

The Danish intrusion into South Britain : read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, January 26, 1874 / by Joseph Boulton.

Contributors

Boulton, Joseph.
Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool.
Royal College of Surgeons of England

Publication/Creation

[Place of publication not identified] : [publisher not identified], [1874]

Persistent URL

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/jdsvdguf>

Provider

Royal College of Surgeons

License and attribution

This material has been provided by This material has been provided by The Royal College of Surgeons of England. The original may be consulted at The Royal College of Surgeons of England. where the originals may be consulted. This work has been identified as being free of known restrictions under copyright law, including all related and neighbouring rights and is being made available under the Creative Commons, Public Domain Mark.

You can copy, modify, distribute and perform the work, even for commercial purposes, without asking permission.



Wellcome Collection
183 Euston Road
London NW1 2BE UK
T +44 (0)20 7611 8722
E library@wellcomecollection.org
<https://wellcomecollection.org>

THE DANISH INTRUSION INTO SOUTH BRITAIN.

READ BEFORE THE

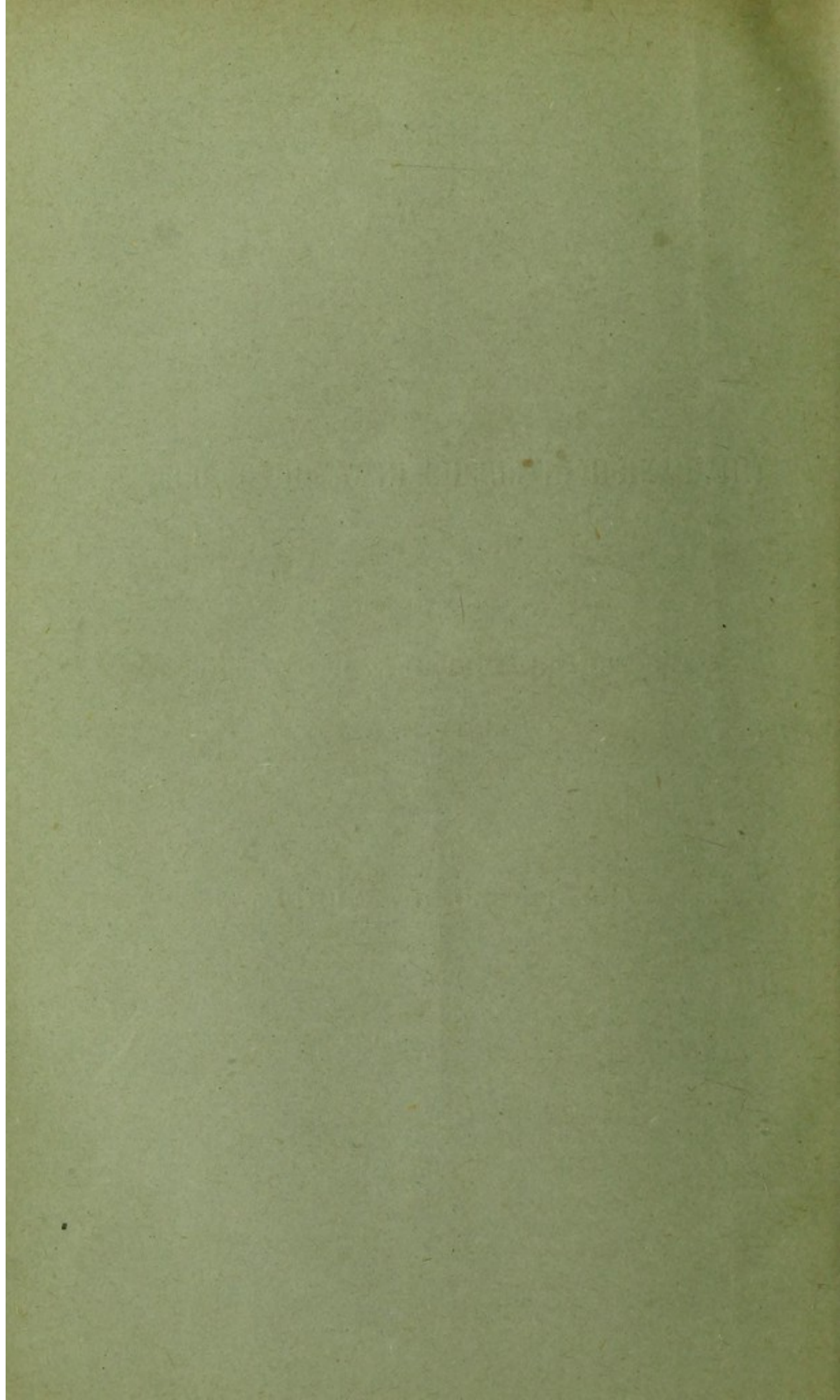
LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF LIVERPOOL,

JANUARY 26, 1874.

BY

JOSEPH BOULT, F.R.I.B.A.

1567-8



THE DANISH INTRUSION INTO SOUTH BRITAIN.

ACCORDING to Dr. Freeman, and he is confirmed generally by other authorities, the Danish invasions fall naturally into three periods: First (A.D. 787-855), in which the object seems to have been simple plunder; they land, they harry the country, they fight, if need be, to secure their booty; but whether defeated or victorious they return to their ships, and sail away with what they have gained.

Next comes a time in which the object is no longer plunder, but settlement. During the greater part of the tenth century, we read of few or no fresh invasions from Scandinavia itself; but the West Saxon lords of Britain were engaged for more than fifty years (902-954) in a constant struggle to reduce and retain in obedience the Danes who had already settled in the island. A short interval of peace, the glorious reign of Eadgar follows; but towards the end of the tenth century the plundering invasions of the Danes begin again. They soon assume a new character. The history of England for a long term of years (980-1016), is one record of struggles with the power of Denmark. This forms the third period.*

If the alleged influence of the Danes upon the topography and social condition of South Britain is to be properly gauged, the periods during which that influence was exercised must be carefully noted and remembered.

* *Norman Conquest*, vol. i., pp. 44-46. I have endeavoured to reduce Dr. Freeman's sketch to specific dates, for much of the present historical theory owes its acceptance to the neglect of dates; a careful comparison of which, I believe, would have prevented much crudity.

There are seventy years of plundering, 787 to 855; followed by a hundred and twenty years of so-called settlement, 855 to 975, which included fifty years of constant struggle with the Royal House of Wessex; followed by seventy years of mixed settlement and plunder, including the reign of Hardiknut.

It is gravely assumed that during a connection of this kind, extending over two and a half centuries, the Scandinavians gave names to fourteen hundred places, a thousand of which are in the counties of Lincoln, York, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; many of which are supposed to indicate an enthusiasm for Christianity, which is certainly remarkable in a people of their habits; and that this Danish influence subsists to this day, surviving all the vicissitudes of eight centuries. In contrast with this, it seems singular that the same authorities should assume that the influence of the Romans, though exercised for four centuries, should be so evanescent as to have been entirely swept away by a Teutonic irruption.

Before examining the grounds for this very singular assumption, it may be as well to glance at Ireland—

. in the days of old,

 When Malachi wore the collar of gold,
 He had won from the proud invader,—

where the Scandinavian influence was protracted over more than four centuries, 795 to 1265, and see if that lengthened experience lends any probability to any such assumption.

The great modern authority on the traces of the Danes in the three kingdoms is Worsaae, and he relies chiefly upon philology for evidence of their radical and extended influence. As regards the names of places, he affirms that the following terminations are pure Norwegian or Danish; an assumption, he says, which is placed beyond all doubt (!) by

the compound words in which they appear. The terminations cited are, -by, -thorpe, -thwaite, -ness, -ey, -öe, -with, -toft, -beck, -tarn, -dale, -fell, -force, -haugh or -how, -garth, "together with many others."*

I shall attempt to show that many of these terminals are as much Keltic as Scandinavian; but in the meanwhile will mention that in Ireland, according to Dr. Joyce, there are only fifteen names of places with such endings,† namely, Wexford, Waterford, Carlingford, Carnsore Point, Ireland's Eye, Lambay Island, Dalkey, Howth, Leixlip, Oxmantown, Laxweir, and the three provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Ulster. Of the provincial names, I venture to say, the terminations are Keltic. In Carnsore, the final syllable resembles K. *or*, a coast; the whole, probably, represents *carn-eis-or*, the shore of the people at the Carn; the place, according to Joyce, being sometimes called Carn only. In Ireland's Eye, Lambay, and Dalkey appears K. *I*, an island, which forms the initial syllable of Hibernia, *i. e.*, *I-b-erinia*, the isle of the west; in Iona, *bird island*, afterwards Icolumbkill, *the isle of Columb's church*. Waterford is apparently *uachdar-farthadh*, the upper ferry, to distinguish it from East Passage just below; a conversion of *uachdar*, analogous to that in the name of Wateresk in co. Down.‡ The -ford, which appears in Wexford, Carlingford, and perhaps in Strangford, may be, as Joyce suggests, from *fjord*; but what is the etymology of *fjord*? There must be some reason why that word was applied to bays, or inlets of the sea. Is it rash to consider it allied to K. *fia-ord*, the land hammer, as indicative of the action by which the inlets were formed—that is, the hammering of the land by the sea? as contrasted with

* *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, by J. J. Worsaae, For. Z. S. A., 1852, p. 67.

† *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, by P. W. Joyce, A. M., M. R. I. A., 1869, p. 98.

‡ *Ut supra*, p. 470.

the embouchures of rivers, due, at any rate in part, to effluent water. The Strang-, of Strangford, seems to represent K. *strangadth*, strife, contention; referring to "the well known tidal currents at the entrance," "which renders its navigation so dangerous."*

Joyce informs us that the province of Leinster was previously called Galian, and that the name was changed because the foreign auxiliaries of a certain prince, who settled therein, used a broad-pointed spear of peculiar form, called a *laighen* (layen); he supposes the last syllable -ster to be Danish; and Worsaae says it represents Old Norsk, *stathr*, a place.† Laxweir is apparently K. *leic-suir*, river force.

If, instead of supposing the name of Leinster to be hybrid, search is made for a Keltic explanation, it will be found that -ster is a contraction of -eister; the whole will then read Laigheneister, or the land of the people using the spear called a layen: a name applicable in the third century, when the change from Galian is said to have taken place. Otherwise it must be supposed that the original terminal was changed at the caprice of the Danes. The earlier name of the province, Galian, had reference also to some kind of spear, called *ga*.

The name of Ulster, when analysed, confirms this conjecture; for I apprehend it represents K. *uilidheister*, the lough people's land; those pieces of water being more numerous in that than in any other province. In an old Irish poem, Ulster is spoken of as Lochland. It has been thus translated‡:

Another journey I went—
 Oh Loegaire, but that was an hour!
 That I might give great battles
 Against *Lochland* on the north.
 Siabur—charpat con culaind.

* Joyce, *Op. cit.*, p. 87. † Worsaae, *Op. cit.*, p. 230.

‡ *Journ. R. Hist. and Arch. Association of Ireland*, 1870, vol. i., p. 385.

In like manner Munster represents *Mumhaineister*, *i. e.*, the greater river people's land or country.

To the names given by Joyce he is disposed to add Wicklow and Arklow, names terminating in -gall, and those near the coast which have the prefix *S*. On these I suggest that the -*low* represents K. *lagh*, a common termination in England, to which further reference will be made; that K. *gall* signifies a foreigner of any kind, and not Scandinavians exclusively; and also signifies rock or stone.

In opposition to Worsaae, who gives a long list of Danish kings of Dublin, besides kings of Limerick and Waterford, Joyce considers the paucity of Danish names affords a complete answer to the statement sometimes made, that the Danes conquered the country, and that their chiefs ruled over it as sovereigns.*

The Ostmen, who play a conspicuous part in the history of the Scandinavian period, and whose name appears to survive, in a corrupted form, in that of Oxmantown, a part of Dublin, is assumed by Worsaae to be derived from the Danish Oster,† that is, eastern. Though he says this "name remains an incontrovertible monument of an independent Norwegian town, formerly existing within the greatest and most considerable city of Ireland," I submit that it is not very likely the Scandinavians would dub themselves Easterns, or call their town the place of the Eastern men. It seems more consonant with usage to suppose that the name was applied by the natives to the foreign intruders, and therefore that the signification must be sought in the vernacular. Having done that, the name is resolvable into *osadh-mann*, the bad confederacy, which must be allowed to be appropriate to a town, or entrenchment, which at times was a nest of cruel pirates.

* Joyce, *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

† Worsaae, *Op. cit.*, p. 332.

It appears to me rash to assume that all the harrying of the east coast of Ireland was exclusively by Scandinavians ; it is but reasonable to suppose that the constant political and social changes, of which Britain was the theatre, must have occasioned frequent departure of those natives who, being worsted there, anticipated better fortune here ; and that the Cornishmen, the Welsh, and the people of Strathclyde, including therein all the country between the Mersey and the Clyde, when debarred from raiding to the east, would have recourse to the west. As commerce ever follows in the trail of war, the intervals of peace would be devoted to the exchange of commodities ; for the man of war and the merchantman were then one craft. This conjecture, as yet unmaturing, receives some confirmation from Worsaae's statement, that several of the Danish coins, that is, of Danish kings in Ireland, were minted in the North of England, as well as in Watchet (Somersetshire), Wilton, Winchester, and London. If alliances may be inferred between the Scandinavians and people from South Britain, the appropriateness of the derivation suggested for Ostman is emphasised.

There are various defects in Worsaae's volume which are much to be regretted, such as his hasty assumptions on very slight foundations ; and his substitution of Danish for Irish roots of names, without any explanation of the difference of signification. He suggests that the name of Ireland is derived from the Northmen, because he asserts that the termination, *land*, is entirely unknown in the Irish language.* The Irish for land is *lann* (laugn) ; and Ireland is manifestly *Eire-lann*, the west land, just as Hibernia, in all its various mutations of Iverne, means isle of the west ; Erin itself being the genitive of eire, and signifying

* Worsaae, *Op. cit.*, p. 314. Conf. Joyce's instructive remarks on the addition of the letter -d final, after n, l, and r, p. 55.

of the west; its present use a corruption hopeless of correction.

In reviewing the Scandinavian history of Scotland and the Isles, Worsaae deals in a large amount of assumption, which is perhaps excusable in a popular writer who knows he can rely upon general sympathy, but is very averse from any dispassionate inquiry. Where but little is known, and possibly but little if any more can be ascertained, it might be supposed that cautious inquiry was most essential. Such conditions, however, are highly favourable to the growth of theory; and as philosophic doubt is most distasteful to the multitude, they are rejoiced to rest on dogmatic assurance, which is likely to be undisturbed, not because it is well-grounded, but because no one is likely to be such a *bore* as to prove the ground.

Worsaae asserts that "no small portion of the present population of Scotland, both in the Lowlands and in the remotest coasts and isles of the Highlands, is undoubtedly descended from the Northmen, and particularly from the Norwegians. Both the Norwegians and the Danes, wherever they established themselves, introduced their Scandinavian customs, and preserved, in all circumstances, the fundamental traits of their national character."* It would be inopportune now to controvert this proposition in its entirety, but it should be remembered, as facts will be adduced with which it is irreconcilable; meanwhile it may be asked, how far the conversion of those heathen pirates to Christianity, and their alleged zeal in its cause, as manifested in the numerous places named after kirks and crosses, is consistent with deep-rooted attachment to their Scandinavian customs, and the preservation, in all circumstances, of the fundamental traits of their national character?

* Worsaae, *Op. cit.*, p. 198.

Space will not permit of a specific examination of the Scandinavian period in Scotland, nor is it so requisite as in Ireland, since there is a closer resemblance between North and South Britain than between Ireland and either; but as an instructive illustration of the course I conceive such an inquiry should take, refer to Worsaae's allegation of the inhospitality of the Shetlanders, in the following form. It is said that they "would not willingly give a traveller a night's lodging, and directly at daybreak they awoke him, saying, *Myrkin i livra; lurein i liunga; timin i gvestin i geunga*; that is, 'It is dark in the smoke hole, but it is light on the heath, and for the guest it is now time to depart.'" He adds, "That this sentence, which was written down in the year 1774, consists of old Norwegian words, though in a corrupted form, is quite evident."*

Now, with reference to the alleged inhospitality, the English have not been regarded as usually deficient in that virtue; yet with them the proverbial rule for a host is, "Welcome the coming; speed the parting guest;" dating, probably, from a time when there were no inns; when the traveller journeyed on a horse, which carried his own provender and his master's food, and wearied and wayworn both steed and rider coveted their beds before anything but a preliminary wash and rub down; and when the road must be taken early if they would not be benighted. Fifty years ago, in Shetland, habits were very primitive, and are said to be little changed to this day.

With regard to the words put into the mouth of the host, and freely translated, you will observe Worsaae ascribes them to old Norsk, *though in a corrupted form*; if he had ascribed them to old Gaelic, that is, Erse, I think he would have found the apparent corruption less, and the signification somewhat more pertinent. In Irish it would stand as fol-

* Worsaae, *Op. cit.*, p. 226.

lows: *Murac i leaba-fhrasich*; *luaigh-rian i liu-unga*; *tim in geist te i ga-ungna*: "It is gloomy on the bed of heath, but the way is pleasant for the foot to pursue; it is time for the custom-person to his footing." It was gloomy in the reeking cabin within which the heather-bed lay long after break of day, or even after the sun's first rays appeared; and it was time the traveller was afoot if he would make the most of daylight. Phonetically, I believe there is not much difference between the Irish form and the words actually quoted by Worsaae from Hibbert; literally, the words I have rendered *foot*, O'Reilly glosses claw, talon, nail, hoof; and in the words *geis-te*, for custom-person, probably customary person would be more idiomatic; it being customary to give entertainment to wayfarers; in some cases it was compulsory to do so, as part of the tenure by which land was held. The resemblance between the English guest and *geis-te* is noteworthy.

These verbal similarities, and others which will come under notice, seem to indicate a prior relationship between the native and the invader, rather than the supremacy of the latter.

A.D. 787 is the date usually assigned to the first Danish aggression upon England, and that for plunder only. At Dorchester, ten years later, 797, they are spoken of as ravaging the Anglian (? Sacsan) coasts; they appeared again, in Somerset, in 828, and, after several successful raids, sustained "a tremendous overthrow" at Ockley, in Surrey, in 857; after which they withdrew, broken and dismayed, leaving the land a respite of a few short years.*

Ægberht's successful reign lasted from 800 to 838.

The pact between Alfred and Guthrum, Gudrum, or Gorm, was made in 878; and no sovereign authority can be ascribed to the Danes before that date. It was a condi-

* Pearson's *Hist. Eng. during the Early and Middle Ages*, 1868, vol. i., p. 151.

tion of the pact that the Danish leader should be baptised ; and it may be assumed that up to that date the Danes did not profess Christianity.

On referring to Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, vols. i. and ii., there will be found, in documents under date 833, the names of places which include the terminals -beck, -by, -toft, and -thorp ; these, it may be remembered, with others, are claimed by Worsaae as "pure Norwegian or Danish." The names of places referred to are Holbeck, Pinchbeck, Guernthorpe, Langtoft, Algarkirk, and Peakirk. But -thorpe also appears in documents dated 806 and 819 ; and -ey as early as 725, in the reign of Ine, sixty years before the first Danish aggression, and a hundred and thirty years before settlement. Worsaae's comment on these facts, and on the resemblance between contemporary monkish names and Scandinavian names, is instructive. They not only prove, he says, that the Danes really had such a footing round the Wash that they could give their villages Danish names, and were governed by their own chiefs, but they likewise indicate the remarkable fact, that at least a great number of those Danes must have been already Christians, since they had villages with churches, and gave landed property to a convent, in which we find both Danish monks (Eskil and Thurstan), and a Danish abbot (Sivard). I hope to be able to show, in conjunction with other evidence, that the facts referred to are more indicative of relationship between Kelts and Danes. There seems to be some uncertainty among philologists whether the word *kirk* is to be regarded as exclusively Scandinavian, or as appertaining to the Anglo-Saxon speech also. Mr. Wedgewood derives the word *church*, which is manifestly only another pronunciation of the same word, from the Greek *κορκαριον*, and says A.-S. *cyrice* is a natural modification of the Greek ; but does not show any use of the Greek word before the sixth council, A. D. 680 ;

so that it is not impossible that the Greek is a southern form of the northern *kirk*.

Mr. Pearson* suggests that the root may be found in the Welsh *cyrch*, a centre, and *cyrchle*, a place of resort; and the French *cirque* seems allied to these, as also the Latin *circus*, and the Greek *κίρκος*.

That there was some relation between the form of the circle and the church seems undoubted, arising, possibly, from various causes, such as the conversion of heathen temples, like Stonehenge, to Christian purposes; and to the symbolism of eternity by the ring. K. *ciorcall* or *siorcall*, formed of *sior-cail*, signifies a continuous path. It may be observed that the churches of the Knights Templars were circular on plan. The K. word *fairigh* (fairy), one of those which denote a parish, conveys ideas similar to those associated with W. *cyrch*, being compounded of *igh*, a ring; *cyrch* also signifies a ring. The prefix *fair*, as a noun, denotes a ridge or eminence, and also the rising of the sun; as a preposition, *fair* means on, or upon. Taken substantively, *fairigh* may indicate a temple on an eminence, or one dedicated to the rising sun. Taking *fair* as a preposition, *fairigh* may refer to the rings said to be formed by the fairies dancing, and named fairy rings. Possibly the appellation of Good People, given to fairies, was suggested by the resemblance between their name and that of the church; and continued from a politic desire to conciliate those mysterious beings, who could be malignant. *Fairigh* would come to denote the parish, as the district surrounding the church.

Reverting to the word *kirk*, possibly the root may be found in the most primitive known form of the Keltic speech, the Erse; in that two words, *ca-erc* (*kauerk*), closely approximate to *kirk* in sound, and signifying the house of heaven, literally heaven-house. Allied to them are *iorghius*

* Pearson, *Op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 79, note.

(eorwish), prayer, or more literally a heavenly wish; and *iorcaire* (eorkare), friends who hold a monthly commemoration, or prayers, for the dead. Or, if a heathen trail be preferred, it may be found in *cairceat*, from *cair*, an image, and *ceat*, a pillar or prop. Allied words are *cairn*, a heap of stones; possibly *cair-nith*, the image of slaughter, *i. e.*, the slaughter of man; one purpose assigned to the cairn being to mark the place, and perpetuate the memory of murder, or of death from accident. The bringing together of stones, either for monuments of departed heroes or for temples of idols, may have led to such an application of the name. Then *cairneach*, a priest, a druid, a sacrificer, is not an improbable contraction of *cairnithach*, since it has itself been contracted into *carnach*, and even *carn*, both terms for a Pagan priest, a Pagan altar, a pile of stones; hence, probably, the name of Karnac in Brittany. A confusion between *ca-erc* and *cairceat* would resemble many other instances, arising partly from a confusion of dialects, and partly from prejudice, religious or otherwise.

If all places in the names of which the word kirk appears are to be ascribed to the Danes, the question naturally arises, Where are those churches which had been erected previously by the Anglo-Sacs, and by their predecessors, the Christians, during the Roman sway? The great monastery of Bangor-ys-Coed, near Chester, with its two thousand inmates, is not likely to have been the only Christian community in South Britain; they were Christians who achieved the Alleluia victory in the seventh century; and it is impossible to doubt there were Christians with organised societies and places of worship for centuries prior to the preaching of S. Augustine, whose mission was to draw heretical Christians into the Roman Church, by which they were deemed heathen, just as, until twenty years ago, Protestant Britain was *in partibus infidelium*. It is true there are places which

bear the name of Eccles, and its compounds, as Eccleston ; and others in which the word church appears, as Churchtown and Dymchurch ; but *church* cannot be regarded as other than a modification of kirk, the hard c or k being softened into ch ; and thus it is as much Danish as the strictest kirk. Eccles, and its compounds, Ecclesfield, Ecclesham, Ecclesall, Eccleston, etc., some people assign to a Greek root, which is supposed to have been imported by some ecclesiastical influence, and to have become so far vernacular as to be adopted in local names. Probably most persons would prefer an indigenous root, as more consonant with practice ; and K. *eug-lios*, or *ecc-lios* (ecclis), a burial-place, literally death enclosure, is not very dissimilar. From the Doms of Ethelred and Cnut, it appears there were formerly four grades of churches, namely, a chief minister, a minister of the middle class, one yet less, where there is little service, but where there is a burial-place, and a field church where there is no burial-place. Thus the names compounded of Eccles may indicate the existence of ministers of the third or lowest degree.

The Cross is allied to the Kirk ; but as it occurs in the names of places, it is doubtful if the word cros has any relation to the Rood, but is a topographical term, denoting land in which the remains of trees are found : K. *ce-ros*, the earth wood. This is still the character of the soil in the townships of Great and Little Crosby, of Croston, and Crossens, in this neighbourhood, though much of the arboreal remains has been removed ; some of the timber having been so sound as to be fit for building purposes and for furniture. I am informed that the soil of Crosthwaite, between Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite water, and of Crosby Ravensworth, in Westmoreland, near Shap, is of the same description. It is extremely difficult to obtain reliable information as to the nature of the soil in other places, of

which the names contain the same prefix, as most of those places are obscure ; but it is not improbable the similarity is strong enough to justify the assumption of such an occasion. Doubtless there are names to which a different root may be assigned ; all that is insisted upon is the probability that in many places the name has been suggested by the peculiarity of the soil. To the name Rimrose, a similar signification attaches, from K. *roimh-ros*, earth wood ; and in the bed of Rimrose brook there is a large accumulation of arboreal deposit.

The name of Crosby Ravensworth, to which reference has been made, seems allied to that of Kirkby Ravensworth, in Richmondshire, in the North Riding of York. The latter place I have not seen ; but to the railway traveller scarcely anything can be more desolate than the broad expanse of moorland which lies east of the Lancaster and Carlisle railway, between Tebay Junction and Shap Wells. Both townships abound in remains ascribed to the ancient Britons, especially tumuli. Canon Greenwell's examination of some of those in Kirkby Ravensworth are well known. It is undoubtedly probable that a considerable population was assembled in this wild region ; but it is impossible to believe they were voluntary settlers, much less triumphant conquerors. Yet, if the names of Crosby and Kirkby are infallible tokens of Danish settlements, and *Raven* of the presence of the "Danebrog," the conclusion becomes inevitable that this bleak moorland, which now is fit only for grouse and sheep, was a smiling country, perhaps ultimately wasted by the "Ravenlandeye," *corvus terrae terror*. Such extravagance may be left to those who believe that Clio neglects dates and probabilities when compiling her story of events ; others will perhaps be willing to believe that all these names, even Ravensworth, may be Keltic, and memorials of unhappy exiles, driven by rude enemies from the vales and fertile lowland to the shelter of the hills, thence called Kymbri,

and giving their name to Cumberland (Kymbrilaugn). Canon Greenwell suggests that the tumuli contain remains of a people comparatively civilised, who lived a thousand years B.C. If so ancient, then this region may have been more than once the theatre of similar events; but possibly the signs of civilisation which he found were gifts, thefts or purchases from the lowland stranger. The root of the first part of Ravensworth may be found in K. *ribheann*, the royal hill, on which, according to O'Donovan, royal companies or parleys were held. In Kirkby Ravensworth, such a hill appears in the ridge dividing the Watershed of Swale dale from that of Tees dale. High Feldom is manifestly the rock or cliff of the dooms, K. *failé-do-meas*. In Crosby Ravensworth, the trace is uncorroborated by any name recorded on the Ordnance survey; but the royal hill may well have been one of two eminences not far from the village, possibly that which stands on a sort of promontory between Dry beck and Lyvenet beck. The final syllable *worth*, A.-S. form of K. *geart*, milk, is analogous to the numerous "pastures" or "lands" with which the neighbourhood of the two Ravensworths is studded, like oases in the desert.

Between the Ravensworths lie Ravenstone dale and Ravenseat moor, forming a triangle with Kirkby Stephen at the north apex. The name Ravenseat is clearly K. *ribheann sigh* (reevagn shee); *sigh* signifying hill, generally, while *beinn*, from which the second syllable of *ribheann* is derived, denotes the summit, as in the modern words ben and pen. *Sigh* appears as seat in the names of several hills in Cumberland and Westmoreland. In Ravenstonedale the royal hill appears to be represented by Wandale Hill, in which name the prefix wan- seems allied to K. *uanid*, a chief or great person; but the hill may have been on the other side of the Rawthey at Bluecaster, which sounds like a Roman fort, and near which is a place named Raventhorn.

In Ravenglass, on the coast of Cumberland, the *ribheann* is apparently occupied by the castle of Muncaster; the site having been also a Roman position. Standing on a promontory between the rivers Esk and Mite, Kelt, Roman and mediæval baron would be alike secure from surprise. The Raven crag lies a little east of the town. The affix -glass denotes its proximity to the sea, K. *glas*; and Ravenglass is at the place where three streams, the Irt, Mite, and Esk combine, just before being lost in the sea.

If, in Ravenmeols, on the coast of Lancashire, and Ravenspur, on that of Yorkshire, corroborative evidence is not readily to be obtained, the changes which have been wrought on those coasts must be considered. On the east, it is probable that many square miles of country have been washed away; on the west, that a still larger extent has been buried under drift sand; in either case the *ribheann* may be lost, or only traceable after minute documentary as well as topographical search. In Ravensmeols, near the old burial-ground and modern church of S. Luke, is an eminence, bearing the name of Shorrocks Hill, which may be a contraction of K. *Siorramachd*, a county, shire, or sheriffdom; and Shorrocks Hill would represent a hill on which the shire-motes were held, in succession, possibly, to the *ribheann*. The name of Shire Lane, for a neighbouring road, is corroborative of some such occasion; otherwise I should be disposed to assign the *ribheann* to the eminence in Ince Blundell Park upon which the Blundell tower stands, itself looking like the reminiscence of an ancient Tor.

On the east coast, the utmost part of the promontory of Spurnhead was called by some people Conny Hill, when Bishop Gibbons published his edition of *Camden*, a name which is manifestly related to K. *Conn*, counsel; *Conn-alt*, counsel-house, was one of the names of Tara. That extreme point would possess the security arising from isolation, which is

so characteristic of eminences selected for folk-motes; like the islands on which the generals of contending armies have negotiated peace. Patrington, in the immediate neighbourhood, is said to represent the Roman town Prætorium.

The latter parts of the names of Ravenmeols and Ravenspur, I believe are distinctively Keltic. The meols, as I have endeavoured to show on other occasions, are the great plains, K. *magh-ull*, recorded in the name of Maghull, otherwise South Mails. In Ravenspur and Ravensore, the post-fixes are both Keltic, *i. e.*, *spir*, a shank, or *spor*, a spur; and *or*, a coast.

The *Thing* is usually regarded as an institution exclusively Danish. Such an assumption is additional evidence of the careless way in which earlier indigenous evidence has been overlooked. It is mentioned in the 8th of the Dooms of Hlothaire and Eadric (685) as follows: "If one man make a plaint against another in a suit, and he cite the man to a 'methel' or to a 'thing,' let the man always give 'borh' to the other, and do him right as the Kentish judges prescribe to them."* The fact is, "thing" is *ting* (theeng), tongue; and very likely appears in the names of places compounded of ting and tong, as Buntingford, Huntingdon, Knottingley, and Tonge. The name of Nottingham is usually derived from the caves in the hill on which its castle stands. Enthusiastic but heedless disciples of Mr. Kemble would doubtless improvise a tribe of *Nottingas*; but both suppositions overlook the fact that there are at least four places called Nottingham in Britain, namely, in Caithness, Gloucestershire, Kent,* and the shire of the name; there are also Notting-hill in Middlesex, and Nottingham in Dorset. It is not likely there is a hill with caves in all those places, or that the *Nottingas* scattered themselves about the country so capriciously. But wherever there are hills, the suppo-

* Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, vol. i., p. 31.

† It appears this name should be Nottingham
? moot - thing - hill

sition that they are the sites of ancient assemblages for voting supplies and promulgating laws is confirmed; and the castle of Nottingham may be the latest representative of a hall like Tara's. So the name of Blencathara for the hill usually called Saddleback. The numerous Tors, the Law or Low hills, even the name of Thor, the deity, may all be referred to the same usage. The name of Thurstan, which Worsaae claims as distinctively Danish, and which appears in Cheshire in Thurstanton, Wirral, is another name for Coniston Water, with which it is almost synonymous, denoting the counsel people's place; for K. *tan* (taun), signifies a country or territory, and so the root of the English *town* and the Scotch *toon*; just as K. *am* (aum), people, is the original of the A.-S. *ham*, and the English *home*.

The word *-strath* is sometimes claimed as Scandinavian, though I do not find it in Worsaae's volume. It appears in the name of Strathclyde in the middle of the sixth century, if not earlier.

Worsaae says there are six hundred and four names of places in England with the affix *-by*. He disclaims Tenby in South Wales, and Denbigh in North Wales, but does not assign any reason; and he omits all reference to its use as a prefix in the names of places, as in Byfleet, Byland, Bywater, etc. He says *-by* is from O. N. *byr*, first a single farm, afterwards a town in general. There is no doubt that the name of many towns is derived from a single house; and in various parts of the country, townships are to be found in which, at this day, there is only one house, with a few cottages or hovels for labourers. That was the condition of Noctorham, Wirral, a dozen years ago. But the word *byre* is still in use to denote a cow-house, and represents K. *buar*, glossed by O'Reilly as cattle of the cow kind. I apprehend, however, that *buar* is compounded of *bo* (boo), a cow, and *ar* (aur), slaughter, and that the *buar* were the cattle selected

from the herd for food. These would be kept apart until required, and with the progress of civilisation fattened for food. Thus their pen, or house, would be called the *buar-tigh*; when contracted into *buar*, it would be modified into byre, by the process that leads a Welshman to pronounce *u* as *y*.

Milch cows, for the protection of their calves, and for convenience, would also be tied up in the byre. I must leave it to Mr. Wedgewood to determine whether the Kelts called a cow *bo* from the sound it makes, or whether the sound is called a boo from the animal out of which it proceeds.

So far I have accepted Worsaae's premiss that *-by* is derived from *byr*; but, without asserting this has not happened, I am disposed to think that on occasion it may have been formed from K. *bith* (bee), the living, W. *byw*, living; or *bid* (beed), a hedge or enclosure. To the present day, the room in a farm-house, or cottage, which the family occupy during the day, is called the living-room; and it is possible that Derby meant *the living oaks*, or the *oak-living*, meaning the residence among the oaks. Again, one of the most important of the old dooms was the maintenance of borhs, which I understand to represent K. *bo-ur*, the ox-limit, or fence; being the enclosure, the gates of which were closed at night, and sometimes guarded, to prevent the straying or abstraction of cattle, and other evil practices. Every man was required to belong to some bohr, which was responsible for him—his bail and surety—if he became amenable to law. In those days, as in Rome, cattle were not only property, but money, the medium of exchange, value being computed in the number and fractional parts of cattle, there being equivalentents for the fractions. Derby would thus denote the enclosure in the oaks.

That byre, buar, or borh, *i. e.*, boour, have been commuted

into -by, receives confirmation from the name of Greasby, in Wirral, Cheshire, which is recorded in *Doomsday* as Gravesburie.

There are yet other Keltic roots to which the affix -by may be ascribed, as *fidh* (fee), a wood, which by substitution of *b* for *f* would take the sound of *bee* or *by*; and thus Derby might denote the oak-wood, and it is well known the wood of *West Derby* was very extensive.

There are also the words *bath* and *both*, each signifying a hut, booth, tent, cabin, or cottage; they are derivable from the Keltic word for cow and cattle, *bo* being the singular, and *ba* the plural form.

Bo-tigh (bothy) is still in use in Scotland for a cowhouse, or a hovel; its use as indicating a residence for man being due to the quartering of the hinds, herdsmen, or farm servants, under the same roof with the cattle. This form of the word appears in *booth*, so common in Cheshire and Lancashire, and in *Bootle*. The plural form gives name to the city of Bath, which from its thermal springs was the most noted place in the country round, and so called *the Bath*. Thence also may be derived the application of the word to all the different forms in which water is applied externally, and to the application itself, as *bathing*. The correct Keltic pronunciation of *bath* was *bau*, analogous to that of *rath*, of which, according to Joyce, there are eleven hundred applications in Ireland. In seven hundred of these, the form of spelling is preserved, but the pronunciation is anglicised into *rath*. In the remaining four hundred, the Keltic pronunciation survives in its original or modified sound of *raw*, *rah*, and *ray*.* If it be assumed that the word *bath* has undergone similar changes, the transition from *bay* to *by* is not very remote. In fact, K. *badhbh* (bayv), a tract of land, approximates to that sound. The name of Tebay,

* Joyce, *Op. cit.*, pp. 40 and 253.

in Westmoreland, appears to represent one of the transformations into *-by*.

Names like Frankton, Frankford, Normanton, Saxton, Saxham, Saxmundham, and Saxhead, appear referable to a time when the Franks, the Normans, and the Sacs were strangers in the land, and, settling in those places, had their national names applied by the indigenous population, just as the names of Welshpool in Montgomery, Irishtown in county Dublin, and Irishford in Meath, are attributable to the Welsh and Irish people respectively. If this supposition is probable in those names which end in *-ham*, *-ford*, *-ton*, and *-head*, why should it be less probable when the endings are *-by* or *-thorpe*? If Normanton is due to one or more Norman settlers, why not Normanby? If Saxton, Saxham, Saxhead, have reference to Sacs, why not Saxthorpe, Saxby, and Saxelby? And why may not the like test be applied to Danbury, Danby, Danefield, and Danhall, as indicative of similar casual settlements by Danes? It is, however, possible that some or all the names quoted may be purely topographical, without any reference to foreign intruders of any kind; for in Ireland *dan-* is not a rare prefix, and appears in districts into which it is not supposed the Danes ever intruded, as Dangan in counties Cork and Galway, Danmullan, Tyrone, and Danragh Lough in Donegal.

Thus it would appear that the terminal *-by*, instead of being due to foreign intruders and one era, is an assimilation of various sounds, derived from numerous roots, all embodied in one language, but possibly dating from many different periods.

To the following terminals, Worsaae ascribes the respective meanings annexed: *-thorpe*, a collection of houses separated from some principal estate, a village; *-thwaite*, an isolated piece of land; *-næs*, a promontory; *-with*, a forest tarn, a small lake, water; *-fell*, a rocky mountain; *-force*, a

waterfall; -haugh, or how, a hill; and -garth, a large farm. The Keltic substitutes I venture to propose as more probable are, for -thorp, *dorbh*, grass, which among pastoral people would be a reason for forming a detached hamlet; of this it must be admitted thorp is a corrupted pronunciation, arising from the substitution of an initial t, pronounced th for d, and of p for the v sound of b aspirated; for -thwaite, *tuath*, a territory, tract of land, or lordship; derivatives from *tuath* are *tuathcleas*, a rustic trick; *tuaithe* and *tuaitheach*, rural; *tuaitheach* also signifies a rustic, a countryman; *tuaitheamhuil*, clownish, boorish; and *tuaithlíos*, a country house; for næs, *neas*, a hill or promontory; for -with, *fidh*, a wood; for -fell, *faill*, a cliff or precipice; for -force, *foras*, increase, augmentation, or depth; for -haugh or -how, *a* (au), a hill or eminence; for -garth, *gart* (garth) standing corn, a field or garden. As gort, this word is in constant use in Ireland. Unless tarn represents *tamh-eirne* (tauearne), literally ocean-, that is, water-fragment, I have not found the Keltic equivalent, nor for -toft, -holm, -vig, and -rigg; but for -beck there is *baic*, crookedness, like K. *cam*; and for -dal, the same form of word, signifying a share or division, a tribe or family, the land possessed by a tribe, a plain, field, or dale, and an assembly.

Among other evidence which Worsaae has adduced in support of the theory of the Danish planting of England are the names of persons, a kind of evidence which must be esteemed of very doubtful value. He affirms that the termination -son or -sen, which never appears in Saxon names, frequently occurs.* But ap-, O'-, and Mac- prevailed among the Kelts, and it seems but natural that the English, at any rate, living in the same islands, should have an equivalent; and it is surely a supposition very far fetched, that the son of John could not be turned into Johnson without the assist-

* Worsaae, *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

ance of the Scandinavians. But Worsaae has overlooked the use of this affix in the names of places in Cumberland and Westmoreland, which I have not noticed elsewhere. In the names of Robinson, Benson, Lawson, Rawlinson, the affix -son is apparently K. *sun*n, an enclosure, and Benson, or Penson, is the enclosure on the hill-top; Robinson, on the road at the hill-top. The name Robin as the name of a place denotes its position by a road at the top of a hill; but as a Christian name, I apprehend, Robin is derived from the Redbreast, in these latitudes the universal friend and pet of man, who naturally applied the name to his pet son, just as he playfully called him a little monkey or a young urchin, that is, piggy-wiggy, from K. *uir*cin, literally the earth kin. Pigs are still called urchins in Lancashire; hedgehogs generally bear that name; and the sea-urchin, common on our coasts, derives its name from a resemblance to the hedgehog. The Robin is the wound-bird, K. *rubh-en*. Its other Keltic name, *ruddock*, signifies redbreast, *ruadh-occ*.

Some of the personal names claimed by Worsaae as Danish are apparently compounded of Keltic words as—

Anlaf — *an-lagh*, great order; or *an-lamh*, large hand.

Eric — *eiric*, reparation; *eireachd*, beauty.

Oscytel }
 Ascytel } — *os-ceidil*, above conflict.

Thorketil — *tor-cet-il*, great counsel mouth.

Olaf — *ollamh*, a chief professor in any science, therefore a learned or studious person, a *beau-clerc*; *oll-amha*, a great person.

Wulfstan — *ull-feas-tan*, prince of great understanding or wisdom.

Ulfketil — *ull-feas-cet-il*, very great wisdom mouth; one renowned for wise speech.

Edmund — *Ead-mann*, the bounteous giver of protection that is, the generous protector.

Offa is the name of a townland in Tipperary.

An instructive illustration of the dangerous character of Worsaae's advocacy is presented by his assertion that the English word *by-law* is still used to denote municipal or corporate law, and is neither more nor less than the Danish *By-Lov* ; consequently it must have retained its name ever since the time of the Danes. This word, he says, shows that the Danes must have had at least some share in developing the system of judicature in the English cities.* One would like to know where is to be obtained the information that municipal law is in this country termed *by-law*, and how Worsaae and his informant would interpret the words *by-place*, *by-street*, *by-play*, *by-word*, and the like.

It does not appear from the *Dooms*, edited by Thorpe, that the Danes introduced any very important changes into the ordinances for the government of the country. Were the series of *Dooms* complete, it would probably be found that the changes which occur are the result of altered circumstances, produced in the lapse of centuries. Though in the present day zealous people emphasise their dislike of political change by professing attachment to law and order, in earlier days, law *was* order, K. *lagh* being the equivalent to order. The *Danelagu* was that part of the country under Danish sway, including the whole of south Britain under Cnut, and the north-eastern portion only under Guthrum.

The tax levied on intestates, the heriot, does not appear before Cnut's reign ; but from the wording of the ordinance the object does not appear to be the imposition of a new doom, but the regulation of a custom which had become

* Worsaae, *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

oppressive, or might be exercised oppressively. As translated by Thorpe, it reads as follows:—*

71.—And if any one depart this life intestate, be it through his neglect, be it through sudden death; then let not the lord draw more from his property than the lawful heriot: And, according to his direction, let the property be distributed very justly to the wife, and children, and relations; to every one according to the degree that belongs to him.

72.—And let the heriots be as it is fitting to the degree, an earl's such as thereto belongs, that is, etc.

73.—And where the husband dwelt without claim or contest, let the wife and children dwell in the same, unassailed by litigation. And if the husband, before he was dead, had been cited, then let the heirs answer, as himself would have done if he had lived.

These dooms appear perfectly consistent with the declaration embodied in Cnut's first doom, *i. e.*,

“This is then the first that I will: that just laws be established (that man-righte laga upp-arære), and every unjust law carefully suppressed, and that every injustice be weeded out and rooted up, with all possible diligence, from this country. And let God's justice be exalted; and henceforth let every man, both poor and rich, be esteemed worthy of folk-right (folc-rightes wyrtha), and let just dooms be doomed to him.”

The words rendered by Thorpe *heriot* are *here-geata*, which he explains in the glossary as signifying *apparatus bellicus*, *military habiliments* or *equipments*, which is perfectly consistent with Cnut's definition of the render “fitting to the degree.” According to Bosworth, *here-geata* is what was given to the Lord of the Manor to prepare for war. But it is difficult to convert *here-geata* into *heriot*, and the definition applies only to earls and thanes of every degree, that is, the compensation the king was to receive for the loss of the leader of a contingent in his army. The render, or

succession-duty, from men of inferior degree is not defined, but the lord was not to draw more from the property of the intestate than his *rightan here-geata*. But in addition to the equipments, the king was to receive money — “mancuses of gold,” or “pounds”—according to degree. The under-lords could not always obtain money, and would doubtless commute in kind, according to the custom of the manor, and thus obtained the tenant’s best horse or best beast; and as beasts were at one time money — *pecunia* — the custom of taking the beast would prevail, as in paying rent, and be maintained.

The word heriot appears, then, to be of Keltic origin, that is, *eirigh-adh*, the lord’s beast, or possibly *eiric-odh*, the entire ransom, the relief, to use a later term, which enabled the heirs to divide the residue of the estate. Probably, however, there is here another example of that substitution of one word for another of somewhat similar sound and signification. The *eirigh-adh* was levied upon all degrees except men of thane rank and upwards; in common parlance, therefore, that word would take the place of *eiric-odh*, especially after reliefs were extinguished. The heriot subsists to this day in many manors, though extinct as a regal or national aid.

The theory that the Danish inroad into Britain partook of an immigration of foreigners, and a supplanting by them of the indigenous people, appears to rest chiefly on an erroneous interpretation of the names of places. It is perhaps excusable in Worsaae, himself a Dane, that he should readily accept and support an opinion so flattering to his national pride; but it is difficult to understand the acceptance which that theory obtained from preceding historians. They had before them the facts that Britain had enjoyed all the advantages which could be conferred by the

prolonged residence and favour of the most civilised people of their day; it had been the resort of those beggared in fortunes and in health, for the recovery of both its visitors, or temporary residents, were many of them Christians, who had succeeded in diffusing their tenets among the native population, so that there had been confessors, martyrs, and religious communities; those visitors had introduced political and municipal laws, the most developed jurisprudence the world had then known; a scheme of legislation which to this day is regarded as the most philosophical of any known system; they had an effective fiscal establishment, and probably there is not any one feature of government which is so distinctively an indication of progress in civilisation as simple and effective taxation. In addition, they introduced all the then known arts, mechanical and imaginative, in their most finished state; and their orators, poets, and historians agreed in commemorating the wealth and the beauty of this possession, and the advantages it yielded to the empire. It is idle to assert, without evidence of the clearest and most unmistakable character, that all these and all their fruits were swept away by the inroad of Teutonic and Scandinavian barbarians.

On another occasion,* I have attempted to show how utterly baseless is the Teutonic theory of subversion and ruin, and will not dwell upon that subject now, but, turning from Britain of the Romans, glance at Denmark or any other part of Scandinavia, and in what state were the people then and for centuries after? They were the denizens of a wild and inhospitable region, abounding in swamps and forests; they were rude and uncouth barbarians, who probably never saw the face of a Roman, though they may indeed have heard of the Roman name, on some of those occasions

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. L. and C.*, 1873. See also, *A Neglected Fact in English History*, by C. H. Coote.

on which they bartered amber, the ivory of the Walrus, furs, and other raw natural products, similar to those so recently obtained from the Eskimos. The descendants of people leading lives so secluded and barbarous would develop but very slowly, whilst the commerce of Britain thrived and extended so that, as Worsaae says, the German Ocean was then known as England's sea; and if a merchant thrived so that he fared thrice over the wide sea in his own craft, he was thenceforth worthy of thane-right, that is, became a thane for life, or *quamdiu sé bene gesserit*;* and wealth accumulated in spite of desolating civil wars, and learning and art thrived, so that when Charlemagne desired to promote intellectual study among his people he induced Alcuin to leave the attractions of the North-Anglian court to assist in that honourable project.

Yet it is gravely asserted that such a people as the Britons were indebted to the Danes for the settlement, or re-settlement, of large tracts of country, the development of their commerce, the cultivation of a love for poetry and history, and the introduction of the Udal tenure of land; also of *things* or assizes, of trial by jury, of "a numerous class of independent peasantry, who formed a striking contrast to the oppressed Anglo-Saxon community," the preservation of popular liberty, and, above all, the spread of Christianity.†

It is impossible here to enter upon a detailed refutation of these claims; some of them are inconsistent with the evidence already submitted, others may be examined on future occasions; but surely there are obvious facts which are wholly inconsistent with such a draft upon credulity.

The Danes were a nation of heathen barbarians. At the end of the eighth century, incited by the love of adventure and the lust for rapine, they began to harry the shores

* Worsaae, *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

of Britain, making their first recorded attempt on the *south* coast. About the middle of the ninth century, they begin to effect settlements, and their efforts continue amid civil war for one hundred years ; then during the reign of Eadgar, an interval of peace ; and then the Danes return to their old habits of plundering, their settlements being too precarious ; and finally their efforts practically expire with Cnut, so far as South Britain is concerned.

It is difficult to discern at what period it was possible for the Danes to accomplish all the good which is attributed to them. No one acquainted with history will deny that they did exercise important influence on the destinies of Britain ; but dispassionate inquiry seems to render it probable that their influence was political rather than national, personal rather than dynastic. Though both Sweyn and Cnut retained, or desired to retain, their sway in Denmark, they preferred a residence in England, probably for the like inducement to that which governed the Norman Duke, the greater wealth and the greater civilisation of South Britain. These led both Dane and Norman to regard their continental possessions as appanages only, of great value and importance, it is true, but of value and importance second to that of their island throne. This preference, so strongly marked and so persistent, is itself evidence of great weight which cannot be lightly set aside.

Before the armed intrusion of Dane or Norman, it is almost certain that England was the resort of individual Danes and Normans, in pursuit of that wealth and other advantages which were to be gained in Britain, just as before and during the Roman occupation of the country the Belgi and Sacs had settled there in small numbers. The increase of those numbers, and the reports they sent home, no doubt induced those armed expeditions which terminated in conquests more or less complete. But the indigenous popu-

lation — the landed magnates and others — did not combine in sturdy opposition; they chose sides as most consistent with personal advantage or prejudice, just as is seen in all political contests even to the present day. There was no national, nor even local patriotism, as that word is usually understood, but merely personal manœuvres, or party contests for personal advantage.

Through all, mid direful suffering to many, the country throve; it grew in wealth, in learning, and in the arts, and it delighted in testifying devotion to religion by the erection of churches and by religious foundations. Those should not be ascribed to one section only, nor to one race, for the whole country participated, as is witnessed by the remains which each part retains in proportion to its wealth and its population, the minster prevailing in the south, the humbler kirk in the north.

To suppose that the Danes civilised Britain involves a reversal of ordinary experience, for Roman civilisation tamed the rude invaders of the imperial city when it underwent a change of masters, but retained its influence amidst the new national combinations which followed the dissolutions of the empire; and the effects of four centuries of Roman influence in Britain would not readily disappear.

I have attempted to show on another occasion that the Angles and the Jutes were not Teutonic foreigners, but sections of the Keltic Britanni. The mythical story of their foreign origin is possibly to be ascribed in part to Danish influence.

Though the Danes do not appear to have made descents on South Britain until the latter part of the eighth century, British traders had doubtless visited their country, and so intercourse and the interchange of visitors was established; and thus when Bæda wrote, half a century earlier, the similarity between the names of the Jutes of Britain

and those of Jutland would doubtless suggest the idea of relationship, an idea which would be favoured by any Danes desirous of establishing themselves in Britain for trade or otherwise. Subsequent events tended to confirm this impression, which would give a less unpatriotic appearance to the self-seeking partisanship of those Thanets and other people who attached themselves to the invaders as opportunity offered.

The Anglians, being a more indigenous and homogeneous people than the Sacs, were consolidated at an earlier date than any of the Sacsan communities or states. The Sacsan seaboard was more open to foreign intrusion than that of the Angles, whilst their land frontier was bounded by the various Britanni, who scorned to join or be combined with the Sacs. Thus the southern and western part of the island was perpetually disturbed by strife between the different Sacsan states, and between those states and their British and Anglian neighbours.

Subsequently, the West Sacs~~ans~~ became paramount in the South, and established a temporary supremacy over the Anglians, but when they were worsted by the Danes and Anglians combined they were obliged to give back the Anglian territory, which under the dynastic sway of the Danes was called Danelagh, not because Danish laws were established, as the word law is now understood, but because Danish kings maintained law, or order, for the *K. lagh* signifies order, and not the rules by which the basis of order is defined.

The Romans appear to have governed some of their colonies, including Britain, pretty much as Hindostan is ruled in the present day, that is, native usages were allowed so long as they were not incompatible with Roman authority. The Jews were able to demand the release of Barabbas in conformity with one of their usages. In the Danelagh

there are to be found those ordinances and usages which had survived the revolutions of centuries; and they were retained by the Danes, and subsequently by the Normans, because they were congenial to the people, and not incompatible with the authority of the Danish or Norman sovereigns.

In the Orkneys and Shetland, to this day, some of the same institutions exist as were found by the Danes in Anglia, though possibly in a less developed state; and instead of assuming that they were introduced from Scandinavia, I venture to think it more consistent with historic probability to suppose they were adopted by the Scandinavians, and carried by them from Britain. It does not appear that they left any traces in Ireland, whereas there are resemblances between the political and *quasi* municipal usages of Ireland and those of Britain.

All the people who bordered the German Ocean, or England's Sea, appear to have sprung from one source, and probably wherever they scattered themselves they carried the germs of the same institutions, which rendered it practicable to engraft any improved growth which had been acquired in other soil.

But to Roman and Christian influence must be ascribed that start in civilisation which rendered Britain a centre of intellectual progress and missionary zeal, and the wealthy prey to covetous and piratical conquerors, who enacted those scenes of rapine and wrong which were repeated by the Buccaneers of the Spanish Main, and the Filibusters of Western civilisation.

