

Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. II. PART I.

ADDITIONAL GIFTS TO LIBRARY & MUSEUM.

THE following additional gifts have been made to the Library and Museum :—

GIVEN BY

DR. KARL LENTZNER.

“Oldnordisk Formlære i Grundrids: a Short Scandinavian Grammar.” By Dr. Karl Lentzner. (Two copies.)

MAJOR A. F. MOCKLER-FERRYMAN, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S.

“In the Northman’s Land. Travel, Sport and Folklore in the Hardanger Fjord and Fjeld.” By Major A. F. Mockler-Ferryman.

C. A. PARKER, F.S.A. Scotland.

“The Ancient Crosses at Gosforth, Cumberland.” By C. A. Parker.

THOMAS WILSON, Curator, Department of Prehistoric Anthropology, United States Museum.

“The Swastika, the Earliest Known Symbol, and its Migrations.” By Thomas Wilson. Reprinted from the Report of the Smithsonian Institute.

PROFESSOR SOPHUS BUGGE.

Morgenbladet, of 1st January, 1897, containing an article on Professor Unger. By Prof. S. Bugge.

J. F. D. BLÖTE.

“Der Historische Schwanritter.” By J. F. D. Blöte.

“Das Aufkommen des Clevischen Schwanritters.” By J. F. D. Blöte. Reprinted from the *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum und Deutsche Literatur*.

ALEXANDER BUGGE.

“Nidaros’s Handel og Skipsfart i Middelalderen.” By Alexander Bugge.

PROFESSORS SOPHUS BUGGE AND MOLTKE MOE.

“Torsvisen i sin Norske Form.” By Profs. Bugge and Moe.

MISS CORNELIA HORSFORD.

"Privatboligen på Island i Sagatiden." By Valtyr Gudmundsson.

"Meddelelser om Grønland." 16th Part.

"Fortidsminder og Nutidskjem paa Island." By Daniel Bruun.

Plaster model of the Ruin of Áslákstunga hins innri, Þórsárdalur, Iceland, by Þorsteinn Erlingsson. Size $\frac{1}{125}$ of the original ruin, which was buried by an eruption of Mount Hekla about 1390, and dug out by Mr. Erlingsson in 1895.

SPECIAL DONATIONS TO FUNDS.

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PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

AMONG publications by members of the Club during the year are the following :—

"Torsvisen i sin Norske Form, udgivet med en Afhandling om dens Oprindelse Forhold til de andre Nordiske Former." By Professor Sophus Bugge (in conjunction with Professor Moltke Moe.) (Christiania.)

"Nidaros's Handel og Skibsfart i Middelalderen." By Alexander Bugge. (Trondhjem.)

- “King Olaf's Kinsman: a Story of the Last Days of Eadmund Ironside.” By the Rev. Charles W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., L.S.A. (London: Blackie)
- “The Book of Coniston,” containing a chapter on the Norse Settlement of the Lake District, by W. G. Collingwood; with a chapter on Torver, by the Rev. T. Ellwood, M.A. (Kendal: T. Wilson.)
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FORTHCOMING WORKS.

- “King Alfred's Viking.” A Story of the First English Fleet and of the Campaign from Athelney. By the Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., L.S.A. (London: Nelson.)
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*REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.*

FIFTH SESSION, 1897.

AL-THING, JANUARY 8TH, 1897.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

A short paper by Dr. Karl Lentzner, entitled "A Word on Ibsen's 'Brand'" was read, in which the writer undertook the defence of the morality of that work and of Ibsen's teaching in general. A paper followed by Mr. J. J. Haldane Burgess, M.A., on "A Glance into the Konungs Skuggsjá."

The Jarl, in calling on the Secretary to read the paper, expressed his regret at the absence of the author. As, however, he lived in Shetland, it was perhaps hardly to be expected that he should appear in person. He was sure members would appreciate even more Mr. Burgess's efforts on their behalf and his success as a writer, if they considered the drawback he had to overcome, for he was blind. The speaker had recently read one of his books, "The Viking Path," and had been much struck by its vivid descriptions and spirited pictures of sea-fights. He should like to hear Mr. Major's views on the latter, as he had so recently given them the benefit of his studies of sea-fighting in saga-time. He thought Mr. Burgess's descriptions were the more picturesque, but Mr. Major's, drawn from the Sagas, seemed the more probable.

The "Konungs Skuggsjá" is a work that stands alone in Old Norse literature. Though its literary merit is not in any way to be compared with that of the Sagas, it has the unique merit of being the solitary original work con-

cerned entirely with the philosophy of life to be found in the Norse literature of the Middle Ages. It dates to about 1230, and is a digest of life rules and learning in the shape of a dialogue between father and son. Only two of the four divisions of the work have come down to us, being those relating respectively to the life of merchants and chapmen and the life at a king's court. The former is particularly interesting in the glimpse which it gives of old-world geographical knowledge, in particular regarding the far North, Greenland and Iceland, and as the truth of its descriptions have since been confirmed by Nansen, it shows the thoroughness of our forefathers' knowledge seven centuries ago of the mysterious Arctic Ice World. Not only a physiographical, but a floral and faunal description is entered upon, while the definite recognition of the roundness of the earth is testimony to its astronomical perspicuity. The information regarding the Greenland settlements is specific and valuable, and that the topographical and climatic information has been confirmed by the travels of Nordenskjöld and others detracts nothing from its merits.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. G. M. Atkinson said he would like to know more about the eating of whales and seals on fast-days being interdicted, as he had not met with such a prohibition before. He did not understand how so many reindeer, horned cattle, and other live stock could be supported in Greenland, as he believed there was no grass there. He should be glad if any member could give the date of Isidore of Seville,¹ who certainly seemed to be far in advance of his time, judging from what Mr. Burgess had said of him and the opinions he expressed.

Mr. R. L. Cassie said that the work they had been considering was specially interesting, as it was one of the most ancient specimens of the Old Norwegian language, as opposed to the Icelandic, now in existence. He had

¹ Isidore of Seville lived in the seventh century (died 637).—ED.

read it in the original, and recognised the truth and beauty of the translation. The knowledge of Greenland in those early times was extensive ; indeed, comparatively little had been added to it up to this day. Although trade had been extensive, the part played in it by Norway and the Norwegians was not great. The opportunities of observing the animal life of Greenland were apparently few among the early writers, though the description of the various species of seals was very minute. It was now generally admitted that both the eastern and western settlements of the Norsemen had been situated west of Cape Farewell, and that the east coast had never been habitable.

Mr. A. F. Major said that by the kindness of a Norwegian visitor, Mr. Meidel, he was allowed to read an original letter written by Dr. Frithjof Nansen in 1888, just before he left his ship to land on the east coast of Greenland. This gave an interesting picture of the aspect of the country at that date, and the condition of the ice-covered sea. With regard to Mr. Burgess's paper, he thought the Society would agree in tendering him a hearty vote of thanks for the glimpse he had given them of the old-world knowledge and imaginings. It was certainly news to him that even at that date there were scientific men who held that the world was a globe. Modern research had proved the truth of the statements in the "Konungs Skuggsja" as to the rearing of sheep and cattle in Greenland in olden time, for Lieutenant Daniel Bruun, of the Danish Navy, had found their bones in plenty among the ruins of the old Norse settlements,¹ and he also stated that in the present day there was abundant vegetation in places sheltered from the keen winds of the North. He had found the ruins of both the ancient settlements upon the coast west of Cape Farewell, and the theory that the Eysribygd was situated on the eastern coast of Greenland might be dismissed once and for all.

The President said that in Shetland the people living on

¹ See *Saga-Book*, Vol. I., Part iii, pp. 281-82.

opposite sides of a bay were known as the east-side and west-side folk, and the Greenland colonies might have got their names in the same way. It was clear from the paper that in ancient days Greenland had had husbandry and good pasture, with cattle and sheep in plenty. Possibly there had been a change of climate, due to the shifting of the Gulf Stream. The Rev. Mr. Prior thought the whole world was growing colder, and that the poles of the earth were shifting, which, if correct, would account for a change of climate! With reference to lawful food on fast-days—in Shetland, seals used to be eaten as food. The flesh of the barnacle goose was permitted to the faithful during Lent. Whether this latter fact were due to the fishy nature of the bird, or had reference to the old belief that barnacles grew on trees, and that young geese were produced from them, he could not say. In the reasons that took men to Greenland, he thought we saw the old Norse spirit. The first point was, What sport was to be had there? the next, What was there there to live on? the third and last, Were the people there Christians, or did they need our teaching?

AL-THING, JANUARY 29TH, 1897.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. F. T. Norris (Saga-Master) read a paper on “The Thingwalls of America and England,” which will be reproduced in full as a separate publication of the Club.

The lecturer gave a verbal description, with lantern-slide illustrations, of the earthen amphitheatre discovered on the Charles River, Massachusetts, and of more or less similar structures, stone circles, and other antiquities he had seen in the course of an expedition to the Orkneys and Shetlands and the North of England, at the request of Miss C. Horsford, and traced the probable course of the voyages of the early Norse and subsequent discoverers and re-discoverers of America.

In moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Norris for his paper, the Jarl said that he was inclined to share the opinion of Dr. Hildebrand with regard to stone circles, namely, that they were originally erected for religious purposes, their legislative use being later and secondary.

Dr. Jon Stefansson said he thought the story of Columbus's visit to Iceland rested on somewhat hazy evidence. Yet it was recorded in his life written by his son. He understood that the Icelanders who visited America at Miss Horsford's invitation to examine the supposed remains, had come to the conclusion that they could not be said to be distinctly Norse; they were rather inclined to the view that they were not Norse. The latest Scandinavian theory, that of Dr. Gustav Storm of Christiania, was that Leif landed in Nova Scotia. He had pointed out that vines grew there, and the statement as to the length of the day would also fit in with this surmise.

Mr. A. F. Major said that, besides thanking the lecturer for an interesting paper, they had to thank Miss Cornelia Horsford very warmly for sending Mr. Norris on his mission and for the interest she displayed in these researches. He feared the results were not so conclusive as Miss Horsford might wish, and threw little light on the origin of the American "round" or "amphitheatre." As far as he understood, the origin of the remains in Massachusetts was still wrapped in mystery, and the possibility of their being Norse was not disproved. Of course, it would be of the highest interest to find undoubted evidence on American soil of the Norsemen's voyages thither, but, whether such evidence came to light or not, there could not be the least doubt that the Norsemen discovered America some centuries before Columbus, and left detailed accounts of the discovery. He hoped the report of Mr. Norris's investigations would be published, as such a careful comparison of various ancient works could not fail to be interesting and valuable, though the value would have been greater had Mr. Norris been able to use the spade in his researches.

The lecturer, in reply, stated that he shared Dr. Hilde-

brand's view of the original and subsequent uses of stone rings. As to the results of his investigations, they had up to the present proved more in the nature of clearings of the ground than of actual solutions of the problem submitted.

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 19TH, 1897.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. R. L. Cassie read a paper on "Realism in Norwegian Literature, the Work of Alexander Kielland," in which he gave a full sketch of his author's life and writing, and of the important position he held in the literary life of Norway in the present century. The paper was illustrated by the reading of many passages translated from Kielland's works.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Theodor Gleditsch said that, as a Norwegian, he would ask to be allowed to say a few words, though the views of the lecturer were, in his opinion, so correct that he had little to say in the way of criticism. There was a rumour that Kielland was about to publish another book, breaking a long silence. It was, however, possible that he had said all he had to say, for he wrote first in the heat of indignation, his spirit stirred at a time of great general excitement. It was the same with Ibsen and others who, though they still wrote, now write in a psychological vein very different from that of earlier years. It was the more likely that the message of Alexander Kielland had been given, because his later books, which the lecturer had not mentioned, were distinctly poorer. It was a great triumph for him that the Storting had carried a resolution doing away with the teaching of Latin and Greek as part of the school education. The victory indeed was not entirely his, but perhaps no other author who had denounced the system of classical education had had so much weight. Each of

his books had been like a sword, cutting to the root of the evil at which it was aimed. In his last book, "St. John's Festival," he had even gone from attacking a principle to attacking a person, and had written about a great living preacher, not indeed under his own name, yet so that the allusion was unmistakable, and had accused him of great crimes. He had been much blamed for this scandalous proceeding, as it was considered; yet events had proved that he was right, and that the man attacked was really guilty of the conduct imputed to him. Whether such action was right or wrong, it testified to the author's boldness.

Dr. Jon Stefansson, in moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said he hoped that something more of his useful and excellent work in rendering Norwegian literature into English would be seen in England, and he thought those present who had read Mr. Cassie's translation of some of Kielland's tales would agree with him that the lecturer should continue the work he had begun. He thought that there was no novelist in England who wrote in the same sense as Alexander Kielland.

Mr. F. T. Norris said that he had been most interested in learning that Kielland had been leader in a movement which had resulted in ousting the study of Greek and Latin from schools in Norway. He had always felt strongly that our system of education devoted far too much time to those dead languages.

Mr. A. F. Major said that the question raised of classical *versus* vernacular studies was one of great interest and some difficulty. Personally he had often deplored the loss we in England suffered by not being reared upon the Sagas and Eddas, and taught to regard them as what they really were, the classics of our race. At the same time he felt that he himself owed much to the classical studies of his school-days, and the influence of Greek and Roman literature was so all-pervading that anyone ignorant of them was at a very great disadvantage. Where the balance of gain or loss lay, or how the question should be settled, he could not pretend to say. Mr.

Cassie's paper had given a valuable insight into the work of a great Norwegian writer, and perhaps had taught some that modern Norwegian literature was not summed up in the word "Ibsen."

The Jarl said he should like to hear Mr. Gleditsch's opinion about the translation of passages from Kielland introduced by Mr. Cassie. The language was so felicitous that they did not read like translations; but if they were so, and not merely paraphrases, he must congratulate Mr. Cassie on a feat which so few could achieve. He should also like to ask if the conditions of life in Norway were such as to warrant the pictures drawn by Ibsen, Kielland, and Björnson; for, in their pages, middle-class life in Norway appeared more rotten than in England. Were we to accept such pictures as true to fact? In putting the vote of thanks, he must again express the charm he had derived from the felicity of diction that appeared throughout the paper. He hoped to see Alexander Kielland in an English dress, and he thought all would agree that Mr. Cassie was eminently fitted so to array him.

Mr. Cassie, in reply, said that he was only an amateur in the field of Norwegian literature, but he had found the study very fascinating. He did not himself go so far as Alexander Kielland in condemning the study of the classics, but he thought too much time was devoted to them. As to the scope of his author, he had nothing to add to what Mr. Gleditsch had said. With regard to the translation, he had tried to be as literal as possible, and to reproduce as far as he could the Norse mode of thought, and the essence of the author's style.

AL-THING, MARCH 12TH, 1897.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mrs. Clare Jerrold read a paper on "English Poets and Northern Myths," which will be reproduced on a future occasion.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. G. M. Atkinson said that he much admired Mrs. Jerrold's treatment of the subject, though he found it somewhat difficult to follow her throughout. As he understood the myth, Balder is the Sun-god, and he was not aware that there was so much involved in the subject as was evident from the paper just read. He thought Tegner was a Swede, and his acquaintance with the subject was therefore closer than some others, although Longfellow had also felicitously written on Balder. He was glad that Mrs. Jerrold had not spared Matthew Arnold, whose work was perhaps overrated, and that she had given Carlyle the praise that was his due.

Mr. E. M. Warburg said he wished to move a vote of thanks to Mrs. Jerrold for her paper. The subject-matter was very familiar to him, though he had to go back a long way for his recollections of it—to his school-days, in fact, when he had had to learn by heart Tegner's poem on Balder. There was one thing which he should like to mention to members of the Viking Club: he thought they ought to learn the correct Northern pronunciation of the various Norse names and words they had constantly to use. As in Latin and Greek, so here, a uniform practice was very desirable. No doubt this was a somewhat difficult aim to realise, but he should be very glad to help, as far as he could, in giving the proper pronunciation.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood seconded the vote of thanks, and expressed his pleasure in having been able to attend. He took more interest in the second part of the paper, where the question of translating was dealt with, than in the first part. It was a very difficult thing to express in another tongue the "things unspeakable," which it is the function of poetical style to convey. The question that first arose was: In what way are we to translate? Many writers wish to make their translation as like as possible to the original. But what is the real object of translation? Are we to alter the words before us as little as possible, or to turn them into idiomatic English? After all, whatever

might be said of him by students, it was Gray who first roused the interest of people in this country in Northern literature, and he turned the Eddaic poems into idiomatic English. Others, such as Herbert and Cottle, who aimed at more literal translation, were not read. Speaking for himself, as a maker of books, who had to go to a publisher, he must ask if we are to satisfy the student only, or the general readers also. Some want the language to be nearer the original Anglo-Saxon before the foreign invasion began, some want English "as she is spoke," not as she might be spoken. He entirely agreed with the lecturer as to the desirability of avoiding the use of classic phraseology in translating a romantic writer and *vice versâ*. Still, Pausanias shows us how very romantic what we call the classics can be. There was a wonderful parallel between the ancient Greek of the Homeric age and the Viking of the Saga-time. Except for climate, the Mycænæan Greek might be likened exactly to the Anglian of Beowulf. In fact it was not the Greek writers, but the renaissance of the seventeenth or eighteenth century that we must blame for the distinction generally drawn between classical and romantic. He was entirely at one with the writer in her opinion of Matthew Arnold's "Balder," as a specimen of the dry and narrow classical spirit in its highly-polished shape. Again the question must be asked: In what style are we to translate the verse of the Eddas and Sagas? Ought we to neglect rhyme in favour of alliteration? Yet they have rhyme in modern Icelandic, and to some extent in the ancient also. Is it possible, again, to get a natural folk-speech that might fairly represent the language of the Sagas? Such a style he thought might be found in the speech of the northern Borders, in the Lowland Scotch or the Northumbrian English. Such, at least, was his theory, though he confessed he found it difficult to carry it out in practice. Mr. William Morris, to whom members of the Viking Club owed a very great debt, in seeking for such a speech had invented a style of his own, which was picturesque and archaic, though not

free from Wardour Street English and other affectations. It was the business of the Viking Club to try and popularise the Northern literature, but we must bear in mind that the English public will only read what is placed before it in such a way as to interest it. Much indeed has already been done in this direction, and perhaps we might not unfairly ask the lecturer to do something herself, or, at least, to tell us clearly how it ought to be done.

Mr. A. F. Major said that he was very glad to see Mr. Collingwood at one of their meetings. He was so rarely able to attend, but in his speech that night he had given them much to think over. He was glad to hear him speak in defence of Gray, whose versions of Eddaic poems, though they might not be accurate translations, were spirited poems that conveyed a vivid impression of the original. Mrs. Jerrold had gone so deeply into her subject that her paper could hardly be discussed on the spur of the moment without reference to the originals and authorities dealt with in it, though it afforded an ample field for debate if one could equip oneself worthily. Perhaps when it appeared in the Proceedings it would be possible to take up some of the interesting points raised. With regard to Mr. Warburg's plea for a uniform pronunciation of Northern names, the first thing must be to agree on a standard, which might not be easy, as one would have to decide between the pronunciation of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, modern Iceland, and the ancient Icelandic pronunciation as scholars read it. These gave you four, if not more, ways of pronouncing the word "Viking."

The Jarl suggested that a commission of experts should be appointed to settle the difficult question of pronunciation. He was very grateful to Mr. Collingwood for his remarkable speech, which had clearly brought out the stumbling-blocks in the way of translators. He would ask writers who decry the use of any but the Saxon elements in the English tongue, whether we ought not,

according to their theory, to go still further, and confine ourselves to its Gothic elements in translations from the Northern tongues, to the French elements in translations from French, and so forth? Surely language is only a symbol, and the chief point to be aimed at in translation is to render the thought as faithfully as we can in the other tongue, using any element in that tongue that best expresses the ideas of the original.

The lecturer, in reply, said that Tegner was not a Swede, and Longfellow's poem on Balder is a poem upon Tegner's death, and not a translation. In reply to Mr. Collingwood's challenge, she did not think it was demanded of critics to be themselves able to do that which they might have to criticise in others. In her remarks upon Matthew Arnold, it was only his style to which she referred. It was not possible to draw any hard and fast line as to the language that should be used in translations, but it was possible to avoid glaring differences between the style of the original and that of the translation: and she could see no reason for choosing words that least represent the original, as some translators seem to do. With regard to the ride of Hermod to Hel in the Prose Edda and Odin's in "*Vegtamskviða*," she did not think they could be fairly compared. Mr. Collingwood had been more merciful to her than she deserved for her temerity in so boldly criticising certain well-known authorities. She agreed fully in much that he had said as to the difficulties in the way of translators.

AL-THING, APRIL 2ND, 1897.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. A. Knox read a short paper entitled "*A Location of a Residence in Mann of the Kings of the Isles*," which will be reproduced in full on a future occasion.

What we knew, said Mr. Knox, of the kings of Mann was derived almost entirely from the "*Chronica Regum*

Manniæ et Insularum," which extended from 1000 to 1374, beginning, for Manx affairs, in 1066, with Godred, son of Sytric, king of Mann. All good things in the history of Mann had been done by these kings. King Orry was first mentioned in 1422. "King Orryes Days" are in that year referred to by the "Deemsters and the 24" as the earliest time in the affairs of Mann of which they have knowledge. There is no other knowledge of Orry. He had done what he could to prevent the destruction of monuments and mounds in Mann, which destruction, unhappily, still went on. Many mounds which formerly existed on the hill of Peel had, in recent years, been obliterated. He felt very strongly that the opening of these mounds, in the supposed interest of science, was as much a loss to the important sciences as their wanton or careless destruction. None had a right to disturb the repose of the dead, despoil them of the treasured objects laid to rest with them, or drag forth their bones to be scattered among our museums, or left to moulder away uncared for where they had been flung; nor could any have right to wipe out of the landscape things which linked it to the affections of men.

A brief discussion followed, in which Mr. G. M. Atkinson said that the round tower in Mr. Knox's drawing seemed to be of the same character as the round towers of Ireland, examples of which were found elsewhere—as at Brechin and Abernethy—though antiquaries differed as to whether they were Norse, Keltic, or relics of the survival of an old Pagan faith that got tacked on to Christianity. It was deplorable to hear of the destruction of the barrows, many of which apparently had not been opened, while the contents of others had never been examined by qualified enquirers, or preserved. The ruins of Mann and relics of her former times, such as the runic crosses, had suffered very severely. The wall in Mr. Knox's drawing, to which he drew attention as possibly of Norse origin, looked very like a mediæval wall.

The Jarl thought that the kings of Mann had been

sometimes independent, sometimes feudatories of Norway, or other nearer countries. He was much touched by the way in which Mr. Knox had spoken about the dead, and almost agreed with him that the things of the dead belong to the dead, and that we have no right to meddle with them. Certainly, whatever might be said in defence of the work of legitimate science, it was much to be desired that some check should be placed on the destruction worked by indiscriminate curiosity. It was so in Sweden, where ancient monuments could only be opened with the permission of the Royal Antiquary. In this country, relics of the past were constantly being destroyed. In Unst, in Shetland, all the cairns had been opened, and their contents for the most part scattered and lost to knowledge.

A paper by Major A. F. Mockler-Ferryman on "Chronicles of Hardanger: a Sketch of Old-World Norway," was then read, which is reproduced in full in this number.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. G. M. Atkinson said that, though he had been in Norway, he was sorry to say he did not know Hardanger itself. The paper was highly interesting, and many points in it called for comment. For instance, the use of flint and steel as a protection against trolls or evil spirits was very singular and curious, and one would like to know the reason for it. There were several bridal crowns preserved in museums in Norway and Copenhagen, and one is in the South Kensington Museum. The costumes, again, seemed often to be a relic of Roman Catholicism. Many curiously carved marriage-chairs were still preserved, the carvings seeming to be symbolical, while it was curious to note that the runes were cut underneath the seat of the chair, where they were unseen. He had never before heard of embalming in Norway, or of wakes being held there. No doubt these were pagan survivals, like the bonfires on Midsummer Eve, which were a curious relic of sun-worship, and still called Baal-fires in some parts of the world where the custom still lingered.

Mr. A. F. Major regretted the absence of the author of the paper, who would, no doubt, have been able to answer some of the points raised. The use of flint and steel as a protection against trolls was, no doubt, very old. Thorpe ("Northern Mythology," Vol. II., p. 76) mentioned the custom as existing among Swedish fisher-folk as a charm against mermaids, etc. In his account it is apparently the fire that gives the protection, and trolls are said to dread it, as it reminds them of Thor and his thunderbolts. It is possible, however, that part of the charm may lie in the steel, as trolls, etc., in other folk-tales, appear to have a dread of metal. On the theory that trolls, dwarfs, elves, etc., were originally the people of the stone-age, driven farther and farther into the wastes and wilds by the onslaughts of a folk using metal, we can imagine the former's dislike to metals, as suggestive of the weapons which had been used in hostility against them.

The President said that there was a similar use of iron in Scotland to drive away evil spirits as that mentioned in the paper. He felt considerable doubt as to whether the tradition as to embalming the dead had any real foundation. He had been in Hardanger, and had observed the marriage and funeral customs mentioned in the paper, which, together with the birth customs, had analogies to what recently might have been observed in Shetland. For instance, the sign of the cross was used against the "trows" to save new-born children from them. The popular belief was that among the trows no girls were ever born, hence they were always eager to steal girl-children or young mothers. He had heard of a cross of pins made in the curtains to keep them away. There had been a divergence in the belief as to changelings. The weak and sickly child was looked upon as a changeling, and it was held that as you used the changeling, so would your child be used in the other world; and this superstition had no doubt been very useful in preserving weak and sickly children from ill-usage. Many parallels to the wedding customs might also be found in Orkney

and Shetland. No doubt the clergy had often been very superstitious in old times, but he doubted if they had knowingly encouraged superstitious belief for their own benefit. They had rather fought against it disinterestedly, when their profit and influence would have been increased by their fostering it; and we had, if anything, to lament their zeal in rooting out as superstitious, harmless and picturesque relics of past belief. The clergy in Cornwall had also had a great reputation in old days for their power over the devil and evil spirits, but they had worked hard to destroy the superstitions of the people. It was said of a clergyman in Shetland, that he declared he had been fighting the devil all his life in the shape of the superstitions among his flock.

GREAT AL-THING, APRIL 30TH, 1897.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

The Great Al-thing was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 30th, 1897, at 8 p.m. The Law-Thing Saga, or Annual Report of the Council, and the Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1896, with an explanatory statement by the Treasurer, were laid before the meeting and unanimously adopted, and Umboth-Vikings, or Officers of the Club, for the ensuing year were elected.

Mr. A. G. Moffat then read a paper on "Norse Place-names in Gower (Glamorganshire)," which is reproduced in full in the present *Saga-Book*.

Mr. Charles Glascodine, a visitor from Swansea, opened the discussion on the paper by thanking the Society for encouraging Mr. Moffat in his researches. They related to a very interesting part of the country where Welsh was still spoken, and the English and Welsh-speaking portions were separated by very fine lingual dividing lines. The north part of Gower was Welsh, with very few foreign names to be found. There were very interesting mounds

with moats round them to be seen on Burry which might be ascribed to the supposed Norse invaders, though Colonel Morgan, of Swansea, thinks their date is later than the Viking-time. The speaker himself was of opinion that the names ascribed to a Viking invasion came in with the Normans, and were given by Northmen who accompanied them. He had every reason to believe that this view was correct, though he was open to conviction if evidence to the contrary were brought, and he must admit that many of the names in question were undoubtedly strongly Norse or Icelandic in character.

Mr. A. F. Major said that Mr. Moffat had broken ground in a way very pleasing to members of the Viking Club, who must rejoice to find evidence of the Norsemen's presence in these islands in places before unsuspected. Lady Paget, another member, had printed a pamphlet on "The Northmen in Wales," in which she found a few names in North Wales which she ascribed to Norse influence; though Canon Taylor, in his "Words and Places," imagined that they made no settlement there, and only named certain features on the coast as they sailed by. But had this been so those names would not have clung to the places and been handed down to us. Such places with undoubted Norse names as Orme's Head and Priestholme, the old name of Puffin Island, were eminently fitted to be the strongholds of sea-rovers, while Lady Paget says there are fortifications on the former, which might or might not be ascribed to the Norsemen. Besides these she mentions Dalir and Wig, near Bangor, as apparently Norse, and possibly there is a Norse element in Capel Ulo, near Conway, and Pwlheli. There were two other chapels in Anglesea in Pennant's time named after Ulo, but no Welsh saint or other person of the name is known, while the name Ælu or Ælo, which Dr. Stephens finds in Runic inscriptions, may be the same. Again, the name Heli occurs in the castle of Llys Helig, submerged in the sea near Penmaenmawr. The name is said not to be Welsh, and is possibly identical

with the Norse Helgi. Dr. Stephens also considered the carving on the cross of Penmon Priory in Anglesea identical with work found on Swedish monuments. Going further south, the Norse termination of Bardsey suggests that the island rather derived its name from the name Bard, common in the Icelandic Sagas, than from the British bards. Round Milford and Haverford, again, the traces of a Norse settlement are numerous, while it is very probable that Welsh names ending in "garth," such as Talgarth, Tregarth, and Gogarth Abbey on Orme's Head, are of Norse origin. Fishguard is probably in the same category. The speaker hoped that Mr. Moffat's paper would be published in full, with a map showing the places referred to to elucidate it. With regard to the suggestion that the names may have been brought by the Normans, he should like to point out that before the Norman Conquest of England the Normans had lost the speech of their fathers, and the tongue they brought to this country was not Norse, but a bastard French, so that the theory that they bestowed Norse names on places where they settled in Wales, although ingenious, is most improbable, if not impossible.

The President suggested that the fact mentioned by Mr. Glascodine, that the names in the north of Gower were Welsh, was in conflict with his own theory, for as the Normans approached Gower by land we should expect to find names of Norman origin on the landward side. The Norse names were all found apparently on the seaward side, as we should expect them to be if of Scandinavian origin. He should have liked to see a comparative statement of the numbers of Welsh and Norse names. Mr. W. G. Collingwood in his paper on the Norsemen in the Lake country, after dealing with the Norse names descriptive of places, turned next to the houses, the art, the ironwork of the district, etc., etc., and showed how traces of Scandinavian influence were to be found in each of these. He should like Mr. Moffat to turn his attention to similar points, as that line of work had added

immensely to the force of Mr. Collingwood's arguments.

Mr. F. T. Norris said that the ground of Mr. Moffat's paper was not unfamiliar to him, and he had enjoyed it very much. Against the view of a previous speaker, that the Norse names in Wales are due to the Normans, we may set the historic evidence of the presence of the Norsemen at an earlier time, which we find in the Saxon Chronicle and in the Sagas. In the Welsh Chronicles there is a hiatus for a long period, at the end of which Roderick the Great, a king with a Norse name, appears on the Welsh throne, and its occurrence, following the period of admitted chaos in Welsh history, was suggestive of the usurpation of an alien dynasty. He agreed with Mr. Major as to the unlikelihood of the non-Welsh names being due to the Normans, on account of the latter, though Norse in blood, speaking a bastard French tongue. Indeed, he thought Mr. Moffat had been too diffident in his claims, and that the Norse element and their conquests in Wales were very extensive, though afterwards overlaid by a recrudescence of Welsh nationality. From his observation it appeared that the place-names could be paralleled in other parts of England, and notably in the Thames Valley. For instance, Pembroke, in North Wales, was paralleled by Pimlico in the Thames Valley, lic, in the latter, being simply lech or leck, a stream. The same root is found in Lechmere, immediately opposite, in Battersea. Gunnersbury bears the name of a Scandinavian Gunnar, or of Gunhilda, Sweyn's queen. Another of the Welsh leaders in Pembrokeshire, Kar, may be traced, on the Thames, in Carshalton and Caswell. Mortlake on the Thames and Morthoe in Devon afforded a further parallel of names in places far asunder. He suggested that Bard, in Bardsea, was connected with the Norse leader Barith, or Barid, who played a part in Irish annals and in the history of the Isle of Man. Returning to the Thames Valley, other Welsh parallels were Hammersmith, Pallingswick, Bollingbrook, etc. Tooting meant beacon-hill, and the same root is found in Tothill Fields, but

its use was too wide for comparison purposes. With regard to the name Swansea, or Sweyn's island, he would suggest that the *ea* might stand for hithe, as in Bermondsey, Chelsea, etc. He agreed that Burry must be traced to borh, a fort. The word "Welsh" meant simply, in the Saxon, a stranger, and not necessarily a Cymric man or a Gael, and we meet with it under the form Wallasey, or Welshman's Island, both in the mouth of the Mersey and in that of the Thames, where the Welsh in each case implies Danes or Northmen.

Dr. Jon Stefansson asked whether the name Burry might not be from *bára*, wave. He thought also that the name "Cleaver Tops" might be the Icelandic *kleifar*. He had expected to find Danish place-names in Devonshire, as the Norse rovers seemed to have harried the western country very freely, but so far he had been able to trace very few there. There was a mountain in St. Kilda bearing the Icelandic name of Oiseval, Austr-fell or Eastern Mountain.

The lecturer, in reply, said that he had begun in the middle of Gower because he had made the Welsh Moor his objective, as he considered that beyond that dwelt the Welshmen, the foreigners. He thought that the reason that Welsh and Norse names were to be found side by side was because the two nationalities settled down in friendship together in the intervals of fighting. His quotations from Egils Saga, the Jomsvikings Saga and Njals Saga showed that they were on friendly terms long before the Norman Conquest. Further, in a recently discovered fragment of the Orkneyinga Saga, giving a story of Jarl Rognvald, there is found the word "cuff," a cowl, or hooded cloak. This is a Welsh word, and the Saga writer must have learned it from Welshmen. We also find other Welsh words used in the Sagas, such as *koddi* =pillow, *klutr*=clout, *kápa*=cape. The confirmation by King Gruffydd of the lands of the Church of Llandaff to Bishop Herwald, which he had quoted, was the strongest confirmation of the presence of Norsemen in Gower

before the Norman Conquest ; there was also little doubt that there were Danes there, as also Norsemen who came from Orkney. In answer to Mr. Sandison's suggestion as to evidence in local customs, etc., he must say that so far he had not found any very distinct traces of domestic Norse uses in the district, save in the following local words :—*lathe* (to invite)=*laða* ; *wicks* (grow)=*vöxtr* ; *haye* (a fenced garden)=*hagi* ; *vitte* (clever)=*vittr* ; *fraeth* (impudent)=*fraedi* (knowing) ; *haggard* (rick-yard)=*hey-gard* ; and *snead* (scythe handle)=*sneida* (to cut). Finally, with regard to the theory of the Norman origin of the non-Welsh element in Gower, he thought, with previous speakers, that the evidence in favour of a direct Scandinavian settlement was much the stronger.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the past Jarl, the Rev. A. Sandison, for his services to the Club during his tenure of the office. Mr. Sandison, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, congratulated the Club on having secured Dr. Karl Blind as their president for the ensuing two years.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 26TH, 1897.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarla-man) in the Chair.

A vote of condolence with the relatives of the late Viking-Jarl, Samuel Laing, was unanimously carried, the great loss the Club had sustained being universally deplored. Miss A. Goodrich-Freer, Jarla-Kona, read a paper on "Traces of the Norsemen in the Outer Hebrides," which is reproduced in full in the present *Saga-Book*.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. A. F. Major said that such contributions to the history of the Norsemen in these islands as Miss Goodrich-Freer had given that night were especially valuable to the Viking Club, whose duty it was to investigate that chapter in the history of our race. He had only one adverse criticism to make, so

would begin by dismissing that. The lecturer had referred to the defeat of King Hakon at the battle of Largs. But according to the detailed account of the Saga writer, whose authority he preferred to that of any Scottish historian, especially as the accounts of the latter indirectly corroborated the Saga, Hakon was not defeated. Some of his ships were driven ashore by the storm and their crews were attacked by the Scots, who were driven off when the weather slackened and the king sent reinforcements ashore. Next, the Norsemen were on shore seeing to the wrecks, and were attacked by the whole Scottish host. The Norsemen had occupied a hillock which they had not force enough to hold, and in retreating from it were thrown into great disorder and some fled to the ships. But the rest rallied round the ships that had driven ashore, and after a hard fight drove the Scots back to the hillock, finally storming it and scattering the opposing force. They held possession of the field next day, as even the Scottish historians admit, and bore off their dead unmolested. He hoped, on another occasion, the lecturer would fulfil her suggestion of tracing the evidences of the Norsemen's presence in Cornwall. With regard to the absence in the Hebrides of any buildings which might be ascribed to the Norsemen, he would suggest that probably their walls consisted of alternate layers of turf and stones, as in Iceland, and the ruins of such buildings are not easily to be discerned. They may also have used wood very largely, for the Norsemen certainly made great use of it in Norway, and, even if the Hebrides were not better wooded a thousand years ago than now, which could not be taken for granted, yet we know from the Sagas that a large timber trade was carried on in Saga times, and a cargo of wood for building could have been carried to the Hebrides from Norway as easily as to Iceland. He did not think the mounds of shell-fish proved a Norse occupation, for though these abounded in the Danish kitchen-middens, there was little doubt that the latter were pre-Norse. The Hebridean

folklore would amply repay investigation, and it would be interesting to have it compared with the Irish by a scholar competent to judge whether any differences that might exist were due to Norse influence. Miss Goodrich-Freer's suggestion of possible Hebridean remains to be found in Norway was a point that might bear fruit in the hands of a competent scholar. The lecturer had not told them how it was that these islands, unlike Orkney and Shetland, lost their Norse tongue and became Gaelic speaking. The fact was to be deplored, and the proposal that a Scandinavian scholar should visit the islands to collect Norse names and local words still in use deserved to be adopted. Miss Goodrich-Freer had remarked on the descriptive character of the place-names. The Rev. E. McClure, in a paper read before the Club,¹ suggested that these names were purposely bestowed by the early seamen on the rocks, islands, and headlands past which they sailed, so that the names might in some measure serve as a guide to those who sailed in their wake and followed their directions, and there are passages in the Sagas that give some colour to the suggestion. The question of land-tenure in the Hebrides was one on which an Orkneyman or Shetlander could probably throw light, and they could also say whether, in their islands, the callings of farmer and fisherman were united. The combination of the two was certainly habitual among the Norsemen, as the Icelandic Sagas testified over and over again.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson said that he should like to suggest to Miss Goodrich-Freer to supplement her paper with photographs of the Hebridean fishermen. He had never heard of fishermen like Jews, or come across such a cast of countenance among that class. It would be interesting to have types of faces, measurements of the bodies, skulls, and so forth. Speaking generally, he should say that fishermen were a sandy or red-haired race. He had spent some time when in

¹ *Saga-Book*, Vol. I., Part iii., p. 268.

Edinburgh with Dr. Anderson and Mr. Goudie, considering the brochs, but he thought that they were not very clear about their origin. There were very fine specimens of similar structures existing in Ireland, notably Staigue Fort, but without chambers in its walls. Some thought the brochs had formerly been roofed over. It would be interesting to know what name the Hebridean children gave to Ireland in the stories collected by the lecturer; these will become an interesting source for future investigation. It would be very curious if we could trace to their origin the tortoise-shaped brooches found in Norse graves, which have, undoubtedly, Byzantine characteristics, the heads, tracery, and other details on them, closely resembling Byzantine work. Eastern coins were also found buried with them, but the tortoise only figures in Japanese art. It was shameful to hear of ancient graves being destroyed on the property of the Duke of Argyll, and he wondered, too, that the noble proprietor should take no notice when the facts were brought before him. The upright stones mentioned by Miss Goodrich-Freer ought to be carefully examined for inscriptions. Ogam inscriptions had been found on many of the standing stones of Ireland, and a similar discovery might await us in islands like Lewis, which was famous for the number of such monuments found there.

Mr. F. T. Norris said that the Society might well congratulate itself on the paper before it, which was a very valuable contribution towards solving the question of the Norsemen in the Hebrides. He hoped Miss Goodrich-Freer would continue her work on the same lines. When the paper was in print in the Society's transactions it would be possible to consider the vast field it covered, which could only be glanced at now. As to the disappearance of Norse buildings, he thought that Mr. Major's explanation was probably the correct one; excavations in Iceland, Greenland, and elsewhere, showing that the early Norse mode of building was with walls of turf and stones and a turf-covered timber roof. The latter had few elements of

permanence in it, and would speedily disappear, leaving what was usually found, only the stone and turf walls. He was decidedly of the opinion that the so-called Picts' houses and the brochs were not Norse. For one thing, Mousa, which he had visited, showed by the size of its chambers that it could only have been occupied by a very diminutive race, such as the primitive Celts. The lecturer's suggestion of Hebridean names to be found in Norway ought to be followed up, and he had no doubt that there was much useful work to be done in that direction, which would throw light not only upon Hebridean but upon English history. Miss Goodrich-Freer's statement that a Runic inscription had been found in the Hebrides, thus adding to the limited number said to exist in the north of the British Isles, was eminently satisfactory, and the speaker expressed the hope that others would be found. The lecturer's work on topography and place-names was most valuable, and he begged her to give it the fullest extension before her paper was published. Valuable evidence had been afforded from the study of these subjects on the extent of Norse influence in other Celtic lands. As regards ethnology, he was of the opinion that the primitive population had not been quite exterminated in Orkney and Shetland, as his own observation led him to the conclusion that there were three great divisions in the population: one an unmixed Norse, the other an unmixed Celtic or small dark type, and a third division the result of the mixture of these two. Personally he did not believe in the existence of a fair Celt, and thought the belief had led to many errors. The history of England, of the British Isles, nay, even of the British Empire, showed us again and again how a Scandinavian population had migrated into a Celtic land, and after a longer or shorter stay had emigrated again, driven on by the adventurous spirit of the race to action on a new field, while the less enterprising Celtic population which it had found in the land was again left behind. This he thought might have occurred in Orkney and Shetland,

and probably in the Hebrides too, and this would explain the recrudescence of Celtic names and language in districts originally Norse. Of course, the explanation might also be that a Celtic population had re-emigrated to these Norse lands in comparatively modern times, and he felt inclined to agree with the lecturer that this was the true state of the case.

The President said that he was entirely at one with the speakers who had congratulated the Society on their good fortune in securing this paper. Miss Goodrich-Freer came to us, not only with an intimate knowledge of her subject, but also with the living sympathy that gave life to dry details, and the scientific painstaking that guarded her against the errors enthusiasts are prone to make. The paper was very interesting to him, as, in many points, it might have been a paper on the Norsemen in Shetland. There too, as in the Hebrides, the same peculiarities existed as regards physiognomy. Across a narrow sound you find a different type, the people of one island differing from those of another not in features only, but in stature, dialect, even in their habits. There, too, are seen the two types: the very dark, and the very fair, almost red type. Moreover, they are not racial types, for both may be found in the same family. With regard to the architecture, he thought Mr. Major's remarks carried us as far as we could get. The great halls we read of in the Sagas were no doubt, in most cases, built with walls of mud and stones, though they may have been roofed with wood and had wooden door-posts, etc. It was said that, on the east coast of Scotland, fishing rights used to have much to do with inter-marriage, as the property in certain mussel-beds, etc., belonged to individual communities, and it was an object to keep this within narrow limits. This had not been so in Shetland, where inter-marriage might be ascribed mainly to the effects of isolation and propinquity in small islands. He was interested to hear of burials in the Hebrides taking place in Pictish brochs, for, so far as his knowledge went, such a burial had never

been heard of in Shetland, and the Shetlander would look on such a spot as the reverse of hallowed ground. He doubted Dr. Anderson's theory that the brochs had been roofed over. There was no evidence of it in any broch he had seen. He thought Mr. Norris's hypothesis that the brochs had been inhabited by a diminutive race not new and not tenable. It would not bear the test of actual knowledge of the size of the passages and chambers in the brochs. He himself had crawled through these passages, and did not believe any race of men could ever have inhabited them. In fact, his nightmares often took the form of sticking fast in one of these galleries, unable to advance or retreat. The farther hypothesis, that the central space was a refuge for cattle, seemed equally untenable. As for the mounds of limpets and other shell-fish, he had seen such mounds where the limpet-shells were in their millions, and had no doubt that they were the product of a very early race, though in times of distress the Shetlanders had been reduced to feeding on shell-fish. But this latter fact would not be sufficient to account for such mounds as these. He was much interested in the place-names given by the lecturer, and hoped she would work out that branch more fully, as she promised. The fact certainly seemed to him to stand out clearly that, if the Celt had been done away with in the Hebrides by the Norseman, then the Norseman also had suffered the same fate, and the Celt had returned. He gathered that true Gaelic was now spoken in the Hebrides, and that the inability of Miss Goodrich-Freer's interpreter to understand it was due to his Perthshire Gaelic, not to the fault of the Hebridean speech. He should expect, however, to find Norse terms used for the sea and in matters relating to fishing. It was still contended that in Shetland there was a Celtic survival through the Norse period, the earlier inhabitants not having been exterminated. Indeed, Shetlanders, outside Unst, said that it was only the Unst folk who disavowed this survival, because, being

themselves of Celtic descent, they wished to hide the fact and thought that to deny the existence of Celtic blood in Shetland was the most effectual way. In tendering the thanks of the Society to Miss Goodrich-Freer, he must again say how amazing it was to find such clear traces in a Gaelic-speaking country of the Norsemen who had held dominion there in bygone years.

Miss Goodrich-Freer, in reply, said that she accepted Mr. Major's correction as to the battle of Largs, and was glad to think the Norsemen were not defeated ; but if they remained masters of the field, all the more must she blame King Hakon for selling the islands to Scotland, and thus bringing them under the dominion of men who, like the Duke of Argyll in the instance she quoted, were content to allow the destruction of priceless relics of antiquity on the islands they owned. The statement that the Norsemen were not carpenters was not her own, but a quotation from Dr. Anderson. With regard to the present inhabitants and language of the Hebrides, she supposed that since the Norse dominion ended, there had been a reflux of a Gaelic people into the islands. In fact, at the present day immigration from the mainland was going on, and the population had probably constantly been thus recruited. This theory was borne out by the fact that the earlier Gaelic, which might be considered to date back to times before the Norsemen came, was Erse in its character, and the people speaking it must have come from Ireland, or had close affinity with the Irish, while the Gaelic of the later and present days did not materially differ from the Gaelic of Scotland. She should be very pleased to deal fully with the place-names later on, if her paper was to be printed. As she had said, what was wanted was to compare the Norse with the Gaelic names, as a scholar would probably be able to recognise many Scandinavian words under a Gaelic form.

AL-THING, DECEMBER 17TH, 1897.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (Jarla-man) in the Chair.

A vote of condolence with the Jarl, Dr. Karl Blind, on the loss of his wife, was moved by the Rev. A. Sandison, and seconded by Mr. E. M. Warburg, who from his personal knowledge paid an elegant tribute to the memory of Mrs. Blind, as one who, no less than her husband, had done and suffered much in the cause of freedom. The motion was carried in silence, all members present standing in support of it.

The Rev. A. Sandison, Jarla-man, read a paper on "Shetland," illustrated by lantern slides, which was followed by a brief discussion.

REPORTS OF HERATHS-UMBOTHs-MEN.(DISTRICT SECRETARIES.)

THE District Secretary for Furness and Westmoreland (W. G. Collingwood) writes :—

“ I have no remarkable discoveries to record, such as those at Gosforth, in the neighbouring district of Cumberland ; but it may be worth while to note the excavation of an ancient iron-furnace, or bloomery, closely resembling those of Iceland. The site, known as the Springs, a mile south of Coniston Hall, on the shore of the lake, has been described by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., in a paper read to the Archæological Institute last December, and by the same writer and myself in the ‘ Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society ’ for this year. Mr. Cowper inclines, in the absence of coins or pottery which might give a definite date, to consider the site as post-Elizabethan. I was much struck, however, with the resemblance of the slag, which is heavy and black (unlike that of the greater bloomeries of the Stuart period), to the slag at Ljárskógar, the ‘ smithy ’ of Thorstein Kuggson, for whom Grettir worked in 1018 (‘ Grettis Saga,’ chap. liii.), and also to the correspondence of the nails, bolt-heads, and some purple pumice-like dross, hitherto unexplained, with similar finds on Peel Island in Coniston Water, associated with early mediæval pottery. It has been suggested by the Rev. T. Ellwood, whose translation of the ‘ Land-námabók ’ is promised shortly, that these most ancient bloomeries were the work of the Norse settlers. We did not find anything to prove or disprove the view ; though, as the Furness monks had many iron-works in the thirteenth century, I venture to think that the indications, elsewhere given in detail, tend to show that this was one

of their 'hearths,' worked by descendants of the Viking immigrants, and after precisely similar methods to those which their kinsmen employed in Iceland."

"Since the above was written, the discovery has been announced of a grave-hoard (sword, etc.), said to be of the Viking age, at Ormside, Westmoreland, where the celebrated Ormside cup, now in York Museum, was found."

He also encloses the following cutting from the *Westmoreland Gazette* of August 27th, 1897 :—

"MORE ANTIQUARIAN DISCOVERIES AT GOSFORTH
CHURCH.

"The ancient Parish Church of St. Mary, Gosforth, Cumberland, now undergoing restoration, has proved rich in antiquarian remains. It is not many years since the mythological character of the cross in the churchyard was elucidated. The remains of three other crosses, apparently of about the same age, have also been found at different times in the churchyard. A correspondent states that during the recent alterations two hog-back or coped tombstones, supposed to be one thousand years old, have been found. One was under the foundation of the north wall, built probably in 1125. Another was found at a corner of the nave, forming the foundation of the pillar supporting the chancel arch. The one found in the north wall is in two pieces, and is 5-ft. 6½-in. long. On one side are carved interlaced ornaments of four patterns, on the other there is a battle scene, representing two hostile armies. At the head of one group stands a chief, armed with a spear, a circular shield in his right hand; behind him are thirteen warriors, all bearded, and with spears over their shoulders. Opposite stands the chief of the opposing army, holding upright a pole or lance, at the top of which is a triangular flag, and behind him also there are thirteen men. The second hog-back is in three pieces, and is 5-ft. 1-in. long. It has quite a different character. At the apex there is a rope or twist much worn away, and between the rope is the plaited body of a serpent with the

head of a wolf, open-jawed, and like those on Gosforth Cross. It gapes upon and seems to do battle with smaller serpents. In a panel 4-ft. long there is a design in bold relief of two wolf-headed serpents in fierce conflict with a human figure, which subjugates or rides upon a smaller serpent, and holds one of its jaws in each hand. Hogbacks, whole or in fragments, exist at Bongate (Appleby), Aspatria, Cross-Canonby, and Millom. They are undoubtedly Scandinavian."

On the same subject the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., Local Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, delivered a paper before that Society on February 24th, 1898, entitled, "On a Second Coped Tombstone found at Gosforth, Cumberland."

The District Secretary for Glamorganshire and Pembrokeshire (Alexander G. Moffat) writes:—

"GLAMORGANSHIRE.—There is nothing special to advise in this district excepting that in consequence of various newspaper controversies on the subject of the Norsemen in South Wales, this subject has attracted considerable attention of late, and promises to bring about a greater study of the Viking raids and settlements in South Wales. We have to deplore the death, at Talygarn, near Llantrisant, on the 31st January, of Mr. G. T. Clark, a man who has rightly been termed the 'first archæologist' of Glamorganshire. His great work, 'Cartæ et Munimenta de Glamorgan,' will be the mine from which will be extracted much concerning the Norsemen and their settlements in that county. Sundry patriotic Welshmen having tried to derive the really Danish Swansea from the Welsh *Senghenydd* have been taken to task by Professor W. Skeat on the subject. See *Notes and Queries* for January 29th, 1897.

"PEMBROKESHIRE.—There has been a similar interest excited in this county as in its sister, and we are glad to learn that one of our members, Mr. J. Rogers Rees, author of 'The Pleasures of a Bookworm' and other works, who

has a very able series of articles on 'Slebech and its Commandery' now running in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, has been so struck by the Norse names which he has found in old deeds and charters appertaining to Slebech, that he is shortly going fully into the question of the Northmen's occupation of Pembrokeshire. He thinks that these place-names have a very definite tale to tell—one that may throw an altogether new light on ancient Welsh myths and romances. I have been privileged to have a look at some of Mr. Rees' manuscripts, and it is certain that his theories will attract a good deal of attention when they are made public."

The District Secretary for the Orkneys (J. G. Moodie-Heddle) writes:—

"I enclose a scrap of folklore anent spiders, and also a Yule song taken from oral report.

"SPIDER FOLKLORE.

"Spiders have in several parts of the world occupied popular attention in regard to omens and other religious or semi-religious ideas, to almost as great an extent as snakes. Into references in classical authors there is no need to enter here, but in more modern times William Blake has on several occasions used spiders in his prophetic books, and in particular there is a rather fine passage in the 'Marriage of Heaven and Hell,' where he and the angel descend into the Mystic Hell. Extensive tracts in Western Africa have spider beliefs entering into their religious ideas, but usually in such a way as to show them to be the remnants of older religious beliefs than those now current there. Unfortunately, little attention seems to have been paid to these. At all events, whatever might be done near a public library, reference at this moment can only be made to the ananzi or spider stories in the appendix to the second edition of Dasent's 'Tales from the Norse.' There would seem to have been some spider

superstitions in South and Central America also, but much of this must have been lost with the dying out or degradation of the Indian tribes, so forcibly described by Humboldt. It is, however, known that one large poisonous spider from South America has been used for purposes of murder there, and it is even alleged to have been imported into Europe with that intention. In Orkney—so far as known to the writer—the only peculiar superstition is connected with a long-legged hill-spider—there called ‘Kirsty Kringlik.’ Boys were—and probably are still—in the habit of catching one of these in their hands and holding it in the loosely-clenched palm for a few seconds, while asking if they are to have supper or not. If the spider leaves a small drop of water, the answer is supposed to be a favourable one. Between forty and fifty years ago, however, a longer process was used in the parish of Walls, Orkney, where the rhyme given below was repeated, the hand being opened as each kind of food was named. At the same time the boys using it did so merely from habit, evidently not understanding much of what they said :—

‘Kirsty, Kirsty Kringlik,
Gae me nieve a tinglik,
What shall ye [pronounced “yeh”]
For supper hae?
Deer, sheer, bret an’ smeer,
Minch-meat sma’ or nane ava’,
Kirsty Kringlik rin awa’!’

Here the spider was let off. Of course, the spelling above given is largely phonetic.”

ORKNEY YULE SONG.

On the subject of the Yule song, Mr. J. G. Moodie-Heddle writes :—

“I enclose a version of the New Year’s Song, which seems a good deal different from any I have seen. The rhymes are, as is often the case, very rude—as ‘neck’ and ‘neat’: but it is clear that neck was pronounced like *nake*, and

neat like *nate*, as it is still in Ireland. Scottish ballads always neglect to make difference between 'k' and 't' in such cases, or almost always.

"I don't know what the 'lace that laces many a one' can be, nor understand the third line of Stanza IV., which may, however, *possibly* be—

'Ane fair May for her fere-foster.'

I think the third line of Stanza XXIII. means, probably, that they have *free mariners* to sail their ships, *i.e.*, the 'mariners so free,' etc. I heard of a few other verses, or fragments, but either evidently modern additions, or else with little or no meaning.

"However old the original New Year's song may be, this version bears evidence, I think, of having been composed at the period when the first discord came between Mary, Queen of Scots, and Darnley, and possibly the end has some hint of the marriage with Bothwell. Anyhow, the King Henry can only be Darnley, I suppose. Of course, there is evidently a play on the idea of Queen Mary and the *Virgin Mary*, as the phrase 'before our Lady' shows.

YULE SONG.

*Taken down at Longhope, in 1893, from William Corrigall, of Stonequay,
North Walls.*

I.

This is our gude New Year's even's night, ['gude' is sometimes
omitted]

We're a' Queen Mary's men
And we come here to crave our right
And that's before our lady;
And that's for every blithe bird's sake
That ever was born of Mary !

"The first verse is given in full. In later verses, the second, fourth, fifth, and sixth lines being repeated in *each stanza*, only the fresh lines (first and third) are given.

II.

We're a' been at King Henry's house,
He's neither home nor yet his spouse.

III.

King Henry's to [*or*, He has to] the green wood gone [*or* gane]
I'm sure he has not gone him lone [*or*, has no gane him lane].

IV.

At home he has a fair daughter
And fair may fa' her fair foster [*or*, fosterer, *or*, fere-foster].

V.

She wears upon her bonnie head
The towers of gold and ribbons red.

VI.

She wears about her bonnie neck [*spoken*, nake]
The lammer beads they are so neat [*spoken*, nate].

VII.

She wears upon her bonnie breast-bone
The lacer [*lace*] that laces many a one.

VIII.

She wears about her bonnie middle [*or*, jimp middle]
The bonnie silken 'girtlet' girdle.

IX.

She wears upon her legs so *luck* [see intensitive form 'slack,' in old
senses]
The silken stockings they are so black.

X.

She wears upon her bonnie feet
The high-heeled shoon [*or*, Morocco slippers *or* leather shoen] they
are so sneet [*or*, neat].

* * * * *

“ Evidently something missing here.

XI.

Gudeman rise up and be na sweer
And handsel [*or*, to handsel] us on this New Year.

XII.

Gudeman gang tae yer ale-barrél
And hand us here o' that a scale [*or*, skail].

XIII.

And if yer scales they be but sma'
Never hain but gie us twa.

XIV.

Gudeman gang tae your leaking vat
And hand us here a chunk o' that [*or*, pink o' that].

“There is some acting while singing this and next seven or eight stanzas.

XV.

Gudewife rise up and be na sweer,
And [To] handsel us on this New Year.

XVI.

Gudewife gang tae yer kebbuck creel,
[And] wale yer kebbucks and wale them weel.
[*or*, And see ye wale your kebbucks weel.]

XVII.

And if your kebbucks be but sma',
Never [ye] hain but gie us twa.

XVIII.

[Oh!] cut them roun' and cut them soun',
Tak care ye dinna cut yer thoom.
[*or*, See that ye dinna cut your thomb.]

“I suspect this a recent addition. This is only sung if slices of cheese are offered instead of a whole one.

XIX.

See here we've gotten a carriage horse,
The Muckle Deil light on his corse.

“The ‘carriage horse’ is here pushed round and shown off.

XX.

For he wad eaten far more meat
Than *me an'* my men can gather and get.
[*or*, For he would eat more bread and meat
Than I and my men can gather and get.]

XXI.

And he wad drucken far more drink
Than me and my men can carry and swink.
[*or*, And he would drink and stow more drink
Than I and my men can carry and swink.]

XXII.

We have a wedding for to mak'
And we have neither meal nor maut.

XXIII.

We've twa gude stacks abune the biel' [*or*, hill *or* stye]
The one for maut and t'other for meal.
[*or*, One for malt and the other for meal.]

XXIV.

We have ships sailing on the sea,
And mariners to set them free.
[*or*, 'to sail them—free': *i.e.*, 'sailors free.']

XXV.

We have owsen of our ain kye
Plenty to sell and nane to buy.

XXVI.

We've twa gude gaults into the stye,
And many a gude ane rinning thereby.
[*or*, And many a gude gryce runs thereby,
or, And mony a gude hen runs thereby.]

XXVII.

The lassie wi' the yellow hair
If we get her we'll seek nae mair.

“A rather free stanza sometimes comes in here, and there are a few other foolish or senseless variations.

XXVIII.

The lassie she has apples three,
[*or*, Our Lady she has apples three]
Ane to smell and ane to pree,
The third ane garred her dicht her e'e,
And that's before our Lady.

“A few words have been struck out which were evidently redundant, and one or two have been transposed for sake of the rhyme, evidently having fallen out of place accidentally. There is clearly a blank after Stanza X., and probably again after XXVI., nor does the end seem well finished. The reciter disclaimed knowing any more, and I did not press him at the time, as I understood some

verses occasionally sung were said to be somewhat azure hued. 'Scale,' in Stanza XII., etc., means *measure*. I do not pick up the meaning of the 'blythe bird,' and there is evidently something corrupt at 'fair foster,' etc.

"The music, so far as it can be got on the piano, is as follows: there are some curious notes in third and fourth bars which cannot be played on the piano—

This is our good New Year's even's night, We are all Queen

Ma ry's men, And we are here to claim our right, And that's be-fore our La dy.

And that's for ev - 'ry blithe bird's sake, That ever was born o' Ma ry.

The District Secretary for Somerset (the Rev. Charles W. Whistler) writes on

"ODINIC TRACES IN SOMERSET.

"To find traces of the early beliefs of our forefathers one usually looks to the names of places—of field and farm and stream. And in the more lately heathen Danelagh such traces are fairly numerous. For some reason, however, the worship of the Asir has not left its mark so plainly on Saxon England, either because the old names were swept away with the conversion of the country, or because, whether from aversion to naming the god in any way not directly connected with worship, or because the name of clan, or family, or owner, was preferred as more definite, the Saxon custom of nomenclature differed from that of the North. It is hard, therefore, to identify the place where in Saxon days a sanctuary of the Asir stood. The name has gone, and the timber-built temple has left no trace. But there is yet one source from which we may

find help in at least a tentative identification, and that is in the beliefs and traditional tales of the country-side. Where a set of stories of an unusual sort cluster around some particular spot we may be sure that there has been some definite reason for the form they take, though it may not always be evident what that reason is.

“It may be said at once that the thing that is never forgotten in a district is a *terror*. Whether it has been of war, or of a tyrant, or of some deeper spiritual type, the terror stamps itself on the legends of the people and colours them all. Often the latest terror will absorb into its own story the legends of the older days, as the civil wars of the seventeenth century have credited to them the remembrance of many earlier battles, and as the great Protector is said to have been the builder of many a Roman camp. But in the case of a legend that involves a superstition, there is not much difficulty, as a rule, in assigning it to the right source. The details of war are easily transferred from age to age, but the beliefs of the different races who have made our nation have each their own features, differing as widely as their votaries, though their influence is drawn together at last in the final victory of Christianity. Yet one can trace the remains of the past beliefs in many ways as colouring the thoughts of our people, and in nothing more than in the matter of the one terror of our faith—the fear of the spiritual enemy, the Power of Evil. The fear of the old gods has been, not replaced by, but transmuted into the fear of Satan.

“If, therefore, there are ‘diabolic’ legends lingering around some district or spot, it becomes of the utmost interest to investigate their special forms, for it may be taken as certain that in or near that place there has been a sanctuary of the old gods, and that these legends refer to them for their origin. And this is natural, for to the early converts from heathenism the sway of the pagan deities represented the power of evil from which they had escaped, and to their minds Satan was to a certain extent

typified in the likeness and with the ways of them, as they had been wont to fear them.

“ Here we meet, however, with a curious influence in the formation of the type of likeness given to the power feared, and this influence has been so strong that it has swept away, or absorbed, every type that might have given some clue to the earliest worships of all, and has narrowed the field of enquiry considerably.

“ When the first Christian missionaries reached us from the Continent, they came with an already-formed ‘ idealised ’ representation of Satan, foreign to our forefathers indeed, but arrived at in other pagan lands in a way which made its own acceptance easy. The cognate worships of Greece and Rome had furnished a likeness well known to the first humble converts of the Eastern empire—Pan and his attendant fauns and satyrs, whose worship was the main cult of the country-side. And that was the likeness brought over here to our British forerunners, and it was hardly new to them, for the ways of Rome were paramount, and it was the Roman plan to identify the gods of the conquered country with those of their own beliefs that seemed most akin to them.

“ One may take the well-known case of the British ‘ Sulis ’ of Bath, identified, of course, with Apollo, the ‘ Divus Solis,’ as an example ; but it would seem likely that very early in the history of the conquest this policy of the Romans made their worship familiar, and, therefore, that to the British the typification in the ‘ Pan ’ form was natural enough.

“ In later days this form was perpetuated in the only graphic art the people knew, that of the monastic limners ; and so the conventional representation of Satan has gained its full hold upon our legends, from the lingering and half-whispered stories of the country-side to the ‘ legends ’ made to-day in imitation of them.

“ Into the midst of Christian Britain came with the Saxons the cult of the awful tenants of Asgard, and again the work of conversion taught the people to look

on the darkness of the old faith as the work of the Power of Evil. But now the idealisation of that power was so firmly fixed that it passed with the new teaching into the minds of the Northern hearers; and, therefore, for us to find a definite departure in legend from the received type is most unusual. The 'cloven hoof' is universally the token by which the feared visitant is recognised.

"When we do find, therefore, a marked type of 'diabolic' legend in which the details of the 'appearance' vary from this general form, there must be a strong local reason for the variant. And if the legends centre round some spot which still has an evil reputation for uncanny sights and sounds after daylight has gone, the inference that we have localised a seat of some ancient stronghold of the pagan worships becomes very strong.

"That such a reputation should linger round Stonehenge or Abury, round the last resting-place of a hero, or about a nameless cromlech, is only what one would expect; but, as I have said, the Odinic *Vé* has left no visible trace of its existence: even the Northern 'bauta-stein' being probably older in use than Odinism. Certainly we could not identify such an altar here as having even possibly belonged to the pagan Saxon worship. But 'monumentum ære perennius' is the fear of the Asir, for if Satan is powerful, and the Asir owe their might to him, then the Asir, as Satan, are yet powerful, and round their deserted shrine they may be expected to rage with anger to be feared. And thus Redwald of East Anglia will have an altar to the Asir, even in the new church that he has built, for fear of the old power and its wrath; giving, no doubt, expression to the thought of many a man of those days.

"Perhaps an apology is needed for so much already familiar argument, but to attempt to locate an Odinic *Vé* in Alfred's Somerset is rather a bold venture, the old Northern faiths having had here no such revival as came with the Danes to the north and east of England, and one must give the reasons which have led to the conclusion plainly.

“We have here, in the district between the river Parrett and the Quantock Hills, such a spot, round which hang such fears and such legends as I have described. These legends are, as it seems to me, distinctly Odinic, and as they occur in the centre of a district which is largely Celtic, both in nomenclature and population, this is the more remarkable. Without some strong reason to have impressed the opposite, we should have expected a Celtic type of legend, or at least the recognised conventional form of idealisation of the terror that comes of spiritual evil.

“About three miles from Bridgwater, and seawards, is an isolated hill, now known as Cannington ‘Park,’ some 200 feet in height above the level of the river, from which it is about half a mile distant. The formation is an outcrop of the mountain limestone in the midst of the Quantock red sandstones, and in itself is a geological problem, the limestone belonging to the Mendip range across the river. Strangely enough, the legends of the place deal with this problem, to begin with, and solve it in their own way.

“Due east, across the level marshes, one sees the deep gash in the Mendips which is Cheddar gorge. This the Devil cut one night, and proceeded to carry the excavated material westward, over the Parrett, in a basket on his shoulders. He stumbled at the landing of his leap across the water, and his burden was shot from his back to where it lies now. There are marks in the weathered limestone rocks at the hill foot which are fully believed to be the imprints of that alighting—one resembling the mark of a gigantic hoof, and the other that of a correspondingly large foot. These marks are very deep, and (is this a trace of the star-studded darkness that shrouds Odin?) if the dark depths of the prints are stirred with a stick, they are said to shine all over with little blue specks like stars in the sky. Here, at least, is a legend that seems to indicate that from the first the hill has been looked upon as having been set apart by special supernatural agency, and the very strangeness of the white

‘roof-sided’ and rounded eminence, rising from among the deep red breadths of ploughed land at its foot, is enough to strike anyone. But beyond this there are other points which may be worth noting in claiming the hill as a possible site of the bygone worships—the view from the top is remarkable, extending from the Mendips to the Quantocks, and from the Hamdon hills to the mountains of Wales across the Channel. And it is a view which would seem to include points which have been apparently postulated by those who ordered the site of some earliest shrines.

“Eastward are three bold hill peaks pre-eminent—Crook’s Peak on the Mendips, Brent Knoll, and Brean Down. Westward are the three peaks of the Quantocks—Will’s Neck, Dowsborough, and Longstone Hill, each over 1,000 feet in height. Eastward, again, are three rivers whose course is visible, and in the older days must have been always as plainly seen as now when the winter floods have released them from their barriers—the Parrett, the Brue, and the Axe. Round the hill, too, are three running waters, the Parrett and two tributary streams, once more imposing than now. And again, east and west of the great hill itself are lesser peaked outcrops of the limestone, making the place itself threefold and mystic in its very outlines.

“One would say that here in all the country-side was the one place for a shrine of any faith that has been here in the dim past, and if once a place has been held sacred, then always. If to the dark gods of forgotten days, then also to the Asir who took their place the hill will belong, and its terrors will never be forgotten. Only two years ago, a villager needed a ‘wych elm,’ of which to make a ‘shrew tree,’ whose twigs would surely cure his child of paralysis. The tree grows anywhere in the hedgerows, but one on the old hill was chosen.

“What these older beliefs may have been one will never know. What one does learn is, that Odin and Thor and Frey are not altogether forgotten in the shadow of their

ancient sanctuary. There is no trace of Niörd, for in the ways of the beneficent god there was naught to fear, and in his cult there was no such salient point to be remembered as in that of Frey.

“Over the great hill the ‘wild hunt’ still goes, passing westward along the line of the still marked British trackway to the Quantocks, and there are men yet alive who are believed to have seen the riders and heard the cry of ‘the devil’s hounds.’ This, of course, is not unusual in any hill-country, but here we have the description of the fearsome rider, and here the rider is *one*, there has been no addition of the souls of the wicked to his terrible company.

“I have not yet met with a man who has seen the hunt; but ‘not so long ago’ one dared to cross the hillside footpath towards midnight, and heard the hounds running fast towards the gateway through which he was about to go. Why ‘the Squire’ should be out at that time puzzled him, but he would open the gate to save a check in the run. And the hounds were not the familiar pied pack of the Squire, but terrible great black dogs, with fiery red tongues lolling out. Nor was the rider the Squire, but a tall man on a great horse, and that horse had no head!

“Once again, but this was long ago, a man met the hunt, or rather it passed in the air over him. The rider stayed to speak to him, to his terror, for he saw that the huntsman was the devil, and that he rode a great sow.

“‘Good fellow, now tell me, how ambles my sow?’

“‘Eh, by the Lord! her ambles well now!’ the man answered.

“But the pious emphatic was not to be stood by the fiend, and he vanished in a flash of fire.

“‘Not long ago,’ again, and here names were given me, a terrible old woman, with a witch’s reputation, lay dying near the hill, and the fiend was seen riding towards the cottage, doubtless to fetch her. He was a tall man on a black horse, but he had no head.

“ Surely these three legends point to remembrance of the old Odinic days. Here is the horse, headless from his sacrifice to Thor at the *Vé*. That old horse-sacrifice was the cause of many a trouble here in the old days, as it was to Olaf Tryggvasson in the far North, and the terrors of the war-god have lasted.

“ Frey’s boar, Gullinbursti of the North (or is it Sahrirnir of the feasts in Asgard), has been changed into the ‘sow,’ for the sake of the rhyme of the old metrical story as it was told me, but is unmistakable.

“ And the dread triad is completed by the horseman of the last-given legend, for the hooded Odin himself seems to ride headless, while for how long is hardly to be said the witchcraft of Saxon England preserved in its formulæ the invocations of the Asir as their basis, and the witch was held as a votary of Odin, who, as Satan, would claim her in the end.

“ We may add, perhaps, a remembrance of Wieland to these more definite presentments, in the tale of the local smith who worked at the four cross-roads on the line of the ancient track, and shod the black horse of the devil, who called him up at midnight. The place of a forge is almost as permanent as that of a mill, and the smithy is there at Keenthorn yet, while the crossing itself has an ill reputation as a habitation of witchcraft in general. It is not more than a mile from the hill, and the trackway was certainly connected with it.

“ Of course, Cannington Park has been fortified, for its position at the place where the track crossed the Parrett from west to east, and at the first available landing-place in the tidal river, makes it an important post. Partly by means of unusually massive earthworks, and partly by dry stone walls of a date that may be coeval with those of Worlebury, which are plainly visible from them, the hill has been made practically impregnable. It answers in description exactly to the ‘Kynwiche Castle’ of the great defeat of the Danes under Hubba in Alfred’s time, and is probably the spot itself.

“ But this is beside the present question, though there is a sort of Nemesis involved in the death of the slayer of the martyr, Eadmund of East Anglia, under the shadow of the desecrated *Vé* of the Asir.

“ Is it fanciful to identify the summit of the Rodway hill, that stands over against the old place of the devil’s haunt, as the spot where in full sight of the *Vé* the first Rood was reared, as the sign of might and victory over the passing darkness? Hardly, for the people must have needed the plain reminder of protection as they hurried along the road past the hill foot, and when the shadows deepened round the haunted place.

“ It is strange, again, that only on Cannington Park do the trees of Thor, the ashes, grow in any number in this district. The hill is full of them, while elsewhere they must be sought for. It may be only a matter of geologic formation, but where an ash tree has once been we may expect to find its progeny ever after, and these of to-day may trace their pedigree back to the grove that was round the timber-built *Vé* itself, before the axe of some forgotten Coifi of the west let the light into the sacred place that was to be shunned hereafter as accursed.”

THE NORSEMEN IN THE HEBRIDES.

By MISS A. GOODRICH-FREER.

ABOUT 787 we first hear of Norse rovers on the English coasts. They seem to have had a special liking for the monasteries so often established on islands, probably not only as most likely to possess wealth, but also as easily accessible to men whose natural element seems to have been the water. Thus in 793 they attacked Lindisfarne, in 795 Lambey Isle (the nucleus of their later kingdom of Dublin, 852 to 1014), and in 802 Iona.

The first record of their settlement in the Hebrides dates it as about 870, but it was possibly, as a matter of fact, earlier. Its history is familiar to us all. It was "in the days," says the Saga,¹ "when King Harald Hair-fair came to the rule of Norway. Because of that unpeace, many noblemen fled from their lands out of Norway, some east over the Keel, some West-over-the-sea. Some there were withal who in winter kept themselves in the South Isles or the Orkneys, but in summer harried in Norway and wrought much scath in the kingdom of Harald the king. . . . Then the king took such rede that he caused to be dight an army for West-over-the-sea, and said that Ketil Flatneb should be captain of that host." In the "Heimskringla" ² we are told that "Harald Hair-fair sailed south to the Orkneys and cleared them utterly of Vikings . . . thereafter he fared right away to the South Isles and harried there, and slew many Vikings

¹ "The Story of the Ere Dwellers," chap. i.

² "Heimskringla," chap. xxii.

who were captains of bands there.” The chronology of the Saga stories is, according to some, ante-dated, but the story itself is believed to be substantially trustworthy, and we may take it that about 888 the Isles were added to the Crown of Norway.

Ketil’s daughter married Olave of Dublin, which seems to have formed a link between the kingdom of Dublin and the South Isles. After Ketil’s time “his son Biörn came West-over-the-sea, but would not abide there, for he saw they had another troth, and nowise manly it seemed to him that they had cast off the faith that their kin had held, and he had no heart to dwell therein, and would not take up his abode there.” However, he remained two winters in the South Isles before “he dight him to fare to Iceland.” There was a good deal of gentlemanly feeling among these Norsemen; something, one fancies, of the qualities which linger still in the Highlands and Islands. One would even now wonder if any there should do what was “nowise manly.”

According to the Sagas, the race of Ketil became extinct about 900. There are intervals during which the story of the Isles is obscure, but there seems no doubt that they remained under Scandinavian influence for 470 years at least. Now and then we get a glimpse at their history. First we find them incorporated with the kingdom of Dublin, next as part of that kingdom of Sodor and Man the title of which still survives as that of an English bishopric. Towards the end of the tenth century they came under the rule of the Earls of Orkney and Caithness—Sigurd and his son, the powerful Thorfinn, said in the Sagas to be possessed of nine earldoms in Scotland, whose history is sometimes confused with that of his contemporary, Macbeth. Again they were ruled over by the kings of Man, but were reconquered by Norway in the person of Magnus Barefoot, still a hero of Hebridean romance, the Manus of the Fingalian stories. His conquests are enumerated by the Skald, Biörn Krep-hende:—

“ In Lewis Isle, with fearful blaze,
The house-destroying fire plays ;
To hills and rocks the people fly,
Fearing all shelter but the sky.
In Uist the king deep crimson made
The lightning of his glancing blade ;
The peasant lost his land and life
Who dared to bide the Norseman's strife.
The hungry battle-birds were filled
In Skye with blood of foeman killed,
And wolves on Tyree's lonely shore
Dyed red their hairy jaws in gore.
The men of Mull were tired of flight,
The Scottish foeman would not fight,
And many an island girl's wail
Was heard as through the isles we sail.”

In 1093 he placed his son Sigurd on the Island throne, but there was not peace for long. Another revolution brought the Islands again under a branch of the Manx dynasty, and they fell upon evil days. One Olave the Red, who contrived to keep his rule over them for forty years, was the grandfather of the princess who married Somerled of Argyll, through whom, in 1156, the Islands passed to the lords of the mainland.

The Norse period of Scottish history ended finally about a century later. King Hakon made a brave effort to recover possession, but was routed in the battle of Largs in 1261, partly in storm, partly in fight. His son Magnus formally surrendered the Hebrides to Scotland at the treaty of Perth for 4,000 marks and 100 marks yearly as feu duty. A tradition survives¹ that when King Magnus came home from his Viking cruise to the Western countries, he and many of his people brought with them a great deal of the habits and fashion of clothing of those western parts. They went about on the streets with bare legs and had short kirtles and overcloaks, and therefore his men called him Magnus Barefoot or Bareleg—a story which would date back the use of the fillibeg and plaid at least to 1099.

What remains to us of these 470 years of influence in

¹ “ Magnus Barefoot's Saga,” chap. xviii.

islands where life moves very slowly, where people cling to the traditions of their fathers, where so little is there of complexity, mental or physical, that one may yet study, as perhaps in few other places in Europe, something of the childhood of the world, where so far are they removed from *fin de siècle* progress that to cast off the faith that their kin have held is yet accounted "in nowise manly"?

In topographical nomenclature the evidence of Norse occupation is abundant, and, thanks to recent philological enquiry, obvious and conclusive. In certain remains of grave-goods the archæological testimony is also clear and especially interesting; but one looks almost in vain in two special directions in which, in most countries, is found indisputably written the history of the race. The Norse period has left us nothing in the way of architecture, and nothing certain of physiognomy.

In wandering, as I have done, through many pleasant summers from island to island, I have pleased myself by fancying that I could distinguish certain definite racial types—the intelligent countenance of the Tiree men, most active-brained, clear-headed of Islanders; the dark-skinned, lighter-limbed fishermen of Barra; the bigger, slower, duller-witted, perhaps because worse fed, native of South Uist; the almost Jewish-looking, well-featured men of Harris, with dark eyes and coarse hair; the big, fair Skye man, most suspicious of the stranger, because he best knows their possibilities, living as he does in the show island of the west coast. Dark Pict, fair Scandinavian, canny, freckled, light-eyed Dalriad Scot—but such divisions are probably wholly arbitrary, and one is right only by accident or chance coincidence. It seems likely that but a small proportion of those who came to the Hebrides settled there permanently. The Islands were a refuge, a starting-point, a place to winter in,¹ and

¹ Tiree and Coll are delightful places to winter in; there is little frost, and the snow does not remain. The Long Island, however, is a less attractive winter resort. Like Tiree, treeless, it is, as further from the mainland, even more shelterless, and consists of low barren rocks intersected with lakes, and is the sport of howling winds and a treacherous sea.

it seems likely that a large proportion of the present population are the descendants of fugitives or adventurers from the mainland, and only remotely of Scandinavian descent. That they are of different material from the race we now call Scots seems obvious, however, if one may take mental characteristics as any criterion.¹

ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS.

The fact of the entire absence of any architectural remains of a powerful race which occupied a small district for nearly 500 years seems at first sight surprising, the more so, perhaps, that the buildings of a still earlier race are well preserved and abundant. The brochs, dunes, barps, Picts' houses, tullochs, etc., remaining, were, in fact, so admirably contrived for purposes of defence, and so easily adaptable for domestic use, that for so unsettled a population as the Norse invaders they were probably sufficient for most purposes. Captain Thomas conjectures² that "while the common people adopted the dwellings of the expelled Scots, their chiefs—those who could command the labour of others—raised houses, like their ships, of wood. The ancient Norsemen were cer-

¹ A writer on Cornish folklore seems to consider that the race distinction is fully sustained in Cornwall:—

"The red-haired Danes [*i.e.*, Scandinavians] have continued a source of terror and a name of reproach to the present day. On the 1st of this month a Long Rock quarrel was the subject of a magisterial enquiry at the Penzance Town Hall, when it was proved that the defendant, Jeffery, had called one of the complainants, Lawrence, who has rubrick hair, 'a red-haired Dane.' In Sennen Cove, St. Just, and the western parishes generally, there has existed, time out of mind, a great antipathy to certain red-haired families, who were said to be descendants of the Danes, and whose ancestors were supposed, centuries before, to have landed in Whitsand Bay, and set fire to and pillaged the villages. Indeed, this dislike to the Rufus-headed people was carried so far that few families would allow any member to marry them, so that the unfortunate race had the less chance of seeing their children lose the objectionable tinge of hair." —Bottrell, "Traditions of West Cornwall," 1870, p. 148.

² *Proceedings, Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, "On Primitive Dwellings," vol. xi.

tainly neither masons nor bricklayers, though they may have been good carpenters."

The conjecture would be more tenable if Captain Thomas would tell us where the wood came from. There is a wild legend that there were once some trees on Tiree, but even tradition refuses so improbable an assertion as to Uist. South Uist, by the way, has possessed a tree within the memory of man, now reduced to the likeness of a telegraph pole. The distinguished theologian known as "the Ideal Ward" was nearer the mark when, in some early effort at a prize poem, he wrote:—

"There are some islands in the northern seas—
At least I'm told so—called the Hebrides.
The islanders have very little wood;
Therefore they can't build ships; they wish they could."

By whomsoever or for what purpose they were used, there is, according to the best authorities, no doubt as to the adaptation to some later use of these primitive dwellings. It would be superfluous to insist upon the evidence for their antiquity. The fact is acknowledged among archæologists, and the dwellings themselves must be very familiar objects to many here. Captain Thomas counts about 2,000 of them in Orkney—he includes, I imagine, the older "Picts' houses," or chambered mounds, as well as the brochs, or round towers, with their treasure of querns and combs and the like, proclaiming their later date.

One never hears the term "Picts' houses" in the Hebrides. Indeed, in the Hebrides tradition is silent about the Picts, but numerous specimens of the buildings are to be found, a specially fine example remaining near Husinish in South Uist, though in his enumeration, Dr. Anderson, I observe, in his Rhind Lecture, omits Uist and Barra altogether. He assigns 69 to the Hebrides, 28 being found in Lewis, 10 in Harris, 30 in Skye, and one in Raasay. I feel sure the list might be largely increased. He appears to group together all the primitive dwellings known as duns, tullochs, Picts' houses, brochs, without regard to any differences locally associated with this term

or that, and would therefore probably include the numerous stone duns, if duns they be, so common upon the islets in the inland lakes of Uist. At Kilpheder is one covering nearly half an acre. As the word "brög" is of Norse origin, one may conclude that the brochs were familiar objects at the time of the Norse occupation, as the term forms a part of many place-names, as Dalibrog in South Uist, Borgh in Barra, Castral Bhuirgh in Benbecula.

The history of the broch divides itself naturally into three chapters. That of their original use as places of shelter and defence for man and beast in times of Viking and other ravages; their secondary use, when they were turned to domestic purposes by certain additions and alterations, possibly by the Vikings themselves; and their third period, as places of sepulture, which may be almost within the memory of man. They are not found in remote glens or in mountain fastnesses, but, as a rule, on arable land, which confirms the view that they were not military forts, but shelter for the tillers of the soil. That they are absolutely Celtic in their origin, though in their secondary use adapted by the Norsemen, no one seriously doubts. "They belong," says Anderson, "to a school of architecture truly unique and of absolute individuality. Even the relics they contain constitute a group of objects differing widely from those which characterise the Scandinavian occupancy of the north-west of Scotland. No group of objects, in its general facies comparable to the group which is characteristic of the brochs, exists on the continent of Europe or anywhere out of Scotland." And yet, so all-pervading is the Norse influence, that even relics so unique as these have a Norse name and Norse associations.

All wanderers in the North know them well, both in their undisturbed condition as round grassy knolls, locally venerated as "burying-places," or as having been opened and explored, when they are collectively described as "forts." Their use as burying-places is undoubted, but comparatively modern, and possibly was an adaptation, springing from an unformulated sense of reverence for the

sacredness of the past and the unknown. I have never found anyone who had a first-hand tradition of the memory of this use, which probably ceased after the existence of consecrated churchyards, but antiquarians seem to be agreed that the human remains found have been placed there after the buildings had become mere grassy mounds.

These grassy mounds, or tullochs, are usually from 10 to 15 feet high, and about 120 yards in circumference. When opened, they disclose a circular wall of immense thickness, often from 10 to 20 feet, having but one opening, a tunnelled doorway, narrowing towards the inside, the inner court being further protected by a guard-chamber. The enclosed space is a well-like court, from 20 to 30 feet in diameter, and having often two or three chambers tunnelled in the wall. There are no fire-places or chimneys. There are galleries, more or less elaborate in structure, at the height of about 12 feet from the ground, also in the thickness of the wall. The total height, in the very good example at Dun Carloway in Lewis, is said to have been at one time 40 feet; but, as all here present are probably aware, the finest example extant is said to be at Mousa in Shetland, to which Dr. Anderson gives a height of 45 feet.¹ It would be difficult to imagine buildings better adapted for defence against such attacks as the science of that age made possible. It seems certain that in their original state they were never used for permanent residence, though the remains show that the arts of peace were cultivated there as well as the arts of war, and include apparatus for hand-loom weaving, similar to that still in use. However, their original purpose seems to have been to provide refuge against the incursions of enemies, probably on some principle of co-operation, for in 1703, Martin, describing the remains in Skye, writes, "All these forts stand upon eminences, and are so disposed that there is not one of them which is not in view of some other."

¹ I am informed by the Editor, however, that there is no appearance of this fort having ever been covered by earth.

LITERARY REMAINS.

To ask whether there are any remains of a Scandinavian element in Gaelic literature is not quite so absurd as it sounds to those who believe Gaelic literature to be non-existent. As a matter of fact, possibly one of the earliest recorded stanzas in Icelandic literature comes from the Hebrides. In the appendix to Olaf Tryggvasson's Saga (eight chapters of doubtful origin, but certainly not later than between 1387 and 1395) we find the statement (chap. i.) :—

“ There was a Christian man belonging to the Hebrides, along with Heriulf, who composed the lay called the Hafgerding Song, in which is this stave :—

‘ May He whose hand protects so well
The simple monk in lonely cell,
And o’er the world upholds the sky,
His own blue hall, still stand me by.’ ”

While speaking of literature, one's mind naturally turns to the question of folklore. It would be an interesting point to analyse the folklore of the Hebrides, much of which has been most ably collected by the Rev. Allan Macdonald, so as to ascertain how much it has in common with that of Ireland and Scandinavia respectively—that is to say, to what degree it may be considered Celtic, and to what degree Norse. Probably the truth would be found to lie largely between the two. The stories of the Fingalians are, doubtless, to a great extent, of Norse origin.¹

GRAVE-GOODS.

A specially interesting group of Norse remains in the Hebrides are certain grave-goods found in many of the

¹ Compare the stories of Thorfinn often confused with Macbeth—the story of his going to Rome at Easter to make confession, and of his leaving his sword upon the altar. The giants and heroes in the Sgailich are Erin or Lochlan men, never Englishmen. Compare, too, the Argonautic expedition of Manus, or the Saga story of the Three Harpers of the Red Hall in Lochlan.

Islands, and undoubtedly Scandinavian in origin, their distribution being conterminous with the range of territory conquered by the Norse. Among the most interesting and frequent are those known as "tortoise brooches," always associated with burial by cremation or otherwise, and generally found in pairs. Dr. Anderson has fully described those to be seen in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, but I have, I believe, seen others, the property of private persons. Two were found in Islay in 1788, one pair in Tiree in 1872. These, presented to the Museum by Dr. Norman Macleod, were found in a grave along with a peculiarly-shaped and massive bronze pin. There are probably other Norse graves in Tiree, but the supremely valuable archæological remains on that island have, since the death of the late parish minister, the Rev. Campbell, been grossly neglected. Moreover, I found that in Tiree, as elsewhere, the private owners of valuable antiquities were not anxious to air their treasures, on account of a tradition that anything once submitted to the inspection of authorities was somewhat difficult to recover. I regret that this tradition should have any basis, as much valuable matter goes unrecorded. Another brooch was found in Barra, another in the island of Sanday, north of Uist. The fellow to it is in the British Museum. These six from the Hebrides are included in the fourteen pairs which Dr. Anderson describes as found in all Scotland, a good proportion of the whole. Three belong to the Orkneys, one to Shetland, two to Caithness, and two to Sutherland. Brooches of the same type are said to be frequently found in Norway, and still more often in Sweden. Dr. Anderson¹ calculates that there are about a thousand extant in Scandinavia. The type seems to be exceptionally characteristic of the period to which it belongs.

The story of the Tiree brooch has an interesting detail worth quoting. Dr. Anderson, in examining this and

¹ "Scotland in Pagan Times."

comparing it with one of similar appearance from Haukadal in Sweden, found that in both a minute morsel of fabric had caught between the pin and the hook. He writes :—" So far as I can judge of its appearance under the microscope, it seems to be linen cloth, with a partial admixture of another fibre, which I take to be hemp, and I can detect no material difference between the cloth in the specimen from Norway and that from the island of Tiree on our own western coast. These, then, are actual specimens of the linen manufacture of the Viking age."

Similar brooches are found in other districts visited by the Norsemen, and never elsewhere. Livonia, Normandy, Iceland (associated with Cufic coins of the tenth century), in Ireland, associated with the characteristic swords of the Viking time, and in England, in Yorkshire and Lancashire. They are found in the graves of bodies burnt and unburnt, of men and women—with shield-bosses, swords and armour on the one hand ; with combs, needles and spindle-whorls on the other.

The swords and other fragments of armour found among the grave-goods of men are also characteristic, and of extreme evidential value. The Norseman, convinced that to be slain in battle or wounded by arms would be a passport to the halls of Odin, was careful to take with him his sword and spear, his axe and shield, and his smithy tools to sharpen them. Such remains are found in Islay, Mull, Barra, Sanday, and even in far St. Kilda. Dr. Anderson records the Viking graves in Eigg,¹ but, so far as I know, has ignored, or is not cognisant of, what are locally believed to be Norse graves, numerous in the island of Fuday in the sound of Barra, but I believe that no one, except to a certain extent Captain Thomas and Mr. Alexander Carmichael, has taken any trouble whatever to explore this by no means the least interesting district of the Hebrides. These graves are quite unlike any of purely Celtic origin. They

¹ Anderson, *Proceedings, Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, vol. x. ; *ib.*, " Scotland in Pagan Times," p. 34.

are let into the sand, are about six feet long, and the sides are built up with stones like the kilns used for the burning of kelp. They are covered with large flat stones. The Islanders call them "graves of the Lochlannaich," or Lochlin men, which is their name for the Norsemen, or sometimes the "fiantaichean," which, however, is now a generic name for a big, muscular fellow.

Martin relates,¹ "There was lately discovered a grave in the west end of the island of Ensay, in the Sound of Harris, in which were found a pair of scales made of brass, and a little hammer." This was possibly a Thor's hammer, which are used as amulets in Iceland.

The name "Thor's hammer," or "Norseman's hammer," by the way, is given by the Islanders to relics of very different proportions. The "standing stones," or upright pillars, to be found on most of the Islands (there are six in Uist and Barra alone), and which are probably commemorative, unless their origin is earlier and their signification religious, are said by the people to have been used by the giant Fiantaichean for knocking limpets off the rocks. To judge by the remains found near primitive habitations, limpets must at one time have formed an important article of diet, but my learned friend the Rev. Allan Macdonald ingeniously conjectures that these denote Gaelic rather than Norse occupation, as the abler seamen would have been independent of such humble landlubbers' food.

PERSONAL ADORNMENTS.

Dr. Anderson speaks of the hoards of silver ornaments, such as have been found in certain of the Islands, as "one of the most characteristic features of the remains of the Viking period, whether in Scandinavia or in Britain."² He believes them to be the hidden plunder of

¹ Martin, "Western Isles," ed. 1716, p. 50.

² Anderson, "Notes on Relics of the Viking Period," *Proceedings, Scottish Antiquaries*, vol. x.

Viking rovers, silver, of course, being characteristic of the Iron Age to which they belong. Morris, in his preface to "*Howard the Halt*,"¹ tells us that "there was carrying of wares backward and forward, and it was a kind of custom for young men of the great families to follow their fortunes and make a reputation by blended huckstering and sea-roving about the shores of the Baltic and the British seas." Interesting evidence of this is found in the fact that not only have hoards of silver ornaments been found in the Islands, notably a collection of armlets in Skye (1850), but brooches of true Celtic design have been found in considerable number in Scandinavia.

Perhaps the most curious example of this blending of Gaelic with Norse ornamentation is that on a stone found at Eoligarry in Barra, on one side of which is the ordinary elaborate Celtic chain ornamentation, and on the other an inscription in Runic characters. This stone, and, unless I am much mistaken, not a few others, is ignored by Dr. Anderson in his dictum that "only three rune carvings on stones have been found in all Scotland,"² and these he locates in Dumfriesshire, Morayshire, and Holy Island, Arran. In the Museums of Edinburgh and Glasgow one may see specimens of personal adornments said to have been found in the Islands, but never on the mainland. They are made of hammered metal, wrought together in interlaced patterns, the ends of the metal wire being soldered together.

TOPOGRAPHICAL REMAINS.

Doubtless our most valuable source of local evidence as to Norse occupation of these islands is that of topography. Names which have long attached to any given district are like fossils dug out of the earth—evidence of an active life which once existed there. Unfortunately there is no

¹ Morris, Preface to "*Howard the Halt*," *Saga Library*.

² Anderson, "On Rune-inscribed Relics," *Proceedings, Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, vol. xiii.

work of any antiquity which deals with the topography of the Highlands with any sort of authority. We are dependent mainly upon charters which contain names of places, and on *retours* (or what in England would be known as *visitations*) connected with succession to property, and often containing lists of place-names with their spelling as adopted at different periods. In these we find traces not only of Norse and Gaelic, but of some original language unknown, as well as of so-called Anglo-Saxon.

It is a commonplace to say that the topographical distribution of a language is not necessarily conterminous with the spoken language. In Galloway, for example, the spoken language is Scotch and the topography Gaelic, while in the Hebrides the spoken language is Gaelic and the topography Scandinavian. Gregory is of opinion that the Scandinavian element in the Hebrides is Norse, not Danish. The names of those chiefs mentioned in King Hacon's Saga are Norse.

In the Shetlands and the Faroës the Norsemen were probably the first colonists, but in other islands topography, as well as history, gives abundant evidence of earlier inhabitants. The Scandinavian occupation of St. Kilda has been called in question, but if place-names are any criterion, one would guess it to have been frequent, if not continuous.

The Norse element in the topography of the Hebrides is almost exclusive of any other, though this has been only realised comparatively of late years. Probably we owe very much to the academical labours of Professor Mackinnon, and to the valuable researches of Macbain. Mr. Allan Macdonald tells me that only ten years ago he would have been, and often was, ridiculed for asserting a Scandinavian origin for words which no one now questions, and a published correspondence remains between Captain Thomas and so accomplished a scholar as Professor Münch, in which the former deprecates the Professor's assertion as to many Scandinavian derivations apparent

only to the Gaelic scholar. The Gaelic substitution of one consonant for another, the absence of H as an initial and yet the frequency of aspirated words, is certainly perplexing. So, too, are the combinations, till one masters the fact that in place-names the generic word comes last in Norse and first in Gaelic—compare *Dalmore* (Gaelic) and *Helmsdale* (Norse).

The more entire realisation of the extent of the Norse influence in place-names has, I think, somewhat altered the views of antiquarians as to the extent to which the Celtic population was extirpated. Professor Münch says the population was never wholly absorbed by the Norse settlers as in Orkney and perhaps in Shetland, and Dasent speaks of the original inhabitants as “not expelled, but kept in bondage.” The more recent view, however, is, I think, that they were practically swept away, so much so that on the mainland the Islands came to be called “The Isles of the Galls,” or strangers, *i.e.*, the Norsemen.

To attempt any general discussion of the influence of the Norse occupation upon the language of the Hebrides would be a task far beyond my powers. We can hardly hope to have the subject exhaustively treated until it shall have been studied, on the spot, by an able philologist, familiar with the Gaelic and the Scandinavian tongues alike. This is the more important that for philological purposes the Ordnance maps are very misleading. Moreover the subject demands a thorough apprehension of the relation of written Gaelic with its pronunciation, of the mysteries of aspirates in the absence of the one letter commonly aspirated. The classics on this subject are still, I imagine, the essays by Captain Thomas in the *Proceedings of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, from which most later ones that have fallen into my hands are largely borrowed. Mr. Alexander Macbain has given us an interesting paper on “The Norse Element in Highland Place-Names,”¹ and the Rev. Neil Mackay has dealt with “The Influence of the Norse Invasion”² generally. All

¹ *Transactions, Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xix.

² *Ibid*, vol. xx.

that I venture to attempt is to indicate the direction of Norse influence on the topography of the Outer Islands in particular.

To a certain extent, he who runs may read ; my own note-books are full of memoranda as to the derivation of names of persons and places, and in comparing my own bits of local gossip and local interpretation and my own uninstructed guesses with those of more serious students, I have been interested to find that the inferences are so obvious that I have been generally correct. This fact alone I take as evidence of the extent of Norse influence, for my philological knowledge, such as it is, is more likely to be correct as to Scandinavian than as to Gaelic derivation.

If ever there were a Pictish place-nomenclature it has long ago been superseded by the Norse, for, so far as I can gather from local information, almost all the Gaelic names that do exist are of modern origin, in some cases so recent that within living memory an older name of Scandinavian origin has existed, as in the case of Ben More in Uist, formerly called Keitval, the one name being as obviously Gaelic as the other is obviously foreign.

The Gaelic names are seldom applied to the more important places or geographical features. Nearly every large hill, or sea-loch, or promontory, and the chief bays and islands, have Norse names.

There are a large number of words special to Hebridean Gaelic, not known on the mainland, which it would be well worth while to enquire into, could any competent Scandinavian scholar be found to undertake the task before it is too late and the words forgotten.

The very names of the Islands are alone suggestive. Dean Munro enumerates 209, from which I select a few for examination as to their possible Norse origin.

There are eight Fladdas (Norse, *flad-ey*), *i.e.*, *flat isle* ; three Berneras (*Bjorn's isle*, pronounced Beornera) ; three or more Scalpas (*skalpr*), *ship's isle*, compare *shallop* ; four or more Pabays (*papi*, *priest*), *priest's isle*, possibly Culdee

settlements. We have also Trodday (compare *Trotternish*), *pasture isle*; Ensay (*engis-ey*), *meadow isle*, said to be very fertile; Scarpay (*scarp's-ey*) *sharp* or *cliff isle*; Eriskay (*Eric's-ey*) *Eric's isle* (this inversion of consonants, Erisk for Eric's, is often found in Cornwall, another Celtic district, where we have "piskey" for "pixie," etc.); Scarba (*skarv-ey*), *cormorant isle*; Jura (*djur-ey*), *deer isle*; Soa (*so-ey*), *sheep isle*; Shellay (*sel-ey*), *seal isle*; Raasay (*raa-ey*), *roe isle*, and many others equally suggestive of their history and character.

Among words probably of Scandinavian, but decidedly not of Gaelic, origin, still found in common use in Eriskay and South Uist, Mr. Macdonald sends me the following list:—

Aoinidh, the precipitous part of a hill; *bàrsaich*, to talk nonsense; *barp*, a cairn of stones; *bodha*, deep sunken rock; *bàgh*, bay; *cuidhe* (*cudde*, *Dutch*), an enclosure; *cràghiadh*, a sheldrake; *crò*, a pen; *cuisle*, the branch of a stream; (?) *faothail*, a ford; *fàradh*, litter placed under cattle when ferried in a boat; *geòb* (*geo*, *Norse*), a partial opening as of a door or mouth; *haf* (*haf*, *sea*), Western Atlantic; *hawn*, haven; *luithear* (*louvre*, *N.*), a hole for smoke in the roof of a house; *mealbhach*, links where bent grass grows; *mealtrach*, grass roots; *mol*, pebbles; *nàbuidh* (*nabo*, *N.*), a neighbour; *òb* (*op*, *N.*), a tidal bay; *oda* (*odd*, *N.*), a tongue of land; *roc*, tangle-covered rock visible at low water; *rustal*, a rough kind of plough used in land which had long lain fallow (from *ristel*); *saoithean*, *saithe*; *scàireag*, a young gull; *sgeir*, rock visible at low water; *sgiothal*, a wretched hut; *sgrèab*, a Greenland dove; *smal*, dust; *smád*, to abuse; *sparran*, rafters; *stamh*, tangle (compare *stuff*); *stann* (*stint*, to) confine oneself to narrow limits; *staorc*, dead, stark; *stearr*, a pole to knock down wild fowl; *treisgìv*, turf-share, peat-spade; *trill*, a sand-plover; *trosg*, a cod; *ugann*, a gill (fish); *ùiridh*, a monster.¹

¹ The following words, taken from Cleasby and Vigfusson's Icelandic-English Dictionary, show that some of the non-Gaelic words collected by

There are certain terminations which point to Norse origin in place-names :—

Hills in *val*, *vin* (ben), *breck*, *berg*, *haug*.

Islands in *ai*.

Islets in *mul*, *lam* and *um*.

Sea-lochs in *ort*, *ford* and *art*.

Bays in *vagh* and *vik*.

Mr. Macdonald are undoubtedly Norse, and suggest a possible Norse derivation for the majority. The two first depend upon whether Norse *v* and Gaelic *b* are ever interchanged :—

Bàrsaich.—Perhaps connected with *verr*, worse, and *segja*, to say:

Barp.—Perhaps from *verpa*, to cast up (a cairn or the like), or *varp*, a casting, throwing.

Bodha.—Perhaps from *bodi*, a breaker; 'boding,' hidden rocks.

Bàgh.—Perhaps from *bugr*, bight of a creek, etc.

Cuidhe.—Perhaps from *kví*, a fold, pen, or *kvidr*, the womb.

Cràghiadh.—Perhaps from *kráka*, a crow.

Crò.—*Kró*, a small pen.

Cuisle.—Perhaps connected with *kvistr*, a twig, branch.

Faothail.—*Vadill* and *vöduill* (Shetl., *vaadle*; Dan., *veile*), a shallow, or ford over fjords or straits.

Fàradh.—Perhaps connected with *för*, *farar*, journey and *fara*, to go. Cf., far-skip, ferry-boat.

Geòb.—*Gjá*, chasm, rift.

Haf.—*Haf*, sea.

Havn.—*Höfn* or *hafn*, haven.

Luithear.—*Ljóri*, louvre.

Mealbhach.—*Mel-bakki*, bank where bent-grass grows; *melr*, wild oats, bent grass; *bakki*, bank.

Mealtrach.—*Melr*, as above, and ?

Mol.—*Möl*, *malar*, pebbles, worn stones.

Nàbuidh.—*Ná-búi*, neighbour.

Òb.—*Hóp*, a tidal bay.

Oda.—*Oddi*, a tongue of land.

Roc.—Perhaps connected with *rok*, the splashing, foaming sea.

Rustal.—*Ristill*, a ploughshare.

Saoithean.—Perhaps connected with *seidr*, a kind of fish.

Scàiveag.—Perhaps from *skávi*, a young sea-mew.

Sgeir.—*Sker*, skerry.

Smal.—Perhaps from *smár*, small, and *mold*, earth, or *moli*, a small particle.

Sparran.—*Sperra*, spar, rafter.

Staorc.—Perhaps connected with *sterkr* or *styrkr*, stark, strong.

Trill.—Perhaps connected with *troll*, evil spirit, and *trylla*, to enchant, from the mournful cry of the plover on lonely wastes.

Ugann.—Perhaps connected with *uggi*, the fin of a fish.—A. F. MAJOR.

Isthmus in ei.

Rock-clefts in geo, klet, or cleit (a rock where the cor-morants roost).

Outlets of rivers in oss.

Duns in brok.

Fields in vallar, often wall (Dingwall).

Farms in stul, garry, bost, clet, sary, ary, bol (pool).

Lakes in vat (N., vatn).

Streams in a and ai (N., a) ; strom (sea-stream).

Sea-rocks in skeir (N., skor).

Points in nish and ness and mull.

Valleys in gil (in Yorkshire and Cumberland, where Scandinavian words linger, the same word is found as “ghyl”).

In Uist there are several places with “gir” termination, probably the same word as “gil,” by an interchange of the “l” and “r.”

Many place-names are compounded with adjectives or with qualifying names, such as *breidha*, broad ; *smuk*, narrow ; *hà*, high ; *lai*, low ; *gaas*, a goose ; *so*, a sheep ; *calv*, a calf ; *arne*, eagle ; *hest*, horse ; *ros*, horse.

Among personal names which appear in connection with places are—Asgard, Sigurd, Trigurd, Björn, Grimm, Eric, etc.

The ordinary terms in use for land and its parts are Gaelic, but there is one word which the Rev. A. Macdonald conjectures may be of Norse origin, namely *gearra* (as in Gearravailteas, Gearrahaily). This may be the Gaelic *gearradh*, i.e., a cutting or section, or the Norse *geira*, i.e., a slice of land. Most probably it is the Norse *geira*, as its plural form is *geàrachan*, and not *gearraidhean*, which is the common plural for the Gaelic word *gearradh*.

I am indebted to Mr. Allan Macdonald (as well as for much else) for some notes on the topography of Eriskay, the sea-worn islet he himself inhabits. The place-names here are of special interest, because so remote, so (superficially) unattractive is this island, that there can have been but little in its history to initiate change, or occasion

those admixtures which perplex the historian and the philologist. In illustration of the misleading nature of Ordnance map nomenclature, he points out that in this one little island we have Loch Duval given for Duvat, Loch Crakuvaig for Leosavag, Hainish for Rainish, and Haisinish for Eenshnish.

The chief geographical features are as follows:—
 HILLS—Ben Sgriothan, hill of the landslip (skrid, to slip); Ben Stack, of obvious meaning; Ben Eenshnish, from “innse,” top of the head, a neighbouring peak being called Sgumban, which has the same meaning in Gaelic. Two smaller hills are called Cnoca Breck and Haily Breck. “Cnoca,” though looking like Gaelic, does not undergo the grammatical changes of the Gaelic word, and “breck” equally does not appear to be the Gaelic “breac” (speckled), as it does not decline. “Haily” is very common as a prefix in the district. In South Uist there are Haily-Bost and Haily-Stül. “Stül” is very frequent in Uist. It would be interesting if some scholar would tell us whether the word is an obsolete Scandinavian form, as the dictionaries refer one to the word “soeter,” which, as equivalent to mountain pasture, we find in other districts in the termination “setter” and “shader.” In South Uist it is found only in the form “stul.” Boisdale, for example, is pronounced in Gaelic “Bũhũstul,” and may possibly mean the mountain pasture of the “boi” or “bend” (compare the Gaelic name for a place on the shore of Boisdale, called “Lub-bhudhus-tail,” that is, the bend of Boisdale). The fact of finding this particular form of the word in South Uist may conceivably indicate the district of Scandinavia whence came the settlers who established the topography of the island.

Among the bays of Eriskay we find “Na Haun,” that is, the haven; and again, another called “Cràckavick,” which may mean “crowbay,” from “krage,” a crow, and “vik.” The name is repeated in South Uist, and it is said that the former name of Kirkwall was “Craco-viaca,” apparently the same word.

We have among POINTS, Rosh-nish (horse point, from “ros” and “ness”), and Rhainish (cleft point, *rivn*, riven), which marks out a rent running right over a hill, beginning at this spot. Another Point is Rudha-na-Hùslaig; Uslaig is Gaelic for an old hag, but is probably identical with Usling, which is Danish for a wretch (or Aslacr, a personal name).

There are two long rocks jutting out into the sea, on different sides of the island, both at high water separated from the land. They are called “cleit,” possibly from “cloeft,” cloven. The word is now common in Gaelic for such rocks, or for cormorants’ roosts, which such rocks are. The word as so used must be distinguished from three other “clets,” also found in place-names. We have, for example, in Uist, the names “Smerclet,” “Ormiclet,” “Lianiclet,” and in all these cases the derivation is, as the situation of the places makes obvious, “klit,” that is, a dun, or low sand-hill. “Smerclet” is “butter down,” from “smoer,” butter. (We have among Gaelic place-names in the same district, “butter-hole,” “cheese-rock,” and “beef-skerry.”) “Ormiclet” is “Orm’s klit.” The derivation of “Lianiclet” is less obvious, but we have the same prefix in “Lianicui” (cui, pen or fold) and “Lianimull” (holm, or small islet). It is not to be confused with another word of similar sound, “liana,” a wet meadow.

The word “clet” is also applied to a piece of land, possibly from “klat” (a bit of ground). We have in Benbecula a “chleit mhòr,” which means the great lot, and we have it as a termination in “Hàclet,” as high lot, “Làmaclet,” as lamb lot, and “Calliclet,” possibly, cold lot.

“Klet” is found in its third meaning as signifying “rock” or “cliff,” from “klettr,” in the name “Cleiteachan,” rugged inland rocks, north of Loch Boisdale.

The prefix “kil” is of very common occurrence, and its meaning and derivation is obvious where the word is associated with ecclesiastical remains, as in “Kilbarra”

and "Kilpheder," *i.e.*, the churches of St. Barra and St. Peter, but it seems probable that in certain connections the prefix may be the Norse word "kil," a creek or inlet, as in "Kilerivagh," which would mean "mud creek bay."

Another argument for the importance of the study of topography on the spot, is the differentiation between Gaelic and Norse words having the same sound, and only to be distinguished by the geographical situation of the places indicated. There is, for example, in Eriskay, a hillock called "Carn-a-chliabhain," literally, the cairn of the little creel, a name which has no obvious meaning, which would, however, be readily found, if we suppose the derivation to be from the Norse, a "cleft" or "cleaving," which would make it "the cairn of the rent or gully."

There are three common Norse prefixes of like spelling but different pronunciation. *Há* (as in "father" or "*ar*"), *ha* (as in "matter" or "*ah*"), *hà* (as in "call" or "*or*"). *Hei* and *hae* are also found, and it is often difficult to differentiate among them. *Lange* for "long" is found in such words as *Langisgeir*, long scar, and *Langanish*, long ness. There is a long sea-rock in the Sound of Eriskay called Am Bruga, and another at Kilbride called Na Bruggannan, which is the plural of the other. They have the peculiarity of being cut up by little channels, through which a boat can pass at all times save low water. Can this be derived from a Norse word, meaning broken? At Kilbride in Uist there is a loch called Loch-a-Bhruga, frequently broken into by the sea, and separated from it by only a bank of shingle. Another loch of the same kind is called Loch Briste, which is Gaelic for Broken Loch.

The syllable *mol* (pebbles or shingle) occurs in several place-names, such as Mol-an-dùdain, Mol-a-tuath, Mol-a-deas, and is not to be confused with *mul*, a small islet, which, like *lum* and *um*, is a modification of holm (compare Sodhulum, sheep isle): Teistea-mul or Heiste-a-mul, horse isle; Lam-a-lum; Gierum, perhaps *geir*, auk isle; Airnemul, eagle isle, and a great number of others.

Lamruig, a landing jetty, is common here, a word possibly of Danish origin.

A loch called Drollavat may be "troll" or "goblin" loch, and Sieuravat may be Sigurd's loch or *vatn*. The name Dalibrog is probably the *borg* or *dun* of the meadow. Some of the natives call it Dun-beag, the little castle. At the time that it was a fortified place it must have been surrounded by water. The mound on which it was built remains, and is the site of a house still occupied.

The word for a ford, an extremely familiar geographical detail in these islands, is *faothail* (pronounced *fūh-ill*), and may be related to the Norse *veile*, a ford. The name of the island of Benbecula, which lies between two fords, is pronounced in Gaelic, Binavula, and the termination again suggests the Norse *veile*, the meaning of the name being, perhaps, "between fords."¹

In reply to a question as to proper names which may have been legacies of the Norsemen, Mr. Allan Macdonald points out that, oddly enough, the families making use of such names in South Uist are seldom natives of the island, but hail from Skye, Lewis or Harris. We find *Somerled*, *Uistein*, *Ronald*, *Ivaer*, *Tormod*, and as a feminine name, *Raonailt* (that is *Ragenhilda*.) It is said that there was a woman's name *Gill*, which seems to have died out about sixty years ago.²

Among surnames we have *Lamont* (law-man), *McA skill*, i.e., *As Ketill son* (the kettle of the gods), *McAulay*, i.e., *Olaf son*. There was a poet of North Uist called *McCodrum*, probably the Norse *Guttormr*. *McLeod* is from *Ljotr*, Earl of Orkney; *McSwain* is the Norse *Sweinn*³; *McCorquordale* is *Thorketel*. The name *Dougal*,

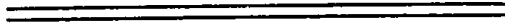
¹ Compare (possibly) *Benderloch* (between lochs) and *Eddrachyllis* (between two sounds).

² I know of two more recent instances of the use of *Gill* as a woman's name, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in a district in which Scandinavian remains and names of persons and places are still common.

³ Swain, Swayne, Swein, Sweyn, etc., are names often found in the district of Yorkshire already referred to.

i.e., *dubh gail* (black stranger) was the term applied to the Danes, in contradistinction from *fionn gail* (fair stranger), given to the Norwegians.

These conjectures as to derivation are in no sense dogmatic, but are offered tentatively, in the hope of provoking criticism and discussion, and should they lead to competent treatment of Gaelic and Norse nomenclature by a Scandinavian scholar they will have served the purpose for which they are intended.



CHRONICLES OF HARDANGER.

A Sketch of Old-World Norway.

By MAJOR A. F. MOCKLER-FERRYMAN.

IT would be presumption on my part to imagine that I can tell the members of the Viking Club anything that they do not already know concerning old Norse times; all I can hope to do, in this paper, is to relate to them little scraps of information about the one district of Gamle Norge that I really know anything of. For the past ten years it has been my good fortune to spend many pleasant holidays in the "Smiling Hardanger," and to form friendships with the *bönder* and peasants which, judging by the collection of cards and letters expressive of good wishes for *Jul* and *Nytaar* received last Christmas, appear to be thoroughly genuine. I do not propose giving you anything like a history of the district, and the title adopted for my humble effort is, I fear, somewhat misleading; a more appropriate one would have been "Odds and Ends of Hardanger," or something of that kind. Still, we will not quarrel with the name, and I will only ask you to listen, with what patience you can, to my rambling tale.

To say anything of the situation and geography of the Hardanger is needless; Norway nowadays is too well-known and too well-visited to necessitate a description of any particular part, so all I shall mention on the subject is that this favourite haunt of mine contains a wealth of fjord, fjeld, snowfield and glacier such as I believe is found in no other district of the like size in Scandinavia, or, for that matter, in the world. For this Club the Hardanger has an interest of its own, since its two petty kingdoms

Rogaland and Hordaland were the last that held out against Harold Haarfagr. Their chieftains, Sulki and Erik, were killed in the great sea-fight at Hafrsfjord, and the survivors of the defeated side started forthwith, in their *dragons* and *langskibs*, to augment the fleet of the Vikings across the North Sea. But many of the old tales still related by the story-tellers of the more primitive parts are of earlier times even than those of the all-conquering Harold, and, in place of the stereotyped "Once upon a time," commence with "In the days of the Petty Kings." A complete collection of these legends would be of considerable interest, as from them may be gathered a certain amount of knowledge of the quaint superstitious beliefs of the people now gradually becoming forgotten. Doubtless, similar legends and myths exist in other parts of Norway, and in other parts of Europe; I claim for Hardangeren no monopoly of such things, a study of which elsewhere, however, I have had little opportunity of making.

As to its name, Snorri Sturluson tells us that it signifies *hard land*; while other chroniclers assert that *anger* is old Norsk for *fjord*, and that *Hard* is a corruption of *Haurd* or *Hord*, still found in Nordhordland and Söndhordland, as well as in the old Hordaland (King *Haurd* Gerdsson's country)—the present Hardanger parish of Kvindherred. But whether it acquired its name from the ancient king, or from the solid nature of its rocky surroundings, is of little account, though the origin of place-names is frequently of very great importance, and that of the parish just mentioned — Kvindherred, *i.e.*, "woman's land" — is certainly peculiar. In the days of the petty kings, says the legend, a feud arose between the kings of Rogaland and Hordaland—the cause a woman—and many and fierce were the fights which took place for the Norse Helen. Both kings were eventually slain, and although the lady had also died, the feud continued into another generation, when a great battle, fought at Björkevold, brought matters to an end. Every male of Hordaland

was put to the sword, the women and girls alone being spared and left in possession of the kingdom, to which henceforth was given the name by which it is now known.

While on the subject of legends, it will not be out of place to mention one or two which refer to the physical features of the Hardanger, but perhaps I had better, without entering into details of scenery, say a word about the strange formations to be found here, in case there may be some who are unacquainted with the district. First there is the *skjærgaard*, or belt of islands (thousands of which are to be found scattered along the west coast of Norway), protecting the entrance to our fjord; then comes the fjord itself, running inland for a distance, almost due east, of 150 miles or so, throwing off branches here and there, and having its waterway in places cut up by islands. On either side of the fjord rise up masses of bold rocky mountains, whose beautiful fertile valleys, stretching down to the waterside, shelter the homesteads of the farmers, while, away on their summits, lie summer pastures, with numerous tarns and streams, or vast snowfields with their attendant glaciers. In all other parts beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the fjord, is a weird bleak wilderness, strewn with countless boulders and rocks, while at the extreme end of the long waterway, and four thousand feet above it, is situated the immense uninhabited plateau known as Vidden—the waste. Such is the land, and to wander about it soon gives one an insight into the reason why its people upheld the superstitions of their forefathers up to so recent a time. What more natural than the idea that the huge caves so frequently met with were fashioned by giants, or that giants had the handling of the enormous masses of rock? How else could a people ignorant of such things as the Great Ice Age account for the topsy-turvydom of the fjelds. And what country more suitable for the abode of elves, goblins and dwarfs than the deep pine-forests and birch groves which lie scattered upon the rock-strewn uplands above the fjord.

The part that the giants and giantesses played in the

alterations of the formations of the country was great, and although they appear to have lived, as a rule, on fairly friendly terms with the people, they at times asserted their might, and, when put out, behaved in a most unmerciful manner towards the natural features of the land. For instance, the narrow fjords of Mauranger and Fiksen—arms of the main fjord—were each at one time pestered by a giant, who, because he had wooed and failed to win a daughter of men, became suddenly vicious. Now revenge was always sweet to these monsters, and their plans for paying off old scores were generally original. Thus the giant of Fiksensund allowed his lady-love to get married, but when the bridal party was returning home, he proceeded, from his mountain fastness, to pelt the couple with “giants-bolts,” which are to this day found sticking in the ground, having failed to hit the mark. The Gygra of Mauranger was perhaps more vindictive, so he decided to block up the mouth of the branch fjord and thus starve out the village which contained the fair one who had refused his proffered suit. Just opposite the mouth of the Mauranger fjord lies the large island, Varaldsö, and with this the giant proposed to form a dam. To carry out his fell purpose he stood on the side of the mountain above Ænæs, whence, stretching forth his hands, he seized Varaldsö, and commenced to pull. Unfortunately, the soil of the island gave way, the giant fell backwards, making a huge depression in the hillside (even now known as the “Giant’s Seat”) and then rolled into the fjord, where he was drowned. This was undoubtedly a *gigantic* failure, and its only result was the formation of a new island—Silde—the handful of Varaldsö that the giant dropped in his fall.

Close to the mouth of the Fiksensund there is a huge hole in the side of the mountain, which goes by the name of Gygra-Röve; this is accounted for in various ways, though perhaps the most popular legend is that in which a giantess is said to have sat down on the spot after a long journey from the sea. This giantess apparently left the

coast in search of a home, and for some reason or other thought it advisable to bring some land with her, consequently she dug her hands into the coast and then commenced wading up the fjord. As she pursued her way, portions of her burden slipped from her grasp, accounting for the numerous islands in the fjord, while the *skjærgaard* is said to be merely those scraps of the coast that she left standing when she grabbed the land before starting. So exhausted was she on reaching the Fiksensund that she sank down on the mountain side. But this is not the end of the story, for the good lady was soon herself again, and for many years made violent love to a petty king at Botnen. Rejected, she became revengeful, and, evidently having got her idea from her Mauranger neighbour, she thought of closing up the Fiksensund by pulling the sides together. In this she succeeded so far as to contract the waterway to scarcely half a mile in width, but the task was too much for even a giantess, and she finally gave it up in disgust.

Other legends of the Giant Age there are, of course, in abundance, and the fairy tales of the country contain many variants of "Jack the Giant-killer," "Cinderella" and subjects of a similar kind. All this, however, trenches on the domains of folklore, though when discussing old times in the North it is almost impossible to separate superstitious beliefs from the ancient customs of early Christian days—so intimately connected are the two things; for the *raison d'être* of the strange customs of the people was in many instances solely the desire to propitiate supernatural agencies, the existence of which, even a century ago, was firmly believed in. Take for example the birth and baptism of an infant, the marriage ceremonies, or the funeral rites; the customs attending each were filled with superstition from beginning to end; the dread of offending the giants and various evil spirits pervading everything. Let us glance at some of these old customs—but I should perhaps say that my imagination plays no part in anything that I am relating, for I quote in all cases from authen-

ticated sources and generally from the written records of Hardanger.

The new-born Norse babe of the olden times was a thing of no small amount of consideration and care, since, from the moment that it breathed, until its baptism, it was in danger at the hands of every species of evil spirit, but more particularly those who dwelt underground, and who were continually on the look out to exchange their own offspring for human children. These changelings, as a rule, turned out idiots or were deaf and dumb, though it is quite likely that the fact of the infant having been changed at birth was not discovered until the state of its mind or other deficiency became known. Be that as it may, the strictest precautions were taken to guard against the possibility of evil befalling the infant. Before laying it in its cradle the nurse was careful to fasten the swaddling clothes in the form of a cross over its breast, and to place under the pillow a psalm-book, while a pair of scissors, a flint and steel, or something or other of steel (the metal was the great point) was laid on the chest of the babe, which was a sure preventative of evil spirits. But the safest plan of all was to get the child baptised as soon as possible, and as often as not this was done on the day of its birth, though it was attended with perils of all kinds.

It must be remembered that churches were few in number, and twenty or thirty miles or more was no uncommon distance from the farm to the nearest church, thus horses had to be employed for the journey. Now there was a particular superstition about horses, and if, by any chance, the babe were brought home by a different horse to that by which it was conveyed to the church, it was fatal, the underground spirits effecting a change at once. The same thing resulted if the infant was not carried back from the christening by the same godfather and godmother who took it to the church. There were, however, means for recovering the lost child, and the simplest was to take the changeling outside the house and whip it well, when its elf-mother, unable to bear its cries, generally returned

the stolen infant and took back her own. This had to be done on a Thursday evening, and if it failed, the parents were recommended to try the following more elaborate plan. The whole house assembled and set to work to prepare for a great funeral feast, every now and then dropping hints about the new-born child that was about to be buried. This usually appealed to the elf-mother, who imagined that her infant was going to be murdered, and so quickly effected an exchange again. The christening entertainment was usually on a large scale, relations and neighbours from far and wide being bidden, and there was an object in this, for all the guests came well provided with presents. Some brought money, silver spoons and mugs, whilst others gave more substantial gifts in the shape of houses, farms and lands.

As to the marriage customs, a wedding in the Hardanger is still a most interesting sight to see, with the crowned bride, the fiddler, and the long string of bridesmaids and groomsmen, for in spite of the modern ideas which are fast pervading Norway, the marriage ceremonies *here* remain almost untouched. The reason probably is that there are in this district no towns, and the villages are few and far apart, consequently the people (who are entirely of the farmer and peasant class) have retained much of their native simplicity. Enlightenment has, of course, driven the old superstitions away, and though the old people still cling more or less to their beliefs, the members of the younger generation carry on the old customs possibly only because they are conservative in their ideas, and are loath to abandon the habits of their forefathers. Weddings, in most countries, are occasions for extravagance—for an expenditure far beyond the means of the principals and their relations—yet they occur so seldom in a family that recklessness may perhaps be pardoned. The good people of Hardangeren are no exception to the rule, for, from early Christian times, their marriage ceremonies have been carried out in the most lavish style, open house being kept by the parents of the happy couple for days in succession.

I am speaking now of an age not very remote—not much more than a century ago—but the minds of the country-folk were even then impregnated with the beliefs in the existence of the several species of uncanny spiritual beings—giants, dwarfs, elves and the like.

The first important part of the ceremony was the brewing of the bridal ale, which required great attention, and until it was completed no invitations to the feast were sent out. No limit was placed on the number of the guests—the more the merrier—and as it was considered the correct thing to bring offerings of food as well as wedding presents, the entertainers and the bride and bridegroom got some return for their outlay. Monday was the day usually fixed for the commencement of the festivities, so that there should be a clear week before them, and each guest as he arrived at the farm was received with a salute of fire-arms, after which he was given some light refreshment in an ante-chamber by the hosts and hostesses. This went on all day, until eventually everyone had arrived, when the serious part of the entertainment began, and the various officials who had been selected for the different arduous duties of the ceremony commenced their labours. The principal of these was the master of the ceremonies, or governor of the feast, who from this moment became responsible for everything connected with the wedding. Next to him in importance came the fiddler, whose duties, as we shall see, were by no means light, while the other functionaries filled such offices as cook, cellarman, bridesmaids, waiting women, and groomsmen—each with a part to play. When everyone had arrived, the governor proceeded to allot them places at the *langbord* or table, after which he made a speech welcoming the guests, and sang a psalm. During these preliminaries the bride and bridegroom were upstairs dressing themselves in their wedding garments, the bride being carefully watched over by her waiting maids to see that she did not leave the room alone, for this was a most dangerous time, evil spirits being hidden in every corner, on the look out to carry off

the lady should she be for a moment alone. Soon came the time for supper, when with much pomp the governor proclaimed the names of the hosts and hostesses, bride and bridegroom and all the officials of the entertainment, and the bride and bridegroom entered the room under a salute of musketry and to the soft music of the fiddler. On this occasion the bride sat at one end of the table and the bridegroom at the other, the feast continuing far into the night.

On the wedding morning the guests breakfasted in bed, a light meal and strong drink (tea and coffee were unknown in those days) being brought to them by the waiting-women, under escort of the governor and the ubiquitous fiddler, whose duty throughout the marriage ceremony was to charm away the evil spirits by the low and melodious tunes (termed *huldreslaater*), which were supposed to have been originally learned from the hill fairies. In the course of the morning the guests rose and donned their best, then descended to the feast-room and took their places at the board, after which the bridal procession was formed, and the happy pair, dressed ready for the church, entered the apartment, the fiddler of course leading the way. As soon as the couple were seated, side by side, on the long bench, the governor stepped forward and demanded of the bridegroom what he proposed presenting to his bride as *morgengave* (morning gift). This was the primitive method of making the marriage settlement, and the sum usually settled on the lady was ten dollars, the guests becoming *ex officio* trustees, though there appears to have been no necessity to produce the money. The object, however, was that, in event of the husband's death, the wife should get her dower of ten dollars before the estate was administered—and ten *rigs-dalar*, we must remember, was a small fortune to the daughter of a mediæval Norse farmer.

However; the next move was to the church, and the procession formed up in the yard of the farm, where the bride and bridegroom took an affectionate farewell of their parents—who, by the way, did not accompany the party.

The distance to the church was, as I have said, often very considerable, and the journey therefore might have to be made by boat, by *carriole* and *stolkjære*, or on horseback, though, if not more than ten or twelve miles, it was usually undertaken on foot. First came the master of the ceremonies, then the bridegroom, supported by his groomsmen and male relations; next the fiddler (his bow never idle) and other groomsmen; lastly the bride, with her two bridesmaids, and a bevy of women and girls. After the somewhat lengthy service had been performed, the party adjourned to the dancing-green, generally on a mound close to the church, where high carnival was held until it was time to start for home. The return journey was not conducted with much regularity, the strong drink imbibed at the dancing-green producing a very long and erratic tail to the procession. Arrived at the farm, the newly-wedded couple were met by their parents bearing a huge bowl of ale, which had to be drained before the party entered the house, then everyone settled down to the wedding banquet—imagine the state they were in at nightfall when the ball commenced! At this the master of the ceremonies led off with the bride, after which the bride and bridegroom danced a *pas deux*, the wildest revelry being kept up until the small hours of the morning.

On the Wednesday morning the bride put on her *skaut*—the head-dress of a married woman—and accompanied by her husband, went round and called the guests, giving them light refreshment, to stave off the pangs of hunger until the big breakfast was ready. This was a very important day, and when the party had assembled, a bowl of porridge was broken and scattered about the room, implying that it was the wish of all present that neither of the couple should require bridal porridge again. Then the master of the ceremonies delivered a speech and sang a psalm, after which the bridegroom took a silver beaker of wine and pledged the health and happiness of his bride and the guests. Breakfast over, the table was laid with small glasses of brandy—one for every guest—and the

bride and bridegroom stood ready to receive the wedding presents, consisting—very sensibly—of money. Each guest approached the table, drained the wine-glass and placed his offering (or *skaalpenge*) in it. This was accompanied by neat little speeches, and the musketeer, who was stationed outside the house, fired a salute for each presentation. By the time this part of the ceremony was concluded it was already evening, and no sooner was the table cleared than it was re-laid with supper, whereat there was much drinking, then dancing and bed.

I am afraid this wedding is becoming somewhat tedious, though, having got so far, it seems a pity not to see the matter through. Well, we have come now to the Thursday—a day of considerable entertainment—ushered in, as the previous days had been, by breakfast in bed for the guests. *Fridag*, a kind of liberty-day, was the name by which it was known, for the hard and fast ceremonies were at an end, and bride and bridegroom, hosts, guests and officials of the feast, were now free to thoroughly enjoy themselves, which they accordingly did with heart and soul. The chief form of amusement appears to have been a species of wild carnival, in which the guests, disguised as niggers, gipsies, and mountain sprites, took possession of the house, and “made hay” in the parlour, the bridegroom eventually being required to pay up handsomely in drinks to the farm-hands who cleared up the mess. Towards evening the servant-maids of the guests arrived at the farm with fresh milk, and after having been regaled with supper, took part in a grand servants’ ball, in which everyone joined, and which was kept going until long after midnight. The practical joking was not yet over however, for after the house was quiet, one of the servants went quietly round the rooms and gathered up all the boots and shoes of the guests, mixing them all together in a sack. On the following morning, which was the Friday, the loss of the boots and shoes was the cause of much excitement among the guests, and considerable time was spent in sorting them. Then followed a heavy breakfast, after which the guests formed

a procession and, headed by the fiddler, went round to all the neighbouring farms, at each of which they held a dance and were regaled with drink. Returning in the afternoon, they found no meal prepared for them, which was a gentle hint that the time had come for their departure; the cellarman and the cook were forcibly seized, tied up and hoisted to the beams, where they were allowed to hang, until the hosts promised them a final feast before leaving. With this concluded the wedding ceremony, each guest drinking a *skaal* to the newly married couple, and departing under a salute of musketry and the fiddler's best music.

Such was a Hardanger wedding—to our mind a long and wearisome business, yet for the inhabitants of this world-forgotten spot it must have been an event of a life-time, and a thing to be talked over by the winter fire-side for many a long day. Not less interesting perhaps to these simple folk were their funerals, for, like the weddings, they occurred but seldom, death to the Northman being, as a rule, synonymous with old age. In treating of this somewhat gruesome subject, I do not propose going further back in the history of the land than the period of the marriage customs, just narrated, though, of course, the records of Hardangeren make frequent mention of ancient grave-mounds and their contents—remains of Viking ships, weapons, runic inscriptions, and the like. The important part of the funeral was the “wake”—very similar in all respects to the Irish custom¹—and attended with the consumption of an enormous amount of strong spirits. As the drink took possession of the mourners, their sorrow turned to merriment, ending very frequently in dancing and music, so that a casual observer would have been unable to decide whether the occasion was that of a wedding or of a funeral. The coffin took time to make, and during the interval between death and burial, it was considered necessary to keep the evil spirits away

¹ It would be interesting to ascertain how far the Irish custom is a Danish legacy.—ED.

by holding wild orgies round the corpse. This state of affairs continued up to the actual burial, the funeral party as often as not arriving at the church almost helplessly intoxicated, and returning home afterwards to drown their grief in a nocturnal carouse. All funerals, however, were not of this class, for at the larger farms due respect was paid to the dead; candles were kept burning round the coffin, and in some cases the body was embalmed. The funeral procession was often of considerable length, consisting for the most part of men, and on arriving at the church the coffin was set down on what was called the corpse-stone—a slab of rock—outside the church door. Here it remained until the bell had tolled for a time, when it was borne within the church. The funeral party then dug the grave and the burial service was carried out.

Speaking of death brings us to a subject which is at the present day of no small account, and which is to be found chronicled in nearly every Hardanger parish—this is the Great Plague (1350), known to the Norsemen by the same name as to ourselves—the Black Death. Old Bishop Pontopiddan tells us that it was introduced into Norway by a British sailing vessel, which brought merchandise to Bergen, and that those who assisted in unloading the ship caught the disease, which spread rapidly throughout the land. The whole country was depopulated, and, if any credence is to be placed in the records of Hardanger, the effect of the fell disease was to make a clean sweep of nearly every inhabitant of the principal districts. In one part, we read that, of a considerable population, there remained only two fugitives—a boy of one family and a girl of another—who fortunately eventually fell in with each other and were married. Again, the chronicles of Eidfjord say that in that parish not a soul survived from the ravages of the *Sorte Död* (Swart Death), and moreover that it derived its name from the fact, Eidfjord being nothing more than *öd*, or deserted, fjord. This is, perhaps, somewhat far-fetched, yet we may presume that its three legends of the plague are not

without some foundation. The first relates how a man from Hallingdal, travelling across the Vidde when the plague had abated, discovered at the mountain farm of Maurset (on the borders of the fjeld above Eidfjord) a tiny girl, the sole survivor within an area of hundreds of square miles. Taking her with him, he passed into what is now a populous district, and thence to Graven, twenty or thirty miles down the fjord, where he first met human beings. Here the child was left to be adopted, and to become, in the course of time, the mother of a large family.

The second tale says that in Eidfjord two survived, one a man who lived in the lowlands and the other a girl, whose parents had owned a mountain farm, the man, of course, meeting with the girl and marrying her. It will thus be observed that there is little variety in these old plague stories, though the third legend of Eidfjord is somewhat different :—A short time before the disease appeared, a monk came to the place, and, discovering the terrible state of depravity in which the people lived, prophesied that unless they listened to his warning, a great calamity would overtake them. He was disregarded, except by two men, who seeing the sinful life of their neighbours, decided to forthwith retire from their society, and to live by themselves on the Vidde. This they did, dwelling in a hut in the wilds and subsisting on what they procured by fishing and hunting for two or three years, when returning to have a look at their old home they found not a single inhabitant living. They were then convinced that the monk's words had come true, and turning their backs on Eidfjord, they travelled across the Vidde and took up their abode with the people of Numedal. Whether the plague was in reality as great a scourge as the Hardanger chroniclers make out is perhaps open to doubt, for if we accept their accounts, there would have been but two people left in every parish, or say a total of barely a score of inhabitants. Yet we have good authority for knowing that Norway suffered terribly, losing almost two-thirds of her population.

The *Sorte Död* is one of the landmarks in Hardanger history, which is for the most part dateless and disconnected, though the parish records, which have been fairly well kept in recent centuries, supply a good deal of local information. The historical legends, of which the district possesses a goodly stock, may be divided into several distinct periods ; commencing with the somewhat vague one generally described, as I have already said, as the “days of the petty kings.” After this comes the missionary visit of Olaf the Saint (about 1020), then follows the plague (about 1350), then the Reformation (about 1530); from which time each parish has kept a register of births, deaths and marriages, amongst which have been preserved some interesting notes and memoranda by worthy divines, to whom I shall have occasion to refer later on. But, first, as to the Olaf period ; each parish has its story of his visit, for it seems that he sailed up the Hardanger fjord with a powerful fleet, offering conversion or the sword to the pagan inhabitants, who in reality cared little which they had, as long as the result was to leave them in possession of their lands. Here, as elsewhere in Norway, he has left his name, for there are Olaf’s *dals*, mountains, streams, etc., without number, but whether he himself actually christened the places is not for us to enquire.

The foundation of many an old church is ascribed to St. Olaf, though in most cases nothing but the foundation-stone now remains. In Mauranger they show the spot, close to the foot of one of the glaciers of the great Folgefond, where Olaf wrestled with the evil spirits before he was able to start the building of the church. The building material was several times collected on the spot, but was as often mysteriously removed—a story, I may remark, which is told of countless Norwegian churches, and also, by the way, of Christchurch Abbey, in Hampshire. The Mauranger incident is, however, one of *the* Legends of Norway, and under the title of “Olav den Hellige” has been immortalised in a poem of considerable length by no less a personage than Welhaven. At Eidfjord, at the

head of the Hardanger fjord, Olaf received very hostile treatment, having to fight a small naval battle before being able to land his troops. The people here, however, as elsewhere, were soon converted, a soft tongue, backed by force of arms, doing wonders on Olaf's missions to the heathen. Neither did Olaf leave the Hardanger without working miracles, and streams are still to be found whose waters, blessed by the saint, are said to this day to be remarkable for their healing properties. Such a stream is Olsbæk close to the entrance of the Hardanger fjord, where, according to the legend, Olaf went ashore in order to baptise an infant born on his ship. The story of the departure of St. Olaf from Hardanger contains a moral. Olaf's ship was called "Ormen glade," and his half-brother, Harold Haardraade, had a ship called "Oksen hin lade"; now considerable rivalry existed between the two as to the sailing powers of their respective vessels, and it was decided to race from Hardanger to Trondhjem, the Norwegian kingdom to go to the winner. Harold, says the legend, got away at once, but Olaf stayed behind for three days, preaching to the people on shore, though he eventually reached Trondhjem several hours before his brother. *Tout vient à point à qui sait attendre !*

St. Olaf has not yet been forgotten in Hardangeren, for *Olsokhelgen* (St. Olaf's Day, 29th July) is kept in all the country parts by young and old, when excursions are made up to the *sæters*, to see how the exiled milkmaids are getting on. A fiddler generally accompanies the party, and an impromptu dance is got up for the *sæterjenter*, who in their turn do not forget to provide an abundance of cream-porridge to appease the hunger of their visitors. Of feast-days, however, the most important have always been Christmas and Midsummer's Eve, the latter being the occasion for much *à fresco* revelry, which only within the last decade or so has commenced to decline. The traveller who wanders early in the summer in the more remote parts of the Hardanger may still chance to witness a *Sankthansblus*, or *Jonsokbaal* (St. John's bonfire), and

take part in its attendant entertainments, though time, in this as in all else, is fast playing havoc with the land, and in a few years St. Hans Nat will be a festival as archaic as that of St. Valentine has already become with us.

To return to the periods of Hardanger chronicles, we come next to that of the Reformation, a time not less memorable, and not less bloody in Norway than on the Continent of Europe. Each parish has its tales of long resistance, hard fighting, priest murders, and the like, for the Northmen were not easily convinced, though Lutheranism, once established, was accepted for good and all, and Lutherans the people have remained to this day. Whether to the great change is to be ascribed the enlightenment of the Hardanger folk is perhaps doubtful, but in the matter of keeping parish records the Reformation certainly seems to have done great things, for prior to that event there appear to have been no church books, unless, as some say, they were all destroyed. Now one may turn up the parish register for the past four hundred years and more, and therein discover the pedigrees of the farmers, and the value of their land at different times, while the clergy have, here and there, left behind them most interesting journals of their labours.

With regard to these worthy divines, one thing strikes us as remarkable—their belief, until comparatively recent times, in the “black art” and in various superstitions. Undoubtedly the clergy were of very considerable erudition as compared with the population of the Hardanger, yet a perusal of the works of the learned Pontopiddan, Bishop of Bergen (1759), and of the manuscripts of many a renowned Hardanger parish priest, shows that it was not only the uneducated Norsemen who were troubled by things supernatural, for their guides, philosophers and friends—their spiritual advisers—firmly believed that the Devil was capable of being suddenly let loose to work destruction, and as suddenly to be got rid of by means of the parson’s “black book.” Looking at the matter from a modern standpoint, it seems probable that the clergy were fully

aware of the immense hold they had on their flocks by fostering and maintaining the belief in sorcery and things of an uncanny nature; still, many a Hardanger priest has left behind him writings which go to prove that he really thought that there was good foundation for the general idea that spirits, good and evil, wandered by fjord and fjeld. As an illustration I will mention a couple of stories of Christian Bolle Rördam, who had charge of the parish of Ullensvang from 1779 to 1802. Rördam, I may say, was a man who had seen a certain amount of the world, having been educated at Wittenborg, and afterwards having filled the post of Lutheran minister at St. Thomas (West Indies). He, moreover, was one of the privileged parsons who owned a "black book," by means of which he could, at will, call up or get rid of the Devil and his hosts. He possessed also the power of second sight, and the awe in which he was held by his parishioners is little to be wondered at, for not only did he know all that was going on, but at a moment's notice he could produce an evil spirit to punish offenders. The first story relates how, on one occasion, a sack was missed from Rördam's mill, whereupon the parson saddled his horse and, accompanied by a mill-hand, rode through his parish. At length he reached the door of a hut, where he pulled up and informed his servant that, just within the door, he would find the sack, and, sure enough, there it lay, and no one interfered with its removal—the only thing that seems remarkable is that anyone should have had the impudence to steal the property of such an individual. The other story refers to the laying of a ghost—and bad people when they died, as you may know, always left ghosts behind them. The ghost in question was that of a man who had hanged himself, and the cause of whose death had been concealed by his relatives, though, of course, Rördam knew all about it. Ullensvang became haunted by the spirit until, at last, three girls confessed that they had noticed marks of a rope on the neck of the corpse, and the priest was begged to use his power to rid the village of the nuisance.

Rördam accordingly gave orders that when next the ghost appeared, he was to be immediately acquainted, and, a short time afterwards, news was brought that it was in the churchyard, whereupon the parson, having hastily put on his vestments, proceeded to the spot. There he found the ghost disporting itself amongst the tombstones, but on seeing Rördam it took to flight; the priest followed from grave to grave and over the churchyard wall, when he commanded the ghost to halt. At the sound of its name the spirit stood still, when it was immediately condemned to proceed into the bowels of the earth and to remain there for ever. This is evidently the correct method of laying a ghost, for the village was troubled no more, though the manuscript says that the operation was a great tax on the strength of the layer, who returned bathed in perspiration from head to foot.

Ullensvang, for many reasons, is by far the most interesting parish of Hardangeren, and Niels Hertzberg who succeeded Christian Rördam is certainly the most remarkable of the clergy of the district, since he had charge of his parish for forty years and wrote an autobiography packed with information of all kinds. In it are to be found long descriptions of ancient customs which he saw gradually disappear, and his recollections of folklore are in themselves a valuable record. He himself, as he says, belonged to a new school, having little belief in supernatural agencies, and regarding his predecessors at the Vicarage as no better than sorcerers; whether he was instrumental in bringing about a change in the people, or whether he merely happened to live to see the change, is a matter of opinion, though it is certain that before he died (1841) he had witnessed the uplifting of the black veil that had hung for so long over the minds of the Hardanger folk. During his time the Hardanger was *discovered* by English yachtsmen, and in his private diaries are carefully entered the visits of foreigners to the fjord; thus, he records that, in 1821, there came three Englishmen, in 1825 two, in 1828 four, in 1834 two, and so forth,

whilst amongst his visitors he mentions the Marquis of Lothian, Lord Clanwilliam, and Lord — Kerr, Robert Everest, Francis Scott, Forrester, and others. Here is one of his entries:—"25th May, 1834. Arrived here in his yacht, *Mr.* John Moore, *Esquire*, his nephew, George Moore, John Cope, Baronet, and friends—all wealthy men. They rode to the Folgefond, but could not cross it, because of the state of the snow. I was invited to dine on board, being treated to five courses and four kinds of wine. At dessert Scotch whiskey (disgusting spirit), butter, bread, and English and Parmesan cheese. Spoons and forks of pure silver. Conversation in French."

With Niels Hertzberg, the most complete and trustworthy chronicler of modern Hardangeren, I will close my dissertation, though in reality, with the aid of his writings one might pen volumes; still, "enough is as good as a feast"—even of the Chronicles of Hardanger.

Burry Port

LLANELLY

-THIS MAP

OMITS ALL WELSH PLACE NAMES BETWEEN SWANSEA AND RHOSILLY BUT THERE ARE MANY SUCH NAMES.

(Beyond this to N. and E. are all Welsh Names.)

Writewalls

SWANSEA

SWANSEA BAY

B R I S T O L C H A N N E L

NORSE PLACE-NAMES IN GOWER (GLAMORGANSHIRE).

By ALEXANDER G. MOFFAT.

THERE is, I believe, an Icelandic proverb to the effect that only the highest peaks are visible out of deep snow, and the snows of some 900 winters have so covered up the presence of the Norsemen in the Bristol Channel that but a few crags are left to testify to those who named them. But I hope to find something to interest you, even though my material may be scanty.

The Bristol Channel might, at first sight, seem to be an unlikely spot to look for any abiding traces of the Viking, what with wild Kelts on the one side and a strong Saxon population on the other; but it was a waterway, and that was enough for them to put in an appearance there. In fact, it was a direct highway from Ireland nearly into the heart of England, and we know that Norwegians and Danes were very much to the fore in Ireland from 800 to 1100. From the two Norse settlements, Waterford and Wexford, to the Welsh coast was only a distance of about 80 miles, which in fine weather would be but a pleasant day's run for those hardy seamen. Small wonder, then, if we find Scandinavian place-names in Pembrokeshire and Glamorganshire.

Worsaae, in his "Danes and Norwegians in England," page 7, says:—"Not even the remote and poorer districts of Wales were spared by them. . . . The connections of the Danish Vikings were, however, far from being always unfriendly. For as the Britons in Wales and Cornwall constantly nourished a lively hatred against the Anglo-

Saxon, on whose land they continued to make war, the Danes often entered into an alliance with them against their common enemies."

The name by which Wales was known to the Northmen and Danes was Bretland. "Öngulsey," or Anglesey, says "Magnus Barefoot's Saga" (chap. xi.), "is one third part of Bretland." That its coasts were well known in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and that the Scandinavians were in the habit not only of plundering but also of trading there, and of settling for longer or shorter periods, can be inferred from the following extracts from original authorities.

The first appearance of the Vikings in Wales was in 795, in Glamorgan, where they were beaten off by the King of South Wales ("Gwent Chronicle," Publications of Cambrian Archæological Association). About 865 the partly mythical Ragnar Lodbrok is said to have fought battles in Wales ("Lodbrokar Kviða"), and the trustworthy Florence of Worcester, copying contemporary annals, tells us that in 878 "the brother of Inguare and Halfdene [Ubba the Dane] came with 23 ships from Demetia [South Wales], where he had wintered."

About the beginning of the tenth century, Viking settlements had been made in Galloway, Man, Cumberland and North Lancashire; and in 900, Hingamund (Agmund), with Norsemen expelled from Dublin, landed on Anglesey, was beaten by the Welsh at Penrhos near Holyhead, and finally settled on land granted him by Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians, on the shores of the Mersey ("Chron. Princes of Wales and Caradoc").

Soon they made a settlement in South Wales also. About 911 the Northmen from France, an overflow from the first settlers of Normandy, came in a great fleet to the Severn and overran Wales. This is given by most of the chroniclers as an important event: Florence puts it under 915, with details of how they took the Bishop of Llandaff prisoner, and finally retreated to Demetia, and thence to Ireland.

In 920 Leofred, a Dane, and Griffith ap Madoc, with help of an army from Ireland [then the Vikings' headquarters], landed in Wales and took Chester, but were overcome by King Edward and his son Athelstan (Caradoc, and William of Malmesbury). Whereupon Howel Dda, Clitauc and Idwal, together with Agmund's Viking settlers, swore allegiance to Edward in 922 ("Saxon Chronicle").

Next we have further indications of something more than a passing visit. "Two brothers, Hring and Adils, ruled in Bretland; they were tributaries of King Athelstan, and withal had this right, that when they were with the king in the field, they and their force should be in the van of the battle, before the royal standard. These brothers were right good warriors, but not young men." When it was reported that Olaf (Viking king of Dublin) had victoriously invaded Northumbria, they marched out to join him, and played an important part in the great battle which ensued, but were both slain ("Egil's Saga," chaps. li.-liv.). If this battle was Brunanburg, the date would be 937. The Saga, written down over 200 years after the event, may err in certain details, but it proves a definite tradition of Viking settlement in Wales, for Hring and Adils are Scandinavian names, although an attempt has been made to identify Adils with Idwal. Hring has been supposed to be a son of Harold Gormsson, said by Irish chronicles to have fallen at Brunanburg. But this is doubtful, as he is here represented as no longer young. In any case we have this record of Scandinavian *jarls*, as they are expressly called, hailing from Wales.

In 980 the city and province of Chester was laid waste by Norwegian pirates (Florence of Worcester). In 985 Olaf Tryggvasson—the King Olaf of Longfellow's poem—landed in Wales and plundered ("Olaf Tryggvasson's Saga," chap. xxxi.), and in 987 "the pagans [Vikings] devastated Llanbadarn, Menevia, Llanilltyd," etc. ("Chron. Princes of Wales"). Olaf remained in these parts for some time, as the next extract shows.

About 980 Palnatoke, the Jomsburg Viking, went with twelve ships to Wales, and was well received by a resident Viking chief, Jarl Stefnir, who gave him his daughter Olöf to wife, with half his realm and the title of jarl. In less than a year Palnatoke tired of quiet life, and took his wife to Denmark, leaving her foster-father, Björn the Brezki (Bretlander), to keep his place, as Stefnir was growing old. When Olöf died, Palnatoke gave up his earldom to Björn, as he had lost interest in Wales now that his wife was dead. Before long he died also, and Björn went out to Jomsburg and fought in the great battle with Jarl Hakon of Norway, 994, after which he returned to Wales. There he met Olaf Tryggvasson, and told him news that turned his mind to the attempt to recover the crown ("Olaf Tryggvasson's Saga," chap. xci.). "Björn went to Bretland, and ruled there as long as he lived, and was looked upon as a most brave man" ("Jomsvikinga Saga," chap. xlvii.). About this period—the end of the tenth century—there are many independent witnesses to the Vikings in Wales.

In 993 Kari Solmundsson took Njal's sons from Iceland a sea-roving. "They harried south about Anglesey and all the southern isles." Then they went to Cantyre. "Thence they fared south to Wales and harried there. Then they held on for Man, and there they met Godred, and fought with him," etc. ("Njal's Saga," chap. lxxxviii.). This cruise was chiefly directed against Northmen of a hostile faction, and the context leads us to believe that they were attacking settlements of Northmen in Wales, as well as those which we know existed in Cantyre, Man, and the South Isles or Hebrides.

In 997 the Danes entered the mouth of the Severn and ravaged (Chron. of Florence of Worcester), and about 1000, "Jarl Einar went on cruises to Ireland, Scotland and Wales" ("Orkneyinga Saga," chap. ii.), continuing his expeditions until his death in 1015.

Next we have a most interesting picture of the Vikings in Wales from "Njal's Saga" (chaps. clvi. to end). After

the battle of Clontarf, 1014, Flosi the Iclander and his fellows "sailed into Wales and stayed there a while." Kari Solmundsson, before mentioned, had it laid on him to take vengeance on Flosi or one of his fellows for the burning of Njal, and came to the Hebrides in pursuit. There he learnt that Flosi had gone to Wales, whither he followed, and lay hid "in a creek out of the way"—the regular Viking instinct, *vik* meaning "creek," and *Viking* "man of the creek." "That morning Kol Thorsteinsson [one of the men who burnt Njal] went into the town to buy silver [*i.e.*, to barter goods for money]. Kol had talked much to a mighty dame, and he had so knocked the nail on the head that it was all but fixed that he was to have her and settle down there." But Kari came also into the town and found Kol in the act of counting out his money and cut off his head—"and his head counted 'ten' just as it spun off the body." Then Kari bade Kol's followers tell Flosi of the vengeance he had taken, and sailed away satisfied to Whithern in Galloway. Flosi buried Kol and sailed south, arriving ultimately in Rome, where he got absolution for his crime, and returned to Iceland to make peace with Kari. Thus in 1014 the Northmen were quite at home in Wales, visiting ladies, buying and selling, staying for a considerable time, and able, if they wished, to settle in the country. Such settlements must have been among their own people, for with the native Welsh they were not just then on friendly terms. In 1040 Griffith, King of Wales, was captured by the pagans of Dublin, *i.e.*, Danish Vikings ("Cambrian Annals"), and about the same time "Harold Hardrada's Saga" in the "Heimskringla" (chaps. lvi., lvii.) relates that Guttorm the Northman and King Murchadh of Ireland ravaged Wales. Shortly afterwards, Griffith—we need not here ask why or how—made common cause with these lesser foes against a greater enemy, the English. In August, 1049, Irish pirates (Vikings), with 36 ships, entered the mouth of the Severn and landed at a place called Wylesceaxan, and, in union with Griffith, King of

the South Britons, plundered the neighbourhood, etc. (Florence of Worcester). In the course of this war, 1052, the Northmen are first mentioned as settled in Hereford and fighting the Welsh. Again, in 1055, the Saxon earl Algar, being outlawed, brought eighteen Viking ships from Ireland to Wales, to help Griffith against the English; and in 1058 he was outlawed again, but, assisted by Griffith and supported by a Norwegian fleet, which came to him unexpectedly, he soon recovered his earldom by force (Florence of Worcester).

In 1098 Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, came to Wales with six ships and took the side of Griffith against Hugh, Earl of Chester, and Hugh, Earl of Montgomery, and fought a battle with them in the Menai Strait, in which the Earl of Montgomery was killed ("Orkneyinga Saga," chap. xxix.; Florence, 1098). In 1103 Magnus died. Up to that time his young namesake Magnus Erlendsson (St. Magnus) had been "with a certain bishop in Bretland," thus showing the friendly relations which now existed between Northmen and Welsh ("Orkneyinga Saga," chap. xxx.).

About 1140 Swein and Höldbodi, the former a Viking from Orkney, the latter from Man, combined to make reprisals on Höld of Bretland, who had ravaged Man and the Hebrides. They landed "in Bretland at a place called *Farlsness* [the Earl's promontory. A place of the same name is mentioned in "Egil's Saga," chap. liii. Jonæus reads *Ines*, which would, of course, mean "the island," but *Farlsness* rather suggests Jarl Stefnir and other Welsh-Viking jarls]. One morning they went to a certain village and met with a little resistance." It is amusing to note this delicate way of putting it. "The inhabitants fled from the village, and Swein and his men plundered everything and burned six homesteads before dinner"—a fact which was the better commemorated by a poem made on the occasion. "Höld fled to an island called Lund [*Lund-ey*, the "grove or puffin isle"], where there was a strong place. Swein besieged it for some

time, but to no purpose. In the autumn they went back to the Isle of Man." ("Orkneyinga Saga," chap. lxxii.).

With this evidence to hand, incomplete as it is, it cannot be denied that the Vikings of the tenth and eleventh centuries frequented the shores of Wales and settled there. And when a series of place-names in Pembroke and Gower strikingly analogous to the characteristic Lancashire and Cumberland place-names, which we know from Domesday Book to have been pre-Norman, are found, the conclusion is inevitable that they are the tangible evidence of Viking settlements, planted in pre-Norman times, and persisting, through the struggles of the Norman invasion, into the comparative quietude of the Middle Ages.

With regard to the above-mentioned Jarlsness, it should be observed that in "Egil's Saga" (Rev. W. C. Green's translation, page 98), which describes the battle of Brunanburg, said to have been fought in Yorkshire or Lancashire, Alfgeir, after he was defeated, is stated to have ridden "to the south country, and of his travel 'tis to be said that he rode night and day till he and his came westward to Jarlsness. Then the earl got a ship to take him southward over the sea, and he came to France, where half of his kin were. He never after returned to England."

Petersen, a commentator, says Jarlsness must have been in Wales, and doubtless he based his opinion on the fact that in the "Orkneyinga Saga," Swein Asleifarsson, about 1140, is said to have landed at Jarlsness, as I have related. However, it is evident that there was a place called Jarlsness in the Bristol Channel. Brunanburg was fought in 937, 200 years before Sweyn's raid, and Alfgeir then found friends, a port and ships, at Jarlsness, in his flight south and by west from Brunanburg, so that the place must have remained pretty much a Norse settlement, and it is reasonable to suppose that it was one long before 937. Very likely Sweyn, as a Viking, made warfare on his own countrymen, especially as he had a grudge against

that particular freeman (a Norseman) of South Wales.

I suggest that this Jarlsness is the point now known as the Nash, a few miles to the south-east of Swansea Bay. Some land in that neighbourhood was known for many years as Tir-y-jarl, the earl's land.

Law's "Little England beyond Wales" gives other references to the "visits" of the Northmen.

795. Danes entered Glamorgan; killed and burnt much.

Conquered by Kymri; driven into the sea and to Ireland.

810. Saxons burnt St. David's.

833. Danes for three years ravaged the land, assisted by Cornishmen, and it is surmised that about this date they may have colonised Pembroke.

860. Danes entered Gower, and were expelled with great slaughter.

866. Hinguar—Halfdan—Hubba.

877. Half (Exeter), Hringun (Northumberland), and Hubba (Dyfed), with 23 warships, ravaged the coasts. They had the Dannebrog woven by the Three Sisters, and after wintering at Milford, Hubba crossed the Channel to Bideford. Alfred's Saxons attacked him, and, according to Asser, Hubba and 1,200 of his men were slain. As they wintered at Milford, they doubtless did so among friends, who would still remain (Lundy legend).

874. Harold Fairhair of Norway broke the aristocracy of the North, and the Northmen poured in a flood over England, Scotland, Ireland, Man, and likely enough to Wales. Danes plundered on the coast, and are said to have driven all the Saxonised Britons into Gower.

918. Ottor and Rhoald came from France (? Normandy) to the Severn mouth with a great fleet, and spoiled where they pleased, taking bishops prisoners and gained large ransoms for them from King Edward. The men of Gloucester and

Hereford are said to have defeated them, killing Rhoald and a brother of Ottor, who (O.) having gone into camp was besieged and had to capitulate. He gave hostages to King Edward, who had no faith in him, and peace was soon broken. He was beaten off Porlock and Watchet, took refuge in the Flatholms, and after being nearly starved out came to Dyfed, and eventually went to Ireland.

921. Dyfed had the reputation of being a nest of pirates. King Edward sent an expedition to Milford Haven, and built a fort at Cleddy's mouth, but the Saxon tongue does not seem to have taken any hold on the men of Pembroke.
966. Einion partly freed Gower of the Gaels, though aided by the Danes.
967. Army from Bristol (King Edward's) came to Gower and made men swear allegiance.
976. Einion ruled again in Gower, but was ignominiously expelled.
981. Danes invaded Dyfed; destroyed St. David's. Defeated by Einion. Einion killed in a foray.
984. King Aeddan and the men of Glamorgan invaded Pembroke, with them numbers of Danes, who, as usual, are said to have burnt, etc.
995. Another attack on St. David's. Bishop Morgenen killed and said to have been eaten, but this latter account is incredible.
1021. Olaf Haraldsson, King of Norway, ravaged Dyfed and spoiled the cross of St. Dewi, saint.

In these extracts it will be observed there is frequent reference to Gower itself. Canon Taylor's "Words and Places" notes many of the places in the Bristol Channel with Norse nomenclature, and I beg to refer you to that work for general information. My task is to deal more particularly with Gower. Speaking roughly, Gower is a peninsula about eighteen miles long by five miles broad, stretching to the westward of Swansea. Compare it with

Wirral in Cheshire and with Angle in Pembrokeshire and you will see that they have a great family likeness, and are just the description of land that the Northmen liked to occupy. Surrounded on three sides by water, they always had their ships to fall back on, within easy access. Gower is indented with bays, as a reference to the map will show you, and very beautiful bays they are too. The rest of the coast-line consists of bold limestone cliffs, and many of these are crowned by earthworks and encampments that still go by the name of Danish camps. The interior of the country is hilly, the middle being a long ridge of sandstone called Cefn Bryn, and known as the backbone of Gower. At one time the hills must have been thickly wooded. The coast-line has suffered much from erosion, and also from tidal waves and sand-storms in places. Early records show it to have been peopled by Irish Gaels. Skene, in his "Celtic Scotland," states that the Irish occupied all what we now call Wales to the westward of a line drawn from Conway in the north to Swansea in the south.

After these Irish were expelled (to a certain extent) by Ceredig ap Cunedda, a chieftain who, with his brothers, was instrumental in driving the Irish from North Wales in the middle of the fifth century, he received as a reward for his services that part of Wales called Tyno Coch, or the Red Valley, to which he gave the name of Caredigion, or Caredig's country (S. R. Meyrick, "History of the County of Cardiganshire," 1810, also the "Mabinogion"). This would appear to be the first notice of the Cymri coming south in Wales. But they do not appear to have come right up to the southern sea-coast all at once, so that it may be presumed that the people on the sea-coast were able, by means of outside help, to hold their own. Still, there must have been a gradual admixture of the two races, as witness the number of Welsh words and place-names still in use in Gower.

From these Irish the Northmen must have learnt about South Wales, and, I am inclined to think, at a much

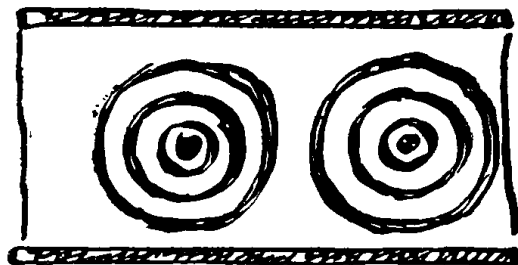
earlier date than we have any definite historical data. They may have come first as traders, but their first recorded appearance would be when some plundering band descended on the coast with fire and sword, regardless of traders and colonists who may have formed peaceable ties with the Gael and Cymri in Pembroke and Gower. We hardly knew Matabele Land until an armed force entered and annexed it, but Lobengula recognised British traders and settlers before that.

That the Cymry in Gower recognised the Northmen the following extract from Clark's "*Cartæ et Munimenta*," vol. iii., fo. 30, being a confirmation by Gruffydd, King of Britain, of all the territories of the Church of Llandaff to Bishop Herwald (*Vitellius*, chap. x., fo. 36, A.D. 1032-1061), will, I think, show:—" . . . tum contra barbaros Anglos ex una parte. . . . tum contra Hibernienses occidentales et semper fugaces . . . tum contra indigenas solito more bellicosa[o]s, tum contra Danaos marinos, tum contra insularum Orcadum habitatores et semper versis dorsis in fugam et firmato fœdere ad libitum suum pacificatos . . ." In plain English, Gruffydd agrees to defend Herwald "Against the English foreigners on the one hand; against the Irish of the west, always fleeing [from us]; against the Welsh, warlike in their usual manner; against the Danes of the sea; and against the dwellers in the Orkney Islands, who have always turned their backs in flight, and after making a peace have kept it just so much or so little as they pleased. . . ."

INFLUENCE OF IRISH ART ON SCANDINAVIAN WEAPONS, TRAPPINGS, ETC.

There was also a reciprocatory influence of Ireland on Scandinavia. Worsaae alludes to Ring Ornaments, found on trumpets, shields, and the like, both in Scandinavia and in Ireland, and Montelius, "*Civilisation of Sweden in Heathen Times*," p. 136, remarks:—"The ornamentation of many objects of the Iron Age found in the North

points to the influence of Irish art. It is, therefore, more than probable that the ancient Swedes, even before the

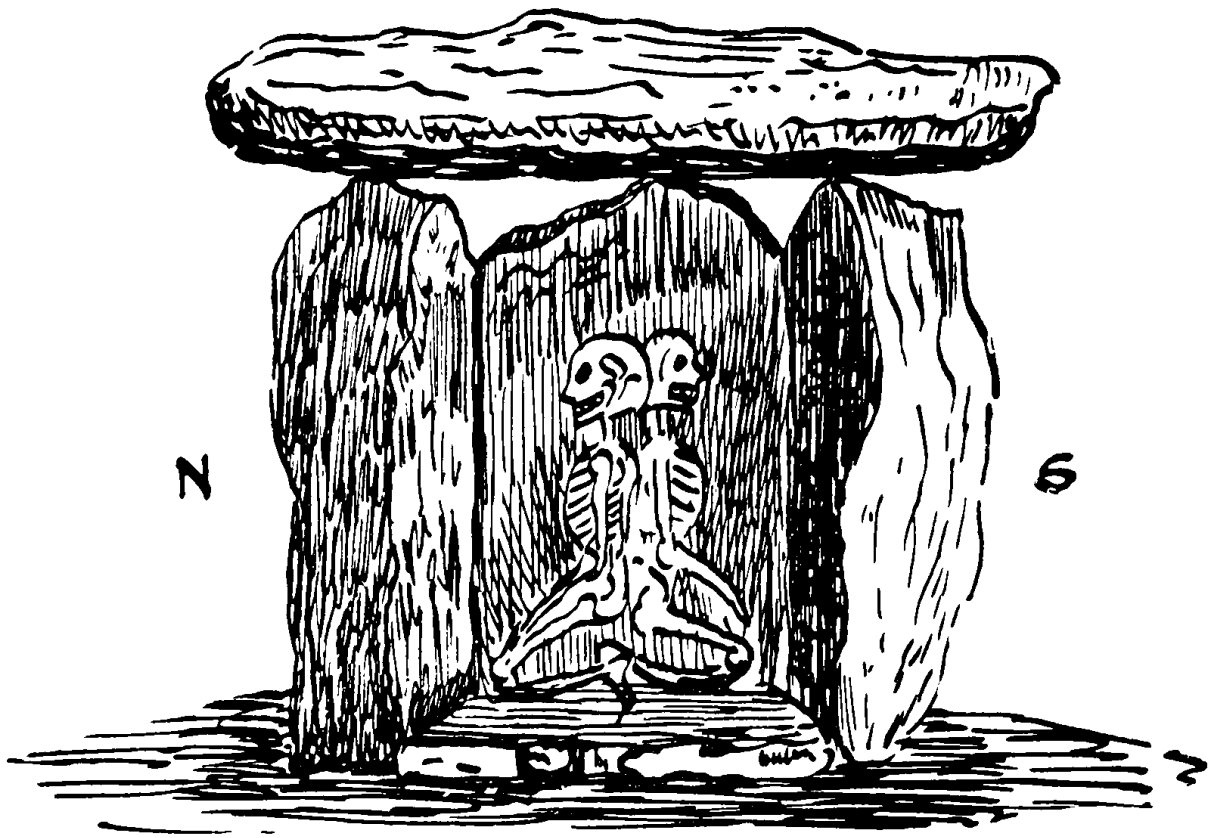


beginning of the Viking period proper, had direct communication, whether peaceful or warlike, with the British Isles." The poems of Ossian seem also to point to early relations between Scotland and the western side of the Scandinavian peninsula. Du Chaillu, in the "Viking Age," also offers similar testimony. In Mallet's "Northern Antiquities," vol. ii., pp. 196-7, is pointed out the resemblance between the laws of versification adopted by British bards and Icelandic skalds, both being of the alliterative kind. While these may also be due to accidental resemblances, or to the spreading of a common wave of culture over different nationalities, their occurrence is worth notice.

Other objects about which divided claims are made are those called Hoar Stones or Rocks. Such stones have been in Denmark and Norway not only memorials of some departed hero, but objects of worship, and the same probably in England. One such monolith, known as Hoar Stone, stands upon a long barrow at Duntsbourne Abbots, Gloucestershire. Cleasby and Vigfusson's Dictionary gives as explanation, *hörgr*—a heathen place of worship, an altar of stone erected on high places, or a sacrificial cairn built in the open air.

Whether *hörgr* or *haug*, or other word, is present in the title of Sweyn's House on Rhosilly Down, Gower, is undecided with present lights, especially in the case of grave arrangements, where a surprisingly common likeness exists between Scandinavian and much that is reputed British here. Thus the cromlech, or dolmen, in Gower, called

Sweyn's House, answers exactly to that represented in Worsaae's "*Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*," p. 90, of which below is a woodcut :—



and also to that given by Montelius in his "*Ancient Swedish Civilisation*," p. 30, and situated at Haga, Island of Ornst :—

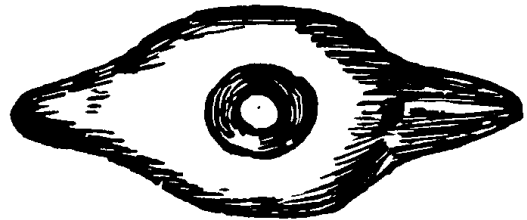
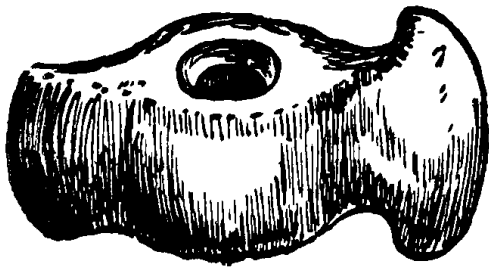


In view of the wide distribution of similar types of bronze weapons, due possibly to early commerce and also the ease of their fabrication, little evidence is afforded from the bronze sword found some time since in Glamorganshire, and now in the Royal Institution, Swansea, of which the following is a woodcut :—

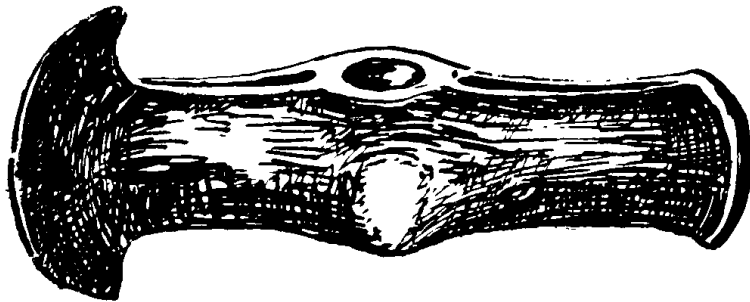


Length, $23\frac{3}{4}$ -in. ; widest part of beads, $1\frac{3}{4}$ -in. ; weight, 23 oz.

But a stone axe (of felspathic ash) found at Llanmadoc Fort, and now in the Royal Institution, is decidedly similar to the Scandinavian type (see Sir John Evans' work on "Ancient Stone Implements"), as the following comparison will show :—



LLANMADOC AXE (6 inches long). Weight, 23 oz.



NORWEGIAN STONE AXE (Du Chaillu's "Viking Age," p. 82).

In passing on to the evidence afforded by place-names sounder ground is met with, especially where I have been able to support my contentions by the most ancient documentary evidence.

A name which at first blush would be considered as Danish, Pitton, from Danish *pyt*, a well, is claimed in

Skene's "Celtic Scotland" as a Pictish word. "Pit," once "pette," it is said, is not to be found in Wales. It appears to signify a portion of land, and is used synonymously with "both," a dwelling, and "baile," a town. "Pette" is the form of this word in the "Book of Deer," and it appears to mean a portion of land, as it is conjoined with proper names. With the article it forms "Pitten" or "Petten," as in Petten-Taggart, termed in a charter of the Church of Migvie ("St. Andrew's Chartulary," Preface, p. 21) "terra ecclesiæ." It is Pettant-Sagairt, the priest's land. "Pit" and "bal" are frequently used indiscriminately. Whether or no Pitton in Gower may be derived from the same root I leave for the judgment of others.

Kilvrough is generally set down as Cymric, meaning the lair of the badger, or as some have it, of the sow. This word in old documents is spelt Kilvrock, and the meaning may be the Gaelic "keeil," a chapel, and "voreg," the Virgin, akin to the Cymric word meaning "a maid"; therefore, St. Mary's chapel. Pennard Church near by was dedicated to St. Mary.

Lonnon, set down as the church of Non, is capable of a different interpretation. There is a Kirk Lonan in the Isle of Man. Mr. Knox, writing in the *Antiquary*, No. 97, says, "It is thought to be the name of St. Adamnan, Abbot of Columba, who died A.D. 704, and who was the biographer of the blessed Columba. It is a remnant of the word 'keeil' and the name 'Onan'—Killonan, as the church is still called. Onan is, by comparison of dedication names in Scotland, a well ascertained corruption of Adamnan."

Kilvey and Killay may also have a Gaelic derivation. Having referred to the "Book of Deer," I would just remark that there is a sculptured stone at a village called Llanrhidian, Gower, which is said to have similar figures to what are depicted in that book (Mr. Romilly Allen, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, April, 1888, p. 174). These several points I mention in order to show the Irish

occupation, which I think was followed by that of the Northmen from Ireland.

“Lake” is a common word in Gower for a stream, and there can be no doubt but what this is the Norse “laekr,” which carried the same meaning. One of these streams is known as Diles Lake, in old documents Dilly Lake, and I take this to be a corruption of Deildar-laekr, the boundary stream. Iceland gives us this word still, and I think that in it we have good evidence of Norse colonisation, especially if we couple with it the fact that not far from it is Delvid (Deilvidr, the boundary wood). The said stream has been the boundary “time out of mind” between two parishes.

“Well” and “wall” appear as field and place-names in Carsewell, White Walls, etc. Writing in *Notes and Queries* (8th S. IX., May 2nd, 1896, p. 345), S. O. Addy says:—“In by far the greater number of cases the suffix ‘well’ in place-names is the old Norse ‘völlr,’ a field. In a plan dated 1758, lately seen, I found ‘Semary (alias St. Mary) Walls, church lands.’ This land belongs to the Sheffield ‘Church burgesses,’ and it seems obvious that ‘walls’ here means ‘fields.’”

BACKINGSTON.—*Bakki*=bank; *ing, eng*=meadow. *Bakka-engs-tún*—bank, field, enclosure. Compare, N. Lanc.—Backbarrow; Iceland—Bakkaholt, Bakki.

BARLAND.—Possibly from being a bare moorland spot, but there is an alternative *barr* (= North English, bear) =four-rowed *barley*. Compare, N. Lancs.—Bigland, evidently from *bygg*=six-rowed barley, and *Barr-ey* (Barrow-in-Furness) may be barley-island. Many names are from the kind of corn, etc., grown there, before the days of rotation of crops, as Haverthwaite, etc.

BERGER’S ISLAND.—Bergery is a name common in the neighbourhood of abbeys, meaning the sheep-cote of the monks, and therefore mediæval, but this is in the sea, and therefore, I think, may be set down as a

personal name. Compare "Landnamabok"—Bergrakki, Bergr-vosteinós, Bergr-vigfuss.

BERRY—BURRY—BURRYHOLMS.—Applied to an island, a river, a place—*Borgar-ey*, *Borgar-á*. *Borg*, fort, camp, town (the *g* pronounced less hard than our *g*, and more like *y*, turns *Borg* into *Bury*—*Borgar-holmr*.) As applied to the River Llwchwr, this appellation testifies to the enduring strength of the Norse name. The mouth of the Llwchwr, where Northmen must have settled. Burryport on mainland, Caermarthen-shire. Island (*holm*) bears remains of defences, ditch and dike, etc., even yet. Compare, Iceland—*Borgardalr*, *Borgarholt*, *Borg*, etc.

BESSIE'S MEADOW, mentioned in old surveys, is, I think, a memento of a personal name. Compare, Icelandic—*Bersi* (personal name); *Bessi Hallason*.

BOVEHILL.—*Bú-fé*=Live stock, milch kine; *bófi* (Dict.)=rogue; (?) rogues' hill, as a resort of evil repute. Boverton near Cowbridge (site of Roman Bovium).

BRACELET—BRAYSLADE—BREIDSLADE.—A corruption of *breiðr*=broad, and *slétta*=level field—*Breið-slétta*=broad-field. *Breyta*=to alter, change, form a new channel. This last by configuration of land quite possible, if one suppose the first island at the Mumbles to have been joined to the mainland at one time, then sea broke through joint and made a new channel. "Bracelet" is common in Furness, meaning, I think, a long rounded ridge, especially with a road along it. This suggests *sleði* (sledge) and *slód* (a track), but *slétta* is equally good, for the broad back of a "bracelet" is green, and *slétta* would easily become "slade," whereas *sleði* is "sled" and *slód* is "sleuth," "slot."

BROUGHTON.—(?) *Borgar-tun*. Compare Broughton-in-Furness and elsewhere, on the sites of early forts. In days gone by there was an extensive oak wood here, and a road through it, with a ford, to the opposite side of the River Burry, which river got its name, perhaps, from the *borg*—*Borgar-á* (or perhaps *Borg-á*).

Now the oak wood has all been swept away by encroachments of the sea, which both here and at other parts on the coast, notably at Kenfig in Swansea Bay, has much altered the line of the sea-shore. Close by is

BULWARK—BULLROCKS.—The name of a large fort on Llanmadoc hill, apparently Danish, not Norse. *Ból-virki* (see Dict., *ból*), a rampart, a defence, bulwarks of a ship. *Ból-virki* is not in the dictionary, but must be a possible combination, like *ból-staðr*, meaning “enclosure-wall,” properly in the sense of a defence for cattle, like a kraal, to which use Viking farmer-settlers might put an old ruined fort.

CALVES' WOOD.—*Kalfr*, (?) personal name. As these settlers were farmers this might, however, easily be the wood where they kept calves. Compare, Icelandic—*kalfr*-, *Kalfa*, *Kalfborgara*; Westmoreland—*Calgarth*, anciently *Calf-garth*.

CAREY'S WOOD.—*Kari*, a common personal name amongst Norsemen. “*Njal's Saga*,” p. 157, notes:—“*Kari Solmundsson* sailed from Dublin south to Wales, and lay a long time in a creek in hiding.”

CASWELL—CARSWELL.—*Kjar's*; *völlr* = field. Scotch—*carse*, *keress*=low and fertile land. Generally denotes a valley watered by a stream, as distinguished from higher ground; but (?) *Carse of Gowrie*, *Carsewall*. Compare, Cumberland and Yorkshire—“*carrs*,” wooded fields near a stream; Icelandic—*kjarr*, fields or woods (? a marsh); Swedish—*kärr*, a heath.

CHERITON.—(?) *Kari-tun*. May be of later date, but compare *Cheriton* in Pembrokeshire and in Devonshire.

CROFT'S LADY.—(?) *Kropp's*. Compare *lathe* = a barn. Norse—*hlada*.

CUNNIGER.—This may be Norse *konning gar(th)*, a rabbit warren, which it is. I do not think it can be set down as *Conning garth*=the king's yard, as there could not have been any Norse king there to warrant

such an appellation. Besides, the name is common in many parts of England and Ireland. Joyce gives several instances in Ireland. Jamieson's Dictionary, "cunningar." Brand's "Orkn.," p. 37—"The whole island is but as one rich cunningar or cony warren."

DEEP—DEEPSLADE.—The same as the Norse *djup*, and "slade" = *slettr*. Iceland gives Djupa, Djupidalr; Westmoreland—Deepdale; Normandy—Dieppedal.

ESPERLONE—ESPERLOND—HISPLAND.—This is evidently *öspir* and land or *lundr*; *aspen* land or grove. Compare, Esps near Ulverston; Espelandsps, Hardanger fiord, Norway; Espihóll, Iceland. In *Chambers' Journal* for February 13th, 1897, there is a very good article on the aspen and its uses; how, like the Scotch fir, the aspen belongs to one of the oldest families in the forest-world, and that in mediæval times the wood was much prized for various purposes, especially arrow-making.

GANDER STREET.—(?) *Gandr* = a fiend; close by is Giant's Grave. Note that this is the way to the Worm's Head from Oxwich. *Worm, Ve-Orm, Formund gandr*. Can there be any reference to Norse mythology in this? Compare, Lincolnshire—Gander Hill; Pembrokeshire—Gander's Nest (Ness); Denmark—Ganderup.

GATE (Westgate, Widegate, Widyiatt, Southgate).—*Gata* = a thoroughfare, a street or road (? sheep-way). Compare, Icelandic—*Gata*; Westmoreland—Clappersgate and Gaitscale on the Roman road, etc.

GROOSE.—A sandy, stony piece of land (? *grjot*, meaning just such a spot). Compare, Iceland—*Grjotá*, *Grjotgarðshaugr*, etc.; N. Lanc.—Greetygate (Stonyroad); Cumberland—Greata or Greta (stony river).

HAEL.—(?) *Halr* = a creek or strip of land; *hjalli* = a ledge of rock (as is the ground), a tongue of land stretching into the sea. Compare, Iceland—*Haell*; Cumberland—Hall (Hallthwaite, from *hallr*, big (sacred) stone?).

HALLAR.—A slope, used *temp.* Queen Elizabeth. This is the exact counterpart of Norse *hallr*. Compare, Hoar Rocks—Boundary Rocks (? *hár*=high, like (Furness) Hawcoat=*há-kot* ; or, *hábl*=slippery ; or, *hálmr*, *mar-hálmr*=sea-weed). Iceland, personal name, Hroarr (?).

HAROLD'S GATE.—Appears as a town locality in an old document.

KETTLES—KITTLE HILL—KITTLE—KYTEHULL.—Personal name. S. O. Addy writes in *Notes and Queries*, May 2nd, 1896, p. 345 :—"I see no reason why Kettlewell should not mean 'Kettle Fields,' because, according to ancient custom, the kindling of a fire on land, and the boiling of a kettle (pot) thereon, was proof of possession. See Grimm's 'Rechtsalterthümer,' 1854, p. 107."

KNAP—KNAB—KNAVE—NAB.—*Knappr* = a knob. Compare, Icelandic—Knappadalr, Knappsstadir ; Westmoreland—Knab-scar, etc.

KNELSTON.—Looks like Connals-tun, a trace of an Irish Viking.

LADY HOUSTY—is a curious compound. Can the word "Housty" be a corruption of *Haust* = harvest ? Compare, Cumberland—Lady Hall=*hlada*, *hóll* or *hall*.

LONGSTONE.—*Lagadranta*. (?) *Laga-drangar* = law (or boundary) rocks. Perhaps a sign of Norse annexation of the land. Compare—Halliday and Longstone, "Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin," p. 150.

MARGALS.—(?) On *Mjöll*, and *möll*=pebble beds. Compare, Lincoln—Meels (sand-hills) ; Lancs. and Cumberland—Meols and Meals (sand-hills). Murton, or *myrr*=mere or marsh, as in (Furness) Marton, formerly Mer-ton ; *tun* = farm. [(?) Moorghil—*cf.* Margate, Walmer, Weston-super-mare, where *mer* = moor, *not* sea.—ED.]

MERRY SUN.—A locality. No public-house dedicated to jocund Sol, simply a locality. Bearing in mind the inversions that often do take place in course of time

- with many place-names, I believe this is really *Sunmaeri*—the south boundary or country. *Maerri-gen-Maerar* = a land, border-land (? *maeri-sund* = boundary lane or strip of land). Compare, Cumberland—Maryhall, etc.; Norway—Nordmaeri, Sunmaeri.
- MEWSLADE.**—*Mjór* = narrow, and *slétta*. Compare Breiðslétta and Mjo-sund, Mjorifjörðr in Iceland.
- MIDDLETON.**—Compare, Iceland — Meðalheimr, and Middletons in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, etc.
- NOTTLE-TOR.**—Close to Bovehill, is *naut* = cattle; or Knot-hill-tor, *i.e.*, *Knút-hóll* (?)
- OXWICH.**—(?) *öxar* = axe, and *vik* = wick, named, perhaps, from its shape. Compare, Iceland—Öxar-á and Öxar-heidr.
- PAVILAND.**—A puzzling word, but one that may have an easy explanation. This land was originally Church land and belonged to Neath Abbey up to the time of King Hal, of noble memory. Now the Norse for Pope = *Pafi*; Paviland might therefore mean Popesland. Compare, Cumberland—Pavey-ark and others. Ferguson derives it from *paugi* = devil, so that there is a good difference between his derivation and mine! Pavey-ark may mean simply “priest’s chapel.” A hermit may once have lived there, or some fancied resemblance to a chapel may have been found in the rocks. A big stone on Windermere used to be called by the fishers “Staniforth’s Bible,” the Rev. T. Staniforth being the owner of the land.
- PHILLISTON.**—(?) *Fylkis-tun* = country or shire; (?) *Fylkis-thing* = folks’ council meeting-place. Compare, Cumberland—Flixborough; North Lancs.—Flookboro’.
- REDDING HILL.**—The riding, a territorial division. [*Redding* meant a clearing, from *ridd*, to clear out. Ackroyd, Boothroyd, oak and booth clearing. Whenever disafforesting was officially sanctioned, the “riddings” became tangible entities specifically designated.—ED.] Compare, Lincoln—Ridings.

SIGMUND'S HILL.—*Sigmundr*, also a mound in Port Eynon bay. Rises abruptly at the end of a sand-spit extending a short distance into the bay near the salthouse. Perhaps some warrior's "*haugr*." Not been opened as yet. Called locally "Sedger's Bank."

SLADE.—This is a frequent place-name in Gower, either singly or as a terminative. Undoubtedly the Norse *slétta*=a plain, a flat piece of land, a slade—which is just what the majority of the slades are. Rother-slade—(?) *röd*=bank, ridge, sea-bank; *rauða-slétta*, i.e., red-field; [see also Worsaae, explanation of Rotherhithe in Thames.] Deepslade—*djup*=deep, compare *Djupidalr*; Hareslade—*héri*=a hare—*héra-slétta*; Butterslade, etc. Compare, Iceland—Melrakka-slétta and others ("Sturlunga Saga"); Slétta, Slettaness ("Landnamabok"); Westmoreland—Sleddale = *Slétti-dalr*.

STRAND.—*Strænd* is the old river bank.

STAFAL HAGAR.—Has a good Icelandic look, and hardly wants description. Cf., Stafholtstungr ("Landnamabok").

SWANSEA.—In 1188 written Sweyns ei; in 1234, Sweines heie; in 1305, Charter by Du Breos, Sweyn (abrd.), Sweynes (abrd.). Seems to be a compound of Sweynes and *ea* (island), although it has been traced back to all manner of Welsh derivations. All the old spellings uniformly reproduce "Sweyn."

SWEYN'S HOUSE.—A cromlech, or rather two, on Rhosilly Down, facing north. Called locally "The Swine's House," but evidently the last resting-place of someone called Sweyn—or might it have been his *högr*?

TANKEYLAKE MOOR.—*Tungu*=tongue; *lækr*=stream; *mór*=moor. Compare, Iceland—Tungu-fell, (Tungu-á?) Tunga, the "tongue" of land between Svartá and Jokulsá; Westmoreland—Tongue in Troutbeck.

TULK POINT.—Close to where was once a large oak forest, may be a corruption of *Telgja*, Norse for "a wood-cutter"—"Wood-cutter-ness," afterwards "point."

WELLS.—Of actual “water” wells I name the following :—

DERVIN'S WELL.—(?) *Thorfinn*.

HARP'S WELL.—(?) *Erþr* (personal name).

LAMB'S WELL.—(?) *Lambi*.

RAVEN'S WELL.—*Hrafn* (perhaps personal name).

TILPIN'S WELL.—(?) *Dolfinn*.

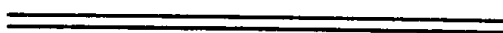
WELSH MOOR.—The occurrence of this name is to my mind an important piece of evidence. It is highly unlikely to have been bestowed by the Cymry, but as a designation employed by Norsemen or Danes to show the limit of the Welsh power in the peninsula it has a distinct application and value of its own. It is to be added that beyond this moor, to the N.E., the place-names are all Welsh (see map).

WORM'S HEAD.—Extreme point west of Gower. Said to be Saxonised form of *Orm*, but I take it to be *Ve-orm* =the holy serpent. Likely enough an object of veneration to the seafaring Norsemen. I have referred to Gander Street just now as being a way to the Worm's Head, and there are many curious mythological coincidences in Gower and Pembroke that offer a field of study for anyone with a bent that way.

There are many other place-names that I might have referred to, but I think the foregoing will show you that in Wales we have some good samples of Northern nomenclature.

Among personal names remaining in the neighbourhood are—Ace (Asa, Ass), Austin (Eysteinn), Gammall (Gamli), Hullin (Ullin), Ivor (Ivar), Sambrook (Samr Barkars), Tustin (Thorsteinn), Yorath (Joreidr), all the Norse names being taken from the “Landnamabok.”

I have to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the kind assistance of Mr. W. G. Collingwood, one of our members, in preparing this paper.



VIKING NOTES.

IN our advertisement pages appears a list of the translations of *Sagas* published by Mr. David Nutt in his Northern Library, which have done something to redeem us from the reproach that in this country we care nothing for the ancient sagas of our race. Members who do not know these publications already should lose no time in making their acquaintance. Those who know only the life of Olaf Tryggvasson in the "*Heimskringla*," will be astonished at the wealth of additional detail which the fuller *Saga* gives. It is to be hoped that Mr. Nutt will be encouraged in his public-spirited attempt to unlock these treasures for the benefit of those ignorant of the old Norse tongue.

THE Rev. Charles W. Whistler, who has been recently appointed Herath-Umbothsman for Somerset, is the author of some delightful books for boys dealing with the period of the Danish invasions of England. "*A Thane of Wessex*" tells of the early Danish attack on the Somersetshire coast in 845; "*Wulfric the Weapon Thane*," of the Danish Conquest of East Anglia; and "*King Olaf's Kinsman*," of the last Saxon struggles under Eadmund Ironside. Not only can the writer tell a stirring story, but his brilliant reconstruction of history from a knowledge of the meagre facts of the chroniclers, and the surviving testimony of legend, combined with local knowledge of the countryside where the events took place, renders his work of no small value to the student. In his pages the forgotten past comes to life before our eyes. The illustrations by Mr. W. H. Margetson are excellent, both artistically and archæologically. In anticipation of the millenary of King Alfred the Great, Mr. Whistler's next work will deal with the retreat to Athelney and the great king's crowning victory. Members of the Club, who wish to extend its influence, cannot do better than introduce all boys and girls of their acquaintance to these stories, which will help to teach the rising generation what we owe to the Vikings of old.

REFERENCE is made elsewhere to the gradual destruction which is overtaking, in various parts of the land, the priceless relics of antiquity. On this subject, speaking of the Hebrides, Miss Goodrich-Freer appositely writes:—"That such remains should be rapidly disappearing where the hard-pressed Crofters economise every inch of land and thriftily build dykes out of architectural treasures is not surprising in a country where the proprietress could only contribute a coat of whitewash for the preservation of the unique castle of Kisimul, and the ducal proprietor of Tiree, when informed by myself, being in the island at the time, that some drunken lads had wantonly overthrown one of the rare fourteenth century chapels of that island, not merely ignored the fact but did nothing for the protection of any of the similar buildings which remain. Such matters deserve the attention of those appointed to carry out the provisions of Sir John Lubbock's Act for the preservation of ancient buildings." From

my own observation in the Orkneys and Shetlands I should say there is urgent need for the same Society to step in to prevent the gradual destruction of the many memorials of antiquity yet existing there, which are now being slowly improved off the face of the earth by the exigencies of an ignorant and impoverished peasantry and the neglect of landed proprietors.

IN this connection we may also deplore the frequency with which ancient camps and earthworks are left to be overgrown with woods and plantations, which render it difficult to trace their form, and gradually destroy many of their characteristics. Cawthorn Camps, an interesting group on the old Roman Road that ran from York to Sandsend Bay, the ancient Dunum Sinus, are a notable instance. Owing to the growth of young plantations it is now hardly possible to distinguish peculiar curved salients that guarded the gates of the two so-called "Camps of the Auxiliaries," which earlier antiquaries depict clearly.

To add to the list of "Norsemen masquerading as Macs" furnished by the Rev. Mr. McClure's paper in Vol. I., Part iii., p. 271, as also of Norsemen disguised as Englishmen, I add the following, which may serve as a contribution towards a more exhaustive compilation. From far Cape Town the name "MacKeurtan" is reported, obviously the same as the Kjartan of Saga time. The Irish "Plunket" stands for Blondketel. The English surnames "Snarry," "Snare," and "Snorey," are variants of Snorri. The founder of the clan Campbell is said to have been a Dugald Cambell or blackgail Gammel. "Eohric" of the "Saxon Chronicle" and "Yorick" of Shakespeare are forms of Eric. "Doth" and "Dow" of Essex, London (Dowgate) and elsewhere, have documentary attestation that they are the lineal descendants of a Scandinavian Thord, despite our crazy antiquaries' and historians' derivation from the Celtic *dwr* (water), or the impossible French *d'eau*. The Essex surname "Siborne" is Sigbiorn. "Thorburn" is Thorbiorn. "Colburn," "Coburn," and "Coving" are Kolbiorn. "Thurtle," "Turtle," and "Tuttle" are Thorketel. "Gorm" is Guthorm. "Tooke," "Tuke," etc., are Toke. "Eohwils" of the "Saxon Chronicle" is Egils. Lastly, the "Wellesleys," "Wolseys," and the "William Wallace," the fighting hero of Scotland, are alike from the same stock which dubbed the Wallaseys in the mouths of the Thames and the Mersey, *i.e.*, the Norse *wealas*.

THE speech of Mr. MacAleese, the introducer of the Irish Surnames Bill—a Bill to allow Irishmen to assume the prefix of "O" or "Mac" to their surnames where absent—reminds us that in Ireland also Norse race marks have been destroyed. It appears that these prefixes, at some period previous to the poet Spenser's time, were arbitrarily assumed in certain cases by the heads of septs in Ireland for the strengthening of the Irish national feeling. Such a circumstance, only known, possibly, to students of Irish history, would explain the Gaelic overlay of Norse surnames which is often puzzling to Norse antiquaries, and also shows, by historical evidence, the artificial basis of many modern Gaelic claims. To make Irish-

men by tribal precept and voluntary mutations of surnames is certainly out of the usual course of scientific ethnology.

A WORK which has appeared during the year which is not without interest to Norse students is "Early Fortifications in Scotland: Motes, Camps and Forts," by Dr. Christison, M.D. The writer has examined every mote, camp, and hill fort in Scotland, of which upwards of 1,100 exist, and classified, illustrated, and described them. The three leading types are the vitrified forts, motes, and square forts. Of the first there are 53 examples, the best of which is Craig Phadraig, near Inverness. They are more numerous in Argyll, Inverness and Nairn than in other shires. Dun Ængus in Aranmore is the most notable example out of Scotland. Their origin is not necessarily prehistoric, nor of the Bronze period, and they may even have been contemporaneous with the Saxon motes. A mote is a palisaded mound very similar to a Saxon *burh*. Of these 150 exist in Scotland. Their distribution, as shown on the author's map, suggests, as the author says, "interesting questions concerning Saxon immigrations into southern and eastern Scotland, and ethnological affinities between the populations north of the border and those to the south of it." The word "mote" also—but we are not aware whether the author points it out—suggests kinship with the Norse *mith*, and *mote* as shown in such places as Mortlake (Motlæg) on the Thames, Morthoe (Mothoi) in Devonshire, etc. As to the square type of fort, Dr. Christison demolishes the popular contention that they are necessarily Roman. Of the 83 alleged Roman works, only seven have been proved to be Roman by the discovery of inscribed stones or other relics. Obviously the author's work is destructive of many pet antiquarian prepossessions.

WITH one thing is the Reformation in Scotland to be upbraided—with the banning of Yule. Before the Reformation, north as south of the border, Yule was celebrated, as the old Scottish rhyme suggests—

" Yule's come and Yule's gane,
And we hae feasted weel;
Sae Jock maun to his flail again,
And Jenny to her wheel."

New Year's Day, or Hogtide, still retains some of the old Yule customs, and their likeness to those always current in the Shetlands and Orkneys is unmistakable. The oaten cake prepared by thrifty housewives and doled out with cheese and other additions to the "puir bairns" who come to the door crying "Hogmanay," with perhaps the added rhyme—

" My feet's cauld, my shoon's thin,
Gie's my cakes and let me rin!"

are only another form of the Christmas boxes of the South. The evening revels, with the "guizards" and strolling players, resemble the masques of the old English mummers. The "hot pint" prepared on the approach of midnight, a flagon of warm ale spiced with cloves, nutmeg and cinnamon, and fortified with spirits, are the counterpart of the "loving cup" of

the ancient Saxons. The drinking by each member of the family of the wassail—"Wæshael!" "To your health!"—after the clock has struck the last hour of the dying year, the mutual congratulations, and the sallying forth to neighbours, bearing the tankard, buns, and short cake, to extend the circle of congratulations, are only further addenda of the ceremony.

THAT Iceland is not a "barren heritage" in all but legendary lore is, it would appear from unmistakable signs, being slowly recognised. One of these signs is afforded by a recent article on the water power of Iceland which appears in *Cosmos*. Its immense waterfalls, it is there stated, "would suffice to supply all the 75,000 inhabitants with as much light and heat as they could possibly want, and might also open up the country industrially. The Gulf Stream makes the climate quite bearable, in spite of the high latitude. The three cataracts, Dettifoss, Gullfoss, and Goðafoss, could develop a power greater than the largest waterfalls in Europe. Their first duty would be to heat and light the capital, Reykjavik—a town of 4,000 inhabitants, whose population has doubled during the last twenty years—making use of a roaring torrent three miles from the town. The soil of the island, which is of volcanic origin, is rich in minerals, and water power is everywhere available for electro-metallurgical processes. If Iceland, it is remarked, took a more serious position in the minds of the civilised world, its situation would be recognised as a valuable one for scientific observations, and for the erection of a meteorological observatory, which would contribute useful information as to the laws governing tempests, and might also be of practical service in telegraphing warnings of approaching storms." To this it may be added that its fisheries, naval harbours and geographical position make it of first importance to a naval Power like our own, and there are valid reasons for believing that the wishes of the population and high State policy would both be served by some friendly arrangement with Denmark to the end of including it within the orbit of the British Empire.

INCIDENTAL evidence of the truth of even the more extraordinary details of Saga stories is repeatedly furnished, and that remarkable instance in "The Wilkina Saga," where Völundr is described as simply laying his Sword of Sharpness lightly on a scoffer's head and asking the man how he feels, to which the man, rising from his seat, makes answer, "A little chilly in the inside," at the same time falling asunder in two halves to the ground, is nearly paralleled by the case of a man recently killed at Aldershot station by being caught by the buffers of a train. "He seems," states a report, "to have received his death-blow without at first being aware he had suffered any injury. When the train backed out he was seen standing up and brushing his trousers, as though to remove the mere dust of the impact. In another moment he fell dead." Kol's head speaking after struck from the body, cited in Mr. Moffat's paper, is also an incident in point. Cases of men receiving a fatal wound on the battlefield without knowing that they have been hurt, or even hit, are also said to be not uncommon. Death comes even more quickly than the shock of pain.

UNSOLICITED testimony to the value of the Norse blend in the Pan-Germanic stock of the population of the British Isles was recently afforded by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Wolseley. Speaking of Scotchmen generally he remarked, "Wherever I have gone—north, south, east, and west—I have always found Scotchmen, and I have always found them occupying prominent positions. This was more especially the case in British North America, where I served for a number of years, which I knew then, and which I think I may say I know tolerably well at this moment. I have no doubt you have all heard of the great Hudson Bay Company—a company of vast possessions, originally a great trading company in furs, which had posts from the Atlantic to the Pacific. All along its line of posts I have travelled—many hundreds of miles—and I think I am not exaggerating when I say that the chief officials were Scotchmen, and that they generally came from that part of the country where I have been recently travelling with Sir Donald Currie. They came from the Western Highlands of Scotland, and many of them from the Orkneys and Shetlands, and they were all doing well." One only comment need be made on Lord Wolseley's speech, and that without invidiousness, which is that it would be well if others, in alluding to "Scotchmen," would always discriminate, as he here does, between Scotchmen of Norse strain and others.

WHATEVER may be thought of difference of views as to the exact spot of the landfall of Leif Ericsson, the fact that others are interested to furnish a solution is cause for congratulation. Of these, Bishop Howley of St. John's, Newfoundland, is the exponent of a particular theory. In a recent lecture he has mapped out the probable course, in his view, which Leif took after leaving Greenland as through the Straits of Belle Isle to Point Roche, along the coast to Flower's Cove and Magdalen Islands, and finally bringing up at the mouth of the Miramichi River on New Brunswick. Places in this neighbourhood were formerly termed Vin Island and Bay de Vin, and here his lordship concludes was Vinland. He does not, however, seem to make it clear how these names could have survived for a century or more after the total destruction of the Norse colony.

THE tree-life of Western Greenland has recently been the object of attention by two American scientists, Messrs. Charles Schubert and David White. Far to the north of the Arctic Circle they have been exploring luxuriant tropical forests, in which palms, tree ferns, and other plants belonging to the neighbourhood of the equator have been found. These forests disappeared from the face of the earth several millions of years ago, and their fossil remains are only now recovered from the strata of rocks. Such a land would seem to localise Professor Sayce's cradle-land of the blonde races of the North, and the habitat of the mammoth, only that the temperature of the equator would seem to be unfitted for such denizens, unless there were some unknown qualifying circumstances. Possibly, as in India and Africa, there may have been temperate highlands interspersed with tropical lowland plains and valleys.

THE "well of English undefiled"—that is, undefiled by foreign admixture—is undoubtedly the dialects and the folkspeeches of the shires. On the authority of Dr. Bosworth, the Anglo-Saxon tongue in its power of word-forming is equal to the Greek. Therefore, were it not for the Gallo-Franko-Norman admixture, and the subsequent foolish classical craze, we should have developed our mother tongue wholly without the present indigestible classic scientific terminology. The gain this would have been to popular education and progress is incalculable. As it is, the garden of the higher knowledge is in England practically locked to the plain man and the key thrown away. Less exposed to the whims of fashion and change, the shire speeches have always been the conservators of our forefathers' speech, wherefore the "Dialect Dictionary" with which the name of Dr. Joseph Wright is associated is worthy the support of all fatherland lovers. For Vikings it has peculiar claims, for the Editor says:—"From the words contained in this volume it would be easy to give a sketch-map showing clearly those districts in which the Norse element is particularly strong."

IN weighing the value of folklore and the transmission of beliefs and traditions from one age and people to another, oversight should not be made of what may be called the unconscious and non-oral transmission which sculpture is able to produce. The leading religions of former times employed metal, stone, and other substances for the expression of their conceptions of the Godhead, divine persons, etc. Thus the notion of winged angels is no traditional or oral transmission from Latin mythology to Christianity, but an unconscious imitation, born of the observation of the innumerable statues of winged Victories and goddesses which were set up all over the Roman world. The number of these found in Britain alone may amount to fifty. In a similar way the popular notion that the Biblical devil has horns and a tail have no doubt been derived from the inspection of certain well known grotesque stone presentments of Pan, in which the hair and headgear and the mantle simulate the appearance of horns and a tail respectively. The *odium theologicum* was always sufficiently strong in the popular mind, in viewing the unintelligible sculptural remains in the overturned Roman cities scattered throughout Britain, to account for this and a good deal of other "popular theology," and the interpreter of folklore should not let out of his sight this possible contribution to the variation of his subject matter.

DEATH-ROLL.

MR. SAMUEL LAING was the second Viking-Jarl of the Club. He was born at Edinburgh in 1812, and died at Sydenham in the course of last year, being consequently in his 87th year. He has been described as "the most distinguished Orkneyman of the century, and his career was certainly a brilliant and varied one. He came of a talented family, his father, Samuel Laing of Papdale, being the translator of Snorri Sturlasson's "*Heimskringla*," and the author of able works on the social and political state of several European countries, which ranked as models of their kind and were frequently quoted as authorities by John Stuart Mill and other writers. His uncle, Malcolm Laing, also achieved literary fame by his "*History of Scotland from the Union of the Crowns to the Union of the Kingdoms*." He entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, and took his degree in 1832, eminently distinguished as Second Wrangler and second Smith's prizeman. St. John's elected him a Fellow in 1834, but Mr. Laing subsequently entered at Lincoln's Inn, where he was called to the Bar in 1840. In the following year he became private secretary to Mr. Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton), then President of the Board of Trade; and upon the foundation of the Railway Department of the Board he was appointed secretary, and thenceforth distinguished himself as a railway legislator under the successive presidencies of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Dalhousie. In 1834 he published "*A Report on British and Foreign Railways*," and gave much valuable evidence before a committee of the House of Commons on railways. In 1845 he was nominated a member of the Railway Commission presided over by Lord Dalhousie, and drew up the chief reports on the railway schemes of that period. In the report of the Commission presented to Parliament in 1846, which Mr. Laing prepared, his own ideas prevailed as largely as his words.

In 1847 Mr. Laing resigned his post at the Board of Trade, and established himself at the Parliamentary bar, where he soon gained a large practice. In 1848 he was offered and accepted the post of chairman and managing director of the Brighton Railway, and piloted it through a sea of difficulties into safe water. In 1852 Mr. Laing became chairman of the Crystal Palace Co., from which he retired in 1855, as well as from the Brighton Co., but resumed his connection with the latter in 1867, and again restored prosperity to the undertaking. He continued to be chairman of the Company until his death. The only other companies of importance with which he was connected were the Railway Share Trust (Limited) and the Railway Debenture Trust (Limited), of both of which he was chairman.

Politics had for several years been occupying more or less of Mr. Laing's attention, and in July, 1852, he was elected in the Liberal interest for the Northern Burghs, which he continued to represent till 1857. During the Crimean War he was offered, but declined, the Under-Secretaryship for War. He was re-elected to Parliament in 1859. He accepted under Lord Palmerston the post of Financial Secretary to the Treasury, which

he held till October, 1860, when he proceeded to India as Finance Minister. Returned thence after a stay of a little over two years, he was once more elected in July, 1865, to the Northern Burghs, but failed to secure a seat in the election of 1868, but in 1873 was returned for Orkney and Shetland. He was returned again without opposition in 1874, and re-elected in 1880. At the election of 1885 he retired from public life. Mr. Laing was a Home Ruler, and published a pamphlet on "Rational Radicalism" in 1883.

Throughout his life he took interest in scientific subjects, and in 1863, in collaboration with the late Professor Huxley, he published a work on "Prehistoric Remains in Caithness." In 1885, the year of his retirement, he published "Modern Science and Modern Thought," of which over twenty thousand copies were sold. It was followed in 1870 by "Problems of the Future," and in 1892 by "Human Origins." Of his other writings may be mentioned "A Modern Zoroastrian" (another volume of essays) and "A Sporting Quixote" (a novel).

He was offered the post of Lord Lieutenant of Orkney and Shetland by Mr. Gladstone, but declined it owing to his advanced age. The offer was then made to his son, Mr. Malcolm A. Laing, who accepted it. Mr. Laing married in 1841 a daughter of Captain Cowan, R.A. His eldest surviving son is Mr. Malcolm A. Laing, formerly a captain in the 14th Hussars, and Lord Lieutenant of Orkney and Shetland; and a daughter, Mrs. Edward Kennard, is well known as a writer of sporting novels. He took a great interest in the affairs of the Club, but his advancing years prevented an active participation.
