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LECTURES.

ANGLO-SAXON DWELLINGS.

A Lecture delivered in the Lecture Room of the Exhibition, August 2nd, 1884.

BY PROFESSOR HODGETTS.

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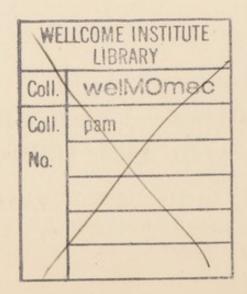
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International Health Exhibition. LONDON, 1884.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 2ND, 1884.

A LECTURE ON ANGLO-SAXON DWELLINGS.

By PROFESSOR HODGETTS.

The Chair was occupied by DR. ZERFFI.

In every civilised nation except our own there seems some kind of national pride which tends to elevate in men's minds the respect and affection which we owe to our fatherland and mother-tongue. With us, unfortunately, our patriotism is generally a cloak for ignorance. An Englishman is asked whether he speaks any given language he will say "No-English is the grandest language in the world, ergo, why should he learn another?" Any other man of any other nation uttering this sentiment would be stigmatized by that same Englishman as an ignorant conceited person who did not know English. And yet, what Englishman knows English? The language of his ancestors is a sealed book to him. And more than thiswhat does he know of the manners, dress, habits, language, modes of thought, ways of life, arts and sciences of our own race before the wretched fad set in of worshipping the "lady in the Revelation," as I have heard Rome called by those who identify her with Babylon? And now I want to tell you something about Early English Houses, and B 2

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because it is an English subject, it will be a new world to my audience. Those who are scholars of the true University stamp will turn up their English noses at English things because they have been trained to admire only Greek and Roman antiquities, which they profess to admire beyond everything else, in their trial to hang on to the skirts of Rome. Such gentlemen will know all about the Atrium, the Compluvium, the Basilica and all other buildings or parts of buildings peculiar to the Greeks and Romans, but they would be almost indignant if they were asked how those lived who crushed the power of Rome and threw off the yoke of the arch tyrant, who called Freedom from the deep and founded her Empire on the waves.

It is generally thought that we are descended from a kind of centaur-only not half horse, half man; but half horse, half alligator and whole savage! No wonder that people are shy of acknowledging their descent from such ! But in the first place this reluctance to honour our "forefathers and foremothers" is impious and unchristian, and in the second place, it is contrary to history to suppose that the martial, poetic, industrious race which overthrew Rome, and bore in it the germ of the new civilization which now covers the face of the globe was a race of rough untutored savages. The remains of their arts which have descended to us, their noble language, and still nobler literature, prove them to have been men of thought, skill, refinement and enterprise. The civilization which we brought from Scandinavia was very different from that of the classical civilization of Greece and Rome. The tastes of our ancestors were totally different from those of the classic nations of antiquity, and, however excellent Greek and Roman models may have been, they clearly did not suit us. In the cold bleak North, man required warm houses and plenty of fuel, consequently Nature supplied him with enormous pine forests to build a home and brighten a hearth. Nor could better materials have been supplied for either purpose. No structure is so warm as a house of wood, and the glowing embers of a large wood fire are known

to be the best adapted to the requirements of a Northern household. In the South, where the burning sun shoots his beams during a great part of the year down on the devoted heads of poor humanity, where rain is such a boon as to induce the builder of a mansion to leave a large square opening in the roof to permit of its passage into the interior where a tank was ready to receive it. In such a climate the house was built of solid stone to keep the dweller cool-to refresh him after the sultry weather without and shield him from the heat. In such a climate the structures raised by man would naturally be fortresses to keep out the heat where it was too abundant for his comfort, and a house would mean a cool cave. But fancy an atrium in the Lincolnshire fens, or a compluvium in the Lake District during winter! Our Fathers, the Anglo-Saxons, were away in the summer on board their interesting war-ships, and the house was therefore more calculated to keep the owners warm than to protect them from the heat. The houses which the Early English constructed in Scandinavia were more to their taste and better suited to their requirements than any marble palaces beside the Tiber. And when they found such buildings in Britain, of the Romano-British stamp they looked upon them with contempt and pulled them down, as they cut down the owners; consequently we find that our own immediate ancestors built rather in the style of their forefathers than in that of the nations which they subdued. It is an absurdity to suppose for a moment that our Anglo-Saxon fathers were so struck with the beauty of the Roman mode of building that they at once resolved to adopt it; or that the dome-like huts of the British peasants would present any attraction to a race already far advanced in the onward march of civilization.

Before investigating the actual structure of the house of our ancestor we must pause for a moment to consider some of those peculiarities and idiosyncracies which rendered the English so different from the Romans, and which, apart from the consideration of climate, have so much contributed to the production of the forms of building common in the North and imported into Britain.

The Scandinavian was in the very nature of his love and life a warrior. His gods were gods of war, his thoughts were those of a soldier. Even in peace he was a hunter, and the distinctions in his social existence were derived from warlike habits. Thus the expression eorl is simply significant of the military profession. It means a soldier, a fighting man. The common name for a man as a member of the community was wer, from werian, to defend to make war, and this word lives in the German wehr to this day. The thane was he who held land on condition of serving in war, the word meaning originally only The alder-man, was the elder of the army, he servant. whose experience and valour gave him a right to command. The respective names for man and woman were wer-man, or wapen-man, implying the armed hero, and web, or wifeman, the man who weaves. The grand object of the hero's life was war, and war was conducted in a free and open way. The chosen general was the Here-tog, meaning the leader of the army, from Here, an army, and the verb teon, to draw, tug, the compound answering precisely to the German Herzog, which also means one who leads or draws out an army. This officer was chosen by the army, on account of his age and experience, not for any great superiority in valour, for where all were brave men it would be difficult, nay impossible, to make such a distinction. One of the first principles of the Anglo-Saxon military education was that the soldier in war, whether on board ship or on the field, should have no protection from any kind of fortified work. The old Viking code ordained that he should have

"No tent on board ship, and no wall round thy house-Under walls lurk the coward and slave-

Be thy buckler thy bed and thy broadsword thy trust, Odin's sky is the roof of the brave."

The spirit which dictated such a law would be opposed to the construction of fenced cities or towns and *a fortiori* of fortresses. The house was the dwelling-place in peace, and had for our remote ancestors no reference to war at all. Consequently we find the Anglo-Saxon house described in such a manner as recalls to our minds the old-fashioned farm-house with its out-buildings, rather than the mansion of a later time.

I have before stated that no structure is so warm as a house of wood. Those who have been in Russia, Sweden, and Norway will bear out this statement. There wooden houses, although, generally speaking, forbidden in towns, are much affected by the peasantry. In the first place, wood is a non-conductor of heat quite as much as stone, is easy to work in and is at hand. The pine forests all over the North furnish man with the cheapest and best way of building; long trunks of the tall pine trees are laid one upon the other until a certain height is reached. The ends of the trunks are notched so that they shall lie at right angles with those in the next wall, and so the four walls are as it were dove-tailed together as a carpenter makes a square box. The log-cabin of America is similar in construction and appearance. The doors and windows are fitted into apertures actually sawn out of the wooden wall. The interstices between the logs are filled up with tow by an operation similar to that of caulking the deck of a ship. The interior is divided into compartments by partitions of wood. Occasionally in the case of very wealthy proprietors the chief room or saal is very large and lofty and used chiefly for grand meetings and social gatherings. So in the older England, whence we came, in the fifth century, to Britain, there were grand structures in wood giving our forefathers room to hold festive meetings in the winter when cold and snow prevented their great assemblies in the open-air, and frost and ice kept the dragon-ship on land. Such an apartment is the great hall of Herot in our own grand national epic of Beowulf, the description of which affords us a ready clue to the architecture of the earliest English in Britain, as the other references-to dress, arms, manners, and customs present a vivid picture of English life in the fifth and sixth centuries:

We are introduced in this glorious poem to a palace, which consists for the most part of a large oblong building used for the meeting-place of the warriors forming the train of King Hrothgár to whom the structure belongs. The internal arrangements are simple enough. There is the oblong room or hall, with its high bank on one side supporting the throne or heah-sætl of the King, and below this, all round the walls, are placed the meod sætl, or banks (that is to say, benches) for the train. The walls, however, are hung with tapestry, the work of the Queen and her train of maidens. This was a necessary adornment, inasmuch as the joints between the logs, though carefully caulked and stopped up with tow, could not be hermetically sealed against the wintery blasts that cut their way through every crack and cranny. So the hangings on the walls were of immense use in keeping out the wind. Nor were the benches and settles without their bright and attractive coverings. We find, from the wills which have come down to us, frequent bequests of sethragl or coverings of seats, often so valuable as to render their mention in the will quite an important item. The curious on this subject may consult the Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici, by the late eminent scholar Mr. Benjamin Thorpe, or they will find similar bequests among the wills preserved in the excellent work, by my friend Mr. Walter de Gray Birch of the British Museum, entitled 'Cartularium Saxonicum,' where the wall hangings and the seat covers are continually mentioned.

Besides the wall hangings woven by the fair hands of tender women, we meet with other ornaments of the wall wrought by harder hands and less gentle fingers. The coat of linked mail—that war-net woven by the hand of the smith,—the splendid shield with its bronze or golden boss and circling ring of the same metal, the helmet with its ornaments of warrior-pride—the wings of the sea eagle, the horns of the orochs, the grim face of the boar or wolf,—the grand and glorious sword to which we owe this fair land, the boar spear for the hunt, the gár for combat, and the lighter spears hurled as javelins at the more distant foe, such a group of splendid weapons marked each warrior's seat, as the escutcheons and coronets in another great house mark the seats of our earls and thanes at the present day. There were but two windows, one at each end, and they were called wind-eyes ; their object being ventilation rather than lighting the hall. The roof was of the gable form, rather pointed, and covered either with wooden shingles painted and gilt so as to glitter in the sun like gold, or else they were ordinary tiles highly glazed and of variegated colours.

In the centre of the hall was the fireplace or hearth, formed of burnt clay and surrounded by a low wall of firebricks from which the smoke rose in eddying columns to escape through the aperture in the roof left there for its passage. At each end of the long hall was a door, and during a feast both doors were open and the poorest passerby might enter and be certain of noble alms.

To these two doors allusion was made in the early time when Christianity was young in the land and very far from being the religion of our race. A warrior of Odin, who in a grand debate in the *ting*, or open meeting of the free and brave, then convened to discuss the advisability of adopting the Christian faith—spoke as follows, "We in this life, O mighty king, are only passing guests. Man's soul is like the bird in winter which flies in from the dark cold air without, warms itself at the hearth, O king, then passes out through the other door into the unknown dark. He is gone—no man knows whence he came or whither he goeth. Now if these new doctrines will teach us whither the spirit flies and whence it comes—let us listen and become Christians."

This anecdote is related by Bede, and may be of the latter part of the eighth century, or he may have heard it, as is most likely, from others as a current story coming

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down to his day from the middle of the sixth, but it is highly illustrative of the retention by our forefathers of the custom of buildings in the method brought over by their ancestors from Scandinavia.

A pretty allusion to the aperture for the smoke is met with in the "Frithioffs Saga" where the stars are said to be heavenly guests looking in and blessing the board of the heroes. So universal was the custom in Scandinavia of allowing of the escape of the smoke by a mere aperture in the roof that the common expression for spending the winter on shore was to drink beneath the sooted roof. The floor was of deal planks, but the hearth was a little cubical mound of earth surmounted by the fire-bricks, tiles, &c., to which I have referred already.

The external appearance of such a hall, judging from the description of Herot, must have been very imposing. The horizontal trunks were surmounted by the highly pointed roof gaily decked with shining shingles, or curiously coloured tiles bright and glowing in the sun. The effect was that of plates of gold used as tiles burnished and bright. At the gable ends, the ornamental boards or planks that finished off the roof were, like the ends of the Swiss cottages, and the modern Russian country houses, carved into fantastic forms. Those of the hall in question were carved into the semblance of the antlers of a mighty stag or hart, and seen from a distance it must have made the impression on the mind of the spectator of a huge stag tossing his antlered brow aloft. I may be allowed to quote a poetical description of the hall of Herot, which will convey my meaning better.

"HEROT."

"King Hrothgár sat high in Herot hall, His Thanes sat round him. Blades, bills and byrnies hung on the wall, No glee wood gladdened, 'twas gloomy all, And still as a warrior wrapped in pall, Where the dread King Death has bound him.

Men told of that fair hall far and near, Both Danes and Angles. No braver building might builder rear : The roof trees rose straight as shaft of spear, High o'er the hearth the blue heaven beamed clear With its shimmering stars for spangles.

And the rising roof was full richly wrought And fairly furnished

With gilded gables, and gold work brought From distant lands and dearly bought, That by many a golden thatch 'twas thought All blazing and brightly burnished.

At either end by the eaves on high, Each other crossing,

Huge horn-like carvings met the eye, That glittered and gleamed in the glowing sky; Afar men thought a huge hart to spy, It's beam'd brow to the breezes tossing.

And Gleemen and Guthmen this high hall, This dearworth dwelling,

The hall of the hart were wont to call; And the thriving thane and the thriftless thrall, Would wonder and gaze at the warfast wall Of wealth hoards in wardage telling.

On the walls within the rich wrought web hung, In set shape showing

The deathless deeds that the skalds have sung : How thundering Thor his huge hammer flung, That hard on the Frost Giants helmets rung, Setting their black blood flowing."

The word Herot means a stag, and is the old form of our word hart, and its position at Hartlepool which derives its name from events in the story, has already been pointed out.

When the winter set in and the meetings in the open air were impossible and the viking expeditions equally so, such a grand Hall must have been a bright scene indeed. The roaring fire in the centre; the splendid colours of the gorgeous tapestry, shown up by crescents or iron lamps hanging from the rafters; the four massy pines supporting the roof in the centre of the hall, in the stems of which

some rude likenesses of Thor and Odin, Frigga and Freya, carved, painted and richly adorned with gold and gems; the brilliant arms glittering from the rich coloured ground of the tapestry, the gay dresses of the seated warriors, red, blue and white, richly bordered with beautiful gold fringe. the harpers with their harps and gay mantles occupied the centres of the hall formed a bright and noble scene. On each side of the fire and around the blaze the busy cooks plied their art. Behind the seats of the joyous warriors goldenhaired damsels passed with such jugs as we may see, this very day, at the British Museum, into such horns as that rescued from the tumulus at Taplow, and also forming part of the National treasure in Bloomsbury.

When the lady of the house, followed by her maidens and the other ladies who were present at the feast withdrew (as is the custom amongst their descendants to this very day), they sought the bower or women's apartments, built off from the great hall, and entered by means of a door at the side of the high seat or dais. In these rooms the maidens of the household spun flax for the linen of which the fine underclothing was made, or wove the web and worked the threads in the wool for the tapestry hangings of the hall and other rooms. Then there was the "máthum house," or treasure chambers, where rings and bracelets and money were stored. Then came the "wapenhus," or armoury, with its store of helmets, byrnies (or coats of mail), white shields for the inferior warriors, spears of all kinds, bows and arrows, sword and seaxes. Again, beyond these places were the out-houses for the ceorls, or free labourers, and the thralls or slaves. Then came the cycene, where certain preparations were made, and some portion of the cooking performed, that done in hall being confined to the roasting on the spit, and to the boiling of the grand stew or soup in the gigantic cauldron swinging over the royal blaze in mid hall. All these buildings were to the rear of the great hall, and they were none of them higher than the ground floor. Of these buildings in the rear special notice is taken of the bæc-hus, where the

various kinds of bread alluded to in a former lecture, were made. The *breæw-hus* was a most important element in the comfort of an English household, if all tales be true, scarcely inferior in importance was the *mealt-hus*, or malt-house, where the malt was stored that should yield the warriors the "liquor that they loved." Then came the *mete cleofa* or pantry, a building set apart for the preservation of the food of the household. And when we consider what the household was for which provision had to be made, and the scale upon which those champions were fed, we may imagine that this mete cleofa was hardly inferior in size as well as importance to the grand hall itself.

One of the most exhaustive writers on this interesting topic is the eminent German Saxonist, Moritz Heyne, and he suggests that one of the group of out-houses constituting the Early English Hall, to which the term spic-house was applied, must have been devoted to the curing of various smoked meats, rather than the storing of them, and I am inclined to agree with him. To such of my auditors, who are familiar with German, I recommend the perusal of the excellent little work by Moritz Heyne, 'Ueber die Lage und construction der Halle Heorot,' published at Paderborn in 1864.

Vegetables were preserved in the so-called *hed-ærn*, and the wine was kept in a cellar dug under the earth and called the *win-ærn*. The word *ærn* simply means *a place* and not necessarily a cellar, and I must be understood as calling it a cellar on the hypothesis of Heyne. But it may have been only another out-house kept cool, as peasants in Russia have a cool place for keeping food in the summer. As these places in Russia are cellars, however, and the whole construction of the Russian house agrees in so many particulars with what we read of the Early English houses, there is nothing absolutely against the cellar theory—save the negative evidence of not meeting any definite notice of the cellar as such, in the MSS. The word *ærn* as a suffix means simply a place, thus when used adjectively we get northern, southern, western, and eastern, implying of or

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belonging to the *place* of the point of the compass alluded to. The *hors-ærn* was therefore the stables where the "fettered whirlwinds" were confined.

For such corn as was consumed in the house there was the gweorn (Swedish, kvarn) or hand-mill. But besides this there was the mylen or wind-mill that ground in larger quantities. The cows were confined in the scyppen or cow-houses, and out-houses in Germany are called schüppen to this day. Then came the wæsc-ærn, or washhouse, where the linen of the household was washed, and considering the scrupulous cleanliness of our forefathers this must have been no mean portion of the establishment. for they used table-cloths, towels and napkins, which, besides the linen portion of their clothing, had to be kept white and clean. Such of you as have travelled in Sweden or in Russia must have been struck by the number of bathing houses for all classes of the people. Hot baths, vapour baths, and cold baths can all be had at prices varying from a penny to six or seven shillings of our money, and the Russians especially are most particular in visiting the bath-house generally once a week, but certainly never less than once a fortnight. They say that they acquire in such baths sufficient heat to keep them going for another fortnight. Thus when Tacitus speaks of the constant use of the warm bath by northern nations we know what he means, and we are led to understand why our forefathers paid so much attention to the bath as to have a separate building provided for it in their large houses, just as the Swedes and Russians do at this very time.

Now all these places which I have mentioned to you are buildings connected with the great Hall of an Anglo-Saxon gentlemen or person of distinction, and you will very likely say that they are houses not a house. And I reply that the original meaning of house was home, rather than only one building, just as in a grand farm in some dear old outof-the-way place, where the word "Threadneedle Street" has never been heard (if such a place were within the province of Imagination), we might find a lovely old English farmhouse with no steam ploughs, and called Wardle's Farm, Dingley Dell; there we should find the house itself not more than one story high, and all the various departments of the household except the kitchen carried on in outhouses, as is the case in Russia. The true English style of building is confined to one floor and that is the ground floor. By this means the fatigue of going up and down stairs is avoided, and the possibility offered of having all the dwelling rooms of the same temperature, and of passing from one to another without running the risk of chilling the whole body in the transit.

In the Scandinavian houses of an early period there does not appear any trace of the unwholesome staircase which embitters the lives of so many people in this country. Certainly they had stairs, but they were the steps by which to mount the watch-tower, built on a hill near the house and used by the watchman to scan the whole neighbourhood, to see whether there were signs of intruders or visitors. The warden who thus kept watch would report to the lord of the manor any strange sail approaching if the house were on the coast. The Romans, although building very much on the system of each room opening into some other, had yet the custom of building castles and castellated mansions, and from the Romanized Frank the Normans obtained the idea of building towers as dwelling-places. From them the English, in the time of the stupid "Confessor," gained the idea. But it is not English, and whatever we may say about the system of building room above room, instead of building them all in one flat, we don't like it at heart and have only to try the northern plan to find, how much better it falls in with our wants than the tower system of the Romanized Scandinavians, whom we call Normans, but who were really unprincipled renegades from the faith, habits, and speech of the glorious old North from which both Normans and English originally sprang. But even in the eleventh century the representations of towers are very strange, as though still unfamiliar to the English mind.

The poorer classes, of course, lived in less pretentious dwellings, and, like the huts of the Russian peasants, their houses consisted of only one room, sometimes partitioned off into smaller apartments. But I am not by any means prepared to say that they were anything like so badly off as the poor are in this great Metropolis. They were dependent on the rich landowners, it is true, but their dependence was not a dependence of disgrace, it was simply connected with the military service which they could render, and this bound all classes together in a grand family, united in the common national cause. As long as they did their duty, both civil and military, their lords were not unmindful of their wants. They were allowed wood enough for fuel and to spare, while the timber for their huts was supplied by the lord of the manor.

In the houses of less pretension than the grand Hall of Herot where we have noticed outhouses of various kinds adapted to various purposes, we discover that the chief feature of the building, the hall itself, was omitted, and the space which it would have occupied was divided into compartments by scide-wealls, or partitions. These partitions are supposed-but, I think, on very insufficient authority-to have been constructed of wickerwork filled up with clay. The evidence is more in favour of such divisions as sailors call "bulk-heads," made of planks of wood. A house would thus be divided into four or more compartments, of which the chief would be the general dining-room, another the women's apartment, another the place for certain domestic animals, and fourthly the place which we might call the scullery or kitchen, all of which were distinctly separate from the more stately " Hall."

Moritz Heyne, in his little work on the Hall of Herot just mentioned, cleverly refers to many modern structures in the Germany of to-day, in illustration of his sound deduction that the various rooms in an early English house were buildings not only on the same floor, but even detached from each other and built in the same yard.

It is unnecessary to say that our forefathers were

acquainted with stairs. They were cut in rocks, and when towers were built, they were involved in the construction ; the qualified assertion made above (at p. 15) applies only to their employment in dwelling-houses, which was introduced some time after the settlement in Britain. The Teutonic hatred of town life, and of the confined feeling of being enclosed by walls, was more emphatically exhibited by the Scandinavians than any other Teutons. And the English, on coming to Britain, had absolutely no reason to copy either British or Roman models. They had come by invitation of a weaker race to aid them against certain enemies. Those enemies they defeated by their own strength and knowledge of the art of war. That they despised the Britons is a matter of course; for they worshipped physical strength. They were moral in their lives, stern in their manners, unyielding and obstinate in their convictions, and thoroughly satisfied with themselves. To these fundamental principles the Britons offered a striking contrast. They were not physically strong, they were far from leading moral lives, their manners were more lively and engaging than those of the English; and we may see among the descendants of the Kelt at the present day a much greater brightness of style and desire to please than obtains among the descendants of Odin. The Scandinavian Englishman had been taught to despise the shelter of walls in war. Nay, the Berserkir, a class of warriors specially trained to seize the shields of the foe in their teeth, attacking the enemy with bare hands, had the habit of flinging their own shields away after the first discharge of arrows and javelins had been received upon them. Their laws and customs were all dead against walled towns and castles. Why, then, should they adopt them from a race which, despite their aid, had failed to defend itself from another race of inferior advantages and resources, over which the English gained easy victories? Accordingly, we find among the English remains preserved in the British Museum no traces of any copying from Roman or British models. Even when Britons had houses of brick, when Roman villas were still standing

in Britain, and were occupied by Romanized Britons, the Englishman built his log-cabin or cluster of cabins forming a house ; and these homesteads were constructed in the rambling, disconnected manner best adapted to avoid the danger of fire, or rather to prevent the spread of fire, the one element which the Teutons dreaded. Nor should we feel surprise at the greater number of remains of Roman pottery than of English, when we consider that for the decoration of the house no such articles were (as a general rule at least) employed by Englishmen.

Although the word potter is evidently a recent addition to the vocabulary, the cylene or kiln, as a place for drying, occurs, and the workman whom we should call potter, is designated croc-wirhta, crockery-wright or crock-worker; while the brickmaker or tile-maker is called tigel-wyrhta, translated by Bosworth by "a tile or pot worker, potter." The word is from tigian or tigan, to draw, and the substantive tigel stands in the same relation to the verb as the German ziegel (a tile) stands to the word ziehen (to draw). In fact, the substantive does not indicate merely a tile, but anything that can be made by the potter and drawn out of clay. In Bosworth's Dictionary a remark is made that "porringers are to this day called tigs by the working potters." The adjective form is tigelen, quasi tilen. The tiles used for a roof are called thæctigel, i.e. thatch tiles; thatch being cognate with the German dach, a roof, or decke, a cover. The final c in English becomes tch in many words, and generally after a soft vowel (i, e, æ, or œ), as wicce, in modern English becomes "witch."

As the earliest houses of the Anglo-Saxons were of wood, and the baked clay portions of the edifices were confined to earthen floors, and hearths, so when stone became used there was at first, very naturally, a tendency to imitate rather the style to which the builders had been accustomed, than to work upon Roman or other models. Accordingly we find the same simple arch that we meet with at the present day in Russia, in the Anglo-Saxon churches.

Singularly alive to the demands of an active faith,

the Christian Anglo-Saxon was remarkable for the extreme simplicity of his own dwelling, and the disproportionate gorgeousness of his temple, a feeling which manifested itself in the tribute to the gods of the gift of enormous strength expended in their service by rolling huge blocks of granite by main force to form such a structure as Stonehenge, while the meanest hut served the warrior for a dwelling or a hall, like a big booth at a fair was regarded as the grandest possible form of dwelling even for a king.

As the settlement in Britain became more confirmed, and the arts of peace began to make way among the military settlers, they, like the Romans (who had occupied the same ground before them in much the same way), commenced such work as was absolutely required for the production of the mere necessaries of life; and, like the Romans again, they had no reason for copying British models, having their own with them upon which to work. They would have no use for British or Roman bricks, because they built their houses of wood. They had no need of Roman or British pottery, because their own habits and requirements were different from those of the Romans in the most essential points, and they established their own means of supplying their own wants in their own way.

The Scandinavians enjoyed a degree of civilization, not derived from either Greek or Roman sources, and in many respects widely differing from the civilization of the classic races; but it was civilization all the same, and it was better adapted to their needs. Living in a state of constant warfare, the first requirements were necessarily military; accordingly, the chief remains of the earliest times are such as distinguish the warrior; and the two great trades among civilians were the smith and the shoemaker, both of which terms were expressions of wider application than the more modern acceptation of the words admits of. Smith included the armourer, the goldsmith, the silversmith, the coppersmith, and other branches of the grand class. In the *Colloquies of Archbishop Ælfric*, a work of the tenth century, the palm of usefulness is decidedly borne by the smith, while the shoemaker takes the second place. In these *Colloquies*, though the carpenter or wood-wright is mentioned with praise, he has to yield to the smith in point of importance; while the potter is not mentioned at all, his art being evidently of too little value in the eyes of the interlocutors to be worthy of any special mention. And it is remarkable that the wood-wright alone claims the credit for building houses and ships; this claim is disputed by the smith, who tells him that without tools made by him (the iron-smith) he (the wood-smith) could do nothing.

A very curious circumstance respecting Saxon architecture is that the head of a column retained in stone the pattern of its wooden predecessor. The wooden column had been cut into a long, cylindrical form, having for a capital a mere butt-end or block, such as may be produced by shaving down a piece of ordinary fire-wood, leaving a cubical portion untouched at one end. Such is the simple construction of the original Saxon column, and such a form is reproduced in stone. Sometimes this simple block was carved into a rude representation of foliage, but most generally it was left plain, and without any ornament than its own club-like strength supporting the superincumbent arch.

Thus Christianity (although at first received with extreme caution by the English, who always protested against certain dogmas of Rome from the very beginning of their reception of the faith) had struck firm root in good ground, and its growth was rapid, yet healthy. The strong minds, that would use their own judgment in deciding so important a matter as the national faith, pruned that faith of certain accessories which they saw at once were excrescences ; but succeeding generations, coming into closer connection with Rome, were led by their habit of submission to the dicta thence promulgated to accept them as gospel, until a future age—now not long behind us—threw off the shackles, and left the English Church pretty much as it was in the time of Ælfric.*

* This prelate held the see of Canterbury from A.D. 995-1005.

But the first churches were certainly not the work of the tigel-wihrta, save, perhaps, that the tub-like or jar-like column may have been a copy of the outer form of the English jar, although it is just as likely to have been caused in the first instance by the chipping or shaving away of the portions of a wooden column or trunk lying between the centre and the two ends, leaving the centre of the same diameter as the original trunk, and squaring the two extremities into cubes, forming respectively the base and the capital of the column. Such a process would leave the Saxon column as we find it in many parts of England, and such a process was doubtless the modus operandi of the wood-wright who built the edifice. Later on, the shafts were straight, as there was no reason why they should not be when there was stone to work in and no bulging centre to cut away. But even in the later times, in times after the Conquest, when the straight shaft was the rule of building, there was no attempt at Greek or Roman capitals. Even when the foliated capital occurs, there is no doubt of its being derived from the purely Scandinavian source referred to already.

When motives of economy did not demand that the materials of the roof should be of humble straw or shingles, then the *tiglere*, or tiler, came boldly forward, and the ridges of the arches were his work, the delicate corrugations of the cupolas were made by him, and more recently, the bricks of which the various ornamental portions about the windows were constructed, came from his hand. The stone *timberer* (which sounds rather as from a neighbouring island than sober Saxon diction) raised the pile; the *tiglere* formed the roof and many ornaments. Then the earthen vessels in which precious wine was stored were also his manufacture.

Before the introduction of glass for windows, they were, of course, as narrow as possible, being mere slits for the passage of air (wind eyes, or eyelet holes for wind); but towards the end of the seventh century, Benedict, Bishop of Wearmouth, and Bishop Wilfrith introduced glass for church windows, and it was applied to ecclesiastical purposes before it was used in private buildings.

The well-known crypt in the Church of St. Peter's, at Oxford, is one of the oldest now remaining in England. Dr. Ingram, the celebrated Saxonist, and editor of an edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, attributes it to the time of Alfred; but it is evidently of much later date, although undoubtedly Anglo-Saxon. The capitals have the butt-head appearance which I have noticed, but they contain elaborate sculpture of a foliated pattern, and the shafts of the columns are straight. The late Mr. Thomas Wright, the well-known antiquary, has given some fair illustrations of the jar column, to which he applies the term baluster. I have no doubt that the respective age of the two forms will be ably investigated by others better qualified than I am to undertake the task ; but I throw out these remarks as the result of observations in various parts of the world.

The word timber is pure English, free from all Roman or Greek taint, and we know that the word means wood. Now, the Anglo-Saxon verb to build is timbrian, and we have used it in speaking of ships until quite lately in the expression, "a well-timbered craft," simply meaning well built. Now, suppose this expression carried over (like the word linden to Beowulf's iron shield) to the iron walls of New England, and you have before you precisely what was done when house builders abandoned wood as the only material for building, and began to work in stone. Their constructions were called stán-ge-timbru, stone timberings or stone buildings; and it is not likely that they should suddenly have dropped all their old associations with their work when they could not even do away with so suggestive a name. It remains in German to this day as the name of a room-Zimmer ; a carpenter being a Zimmermann in that language, not implying that he keeps to his room, but he is a builder ; a house, too, in German may be said to be gut gezimmert-well built. Frauenzimmer is a being of female build. With the name, much of the art went over to the stone, and we find constant repetitions in the mineral of what must have existed in the wooden material. Delicate ribbed-work, executed by the tigel wirht of tiles, and of a semi-cylindrical form, bright with many colours (similar to those spoken of by Tacitus as peculiar to the Northern Germans, and as possessing a beauty of colour and brilliancy that no Roman tiles possessed), form arched roofs such as might be supposed to be produced by the boughs of shady trees bent into the form of a cupola or dome. The arch itself is such as we see in long vistas of bending boughs viewed in perspective, and forming in their average effect a semicircular arch. And the early column of support was the roof-tree, the mighty shaft spoken of already in Beowulf, and known in far back ages in Scandinavia as bearing in the swelling centre the carved semblance of the household god. Sometimes there were two such columns, and then Thor and Odin were the supports of the roof, as they were of the faith of our sturdy forefathers. They were, in more senses than one, the roof-trees of the house and race. The roof-tree has passed away from among the things that are, but the expression remains a cherished one to this very day, retaining a sacred halo floating round it that even the superior glories of our Christian day cannot quite efface.

The early English have been sneered at for not having adopted a higher stage of civilization than their own. But the question is not by any means settled whether Roman civilization was higher than our own. To me it seems that had the Roman culture been really superior to ours, on the principle of the survival of the fittest, ours would have gone down before it. The *inferior* Teutonic civilization would never have so completely crushed out the *superior* Roman. Instead of being Englishmen at the present day we should have been a sort of caricature of the debased Roman school. For the Romanism that met us in Britain was already debased and offered no attractions, no inducements to our sires to become copyists. When the descendants of the grand old

race have stooped to the mimicry of another they have always had cause to repent it. Before their conversion to Christianity they never copied other nations at all, and even when they were converted to the Christian faith, they were very careful in assuming anything foreign and rejecting what was English. What is very curious, too, is that as soon as they began to imitate they fell before the race they aped. Upwards of eight centuries' interval has not been sufficient to wash out the Norman stain on our manners, customs, and language, consequent upon the silly affectation of Normanisms practised at the time of the Confessor. Nothing is more contemptible than the imitation of one man by another, but the imitation of a race by a race intensifies the meanness in the ratio of one to a nation. Had we endeavoured to improve our own instead, the case would have been different indeed.

In a lecture which I had the honour to deliver at the British Museum on the Anglo-Saxon Antiquities there preserved, I took occasion to point out how very different those remains were to those of the Roman stamp. We can see in the national collection how much at variance the forms are, and on that occasion I pointed out the general characteristics of certain curves in the jars and jugs there preserved as being harmonious with parallel forms in the architecture. It is true that the curves noticeable in the English jug are not so pleasing to the eye of the trained art critic, but they possess a greater charm for me than mere external grace in proving that our English ancestors were too proud to copy Rome. The very same curves noticeable in those ugly jugs are to be found in the columns supporting the Saxon arch! I have before told you that we are able to trace the influence of the early Scandinavians observable in modern Russia, where they have remained unchanged since the time of Ruric. And you may feel surprise when I tell you that this peculiar Saxon arch with the curious tub-like or jug-like column is to be found in the older Russian churches passim. Not that there are any very ancient churches there. I have seen nothing older than the end of the fourteenth century, but still the type there preserved by the conservative hand of architecture (who is own sister to Folk lore and legend) has been handed down to the modern Russian as it has to us, and from the selfsame source. The Saxon arch with the bulging column is to be found all over Moscow. Nor is this all, the double arch with the centre shaft omitted is found there, as it is in our own Saxon churches. It is rarely found in Scandinavia now, but it does occur, and when it is found it presents the same arch, the same column, the same zigzag pattern that we are familiar with in England on the one hand and in Russia on the other. This is a fair proof, among countless others, of the expansion of Scandinavian civilization East and West. In Britain it drove out the Roman forms, and stamped out whatever might have remained of an indigenous nature on the island.

The Scandinavians possessed a peculiar veneration for everything circular. This was derived from the ring form of the Horizon, the hemispherical vault of heaven, and the teachings therewith connected. I had the privilege and honour of calling the attention of the English Public to certain considerations connected with the ring at a Lecture delivered in the Anglo-Saxon Room in the British Museum at Christmas. And those mystic considerations then enunciated, I believe for the first time before an English audience, led our forefathers to the choice of the circular arch. The Ting stones were set up in a circle, as we may see on Salisbury Plain at this very day. The shield was emphatically circular, and in fact every object capable of bearing the circular form was made from mythological reasons to assume it. The zigzag pattern, as typically English as the circle, is the result of the so called frætwork for which our ancestors were famous, even after the Norman block to our progress. The word comes from the verb fretan, to gnaw or to devour, and lives on in the German fressen, and our own "to fret" or devour our own peace of mind. The application of the word to the ornament is referable either to the saw or tooth-like appearance, or to

the fact of the original model being cut into such saw-like forms as appear in the arches. It subsequently became applied to any kind of ornament that was elaborately worked, and the English goldsmiths at the time of Ælfred were celebrated for elaborate productions called fret-work.

We have seen that the earliest dwellings of our race were timber huts, built in the Northern style prevailing in the North to-day. When it became necessary to guard against the attacks of such enemies as Picts and Scots and Britons all combined, stone foundations were used to strengthen the building. When Christianity was received, and the stone temples, formerly raised to the gods on account of the indestructibility of the material, were done away with (or rather disused, for they remain in parts of England to this day)-when, I say, these rough stone temples fell into disuse then temples to the God of the Christians were constructed. As the learned writer on this subject, Sharon-Turner, informs us, the first churches were of wood, and like the hall of the noble unprovided with glass for the windows. The columns supporting the roof increased in number, and as the churches increased in size the number of columns increased. And as the pine gave way to the oak and elm an aisle produced by the use of such thick branching trees would soon reproduce the arcades of the forest whence they came. And, later on, when such building emulated the productions of the forest in stone, we have stone columns with foliated capitals of a peculiar form, evidently suggested by the boughs of trees. The round Saxon arch is strikingly arboreal, nor is the whole effect that of debased Roman, but of another copy, from another point of view of the glorious models presented by the forest and the grove in which worship had formerly been performed.

So of the houses. The tiler supplied his red and coloured tiles. Bricks and stones supplied the place of timber, but the builder remained the *timberer* all the same, although his material had changed. A second story, often of wood, was added to the English stone house in the Norman times, and the cheery old homestead gave place to the donjon-

like castellated building of stone with its shuddering staircase and some unwarmable rooms. The wrong done to the race by these Norman ravagers has not yet been effaced, and in the discomfort in the jargon of Norman French, and still more barbarous mediæval Latin, we may see the folly into which Englishmen may run when they try to imitate foreign models. The chief features of the English house are-large, ample rooms, easy of access, and open like the English heart to all who seek reception or who claim its shelter. Free-open-grand old halls, simple and yet tasteful in arrangement, side buildings on the same level for the performance of various household duties-a drawing-room for ladies :- The Norman gives us darkbrowed beetling towers of defence, built high in air to watch for enemies that lurked in every bush, comfortless little rooms with many little openings to the air through which to watch and shoot the approaching stranger, whether friend or foe! And for the women of the household prisons and stout bars. The Norman slang is dead amongst us. We are beginning to find out that our own tongue is best, and certainly when English hearts shall feel the thrill of joy that real pure English rouses, then the craving will be felt for English architecture, and we shall be again, what we should have remained, English to the core.

The CHAIRMAN said he was sure all present would agree that they had listened to a most excellent lecture, full of the deepest patriotism, of admiration for the Anglo-Saxons, and of that spirit which would never die out in England. At the same time he hoped there would be no effort to re-introduce the Saxon mode of construction, nor many of the Saxon customs. Everything in the development of humanity had its appointed time, and in its own time nothing was grander than what was done by the Anglo-Saxons. Everything showed that they were in the end the conquerors of the Romans, and eventually smashed that civilization which was to a certain degree civilization, only it was not the right one. At the time when it came

in contact with the Saxons it was already declining; it was a kind of civilization which thought that mere outward formalities, were the things which really made a great Roman, or a modern Englishman; but that was not civilization. The heart of Rome was corrupted, whilst the heart of the Saxon was in its right place; and whenever that was brought out, and the more it was brought out, the better it would be. He could not quite agree in all Mr. Hodgett's etymology; *erl* was an honest man; and *hertzog* was nothing but a translation from the Latin, from *dux*, *duce*, to lead; and *hertzog* was one who had to lead an army. He would conclude by proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Professor Hodgetts.

PROFESSOR HODGETTS in reply said he must be allowed to say that he had not uttered one single word of theory. Erl or jarl only meant war; it had nothing to do with Ehre, or Ar (honour) in Beowulf, and in all Anglo-Saxon glossaries it was translated "one who fights," and in the Scandinavian world jarl always meant a leader in war. There was no doubt the old Anglo-Saxon was cognate with German, but it was not derived from it; hertzog came from ziehen, zog gezogen, to lead; it had the same meaning as dux, but was never borrowed from the Romans. His derivations would be found in Ælfric, Sharon-Turner, Palgrave, Thomas Wright, and Thorpe, to whose works he would refer. Many Saxon words were similar to German, but were not derived from it; being all Aryan in origin, there was of course a near relationship. Any one who was interested in the subject and would call at his house, would be welcome to inspect his library, which was the most complete in Anglo-Saxon literature in the kingdom.

Mr. WILLIAM WHITE in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman said there was little doubt that the character of Anglo-Saxon architecture was derived from the character of the soil, a similar mode of construction in timber being found prevalent in Sweden, even to the present day.



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