea. See "*llin*," App. B.
Llith,	A lesson,	,, litera.
Llun (*dydd*),	Monday,	,, luna (the moon).
Llun,	Figure,	,, lineo, delinio, to portray.
Llunio,	To shape,	
Llurig,	Coat of mail,	,, lorica.
Llusern,	Lantern,	,, lucerna, lux.
Llyfn,	Smooth,	,, lævis; Gr. λεῖος.
Llyfr,	Book,	,, liber. But conf. "*llyfr*." Append. B.
Llythyr,	A letter,	,, litera.
Llythyrenog,	Learned,	,, ibid.
Llythyraeth,	Orthography,	,, ibid.
Llythyren,	Alphabetic letter,	,, ibid.
Machlyd,	Setting of sun,	,, occludo.
Magwr,	A wall,	,, maceria.
Mai,	May,	,, Maiæ (mensis).
Malais,	Malice,	English. Lat. malitia, malus.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Maneg,	A glove,	Fr. manique; Lat. manus (hand).
Mantais,	Advantage,	,, avantage.
Mantell,	Mantle,	A.-Sax., maentel; Germ. Mantel.
Marchnad,	Market,	English; Germ. Markt; Lat. mercor, mercator.
Maten,	A mat,	English; A.-Sax. meatte.
Mawrth (*dydd*),	Tuesday,	Lat. Mars, Martis (dies).
Mawrth (*mis*),	March,	,, ,, ,, (mensis).
Meidr,	Measure,	,, metrum; Gr. μετρον.
Meddwi,	Get drunk,	Gr. μεθυω. But conf. "*medd.*"
Meddyg,	Physician,	Lat. medicus. [Append. B.
Medi,	To reap,	,, meto.
Medi (*mis*),	September,	,, ibid.
Meistr,	Master,	English; Lat. magister.
Melldigo,	To curse,	Lat. male-dico.
Melldith,	A curse,	,, male-dictum.
Melldithio,	To curse,	,, ibid.
Melyn,	Yellow,	Lat. melinus; Gr. μελινος; Ital. giallo, whence, yellow; Germ. gelb.
Memrwn,	Parchment,	,, membrana.
Mèn, y fen,	Waggon, the wain,	A.-Sax., waen; Gael. feun, ib.
Mercher (*dydd*),	Wednesday,	Lat. Mercurii (dies),
Merthyr,	Martyr,	,, martyrus; Gr. μαρτυρ.
Mètel,	Metal,	,, metellum; Gr. μέταλλον.
Milwr,	Soldier,	,, miles.
Modd,	Manner,	,, modus.
Moes,	Behaviour,	,, mos, gen. moris.
Moesol,	Moral,	,, ,, moralis.
Morwyn,	Virgin,	,, virgo, gen. vir-ginis.
Mud,	Mute,	,, mutus; Fr. muet.
Mur,	Wall,	,, murus.
Mwydo,	Moisten,	,, madeo.
Myfyrio,	Meditate,	,, memoro.
Mymryn,	A particle,	,, minima res.
Mynach,	A monk,	,, monachus; Gr. μοναχὸς,
Mynachdy,	Monastery,	,, ibid., and *ty*, a house.
Mynyd,	A minute,	English; Fr. minute; Lat. minutus.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Mynwent,	Graveyard,	Lat. monumentum Because of erections in memory of the dead, and to *admonish* the living.
Mysg,	Among,	A.-Sax. miscan; Germ. mischen; Lat. misceo.
Cym-mysgu,	To mix,	
Natur,	Nature,	Lat. natura.
Naturiol,	Natural,	,, ibid.
Neb,	None,	,, nemo.
Neges,	Errand,	Fr. negoce; Lat. negotium.
Nifer,	Number,	Lat. numerus.
Nôd,	A mark,	,, nota.
Noeth,	Naked,	,, nudus.
Nwyfus,	Vigorous,	,, navus.
Odl,	An ode,	,, oda.
awdl,	rhyme,	
Oed,	Age,	,, aëtas.
Oged,	Harrow,	,, occa.
Ogof,	A cave,	,, cavus. But see "*cafn,*" "*cau,*" in Append. B.
Olew,	Oil,	,, oleum. Vide same. App. B.
Ongl,	A corner,	,, angulus,
Orgraph,	Orthography,	,, orthographia. See "*crafu,*" Append. B.
Orwyrain,	The east, quarter	,, orior, oriens.
dwyrain,	of sunrising,	
Pabell,	Pavilion,	Fr. pavillon.
Padell,	A pan,	Lat. patella.
Pâl,	Spade,	,, pala; A.-Sax. pal, a stake.
Palas,	Palace,	Fr. palais; Lat. palatium.
Palf,	Paw, palm of hand,	Lat. palma; Fr. palme.
Pannu,	To full,	,, pannus, a cloth.
Papur,	Paper,	Fr. papier; Gr. πάπυρος.
Pâr,	A pair,	Lat. par.
Pared,	A wall,	Span. pared; Lat. parietes.
Parod,	Ready,	Lat. paro, paratus.
Parth,	Part,	Lat. pars, gen., partis.
Pau,	The country,	Fr. pays.
Pawl,	A pole,	Lat. palus.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Pen-elyn,	Elbow,	Lat. ulna.
Pererin,	Pilgrim,	,, peregrinus (per-ager).
Perffaith,	Perfect,	Fr. perfait; Lat. perfectus.
Periglor,	A priest,	,, periculum. The Welsh viewed the priest as oneaverting "danger."
Peroriaeth,	Music,	,, os, oris. Prob. "*per*" fr. purus.
Person,	Person,	,, persona, sono.
Perthyn,	Belonging to,	Lat. pertineo.
Perygl,	Danger,	,, periculum; Fr. péril.
Pescu,	To feed,	,, pasco; Gr. *βόσκω.*
Pilio,	To peel,	,, pilo.
Pistyll,	Conduit,	,, fistula.
Plethu,	To plait,	,, plico; Germ. flechten. But, see "*plygu,*" Append. B.
Plygu,	To bend,	,, ibid. But see Append. B.
Poen,	Pain,	,, pœna; A.-Sax. pin.
Pont,	A bridge,	,, pons, gen. pontis.
Porchell,	Young pig, a pork,	,, porcellus.
Porphor,	Purple,	,, purpura, or Gr. *πορφύρα.*
Porth,	A gate,	,, porta.
Portreiadu,	To portray,	Fr. portraire.
Post,	A post,	,, poste, Lat. postis, pono.
Pothell,	Blister,	Lat. pustula.
Pottel,	Bottle,	Fr. bouteille; Ital. bottiglia.
Praidd,	A flock,	Lat. præda.
Prawf,	Proof,	,, probo.
Profi,	To prove,	,, ibid.
Profiad,	Experience,	,, ibid.
Preseb,	Manger,	,, præsepe.
Presenol,	Present,	,, præsens, præ-sum.
Pris,	Price,	English; or Fr. prix; Lat. pretium.
Prif,	Chief,	Lat. primus.
Proffes,	Profession,	English; Lat. profiteor, professus.
Prudd,	Wise, thoughtful,	Fr. prude; Lat. prudens.
Punt,	A pound sterling,	A.-Sax. pund; Germ. Pfund, a weight of money (Lat. liber). The Norman pound was = 20 scillingas; the Saxon, 48; the Mercian, 60 scillingas.
Pur	Pure,	Lat. purus.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Pwdr,	Rotten,	Lat. putris.
Pwnc,	Point,	,, punctum.
Pwrcas,	Purchase,	English; or Fr. pourchasser, to obtain by buying.
Pwys,	Weight,	Fr. peser; Lat. pendeo.
Pwyso,	To weigh,	,, ibid.
Pwyth,	Recompense,	Lat. pactum.
Pydew,	Pit,	,, puteus.
Pyg,	Pitch,	A.-Sax. pic; Lat. pix.
Pysg,	Fish,	,, fisc; Germ. Fisch; Lat. pisces.
Pysgotwr,	Fisherman,	Lat. piscator.
Rhaith,	Law, right,	A.-Sax. reht, riht; Germ. Recht; [Lat. rectum.
Rhaith,	A jury,	A.-Sax. raed, Germ. Rath, counsel,

advice, "*Rhaith,*" law, and "*rhaith,*" a jury, seem to be related to each other like A.-Sax. riht and raed, and Germ. Recht and Rath.

Rhadell,	A grater,	Lat. radula.
Rhamantus,	Romantic,	Fr. romantique. (Romanus.)
Rheibio,	To seize, bewitch,	Lat. rapio.
Rhastel,	Hay rack,	Ital. rastello, palisades.
Rhaw,	A shovel,	Lat. rado.
Rhelyw,	Residue,	,, relinquæ, Fr. relique.
Rheol,	Rule,	A.-Sax. regol; Lat. regula.
Rheswm,	Reason,	Fr. raison; Lat. ratio.
Rhesymu,	To reason,	,, ibid.
Rhialtwch,	Pomp, state,	Eng. royalty; Fr. royauté.
Rhidyll,	Riddle,	A.-Sax. hriddel; Germ. Räder.
Rhingcian,	To gnash,	Lat. ringor.
Rhôd,	A wheel,	,, rota.
Rhuo,	To roar,	Lat. rugio; Gr. ὠρύω.
Rhwyd,	A net,	,, rete.
Rhwyf,	An oar,	,, remus, Fr. rame.
Rhyfel,	War,	,, rebello, bellum.
Segru,	Sat apart,	,, sacer, sacro.
Sadwrn (*dydd*),	Saturday,	,, Saturni (dies).

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Saer,	Carpenter,	English saw-er, now sawyer, one who uses the saw.
Sail,	Foundation,	A.-Sax. syl; Lat. solum.
Sarn,	A causeway,	Lat. sterno.
Sarnu,	To strew,	
Sarph,	Serpent,	,, serpens.
Sebon,	Soap,	Fr. savon; Lat. sapo; Ital. sapona; Gael. siabunn.
Segur,	Idle,	Lat. securus, sine-cura.
Senedd,	Senate,	,, senatus, senis.
Seneddwr,	Senator,	,, senator.
Serio,	To sear,	A.-Sax. seoran.
Siampl,	Example,	English; Lat. exemplum.
Sicr,	Certain,	Germ. sicher; Lat. securus.
Sicrhau,	Assure,	,, ibid.
Siengl,	Single,	English; Lat. singulus.
Sill,	Syllable,	Engl. or Lat. syllaba; Gr. συλλαβὴ (taking together letters).
Sillaf,		
	Uncert. from which of these the Welsh is borrowed.	
Sionc,	Active,	Lat. juvencus (young).
Soddi,	To sink,	A.-Sax. scothan (to boil, seethe), hence "sodden"; Lat. sido.
Suddo,		
Sugno,	To suck,	Lat. sugo; A.-Sax. sucan.
Stigyl,	Stile,	A.-Sax. stigel.
Swch,	Ploughshare,	Fr. soc; Lat. seco.
Swllt,	Shilling,	Lat. solidus.
Swmbwl,	A goad,	,, stimulus.
Symbylu,	To stimulate,	,, ibid.
Swn,	Sound,	Fr. son; Lat. sonus. Though a common etymon exists, this particular form seems to be thus derived. See *swn, sain,* in Append. B.
Swydd,	Office,	Lat. situs.
Syber,	Sober, proper,	,, sobrius, or Fr. sobre.
Sych,	Dry,	,, siccus.
Sylfaen,	Foundation,	A.-Sax. syl, and W. *maen,* a stone.
Syml,	Simple,	Lat. simplex.
Symmud,	To remove,	,, se-moveo, motus.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Synio,	Perceive,	Lat. sentio.
Taenu,	To spread,	Sometimes der. from Lat. tendo. But see *taenu, teneu,* Append. B.
Tafarn,	Tavern,	English, from Lat. taberna.
Taradr,	Auger,	Fr. touret; Lat. terebra.
Tarfu,	To scare,	Lat. turbo.
Tasg,	Tax,	Lat. taxo; Gr. τασσω.
Tewi,	To be silent,	Lat. taceo.
Terfyn,	End, bound,	,, terminus.
Terfysg,	Commotion,	,, misceo. *Terfysgu,* as if from *torf* (a crowd) or *twrw,* (noise), and *mysgu.*
Terfysgu,	To make a commotion,	,, ibid.
Teyrn,	A king,	,, tyrannus, Gr. τύραννος.
Teyrnas,	Kingdom,	,, ibid.
Teitl,	Title,	,, titulus; scarcely naturalized in Welsh, but in gen. use.
Tôn,	Tone,	,, tonus, prob. borrowed from English.
Traddodi,	To deliver,	,, trado, tradidi.
Traddodiad,	Tradition,	,, ibid.
Traethu,	Relate, treat of,	,, tracto, like *ffaith* from factum.
Trafael,	Travel, labor,	Fr. travail (s.), travailler (v.)
Trafaelu,	To travel,	Ibid.
Trawst,	A beam,	Lat. transtrum.
Trebl,	Treble,	English. Not quite naturalized, but in common use. Lat. triplex.
Trist,	Sad,	Fr. triste; Lat. tristis.
Trosedd,	Transgression,	Lat. transeo-itum.
Trwsio,	Tie, or gird up,	Fr. trousser.
Trybedd,	Trivet,	English; Lat. tripes; Fr. trepie.
Trysor,	Treasure,	Fr. tresor; Lat. thesaurus; Gr.
Tymestl,	Tempest,	Lat. tempestas, tempus.
Tymer,	Temper,	English; Lat. tempero, ib.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Tymmyg,	Timely,	English; A.-Sax. tima (time), has a common root with tempus.
Tymp,	Time of child-birth,	Lat. tempus.
Tyner,	Tender,	,, tener.
Tyst,	Witness,	,, testis.
Ufydd,	Obedient,	,, obedio; *f.* substituted for *b.*
Ugain, / *Ugaint,*	Twenty,	Lat. viginti; but a common root is seen in Gr. εἴκοσί; Lat. *vig*inti; W. *ug*ain; Gael. *fich*ead.
Urdd,	Order, ordination.	Lat. ordo.
Urddas,	Dignity,	Lat. ordo.
Usuriaeth,	Usury,	English; from Lat. usura; scarcely naturalized.
Uwd,	. . .	Lat. uvidus (spoon meat).
Ymbalfalu,	To grope,	,, palma.
Ymerawdwr,	Emperor,	,, imperator.
Ymerodraeth,	Empire,	,, ibid. (*Ymerawdwraeth.*)
Ymgeleddu,	To cherish,	,, colo. Pref. *ym,* reflexive.
Ysgeler,	Wicked,	,, scelerosus.
Ysgol,	School,	,, schola; Gr. σχολή.
Ysgol,	A ladder,	,, scala.
Ysgrin,	A chest,	,, scrinium.
Ysgub,	A sheaf,	,, scopæ.
Ysgubell,	A broom,	,, scopula.
Yspaid,	A space of time.	,, spatium.
Ysplennydd,	Bright, splendid,	,, splendidus,
Yspryd,	Spirit,	,, spiritus, spiro.
Yspytty,	Hospital,	,, hospitium.
Ystad,	Estate,	English; Fr. etat; Lat. statum, "established possession."
Ystafell,	Chamber, a room.	Lat. stabulum.
Ystod,	Space, course,	,, stadium.
Ystôl,	A stool,	A.-Sax. stol.
Ystori,	History,	Lat. historia.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Ystorm,	A storm,	A.-Sax. storm.
Ystrad,	Vale, street,	Lat. stratum, sterno.
Ysu,	Eat, devour,	,, edo-esum.
Yswain,	Esquire, orig. a shieldbearer,	Ital. signore; Lat. scutum, a shield; Fr. écuyer,

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Aberth,	Sacrifice,	Lat. offero, offertorium (a place of sacrifice).
Aberthu,	To sacrifice,	
Aberthwr,	Sacrificer,	
Addoli,	To worship,	,, adolo.
Adfent,	Advent,	,, advenio, adventus.
Allor,	Altar,	,, altare.
Angel,	Angel,	,, angelus; Gr. αγγελος.
Archesgob,	Archbishop,	,, archiepiscopus; Gr. αρχη.
Bedydd,	Baptism,	,, baptizo; Gr. βαπτιξω; Gael. baisteadh (same source).
Bedyddio,	To baptize,	
Beibl,	Bible,	Prob. fr. English; Gr. Βιβλος.
Bendigaid,	Blessed,	Lat. benedico, benedictus, benedictum.
Bendigo,	To bless,	
Bendith,	Blessing,	
Calan (*dydd*),	First day,	,, calendæ.
Cangell,	Chancel,	,, cancelli.
Canghellwr,	Chancellor,	,, cancellarius.
Capel,	Chapel,	Fr. chapelle; Lat. capella.
Credo,	Creed,	Lat. credo.
Credu,	Believe,	
Crefydd,	Religion,	,, credo, and fides (faith).
Creu,	To create,	,, creo.
Creadur,	Creature,	,, creatura.
Creawdwr,	Creator,	,, creator.
Creadigaeth,	Creation,	,, creatio.
Crist,	Christ,	,, Christus; Gr. Χριστος.
Cristion,	Christian,	,, Christianus.
Cristionogaeth,	Christianity,	,, ibid.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Croes,	Cross,	Lat. crux.
Croeshoeliad,	Crucifixion,	,, crux, and W. *hoelio,* to nail.
Cwccwll,	Monk's hood,	,, cucullus.
Cymmun,	Communion,	,, con and unus, communico.
Cymmuno,	To communicate,	,, ibid.
Cyffes,	Confession,	,, confessio, confiteor.
Cyffesu,	To confess,	,, ibid.
Cyssegr,	Holy place,	,, consecro.
Cyssegriad,	Consecration,	,, ibid.
Cyssegr-lân,	Holy,	"*Cyssegr,*" and *glân,* pure, holy.
Deddf, y ddeddf,	The law,	Lat. datum.
Deddf-roddwr,	Lawgiver,	"*Deddf,*" and *rhoddi,* to give.
Deddfol,	Legal,	"*Deddf,*" and adj. term. *ol.*
Degwm,	Tithe,	Lat. decem, decimal.
Degymmu,	To take a tenth.	,, decimo.
Diacon,	Deacon,	,, diaconus; Gr. διάκονος.
Diafol,	Devil,	,, diabolus; Gr. διαβολος.
Dieflyg,	Devilish,	"*Diafol,*" with adj. term. *ig.*
Diwinydd,	Divine (s.),	Lat. divinus.
Diwinyddiaeth,	Divinity,	"*Diwinydd,*" and *iaeth,* or *aeth,* marking what belongs to the divine.
Duw,	God,	Lat. Deus; Gr. Θεος.
Duwdod,	Godhead,	,, divinitas.
Duwiol,	Godly,	"*Duw,*" and term. *iol,* indicating quality of likeness.
Duwioldeb,	Godliness,	"*Duwiol,*" and term. *deb.*
Dwyfol,	Divine,	Lat. divinus.
Efengyl,	Gospel,	,, evangelium; Gr. εὐαγελιον.
Efengylaidd,	Evangelical,	"*Efengyl,*" and adj. term. *aidd.*
Efengylu,	To evangelize, to preach,	"*Efengyl,*" and verb term. *u.*
Efengylwr,	Evangelist,	"*Efengyl,*" and term. *wr,* denoting, like Eng. *er,* a masculine agent.

Eglwys, Church, Fr. eglise; Lat. ecclesia; Gr. εκκλησια. The W. word is used both for the building and the congregation of believers. Εκκλησια, by metonymy, came in like manner to have this twofold signification.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Eglwyswr,	Churchman,	"*Eglwys,*" and *gwr,* man.
Elfenau,	Elements (in Sacrament),	Lat. elementa (ultimate derivation unknown).
Esgob,	Bishop,	,, episcopus; Gr. επισκοπος.
Esgobaeth,	Diocese,	"*Esgob,*" and *aeth,* what belongs [to.
Esgobyddiaeth,	Episcopacy,	"*Esgob*"*-ydd-iaeth.*
Ffydd,	Faith,	Lat. fides.
Ffyddlawn,	Faithful,	,, ibid. "*ffydd,*" and *llawn,* full.
Garawys,	Lent,	,, quadragesima.
Gosper,	Vespers,	,, vesper.
Grâs,	Grace,	,, gratia.
Graslawn,	Gracious,	"*Grâs,*" and *llawn,* full.
Grasusol,	Gracious,	Lat. gratiosus.
Gwener-y-Groglith,	Good Friday,	Lat. Veneris (dies), crux, lectio. The Friday on which a reading or service concerning the Crucifixion was held.
Gwyl,	Festival,	Lat. vigiliæ; Fr. veille.
Gwylnos,	Watch-night,	"*Gwyl,*" and *nos,* night—a night of watching over a corpse.
Llëyg (*gwr*),	Layman,	Fr. laique; Lat. laicus.
Llith,	A lesson,	Lat. lectio.
Merthyr,	A martyr,	,, martyrus; Gr. μαρτυρ.
Mynwent,	Grave-yard,	,, monumentum. Place of burial, and of erections to commemorate the dead and admonish or remind (moneo) the living.
Nadolig,	Christmas,	Lat. natalis, nascor.
Offeiriad,	A priest,	,, offero.
Offeren,	The mass,	,, ibid.
Offerenu,	To perform mass,	,, ibid.
Offrwm,	Sacrifice,	,, ibid.
Offrymu,	To sacrifice,	,, ibid.
Ordeinio,	Ordain,	Eng.; Lat. ordo, ordinis, ordinatio.
Ordinhâd,	Ordinance,	,, Lat. ordinatio.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Pabell,	Tabernacle,	Fr. pavillon; Lat. papillio.
Pader,	Lord's prayer,	Lat. Pater (noster).
Pâb,	Pope,	Ital. papa.
Pabaidd,	Papal,	,, ibid.
Pabyddiaeth,	Popery,	,, ibid.
Pasg,	Easter,	Lat. pascha; Gr. πάσχω.
Pechadur,	Sinner,	" peccator.
Pechod,	Sin,	,, peccatum.
Pechu,	To sin,	,, pecco (root uncertain).
Periglor.	Priest,	,, periculum.
Plygain,	Matins, cock-crow- [ing.	,, pluma, cano.
Pregeth,	A sermon,	,, prædico, dictum.
Pregethwr,	Preacher,	,, prædicator.
Pregethiad,	A preaching,	,, prædicatio.
Prophwyd,	A prophet,	,, propheta; Gr. προ, and
Prophwydo,	To foretell,	φημειν, to foretell.
Prophwydoliaeth,	Prophecy,	,, propheta, and W. termns. *oliaeth*—the one adjectival, the other nominal.
Saboth,	Sabbath,	English; Heb. שַׁבָּת, rest.
Sabothol,	Belonging to the Sabbath,	"*Saboth,*" and adj. term. *ol.*
Sanct,	A saint,	Lat. sanctus.
Sanctaidd,	Holy,	"*Sanct,*" and adj. termin. *aidd.*
Sancteiddio,	To sanctify,	"*Sanctaidd,*" and verb termin. *io.*
Sancteiddhâd,	Sanctification,	Ibid., and *hâd,* nominal term.
Sancteiddrwydd,	Holiness,	Ibid., and *rwydd,* nominal term.
Sect,	A sect,	Lat. seco, sectum. In common use, but scarcely naturalized.
Sectariaeth,	Sectarianism,	English, with W. termn.
Sul,	Sunday,	Lat. sol, solis (dies); A.-Sax. sunnan daeg; the sun's day. Germ. Sonntag. The Saxons worshipped the sun.
Sulgwyn,	Whit-Sunday,	"*Sul,*" and *gwyn,* white.
Teml,	Temple,	Lat. templum.
Trindod,	Trinity	,, trinitas (post-class.)

Welsh.	*English.*	*Immed. Deriv. and Cognates.*
Uffern,	Hell,	,, infernum.
Urdd,	Order,	,, ordo.
Urddas,	Dignity,	,, ibid.
Urddo, / *Urddasu,*	To ordain,	,, ibid.
Y-stwyll,	Epiphany,	,, stella (the star of Bethlehem).
Ysgrythyr,	Scripture,	,, scriptura.
Ysgrythyrol,	Scriptural,	,, ibid.

It were easy to show that the Cymbric is not the only Celtic tongue corrupted by contact with other languages. The Cornish contains much Latin, and is saturated with English. The Manx is not free from Danish. The French ingredients found in the Armoric are numbered by thousands.[1] The Gaelic, by reason of its early separation and less frequent contact with English might be supposed to have preserved its purity nearly intact, but a few examples will show how greatly it has borrowed: English, *master;* Gael., *maighster;* merchant, *marsanta;* mountain, *monadh;* honour, *onior;* common, *cumanta;* image, *iomhaigh;* figure, *fioghair;* feast, *feish;* failure, *faillinn;* draw, *dragh;* dozen, *dusan;* school, *sgoil;* scholar, *sgoilear;* devil, *diabhol;* save, *sabhail;* sacrament, *socramaid;* steer, v. *stiur;* sum, *suim;* board, *bord;* time, *tim;* pain, *pian;* reason, *reuson;* market, *margadh.*

[1] See p. 55, *ante.*

Appendix B.

Cymbric Words sometimes derived from Latin, etc., but which seem to proceed from Aryan etymons which have become the common property of many European languages, Classic, Celtic, and Teutonic.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Cognates.*
Ail,	Second, other,	Gr. αλλος; Lat. alius; Gael. *eill;* Corn. *eil;* Manx, *elley.*
Ar,	Earth,	Vide "aru."
Argraph,	Imprint,	W. *ar,* upon, and *crafu,* to scrape, scratch, cut; Gael. *grabhal,* to engrave; A.-Sax. *graef,* a graver; Gr. γραφω.
Aru,	To plough,	Gael. *ar,* to plough; Corn. *aras, aradar,* a plough; A.-Sax. *erian;* to plough; Gr. ἀρόω; Lat. aro; related to W. *âr, daear,* earth; A.-Sax. *eard;* Germ. *Erde,* earth; Engl. *ear* (of corn.), and Old Engl. *ear,* to plough.
Awen,	Poetic afflatus,	W. *aw,* a fluid; *awel,* a breath of air; *avon,* flowing water; Gael. *athar;* Lat. aer; Gr. ἀὴρ.
Awyr,	Air,	
Awr,	Hour,	Lat. hora; Gr. ὥρα; Gael. *uair;* Germ. *Uhr;* Corn. *our;* Manx, *ovr.*
Boreu,	Morning,	Gr. πρωΐ; A.-Sax. morn, morgen; Germ. *Morgen;* Corn. *bore;* Arm. *beure.*
Buwch,	A cow,	Lat. vacca; Gr. βους; Gael. *bo;* Corn. *buch;* Arm. *bu.*

Welsh.	*English.*	*Cognates.*
Cae,	An enclosure,	Lat. castrum. Not reducible to any Latin roots. Related to W. *cau,* to close; Ir. *cathair;* Corn. *caer;* Pers. *car*; Syriac, *karac;* Arab. *carac;* Lat. cavus.
Caer,	A city, fortress,	
Caeth,	Shut in, captive,	Lat. capio. But whence "cap"? Cymbric has *cae,* an enclosure (as above); *cau,* to close, enclose; hence *caer,* a fortress; Gael. *comb,* a guard, defence; Corn. *caeth;* Arm. *kez;* Lat. cavus.
Cafn,	A hollow,	W. *cau,* hollow; Lat. cavus, hollow; Gael. *uamh,* a cave; A.-Sax. *cafer-tun,* an enclosure before a dwelling. This "cafer" prob. same as W. *caer.*
Cain,	White, beautiful,	Lat. candidus, candeo; W. *gwyn,* white, prob. same; and Gael. *can* and *fionn;* Corn. *can;* Arm. *ib.*
Càn,		
Cár,	A friend,	Lat. carus; Gr. χαριεις; Gael. *car;* Corn. *car;* Arm. *cár;* Fr. *cher;* Sanscr. *craiyas.*
Cariad,	Love,	Lat. caritas; Gr. χάρις-χάριτος, and χάιρω; Gael. *carantachd;* Corn. *carense.*
Carn	The end or haft of a thing,	Lat. cornu, the projecting part; Ir. and Gael. *cairn;* W. *carn,* prominence, pile; Corn. *ib.,* as of land, "Cornwall," the horn or promontory of the Wealas, or Welsh. A.-Sax. *horn;* Germ. *Horn.* The Teutonic differs from Celtic in the rough breathing *h* being substituted for *c.*
Corn,	The horn,	
Cau,	Hollow,	Lat. cavus; Gr. κοῖλος; Gael. *cuas, cos.*
Ceffyl,	Horse,	Gr. καβαλλης; Lat. caballus; Fr. *cheval;* Ir. *capall;* Corn. *cevil* (Corn. local name *Pen-cevil,* "horse's head"); Manx. *cabbyl.* In use amongst peasantry in Yorkshire in Welsh form *kevill.*
Cell,	A cell,	Lat. cella (a cell); celo; Gr. κοῖλος (hollow); Ir. and Gael. *cil, ceall;* Corn. *celes* (to hide); Sansc. *cal,* to cover; Gr. κλείω, to shut in.
Celu,	To conceal,	
Cil,	A corner, recess,	
Cilio,	To retreat,	
Cerfio,	To carve,	Vide "*crafu*" and "*argraph.*"

Welsh.	*English.*	*Cognates.*
Clôch,	A bell,	A.-Sax. clucge; Germ. *Glocke;* Fr. *cloche;* Gael. *clag;* Corn. *cloch;* Manx, *clagg.*
Côr,	A choir,	Lat. chorus; Gr. χόρος; Fr. *choeur;* Gael. *coisir;* A.-Sax. *chor;* Germ. *Chor.* The first signif. of W. *côr,* is a circle, which proves its affinity to Gr. χόρος, a dance in a ring. Not improb. that W. *coron,* Lat. corona, Gr. κορώνη, Germ. *Krone,* are from the same idea of a *circle*—surrounding the head.
Crafu,	To scrape, cut, &c.,	Vide "*argraph*" and "*ysgrifio.*"
Cynnwrf, or *Cynhwrf,*	Commotion, disturbance,	W. *cyd,* together; *twrf,* a tumult; or *tyrfa,* a crowd, multitude; Lat. turba, a crowd; turbo, to disturb; W. *twr,* a heap, tower; Gael. *tur,* ib.; A.-Sax. *tor*; Germ. *Thurm;* Lat. turris, &c. Vide "*twr.*" W. *twrf,* is the tumult of a crowd, or *tyrfa;* and *tyrfa,* like Lat. turba is a *twr, tor,* or *tur, i.e.,* a heap or accumulation (of men). Vide "*torf.*"
Dagrau,	Tears,	Gr. δακρυα; A.-Sax. *táeher,* tear; Germ. *zähre;* Gael. *deur;* Corn. *dager;* Arm. *daer.*
Galw,	To call,	Gr. καλεω; Lat. (archaic) calo; Gael. *glaodh;* Germ. *Schall,* a sound; Corn. *galow,* a call; Sansc. *cal,* to proclaim.
Genu,	To give birth to,	Gr. γινομαι, γενος; Lat. geno, gens; Gael. *gin,* to procreate; *gineal,* offspring; Arm. *gana;* Corn. *geny;* A.-Sax. *cyn,* lineage, race; and prob. *cunnan,* to know (recognise, the nearly related) and on this account be *able, have power;* hence *cyn-ing,* a "king," either because a "power wielder," or one of the "race." Thus Engl. generate, genus; kin, kindred; king, know, are all of one original root, the common property of most of the Celtic, Go hic, and other tongues of Europe.
Gwedyd, *Gweyd,* *Chwedl,*	To speak, Say, A saying,	Gr. αὐδάζω; A.-Sax. *cwyde,* a speech, saying; *cwedan,* to speak; Corn. *gwesys.*

Welsh.	*English.*	*Cognates.*
Gwèn, f.,	White, fair,	Also applied as an epithet and
Gwyn, m.,	Beautiful,	proper name to females. A.-Sax.

cwén, a queen, wife, woman. The Celtic adj. *gwèn*, white, fair, has a significance, when applied as an epithet of distinction, which the A.-Sax. *cwén* has not. The latter is clearly borrowed from the former, as is proved by Cwensea, the Saxon name of the "White Sea;" Germ. "*Weisse-mer*"; Fr. "*Mer-blanche*." The primitive sense of "white" is lost to the A.-Sax. Cwen, and Eng. Queen; and by this loss its use for a female ruler is simply arbitrary and technical. The W. "*gwèn*" retains the primitive signification, and explains the reason of the epithet. Gael. and Ir. *can* and *fionn*; Corn. *gwyn*; Arm. *gwenn*. The root is also seen in Lat. *candeo, candidus*.

Gwir, True, truth, Lat. verus; Gael. *fior*; Corn. *gwir*; Arm. *gwir*; Germ. *wahr*; Sansc. *varyas*, excellent; Engl. very—"the very man."

Gwin, Wine, This belongs to a class of words which from antecedent probability might be looked for in the primitive stage of most European languages. There can be no reason for deriving it into Welsh or Irish from Latin. It seems to be the property of all the Aryan tongues, with slight differences, initial and terminal, corresponding to the genius of each. Gr. οἶνος, Æol. γοινος (origin. Fῖνος) Lat. vinum; Ir. and Gael. *fion*; Corn. and Arm., *gwin*; A.-Sax., *win*; Germ. *Wein*; Russ. *vino*. It is not absent from Semitic: Heb. יַיִן, *ain*.

Gwlân, Wool, (? Gr. κάλον, beautiful, useful, good) Lat. lana; Gael. *olann*; A.-Sax. *wull*; Germ. *Wolle*. The sheep is prevailingly white in all countries, and its covering, in W. *gwlân*, may owe its name to its pure and white appearance, and be derived from *glân*, pure, clean.

Gwr,	A man,	Gr. γέρων, an *elder*, a *senator*;
Gwron,	A noble, brave man	Lat. vir, Gr. ἄρης; Ir. and Gael, *fear*; A.-Sax. *wer*; Corn. *gour*; Goth. *vair*; Sansc. *varas*, from *var*, to defend.

Hafal, fel, mal, Like, similar, Gr. ὅμαλος; Lat. similis; Gael. adv. *amhuil*; Corn. *haval*; Arm. *hevel*.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Cognates.*
Haul,	The sun,	Gr. ἥλιος; Lat. sol; Gael. and Ir. *soil;* Corn. *heul;* Arm. *heol;* Goth. *sauil;* Lith. *saule.*
Llab, llafn,	Slab, blade,	Lat. lamina, Gr. ἐλασμὸς (blade of a sword), Gael. *lann;* A.-Sax. *laef*; Eng. *leaf*; Germ. *Laub.*
Lled, llydan,	Width, wide,	Gr. πλατὺς; Lat. latus; Ir. *leathan*; Gael. *leud;* Germ. *Platt,* (a plain); Corn. *ledan;* Arm. *ib.*
Llewyrch,	A light, a shining,	Gr. λύχνος; Lat. lux; Gael. *lochran, soileirich* (to lighten); Corn. *lugarn; luchas* (lightning).
Llin,	Flax,	Gr. λίνον; Lat. linum; Gael. *lion;* Corn. *lin;* Arm. *lin*; Manx, *lieen.*
Llinyn,	A string,	
Llu, lliaws,	A multitude,	Gr. λαὸς, λαϊκὸς; Lat. laicus (hence Eng. *lay*-man); Gael. *lion,* to crowd; A.-Sax. *leod,* people.
Lluchio,	To lighten,	Lat. luxeo; Gr. λύχνος; Gael. *lochran,* light; Corn. *luchas,* lightning; A.-S. *lihting.*
Llucheden,	A flash of lightning	Germ. *Licht, lichten,* &c.
Llyfr,	A book,	Lat. liber; Gael. *leabhar;* Corn. *lyvyr* and *levar;* A.-Sax. *lar,* doctrine; Germ. *Lehre,* doctrine, *lehren,* to teach, &c., may be related.
Malu,	To grind,	Lat. molo; Ir. *meil;* Germ. *mahlen;* Corn. *melin.*
Melin,	A mill,	Lat. mola; Arm. *melin;* Gr. μυλα; A.-Sax. *mylen;* Germ. *Mühle;* Goth. *moulin;* Fr. *moulin.*
Marw,	To die,	Lat. morior; Ir. *marbh,* dead; Corn. *marwel,* to die; Arm. *mervel.*
Mêl,	Honey,	Lat. mel; Gr. μελι; Ir. *mil*; Cor. and Arm. *mel;* Goth. *milith.*
Min, ffin, cyffiniau,	Edge, limits, margin, lip, mouth.	Lat. finis; Gael. *finid;* Corn. and Arm. *min*; also Corn. *mein,* From these Fr. *mine,* whence Eng. *mien,* look, air, manner.
Môr,	The sea,	Lat. mare; Ir. *muir;* Corn. and Arm. *môr;* Anc. Gaulish, *mori;* Sansc. *miras.*
Mynydd,	Mountain,	Lat. mons; Fr. *mont* and *montagne;* Ir. and Gael. *monadh;* Corn. *menedh;* Arm. *menez.* Lat. mons is referrible to no simple root in that language,

Welsh. *English.* *Cognates.*

unless it be the archaic *min* found in *emineo*, and this is none other than *myn* in W. *mynydd*, *men* in Corn. *menedh*, and *mon* in Ir. *monadh*. Curiously enough, *mons* and *mens* (mind) seem to have a common root, whose office is to mark prominence, projection, in *mens* associated with the rounded prominence of the *head*, as the supposed seat of intelligence, (hence also W. *menydd*, brain), and in *mons* the prominence of the mountain.

Nôs Night, Lat. nox; Gr. *νυξ*; Ir. and Gael, *nocht;* Corn. *nôs*; Arm. *nôs;* Goth. *naht;* A.-Sax. *niht;* Germ. *Nacht;* Sansc. *nic*, *nakta*. The word is clearly from a common Aryan root. The history of its descent offers no proof of its being a Latin gift to the Welsh.

Nyth, Nest, Lat. nidus; Ir. and Gael. *nead*; Corn. *neid;* Arm. *neiz;* Sansc. *nîda*; A.-Sax. *nest;* Germ. *Nest*.

Olew, *eli*, Oil, ointment, Lat. oleum; Gr. *ἔλαιον*; Gael. *ola*, *oladh;* A.-Sax. *ael*; Germ. *Ael*; Corn. *oleu;* Arm. *oleon;* Goth. *alev*.

Plygu, To bend, Lat. plico; Gael. *pill;* Corn. *plegye;* Arm. *plega;* Germ. *flechten*; Eng. "plait" and "ply" related.

Pobl, People, Lat. populus (rel. to which is *plebs*); Corn. *pobel;* Arm. *pobl;* Germ. *Pöbel;* Gael. *poball*. Q. whether W. "*pobl*" is not of identical origin with W. "*pob*," all, every; or, whether *pobl*, and Lat. populus, are both derived from *pob*. *Populus*, sometimes contracted *poplus*, and *plebs*, *pleps*, *plebes*, are not reducible to Latin roots.

Rhi, King, Lat. rex; Gael. *righ*; A.-Sax. *rica;* Germ. *Reich*, a kingdom; Corn. *ruy*, and *ruif;* Arm. *roue;* Fr. *roi;* Goth. *reiks;* Sansc. *raj*.

Swn, *Sain*, } Sound, Lat. sonus; perh. akin to Gr. *στένειν*, to thunder; Gael. *son;* Corn. and Arm. *son;* A.-Sax. *son;* a sound, a song. There is no reason for deriving W. *swn* and *sain* from Lat. which is destitute of a root simpler than *sonus* itself.

Welsh.	*English.*	*Cognates.*

Taenu, To spread, Lat. tendo, tenuis; Gael. *tana*, thin; Corn. *tanow;* Arm. *tannaô*. The word *tin* seems to be from "*taenu*," to spread (a coating); A.-Sax. *tán*, a spreading; Sansc. *tanu*. W. *teneu* is from same archaic root.

Taran, Thunder, Lat. tono, tonitrus; Gr. στένω; Gael. *torrun;* Corn. *taran;* Arm. *taran*, lightning. It is known that this word was in use among the Ancient Gauls, for Lucan (1446) informs us that Jupiter [Tonans] was called by them *Taranis*. And so perh. TANARUS, Inscrip. Orell. No. 2054; A.-Sax. *thunder;* Germ. *Donner*.

Tarw, A bull, Gr. ταυρος; Lat. taurus; Umbr. *turu;* Gael. *tarbh;* Corn. *tarow;* Anc. Gael. *tarvos;* Slav. *tour;* cf. Max. Müller, Oxford Essays, 1856, p. 26.

Torch, A ring, wreath, } Lat. torqueo. But torqueo is not
Torchi, To coil, wreathe, } derivable from any Lat. root; tero, to rub, cannot be its origin. The idea of roundness, prominence, a bulging, or swelling, is expressed in Celtic by *tor*, *twr*, and the act of turning is expressed by *trvi*. Big-bellied is *torrog*, in W. and Corn; Arm. *torrec;* Gael. *torrach*. The Gaulish and Briton princes wore as an ornament a gold ring or collar around the neck, in reference to which custom, Llywarch Hên, circ. A.D. 620, uses the word *eur-dorchawg*, golden-collared, or wreathed. See p. 93 ante. A.-Sax. *turnian*, to turn; *tor*, a prominence, hill; Germ. *Thurm;* Eng. *torch*, because of the twisting, coiling action of flame.

Tir, *Daear*, Land, earth, Lat. terra; Gael, Corn. and Arm. *tir;* Corn. *tir devrac*, watery ground; *tyr ha môr*, land and sea. Terra is not traceable to a Latin etymon simpler than itself. The word is not represented in the Teutonic tongues. Fr. *terre;* Ital. *terra*.

Torf, A crowd, }
Tyrfa, A crowd, } Lat. turba; Cymbric, *twr*, is a heap, and *tor* means in Cymbr; Corn., Gael., and Arm. a
Tyrru, v. To crowd, }
rounded prominence, a hill, a heap, an accumulation; A.-Sax. *tor*, a hill, a peak, a tower; Germ. *Thurm;* Dan. *torm*.

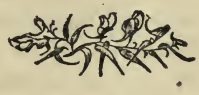
Twr, A tower, Lat. turris. Same idea as in turba, and the Celtic and Gothic equivalents are the same as

Welsh.	*English.*	*Cognates.*

the cognates under "*torf;*" Gael., Corn., and Arm. *tor;* A.-Sax. *tor* and *twr;* Germ. *Thurm*; Dan. *torm;* Fr. *tour;* Gr. τύρσις; Heb. טורה, turah.

Ysgrif,	A writing,	Lat. scribo, akin to Gr. γράφω;
Ysgrifio,	To write,	Germ. *schreiben*, to write; Corn.

scrife, to write; *scrifen*, a writing; Ir. and Gr. *scriobh*, akin to W. *crafu*, to scrape, carve; Ir. and Gael. *grabhal*, to engrave, and *grabhadh*, an engraving, a writing. A.-Sax. *writan* is not a very distinct cognate, so that the words carve, engrave, groove, grave, gravel, write, are all from an archaic term meaning to scratch or cut. It is known that writing was at first effected by cutting or scratching a smooth surface.



Appendix C.[1]

The Cymbric and Gaelic Dialects as illustrated by the recently-discovered Gaulish Inscriptions.

The wide dissimilarities of the modern Celtic tongues or dialects known as Cymbric and Gaelic, or Irish, are patent to all, and universally conceded; but on the process whereby these dissimilarities grew up between two modern forms of one ancient speech opinions greatly vary. It is capable of being argued that the modern *Gaelic* (see p. 49. *ante*) represents the tongue of those Celtic tribes which first entered Britain, and which, by the shifting of locality natural to nomadic hordes and still more by pressure from behind of new colonists, first passed on to the extreme part of the island, and then into Ireland and the Isle of Man, and thus became separated and all but completely isolated from the after comers who settled in Central, Southern, and Western Britain, whose tongue is now represented by the Cymbric branch of Celtic, including Welsh, Cornish, and Armoric.

On the other hand, it may be maintained that the difference referred to did not arise, although it might be augmented, from this cause, but had an origin in times more remote than the colonization of Britain by any of the Celtic tribes—that in fact those words used by Cæsar, when speaking of the tribes of Gaul (see p. 43, *ante*), "Hi omnes in *linguâ*, &c., inter se differunt," refer to a dialectic distinction precisely identical with that existing between modern Cymbric and Gaelic.

This view seems to be supported by the recent discoveries in the soil of France of old *Gaulish inscriptions*, which are believed to preserve remains of two forms of the early Celtic speech of Gaul.

[1] Confer pp. 48—56.

These forms are said to show clear resemblances to the Irish, and fewer resemblances to the Welsh.[1]

Almost all these inscriptions are votive or dedicatory—commemorating, that is, the dedication of some altar, drinking utensil, amulet, or other object, to some deity. They are for the most part written in Roman characters, but include two in Greek characters, and one, found in Italy, is in two languages, Gaulish and Latin—the Gaulish being written in Etruscan characters in many points resembling those of the much earlier "Eugubian Tables,"[2] and in less degree prefiguring the much later "Bardic Alphabet" of Wales.[3]

Although written in the Roman character, the inscriptions are insufficient to prove that the Gaulish tribes had not an alphabet of their own prior to their subjugation by Rome. That the Druids knew the art of writing when Cæsar came in contact with them is testified by himself, but he also states that they wrote in Greek characters, which they probably found more useful than their own.

Nor can we say that these inscriptions supply clear indications as to the localities respectively occupied by the Cymbric and Gaelic tribes. They are nearly all found in the regions termed by the Classic writers *Gallia Celtica*—the part of Gaul south of the rivers Seine (*Sequana*) and Marne (*Matrona*), and said by Cæsar to be inhabited by Celtic Gauls, while the country north of those rivers was peopled by the "Belgæ." If M. Amedée Thierry's opinion (developed in his *Histoire des Gaulois*) be correct, namely, that the Celts of *Gallia Celtica* were originally of the Gaelic or Irish type, afterwards intermixed with an intrusive Cymbric element, while the "Belgæ" of *Gallia Belgica* (of whom Cæsar was informed that they were mostly of German origin) were of the pure *Cymbric* type, the conjecture that the Celtic words found in the inscriptions resemble Gadhelic or Irish more nearly than Cymbric will acquire increased plausibility.

[1] For a full account of these interesting memorials, see Pictet's *Essai sur quelques Inscriptions en Langue Gauloise*, 1859; Roget de Belloquet's *Ethnogénie Gauloise*, 1858; also a paper by Mr. D. W. Nash, F.S.A., in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. viii. 1865.

[2] See Sir W. Betham's *Etruria Celtica*, p. 88, &c.

[3] For an account of this Alphabet see *Coelbren y Beirdd*, pp. 6, 7, 15, 20—25; *Iolo MSS.* pp. 424, 617—623.

But when we remember that no less a man than Zeuss, in spite of these Gaulish inscriptions, has held that the language of Gaul was of one single type—the Cymbric; and that Leo, an almost equally able Celtic *savan*, held that the language of *Gallia Belgica* was Gadhelic, and that of *Gallia Celtica*, Cymbric—the direct contradictory of Thierry's theory, and nearly as much at variance with that of Zeuss, it is seen how much has yet to be discovered before we can speak with determinate confidence on the subject.

It must be confessed that the materials supplied by the Gaulish inscriptions are very scanty, and that the interpretations as yet given them are imperfect, and by no means adequate as data for conclusions. They may safely be taken as handing down remains of a tongue clearly Celtic, but showing inflexions which it would be hazardous to say are identical with any now found in Irish, or dissimilar to any at one time found in Cymbric.

One word, supposed to be Celtic, is very prominent in these inscriptions, and is understood to be the verb of the sentence in each case, expressing the act of dedication. This word is IEVRV, and has given rise to much discussion and conjecture, since in none of the modern Celtic dialects is there found a word corresponding with it in form and meaning. It is just possible that this is an archaic Celtic word cognate with the Greek ἱερευς, priest, and ἱερευω, to dedicate; or, since the Greek alphabet was known to the Druids, and the Greek language itself may have been known, this word and others (including many of the vocables common to Welsh and classic Greek) may have been borrowed by them from the learned tongue, as many Latin words, as proved by these inscriptions, were borrowed.

Upon the whole it seems probable—and these Gaulish inscriptions add to the weight of probability—that the *Galli* of Cæsar were in the same line of Celtic descent with the Irish, and that the name is preserved to this day in Gadhel and Gael, and commemorated also in the Triad *Galedin*, *Celyddon*, and *Gwyddil*, as well as in *Caledon*ia, Γαλαται, Κελται, and Celtæ. It is also nearly certain that these Galli or Gaels were the first to colonize Britain, and also Gaul, and that in both cases they were closely followed by a people, of the same original stock and using a similar language, called Cymry, Cimbri, in earlier times Κιμμεριοι, Cimmerii, and that these and the *Belgæ* were in the same line of Celtic descent.

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