

Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. I. PART I.

AT a Committee Meeting of the ORKNEY AND SHETLAND (CHARITABLE) SOCIETY OF LONDON, held on April 5th, 1892, upon the representations of Messrs. G. A. G. Robertson and J. R. L. Corrigall, it was considered advisable to form a Social and Literary Branch of the Society. The Committee requested Mr. Corrigall to act as Secretary *pro tem.*, and to invite those interested to attend the Annual Meeting of the Society. At this Meeting, held on May 5th, 1892, the Social and Literary Branch was formed, with a constitution and finances quite independent of the Society. Mr. Alfred W. Johnston was elected its first Honorary Secretary, and on his proposal, the alternative title "VIKING CLUB" was adopted, and the membership extended to all interested in Orkney and Shetland. Ultimately, in November 1893, the Club severed its nominal connection with the old Society, changing its name to "VIKING CLUB, OR, ORKNEY, SHETLAND, AND NORTHERN SOCIETY", and adopted a new constitution, further extending its membership to all interested in Northern studies.

LIST OF GIFTS TO LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

GIVEN BY

G. M. ATKINSON, Esq. (*Jarla-Man*).

Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 17th Annual Report, June 1894.

Mrs. BALFOUR.

"Ancient Orkney Melodies", collected by the late Colonel David Balfour, of Balfour and Trenaby.

POULTNEY BIGELOW, Esq. (*Jarla-Man*).

Two Lapp spoons; one Lapp knife, in sheath; three Norwegian boat models—one on the lines of the Viking ship discovered at Gökstad, in Norway, in 1880.

HYDE CLARKE, Esq. (*Jarla-Man*).

"Edda Songs and Sagas of Iceland." By George Browning. 1876.

Icelandic Millenary Festival, 1874, "Hymn of Welcome". By Matthias Jochumsson. English version by George Browning.

"The Scottish Review," October 1893. Standing Stones and Maeshowe of Stenness. By Magnus Spence.

J. W. CURSITER, Esq., F.S.A.Scot. (*Jarla-Man*).

List of Books and Pamphlets relating to Orkney and Shetland, with notes on those by Local Authors. Compiled by the donor. Kirkwall, 1894.

Miss CORNELIA HORSFORD.

"Discovery of America by Northmen". Address at the unveiling of the Statue of Leif Erikson. By E. N. Horsford. Boston, 1888.

"The Discovery of the Ancient City of Norumbega." By E. N. Horsford. Cambridge, 1889.

Remarks by E. N. Horsford at the Second Anniversary of the Watertown Historical Society, November 1890.

"The Problem of the Northmen." A letter to Judge Daly, the President of the American Geographical Society, on the opinion of Justin Winsor. 2nd Ed. Boston and New York, 1890.

"Review of the Problem of the Northmen and the Site of Norumbega." By Prof. Olson, and a Reply by E. N. Horsford. 1891.

Miss CORNELIA HORSFORD.

“Sketch of the Norse Discovery of America at the Festival of the Scandinavian Societies, May 1891, in Boston.” By E. N. Horsford.

“The Defences of Norumbega, and a Review of the Reconnaissances of Col. T. W. Higginson.” A Letter to Judge Daly. By E. N. Horsford. Boston and New York, 1891.

“The Landfall of Leif Erikson, A.D. 1000, and the Site of his Houses in Vineland.” By E. N. Horsford. Boston, 1892.

“Leif’s House in Vineland.” By E. N. Horsford. “Graves of the Northmen.” By Cornelia Horsford. Boston, 1893.

ALFRED W. JOHNSTON, Esq. (*Law-Man*).

“Birds of Omen in Shetland.” Inaugural Address to the Viking Club, London, October 13th, 1892. By Jessie M. E. Saxby. With Notes on the Folk-lore of the Raven and the Owl. By W. A. Clouston. Privately printed, 1893.

LADY LOGIN.

“Sir John Login and Duleep Singh.” By Lady Login. London, 1890.

ALBANY F. MAJOR, Esq. (*Umboths-Man* and *Jarla-Skald*).

“Sagas and Songs of the Norsemen.” By Albany F. Major. London, 1894.

LADY PAGET.

“Facsimile Letter by Dr. Ingvald Undset to Lady Paget regarding the Framvaren Rock, South Norway.” 1889.

“Framvaren Rock, South Norway.” Extract from “The Old Northern Runic Monuments.” By Prof. Dr. George Stephens. Vol. iii. 1884.

“Descriptive Notes and Plates of Grave Crosses in Unst, Shetland.” By Lady Paget. 1894.

“Notes on Northern Words.” By Lady Paget. Cambridge, 1891.

“The Northmen in Wales.” By Lady Paget. Cambridge, 1891.

“Extracts from the Kalevala.” Selected by Lady Paget. Cambridge, 1892.

“Wise Texts from the Ancients.” Selected by Lady Paget. Cambridge, 1893.

“King Bele of the Sogn District, Norway, and Jarl Angantyr of the Orkney Islands.” By Lady Paget. Cambridge, 1894.

DAVID ROSS, Esq., LL.D.

“Place-Names and Dialect of Shetland.” By the donor. Glasgow, 1893-4.

Prof. Dr. GEORGE STEPHENS, F.S.A. (*Jarla-Man*).

Copenhagen University Festival Cantata. Music by Gade, words by Ploug. Translated by Prof. Dr. George Stephens. 1888.

Two Phototypes of MS. and Runic Inscribed Monolith in Gotland.

“Old English Writings in Scandinavia.” By Prof. Dr. George Stephens. Copenhagen, 1860.

“Verses for the People.” By an Englishman. London, 1871.

“Two Leaves of King Waldere’s Lay.” By Prof. Dr. George Stephens. 1860.

“Revenge, or Woman’s Love”, a Melodrama in five acts. By Prof. Dr. George Stephens. 1857.

Seventeen Songs and Chants to Prof. George Stephen’s Melodrama “Revenge, or Woman’s Love.” Nearly all composed by Prof. Dr. George Stephens.

ELLIOT STOCK, Esq. (*Jarla-Man*).

“The Story of Egil Skallagrimsson.” Translated by Rev. W. C. Green. London, 1893.

Mrs. A. STUART (*Edinburgh*).

Publications of the “Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur.”

1. “Peder Smed. Et Dansk Rim Fra Reformatjonstiden” (c. 1530). Köbenhavn, 1880.

2. “Agrip af Noregs Konunga Sögum.” Köbenhavn, 1880.

3. “Ellevte Arsberetning.” Köbenhavn, Dec. 1890.

Messrs. VALENTINE & SONS (*Dundee*).

Six large Photographs of Norwegian Scenery.

SPECIAL DONATIONS TO FUNDS.

THING-SKATT (General Fund).

John Walker, Esq., Capetown - - - - - £0 15 0

FOY-SKATT (Concert Fund).

The Chisholm, St. Magnus’ Foy - - - - - 1 1 0

The Marquis of Zetland, Yule Foy - - - - - 1 1 0

Samuel Laing, Esq., Viking-Jarl, Yule Foy - - - - - 2 0 0

M. A. Laing, Esq., Jarla-Man, Yule Foy - - - - - 0 10 0

SAGA-SKATT (Literary Fund).

Captain Mockler-Ferryman, towards illustration of Saga-

Book - - - - - 0 5 0

F. Sessions, Esq., towards illustration of Saga-Book - 0 5 0

*REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.*

FIRST SESSION, 1892-3.

PREVIOUS to its reorganization in 1893, the Viking Club formed a Social and Literary Branch of the Orkney and Shetland Society of London, during the first session of which the following Al-things, or meetings, were held at the King's Weigh House Rooms, Thomas Street, Grosvenor Square, London, W.

AL-THING, OCTOBER 13TH, 1892.

The late Mr. JOHN RAE, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. (Honorary Jarl),
in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby on "Birds of Omen", which was privately printed for subscribers with "Notes on the Folk-lore of the Raven and the Owl", by W. A. Clouston. A few copies still remain, and can be had on application to the Law-Man.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 3RD, 1892.

The Rev. ALEXANDER SANDISON (Vice-Jarl), in the Chair.

The Law-Man, Mr. A. W. Johnston, read a statement regarding the "Objects and Laws of the Viking Club".

On the motion of Mr. G. A. G. Robertson, seconded by the Great Foud, Mr. J. R. L. Corrigall, it was resolved that the statement should be entered in the minutes, and copies sent to the Orkney and Shetland newspapers.

Mr. Edward Blair then read a paper on "Some Aspects of Toleration in the Closing Years of the 19th Century".

A discussion followed, in which Mrs. Saxby, Messrs.

Robertson, Sinclair, Watters, Cumming, and the Vice-Jarl took part.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 17TH, 1892.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Vice-Jarl), in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. W. A. Clouston on "Norse Tales and their Eastern Analogues", which has already been published in full in the *Orkney Herald* for December 28th, 1892, and January 4th and 11th, 1893.¹

He remarked that story-telling was a favourite amusement among all races of mankind from all ages. With the civilised man or the savage, with the child in the nursery and the man of mature years, it is the same as regards story-telling. But how few tales current among various peoples have any claim to originality, to independent invention. The elements of which they are composed are comparatively few and simple, and have been modified to suit beliefs and customs in different places. The origin of popular tales and their diffusion is still a vexed question. In referring to the three schools into which students of comparative folklore may be said to be divided—viz., the mythological, the Aryan, and the anthropological—Mr. Clouston confessed himself in full sympathy with the Aryan, which held that European popular tales were the heritage of the whole Aryan race, and that the germs of stories were carried by the Aryan tribes in their migrations westward and northward. He was, however, disposed to agree with anthropological folklorists as regards the case of short stories, turning on a single incident or jest, which might well enough have originated quite independently in two or three places. On the question of diffusion of tales, besides traditions imported into Europe by Aryan tribes at their dispersion, many tales of Asiatic origin were introduced orally in more recent times by travellers, especially

¹ Under the new laws, papers read before the Club become its property, and cannot be published, except in the *Saga-Book*.

during the wars of the Crusaders, while others were taken into European literature directly from Asiatic books. The churchmen of the middle ages dealt profusely in short stories, and huge collections of tales were compiled by monkish writers. Mr. Clouston then proceeded to point out the Eastern analogies of a number of Norse tales, *e.g.*, Thor and the Giant Skrymer—the incident of Skrymer placing a rock where he was supposed to sleep, and which Thor struck with his hammer Miölner, thinking it was the Giant's head, is compared as a close parallel to that in the story of Jack the Giantkiller, in which Jack places a billet of wood in his bed in the giant's castle. Numerous other European and Eastern similar incidents were given. Among the other tales quoted may be mentioned "Whittington and his Cat," which was known in various forms in Norway and Denmark, and was related sixty years before Lord Mayor Whittington was born, by the Persian historian Abdullah. Mr. Clouston further remarked that in all countries the most popular stories are those which treat of craft and cunning, while downright thieving and roguery, when cleverly perpetrated, always find admirers among the common people. In stories of this class we find not only the same outlines, but, allowing for local colouring, the same or similar incidents, in places so far apart as Norway and Ceylon; and we can conclude only that the original tales have been carried from country to country.

In the discussion which followed Dr. Karl Blind described Mr. Clouston's paper as one full of striking analogues. He agreed with him that tales told in the most opposite quarters of the world, which yet contained the same points and incidents, cannot have arisen independently of each other, but must be traced to a process of borrowing. Migratory races, or conquering clans, merchants and other travellers, prisoners of war, etc., may have been the means of spreading a tale or saga. A good story-teller will always find eager listeners, and what he gives to his hearers strikes root. There are those who think that the distribution of

tales has taken place from East to West. Others believe it occurred from the West, or rather from the North, to the East—especially since the theory of the northern origin of the Aryans has been revived. For his own part he held both ways to be possible ones. Our globe having existed for millions of years, while our historical records extend only over a few thousand years, there is no saying what migrations and re-migrations of races had happened in prehistoric days; the Thrakians, for instance, being a known example of a repeated re-migration. The story of Cinderella—“Aschenputtel” in German, “Ashpitel” in Scotland, “da Essiepattle” in Shetlandic—is to be found, in some of its chief points, already in an Eros and Psyche myth of Appuleius. Some faint traces of it are even contained in Egyptian tales. He had received from a friend in Scotland an evidently very ancient, somewhat crude, Ashpitel tale, which, in several points, shows a curious contact with a Finnish one. To give another example: there are manifest survivals of Odinic faith among the Redskins of North-Eastern America, in districts where formerly the Eskimo race dwelt. We know from Icelandic chronicles that the great Western continent was discovered by the Norsemen five hundred years before Columbus. In one case two Eskimo boys were captured, taught the Norse tongue, and baptised; but, no doubt, they were at the same time given plenty of the ancient mythology; for it is to the credit of the Norsemen that they preserved the record of their own Teutonic religion. For hundreds of years before Columbus these Norsemen had had settlements in America. Quite recently in Ohio there were found, in excavated mounds, a number of swastika symbols, exactly like those we know, from Hindostan to the prehistoric castles of Thrakian origin discovered by Schliemann in Greece. High up in the North, in Iceland, that same mystic sign had not long ago been still used for witchcraft. Mexico and Peru had probably been discovered in prehistoric times from the Asiatic side. But how did a swastika symbol get so far

north in America as Ohio? We should not forget the classic tradition of an Atlantis, which points to a knowledge of the Western continent in ages long gone by—a knowledge gradually resolving itself into mythic lore. He concluded by expressing himself convinced that no cast-iron theory will solve the question of origin. The human element, which is alike all over the world; the phenomena of nature, which are certainly contained in some tales or myths under a poetical guise; and, lastly, historical facts, often grafted upon some kinds of stories, have all to be taken into account if we would come to a proper understanding.—After a few remarks from Messrs. H. L. Brækstad and G. A. G. Robertson, the Rev. A. Sandison expressed his opinion that folk-lore should be treated as a sacred inheritance, and not, as was often the case, used by authors and other writers as a peg upon which to hang a story.

AL-THING, DECEMBER 1ST, 1892.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Vice-Jarl), in the Chair.

The Jarl, Mr. T. McKinnon Wood, gave a discourse on “Robert Browning.”

AL-THING, JANUARY 5TH, 1893.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Vice-Jarl), in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. C. H. E. Carmichael, M.A., Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, on “Udal and Feudal.”

He said that these words might seem a mere jingle, but in fact represented a real and widespread historical antithesis. Taking *udal* to be a transposed form of *alod*, the udal owner of land, Mr. Carmichael said, had undoubtedly an interesting history, and was a survival of pre-Christian Europe. Dealing with the question why udalism or allodialism had practically been swept away by feudalism, Mr. Carmichael showed how solitary the allodial owner

was, and how powerless when the barbarian tribes invaded the empire, and he was therefore generally willing to exchange his nominal and precarious independence for the security of feudal interdependence. He also showed how the allodial owner, after centuries of obscurity, had emerged as the freeholder of modern times ; and he discussed some points in the feudal and clan systems which had given rise to what he considered the erroneous attribution of servitude to the relations between chief and clansman and lord and man. The question how the udaller could obtain legal evidence of his ownership Mr. Carmichael considered important but difficult, there being no clear udal title to land. The process of feudalisation in Europe was briefly sketched, and the manner in which it affected allodialism was shown. Under feudalism, allodial holdings became " Fiefs of God and the Sun", a title, Mr. Carmichael said, not simply picturesque, but embodying the truth that allodial ownership is the fullest and freest under God and the sun.

In the discussion which followed Mr. A. W. Johnston remarked that the form of feudalism forced upon Orkney and Shetland was indeed servitude compared with the freedom and independence of their udal rights. The terms "udal-rights" and "udal-born" meant the imprescribable right of the alienator of an estate and his heirs (the udal-born) in all time to redeem their udal, while they continued unchanged in their privileges and rights as udal members of Alting. Mr. Johnston pointed out that there had, until the destroying force of usurping feudalism had been introduced, been a regular jury court for trying all cases of udal succession to lands ; its certificate of udal right, which constituted a title, being called a Schynd Bill. Mr. Johnston was of opinion that the Sheriff Courts of Orkney and Shetland still possessed this power of trying cases of succession.—The Rev. A. Sandison called attention to the Shetland tradition that the udaller held his land, by his sword, from God. He gave it as his opinion that the

udallers actually held their lands from the community. —Mr. W. Sinclair, Jun., remarked that the udal right of manhood suffrage and individual freedom compared favourably with, and, in his opinion, was far superior to, the rights of the feudal vassal; and that, in fact, we in England were, at the present day, a step behind the state of government which formerly existed in Orkney and Shetland.

AL-THING, JANUARY 19TH, 1893.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Vice-Jarl), in the Chair.

Papers were read by Mr. J. G. Moodie Heddle, of Melsetter, "In Praise of Cockles," and by the late Mr. W. T. Dennison on "Wur Laird i' the Sooth Country." The latter was published in *Peace's Orkney Almanac*.

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 2ND, 1893.

Mr. T. MCKINNON WOOD (Jarl), in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., on "Scandinavian Art in Great Britain", which will be printed in a future number of the *Saga-Book*.

AL-THING, MARCH 2ND, 1893.

Mr. T. MCKINNON WOOD (Jarl), in the Chair.

A paper was read by Dr. Karl Blind on "Shetland Folklore and the Old Creed of the Teutons", which has been partly published in the *New Review* of Dec. 1894. The author gave an account of many popular tales and stray bits of ancient rhymes—some of them in alliterative form and with the vowel harmony of assonance—which had been rescued by him from oblivion, with the aid of friends and correspondents in Lerwick, Unst, Yell, Fetlar, and other parts of Shetland. He explained them as remnants and ruins from the grand mythological system of the Scandinavian race. They were "strange echoes from the Germanic world of Gods, weird voices from the overwhelmed Odinic

faith, and from the Vana or Water Cult," which had become fused with the Asa religion after a fierce struggle and a subsequent compromise. The lecturer referred to the first-rate work done by the London Folk-lore Society. A fragmentary semi-heathen, semi-Christian verse, referring to the "Rootless Tree", which the late Mr. Arthur Laursen had sent, was used for an explanation of the Yggdrasil myth, the symbol of the Universe in the shape of the World Tree. Beetle Lore; rhymes apparently pointing to Freyja, the Goddess of Love; the rescued text of an "Arthur Knight", song, of which only two lines were hitherto known, and the full text of which seems now rather to refer to an original Odinic Valkyr myth; nightmare incantations, and other spell-songs, were the next themes. Then the Nuggle, or Njöggle, stories and tales connected with Nixes and water-sprites; the question of the character of the so-called "Finns", and of the Fianna race in Scotland and Ireland; the religious awe in which the sea was, and partly still is held, and the mysterious language in which certain persons, things, and occupations must be spoken of on board ship in Shetland and Scotland; Cat-Lore, in its reference to the sea, and similar relics of an ancient water worship were treated upon. Dr. Karl Blind concluded with an appeal to poets and artists "not to let the old Germanic deities wander about disembodied, waiting for the gifted hand that would mould them into form." As powerful exceptions, who had already done great work in this direction, he mentioned some Scandinavian sculptors. He also spoke in the same sense of Richard Wagner's "Ring of the Nibelungs", and William Morris's Stories of Sigurd, and of the Niblungs and Völsungs. Finally, he addressed a request to the audience to aid in collecting all the bits of folk-lore that may come within their reach, and thus to save what may have been early attempts even at a philosophical speculation under the many-coloured guise of Nature worship.—Mr. T. McKinnon Wood, and the Rev. A. Sandison, vice-jarl, expressed a high eulogy of the deep learn-

ing, and the charm of the poetical sentiment, of the lecture, which was received with great applause by a crowded audience.

AT-THING, MARCH 16TH, 1893.

Mr. T. MCKINNON WOOD (Jarl), in the Chair.

A lecture was given by Mr. R. S. Clouston, on "Mezzotint Engraving."

GREAT AL-THING (ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING),
APRIL 13TH, 1893.

Mr. T. MCKINNON WOOD (Jarl), in the Chair.

The following report was read by the Law-Man:—

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LAW-THING FOR 1892.

The Viking Club was founded as a Social and Literary Branch of the Orkney and Shetland Society of London, at its Annual General Meeting, held on May 5th, 1892. Immediately after which the first general meeting of the Club was held, when the following Council were elected, viz., Honorary Secretary, Mr. Alfred W. Johnston, Honorary Treasurer, Mr. J. R. L. Corrigall, with Messrs. J. Corsie, W. Inkster, W. Muir, G. A. G. Robertson, J. B. Smith, and J. F. Watters, councillors.

The Second General Meeting was held on June 1st, 1892, when a set of laws prepared by the Council were considered, and, after some slight amendment, approved of.

The basis on which these laws were adopted, was at the time, and also at a later meeting, explained by the Law-Man, who stated that the Club was founded as a social and literary society in London for persons connected with, or specially interested in, Orkney or Shetland. In order to maintain and assert a distinctive local character, and to keep up the traditions and recollections of the North, the names used for members, officials, meetings, etc., were borrowed, and the constitution in a measure copied, from

the old Norse government and institutions of these islands. This would also tend to give some interest and spirit to an otherwise commonplace factor in ordinary club-life. The papers to be read would also deal largely with northern subjects.

Orkney and Shetland were no mere Scotch counties, but had a distinct social and political history of their own. The Norwegian Jarldom of Orkney and Hjaltland had been founded in the ninth century, and endowed with legislative and fiscal independence.

The sovereignty of these islands had been impignorated, or pledged, to Scotland in 1468, in security for part of the dowry of the Princess Margaret of Norway, afterwards the Queen of James III. They had never been redeemed. Their Home Rule had been partially overturned in 1614, and lingered on till the end of last century, when the islands were finally absorbed in the Scottish counties.

The title, "Viking Club," had been chosen as a short characteristic name, standing for both Orkney and Shetland, these islands having been one of the chief headquarters of the Vikings.

The original Vikings had been those malcontents who, on the union of the petty states of Norway, under the kingship of Harald Harfagr in the ninth century, emigrated and settled in the wicks of Orkney and Shetland, and kept up constant reprisals on the old country, until these islands themselves had been in their turn added to that kingdom, and erected into a Norse Jarldom.

With regard to the Thing-Book for the first Session, the Law-Thing decided that it would be best to have combined social and literary Things, until they saw their way to organise social entertainments and literary Things independently of each other.

They also decided that the papers to be read should deal largely with Northern subjects, as well as with other matters of general interest, it being uncertain what would be best appreciated by the members.

In accordance with instructions received from the Law-Thing, the Law-Man procured contributions of papers, etc., and arranged the Thing-Book for the first Session, which was approved of by the Law-Thing.

The Law-Thing and Officers, etc.—The Law-Thing have added to their number the following members, viz., Messrs. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., H. A. Moodie Heddle, J. Ingram Moar, W. Sinclair, Junior, Secretary, Orkney and Shetland Society of London, and J. T. Wilson. They have appointed the following officials: Rancel-Man (Honorary Auditor), Mr. G. A. G. Robertson, C.A.; Umboths-Man (Honorary Udal Secretary), Mr. J. T. Wilson, his duties being to attend to the election of Udallers, issue club notices, etc., which matters were transferred from the office of Law-Man. Honorary Solicitor, Mr. J. Balfour Allan.

They have appointed some of their own number to act as a Huss-Thing, or Committee of Management.

The following councillors have resigned office, viz., Messrs. J. B. Smith and G. A. G. Robertson; the latter, however, remains as Rancel-Man. The Law-Thing have elected Honorary Udallers. They have elected some gentlemen, able to assist in promoting the objects of the Club as Honorary Thing-Men (Skatt-free Associates), allowing them to exercise the ordinary privileges of the Club, but not to vote on any matter affecting its constitution. They have made provision for the appointment of District Umbothsmen (Local Secretaries).

The Law-Thing are deeply indebted to the generous patriotism of the Rev. Alexander Sandison, Vice-Jarl, and to the Deacon's Court of the King's Weigh House Chapel, for the courteous and liberal way in which they have freely placed their rooms at the disposal of the Club for holding its meetings, so that no expenses have been incurred for rent of premises for a Thing-Stead (Meeting-Place), an item which otherwise the Club would not have had funds to meet, and which would have thereby greatly reduced the number of meetings.

The half-crown Skatt was just sufficient to pay the ordinary working expenses for the first nominal year, *i.e.*, virtually from October to December 1892.

There was, however, a balance of £4 odd on hand at 31st December, which was derived from a profit of £1 from the Herst Foy, and special donations of £1 1s. from Mr. Alfred W. Johnston, Law-Man, and £2 from Mr. Samuel Laing of Crook, Honorary Udaller.

In order to raise sufficient funds for 1893, the Law-Thing enacted that all members voluntarily subscribing 10s. and over should be fouds or stewards of the Club. This is already producing the desired result.

The principle has been accepted that the chief object of the Club is to enable Northmen to meet together in London for the purpose of keeping up the traditions and recollections of the Homeland by social intercourse, and by the reading of papers and holding discussions dealing largely with Northern subjects.

Orkney and Shetland are no mere Scottish counties, but have a distinct social and political history and literature of their own apart from that of Scotland, and most intimately connected with that of the other kindred Northern States, and with Norway, the fatherland. The study of the history of Orkney and Shetland, therefore, necessarily includes a general knowledge of the traditions of the North, and seeing that the Club has made a special feature of such a study of the history of these islands, the result has been, as was only natural where an integral section of a distinct racial area is concerned, that a decided development has taken place on the lines of widening the basis of the Club, to include a general examination of the literature of the whole North, its Sagas, and its "grand mythological system".

The Club, under its present constitution, as an avowed and limited Orkney and Shetland Society, precludes the admission of students interested in Northern history in a general way. Even if these persons are eligible, under

the wide law of being "specially interested in Orkney or Shetland"—a qualification which was added in order to augment what seemed to be an otherwise precarious membership—it must be admitted that the present government does not possess a sufficiently plain object which would appeal to those Northern students.

It is too obvious that, by adhering to the present limited qualification of members, the Club could never expect to become large enough to ensure its permanent and firm establishment with a workable income. For that reason, and on account of the limited membership, and consequent limited talents, it could never hope to attain a position of any great public utility and credit in the world of literature in the *rôle* of a distinctively Northern Society such as it is now virtually becoming.

When it is considered that there is at present in London a much felt want for a Northern Literary Society, and moreover, that increasing interest is now being taken in the Sagas and Literature of the North, it appears that it only remains for this Club to boldly take the initiative, by reconstructing its constitution, in order to ensure complete success as such an Association. Besides, the Club would only be admitting and associating in fellowship with themselves, pre-eminently their own kith and kin, in spirit if not in blood. The title "Viking Club" seems somewhat prophetic, in that it is especially appropriate to such an extension.

The identity of the Orkney and Shetland members would not be thereby eclipsed, because the membership of the enlarged Society, judging by other such Associations, would never be likely to increase to such an extent as to swamp the original promoters. But even if such took place, it must be remembered that the Club would nevertheless be one in brotherhood and sympathy.

The Law-Thing therefore propose that such a change should take place in the constitution of the Club, and for that purpose they now bring forward a set of new laws to

take the place of the old Law-Book, which, as it stands, was designed as a temporary and elastic scheme for the building up and free development of the Club during its first uncertain efforts.

In laying these proposed laws before the Annual General Meeting, the Law-Thing would point out that they propose that social entertainments should be held independently of the literary meetings, and that the former should include music, recitations, readings, short papers by the younger members, and other kindred entertainments, while the literary meetings would be set apart solely for papers and discussions on Northern subjects. There would be two optional subscriptions, viz., one admitting to all ordinary privileges of the Club, and another giving right, in addition to the above, to the usual yearly publications.

The proposed constitution provides for the appointment of District Secretaries, who, amongst other matters, would have to collect the folk-lore of their localities and report the same to the Club. With regard to this office the Law-Thing have in view a general collection of the folk-lore of Orkney and Shetland, by means of such secretaries being appointed in parishes or other convenient districts, so that what remnants are left of these fast-dying customs and old world beliefs may still be rescued from oblivion and permanently preserved as a valuable contribution to the science of folk-lore.

Proposed Viking Union.—In the event of the new constitution being adopted, the Law-Thing would recommend that steps should be taken at an early date to consider the feasibility of a scheme which had been proposed, by Mr. A. W. Johnston, as far back as 1886, for the union of all Orkney and Shetland and Northern Societies throughout the world. The Law-Thing are of opinion that the Viking Club, situated as it is in London, would best form the nucleus for such a grand union of Northmen.

In conclusion, the Law-Thing would record their firm conviction that the extension of the basis of the Club in the

way proposed would by no means result in its becoming a purely historical and antiquarian society ; but rather, by the increase in membership, and its consequent firm and permanent establishment, together with the good fellowship which is so thoroughly characteristic of the North, it would thereby most assuredly tend to add energy and spirit to the distinctively social element in the Club.

The reorganization of the Club on the lines of this Report was considered at this and several succeeding meetings, and the new constitution was finally adopted at a special Al-Thing held on November 9th, 1893, the Club in the interim having been carried on on its old basis.

AL-THING, MAY 4TH, 1893.

Mr. J. R. L. CORRIGALL, in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. James Johnston of Coubister, Secretary of the Orkney Agricultural Society, on "Farming in Orkney Past and Present", which has already been printed in the *Orkney Herald* for May 24th, 1893.

AL-THING, MAY 18TH, 1893.

Professor W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl), in the Chair.

An address was given by Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby, entitled "My Trade."

AL-THING, JUNE 1ST, 1893.

Mr. J. F. WATERS, in the Chair.

A paper was read by the late Mr. Walter Traill Dennison, on "Subsidence of Land in Orkney", which is printed in full in the present number of the *Saga-Book*.

AL-THING, DECEMBER 14TH, 1893.

Professor W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl), in the Chair.

An address was given by Mr. J. R. L. Corrigall, on "Wordsworth."

SECOND SESSION.*REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.*

AL-THING, JANUARY 12TH, 1894.

Professor W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl), in the Chair.

At the outset, The Jarl briefly explained the reconstruction of the Club, which is now formed into a social and literary society for all interested in the study of Northern literature, history, antiquities, etc. The inaugural address of the Thing-Mote was then delivered by Mr. F. York Powell,¹ of Christ Church, Oxford, his subject being "Some Literary and Historical Aspects of Old Northern Literature."²

In supporting the vote of thanks moved by Mr. T. Mackinnon Wood, and seconded by the Rev. A. Sandison, Dr. Karl Blind said the Viking Club had well begun its literary campaign of this year's Session by Mr. York Powell's interesting lecture. The Vikings were great fighters in their day, and not seldom they quarrelled among themselves; but this was not meant as a reflection upon those present. Here, members of the Teutonic race, Orkneymen and Shetlanders, Scots, Englishmen, Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, and Germans were gathered together as being devoted to the study of Northern literature and antiquity. He remembered a valuable treatise of Mr. Powell's on the traces of old Scandinavian law in the Eddic lays, and another on a Danish ballad of the sixteenth century, which was Englished, or rather Scottised—he must not say "Scotched"—in the style and the language

¹ Since then appointed Professor of History at Oxford.

² Unfortunately Prof. York Powell did not preserve any notes of his valuable inaugural address, and as no reporter was present we are unable to give even a summary of it.

of the early Border Minstrelsy. All this was very good work, and he was sure that the audience had thoroughly appreciated the lecture, and would heartily support the proposed vote.

Mr. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot. (Saga-Master), announced that the first donation towards the library of the Club had been received from Professor Dr. George Stephens, the well-known Northern scholar of Copenhagen. He hoped that members and their friends would follow the good example thus set, and he felt sure that if they did so, the collection would prove of very great value to students. In the great libraries at the British Museum, and elsewhere, books dealing with special subjects were completely buried, in consequence of which it was a matter involving not only a great expenditure of time and labour, but also considerable knowledge, to unearth the required volumes. Hence the obvious desirability for bringing together in one room all the works relating to Northern literature and antiquities where they would be easily accessible, and could be consulted without waste of time, and read in comfort. In conclusion, he pointed out how much yet remained to be done in educating public opinion with regard to the protection of the ancient monuments of the North, so as to compel an apathetic government to do something for their preservation, or lose the votes of the members of the Club, which might perhaps arouse them to a sense of their duty.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, Law-Man, intimated the presentation, by Mr. Poultney Bigelow, of a model of the original Viking ship. He briefly described the programme for the Session, and pointed out that social and literary meetings would be held alternately, one of each in the month. A concert would be held on 9th February, when a Norwegian lady singer would appear in Hardanger costume, and there would also be rendered some old Orkney melodies. However, he hoped at no distant date the Club would be in a position to give a concert representing characteristic

music of all the Northern countries. Mr. Johnston also called attention to the proposed appointment of secretaries in various districts in Orkney, Shetland, and elsewhere, who, among other matters, would have to collect the oral folk-lore of their localities. It was also intended to promote a union of all Societies of Northmen throughout the world.

Mr. Geo. H. Fellowes Prynne, F.R.I.B.A., said: "In warmly supporting the resolution, at the request of my friend Mr. Johnston, your energetic Secretary, I do so with some diffidence amongst so many Northmen, being myself a downright Southerner of Cornish descent.

"However, most warmly do I thank Mr. York Powell for his most interesting and able paper. The last hour has certainly been one of pleasurable instruction. What must have struck everyone, both in the paper itself and in the examples of Northern literature so well put before us is the dramatic directness of both verse and prose. The whole scene in each case is so vividly set before us in so few words. One feels somewhat out of one's depth in speaking of the literature of the North without especial study of the subject; but the one name of Sir Walter Scott is in itself sufficient to carry our thoughts to the highlands of literature, and to call up in one's mind a feeling of gratitude to that Scotchman who raised fiction to a classical elevation in these Isles.

"A society of this kind cannot but be of great value in the Metropolis, first and foremost perhaps for social reasons, and for mutual help and encouragement to those who live far from their native homes; but amongst other objects I notice art and archæology have a place, and it is on this subject, with your leave, I would say a few words. I have heard it stated that Scotland is a poor country in art and otherwise—my answer is No! Scotland is not a poor country. She is rich in her natural soil and beauty; she is rich in her grand past history; she is rich in her antiquities and literature; and last, but not least, she is rich

in the persevering energy of her population. Where, I ask, is the land whose sons show more persevering energy and realise larger fortunes at home and abroad? Wherever I have travelled in America and Canada the Northerner is always known by his untiring energy. But this being so, why is it that the architectural monuments of the North have suffered so? Architecture is said to show the life of a nation. North Britain has in past times been rich in her architecture, and in this, as in other ways, she has shown much freedom and independent spirit, the chief characteristic being the intermixing of styles. The semi-circular arch, for instance, generally confined to the Norman period of work elsewhere, is in the north used in all styles and periods of work. The mouldings of different periods are likewise intermixed, which renders it more difficult to fix exactly the date of work in Scotland than elsewhere; whilst in house architecture the baronial type is peculiar to Scotland—and there is no mistaking a house of this period of work between 1500 and 1660. In this style are combined French, Flemish, and English features, yet so blended together as to form a distinct style. But again I ask why is it that so much beautiful work has been destroyed, and so little cared for? Of course, history tells us that the destruction caused by the followers of John Knox went much further than the renowned reformer intended, but what reformer could ever stop the excesses of his followers? Irreparable devastation was undoubtedly caused by these enthusiasts, but there has been still greater damage wrought since by ignorance, neglect, and wanton destruction. The evidence of many villages near the sites of old abbeys in Dumfriesshire and Aberdeenshire and elsewhere, tell of the way in which these monuments of the past were simply used as quarries, and stones so wonderfully wrought with cunning hand sold for walling to the highest bidder. What I am leading to is this: that if a society of this kind can help to inspire love for the past arts, as well as for literature and legend; if it can help to

teach its members and north countrymen that these very stones are the tell-tales of their country's history; and, above all, if they can inspire a deep reverence in those who have the care of these temples of the past, remembering that the hands of their fellow-countrymen wrought these stones with loving care, and built them with the one idea of honouring Almighty God—then a great work will indeed have been done.

“Let not these precious remains be wiped out from the history of your noble country!

“No! it is by such links as literature and art that Northerner and Southerner are bound in one common interest and brotherhood. So let it be. I again thank the reader for his admirable paper.”

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 2ND, 1894.

Professor W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl), in the Chair.

Mr. H. L. Brækstad gave a lecture on “Norway and its People”, illustrated by lantern views. The early history of the country was briefly traced, beginning with the settlement by the Northmen, a branch of the Teutonic or Gothic race, the ancestors of the Norwegians of to-day. The aboriginal Lapps had been driven further and further north, till they were at last left in peace at the northern extremity of the country, where, however, they are now fast dying out. The characteristic independence of these Northmen, or hardy Norsemen, was fully illustrated, Norway being one of the few countries, if not the only one, in Europe where the peasantry have never been serfs. Their udal laws trained them in the management of their own affairs, and produced that feeling of self-respect and independence which the possession of property, and land in particular, gives. The early Northmen, not being able to wring sufficient out of the barren soil for their livelihood, had to resort to Viking raids for the necessaries and luxuries of life, harassing the coasts of their own country,

as well as Scotland, England, and France. Mr. Paul du Chaillu's work, *The Viking Age*, was briefly noticed, particularly the assertion that the English race must look to the Scandinavians for their ancestors, and that the old Saxons were, indeed, nothing but Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish invaders, who drove the Celts into Wales and other outlying parts of the country. The lecturer, while acknowledging the well-known Norwegian and Danish settlements in Orkney, Shetland, the East Coast of Scotland, Yorkshire, and Ireland, pointed out that England had already been settled by Saxons and Angles for hundreds of years before the invasions of the Norsemen, and that there was no evidence whatever that the early Saxons came from Norway or Denmark. The Saxons, another branch of the Teutonic race, came, according to the best authorities, from the Elbe and the North of Germany, while the Angles, also Teutons, came from Angeln in the south of Denmark. Norway was divided into numerous small kingdoms until 870, when Harald Haarfager united the whole under one crown. In 1450 Norway was joined to Denmark, and so continued for nearly four hundred years, being treated like a conquered province, producing the most disastrous results to Norway; but nevertheless the peasants maintained their personal rights. In 1814, Norway regained its independence, and was eventually united with Sweden under one king, but declared a free, independent, and indivisible kingdom, retaining its own parliament, government, army, and navy. Norway has for the last fifty years had a most perfect system of local government. Norwegians of to-day consist of two classes—Bönder, or peasants, and townspeople, the latter to a great extent of foreign origin. The peasantry are still the kernel of the nation. They have always been the freeholders of the land on which they live, on which, as a rule, their forefathers had lived for centuries before them. From the earliest times the peasantry have been the absolute owners of the land. During many political

difficulties the Norwegian peasants have been the saviours of the country ; and from their ranks have sprung some of the most celebrated men of our day, such as Björnson, Ivar Aasen, Skredsvig, a great number of their best painters, and nearly all their sculptors. Norway ranks high among European countries in education ; all the peasants and working classes can read and write ; they all know the constitution and the history of their country. In speaking of the modern literature of the country, reference was made to Wergeland, Welhaven, Björnson—the latter has been well called “the political conscience of the Norwegian people”, Ed. Grieg, the musician, and lastly Ibsen, who has been described as a pessimist and realist of the first water, but whom the lecturer preferred to regard as the Shakespeare of the 19th century.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Karl Blind said that Mr. Brækstad had given his hearers a good idea of the people of a country which, on account of its free institutions, has been called the “Northern Switzerland”, and an equally good glimpse of the modern literature of Norway, as represented by Björnson, Ibsen, and others. In the translation of Ibsen’s dramas, Mr. Brækstad has had a hand, and a very efficient hand it was. He (Karl Blind) understood that the lecturer was engaged now on the translation of a work of Jonas Lie, another of his eminent literary countrymen. Impressive as some of Ibsen’s plays are held to be, it was to be hoped that the Norse race would not allow itself to be influenced by their pervading tone of gloomy pessimism, or else life would not be worth living for them. He was glad to find that Mr. Brækstad had taken a proper estimate of Mr. du Chaillu’s work, *The Viking Age*. That book was valuable for its illustrations, and for its extracts from the Edda and the Sagas ; but the same could not be said of some of the arguments of its author, who actually disputed the fact of the Anglo-Saxon settlement of England. Referring, in the course of his remarks, to an

attempt which had been made to explain the names of England from the Scandinavian word *eng*, which means a meadow—so that this country would bear its appellation from being a grassy land, of flat or undulating appearance—Dr. Karl Blind said that the Angles, or Engles, had, after all, clearly left their trace in Englefield, Anglesey, and other place-names. The Angles and Saxons were well recorded in the title of the early English kings. In the *Saxon Chronicle*, this country is spoken of as Engla-londe. In Germany, to this day, it is still poetically referred to as Engel-land; and this word is also often used in popular speech even now. Mr. Brækstad (the speaker continued) had dwelt on some differences between separate branches of the Teutonic race—namely, the Norwegians and the Swedes. Differences no doubt exist. At the same time the similarities are much greater. An Orkney man or a Shetlander might often pass, in outward appearance, for a Norwegian, a Swede, a Dane, or even a German, and *vice versa*. Norway, though its population is so small, has one of the largest commercial fleets. This same maritime bent is mentioned by Tacitus of the Svions, the forefathers of the Swedes, in the *Germania*. The Germans, on their part, were the great maritime and naval power in the middle ages; and love of the sea is again strongly coming up among them now. So in this respect, as in many others, the Teutonic nations have very much the same characteristics.

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 23RD, 1894.

Mr. J. G. GARSON, M.D. (Jarla-Man), in the Chair.

A paper was read by the Rev. A. Sandison (Jarla-Man) on "Whale Hunting in Shetland", which is printed in full in the present number of the *Saga-Book*.

In the discussion which followed Mr. Alfred Heneage Cocks said that he took interest in every thing that concerned the Club, that is, in every thing Scandinavian.

The subject of the lecture that evening was one of special interest to him, and he would like to thank Mr. Sandison for the valuable information he had given them. He had made voyages, during six or seven seasons, for the purpose of learning something about whales, to the northernmost coasts of Norway and Russia, and had visited the factories established for the Finwhale Fishery.

The word *whale* was so comprehensive and vague, that he would prefer to see the word *cetacean* substituted in the great majority of cases. The word whale did not indicate one kind of beast, as the words cow, or horse, each did, but included many very different animals, quite as distinct from one another as a cow is from a horse, or even from a dog. Something like twenty-two species of cetaceans had been observed in the British seas, varying from the little 5-ft. Porpoise, up to the 90-ft., or even 100-ft. long Blue Whale, or Sibbald's Rorqual.

The cetaceans hunted on the Lapland coasts were all what are known as Finwhales. They were all whalebone whales, having no teeth at all, but a curious arrangement of baleen-plates fixed perpendicularly in the gums of the upper jaw, transversely to its long axis, and somewhat resembling leaves in a book, each plate being furnished on its inner margin with a thick fringe of hair. They fed on very small food. A few species eat herrings or small coal-fish, cod, etc., but most of them depended upon shoals of small crustaceans. When they met with such a shoal, they swam through it, with their enormous mouths wide open. To give some idea of how large their mouths might be, Mr. Cocks said that he had had measured a lower jaw-bone of a Blue Whale, which was 23 ft. long, following the curve. When sufficient barrels-full of crustaceans were enclosed, the whale shut its mouth; the water was then forced out between the leaves of the book, as it were; but the shrimps were prevented from escaping by the fringe of hair, through which they could not pass.

Mr. Sandison was almost certainly correct in doubting

whether the Greenland Right Whale had ever occurred off the Shetland coast, or elsewhere in British seas: it was an entirely Arctic animal, and had never been proved to have come so far south. Another species of Right Whale, however—the Biscayan Right Whale—had occurred in British seas. This species was formerly common in the temperate parts of the Atlantic, especially frequenting the Bay of Biscay, as its name implies. It was regularly hunted by the Basques from early times, probably before the twelfth century. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, whales having become scarce in the south, the whalers pushed further and further north, until at length they reached Spitsbergen, and there they found the Greenland Whale a species in every way more valuable, being larger, having a greater thickness of blubber, longer baleen, and of better quality, and much less active and dangerous to attack.

There were five species of Finwhale in the North European seas. The nearest to the Right Whales was the Humpback, with a maximum length of about 50 ft.; and four kinds of Rorquals, the smallest of which, the Lesser Rorqual, length about 30 ft., was not hunted by the whalers, though it was killed in some of the more southern Fjords. Next was the Rudolphi's Rorqual, or Coal-fish Whale, the handsomest of its family, with a fine skin like satin; length up to 50 ft. Then the Common Rorqual, length occasionally up to, or even exceeding, 80 ft. And lastly, the enormous Sibbald's Rorqual, or Blue Whale, length up to 90 ft., and possibly even 100 ft.; larger than any other animal now living, or whose fossil remains are known.

Until about the year 1868, the Finwhales¹ were not often interfered with by mankind, being too active and dangerous for any known appliances to cope with; but in about that year an old Norwegian whaler, Herr Svend Foyn, invented an enormous harpoon weighing $1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt., carrying an explosive shell containing over $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of powder,

¹ With the exception of the little Lesser Rorqual.

which was fired from a swivel-gun fixed in the bow of a small steamer about 80 ft. long. Thus equipped, and with the monopoly granted him by the Government until 1882, Svend Foyn had only to proceed a short distance out into Varanger Fjord from his factory established at Vadsö; and picked up enormous Blue Whales as quickly as possible, and at the same time realised a considerable fortune. He liberally gave up the last year of his monopoly, and by the following season so many companies had started, that though some of them paid for the first year or two up to 90 per cent., they quickly "killed the goose that laid the golden eggs", not only by frightening survivors out of the enclosed Fjords, but by overstocking the market with baleen and oil; and every year since they have been "climbing down". Mr. Cocks said he was the first amateur who ever saw a Finwhale killed by these appliances, the King of Norway and Sweden being the second.

With regard to what Mr. Sandison had said about more than one kind of whale being included under the appellation "Ca'ing Whale" in the Shetlands, there was only one species of Pilot, or "Ca'ing" Whale (*Globicephalus melas*), which belonged, like all the other small so-called "whales", to the Dolphin family; and no doubt the other smaller cetaceans referred to by Mr. Sandison were probably only dolphins. One, which Mr. Sandison had said was known in Shetland as "the Jump" was possibly the species known in Norway as the "Spring Hval", or the White-beaked Dolphin (*Delphinus albirostris*). One frequently, off that coast, met with large schools of this species, and it was a very pretty sight to see them continually leaping to a height of many feet, clear out of the water. On one occasion, when in a coasting steamer, he had overtaken a school numbering probably a couple of hundred individuals. Some were swimming and jumping close alongside, while the furthest must have been about a mile distant. Thinking this a good opportunity for securing a specimen, Mr. Cocks ran below and fetched his rifle. Shooting rather hurriedly as an in-

dividual jumped close by, the bullet struck the water just clear of his back, and from that moment not one dolphin again showed itself. Though most were under water at the moment of the explosion, some doubtless several fathoms deep, others actually in the air, and, as before said, many about a mile distant, yet all equally were scared at the shot. Mr. Sandison had asked in his lecture whether Mr. Cocks could suggest what the substance was, resembling soft soap, which Mr. Sandison had noticed in voes after whales had been there. He thought it was merely oil from the blubber, as he had noticed, when large finners sounded, that an oily stain marked the spot for some little while afterwards, and gulls would often alight in such places, doubtless for a little light refreshment. He would not detain members with further remarks, but would merely again offer his thanks to Mr. Sandison.

In answer to a question as to whether he had tasted whale meat, Mr. Cocks said that he had eaten plenty of it. The edible qualities of whales differed almost as much as those of land animals. The best to eat was the Rudolphi's Rorqual, or Coal-fish Whale, which, when properly prepared, was not at all bad, though he would always prefer a piece of good roast beef. He had once made two meals off the flesh and blubber of a Common Rorqual that had come ashore dead some three months previously, and that was certainly not *choice*. A factory had been started on an island near the North Cape for tinning the meat of the Rudolphi's Whale; but the supply was very precarious. In one season the men were kept busily employed all the time, and the next they only had three individuals during the entire season. There was also some not unnatural prejudice against the consumption; so between these two difficulties the company was soon wound up.

In reply to the Chairman's remarks, Mr. Cocks said there was no doubt whatever as to the distinctness of the species of Finwhale as he had enumerated them. He had not entered on the question of the toothed whales, which were

by far the most numerous sub-order, and to which the lecture had chiefly referred. It might be worth adding, with regard to the White Whale which the Chairman had mentioned, that though it was essentially a species belonging to the Arctic regions where he had met with it in fairly large schools, he had also on one occasion seen a solitary straggler right up Christiania Fjord, which was remarkably far south for it.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen called attention to the curious stories told about the whale in the mediæval Bestiaries, especially the one about the mariners mistaking its back for an island.

Mr. Albany F. Major asked if any Viking present could say if there were instances of whale hunting described in the Sagas. He had only been able to find cases where whales had drifted ashore, the incidents being introduced into the story because of the quarrels which seemed generally to have arisen over the division of the spoil on such occasions. There was a case in the Saga of Howard the Halt, and another in the Eyrbyggja Saga, but, as far as he had read, there was no case of an actual hunting of the whale. With regard to the remarks of the last speaker, he remembered two cases of the whale occurring as a mythic monster, one in Frithjof's Saga where a storm is caused by two witches riding on a whale's back, and where Frithjof runs down the whale with his ship, breaks its back, and the storm disperses. The other is in an Icelandic folk-tale, where a man goes mad, jumps into the sea, and is changed into a dangerous whale, which besets the coast and attacks fishermen, much as the Rorqual described by Mr. Sandison did to the Shetlanders. Finally, it is conjured by a priest to follow him up a swift river, full of rapids, till, in trying to ascend a waterfall far inland, it dies of the trials it has undergone.

Dr. J. G. Garson also described the anatomy of the whale at some length.

AL-THING, MARCH 16TH, 1894.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON, in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., on "Prehistoric Art in the North", which is printed in full in the present number of the *Saga-Book*.

A discussion followed, in which Messrs. J. R. Haig, A. G. Langdon, V. D'O. Wintle, A. F. Major, and the Chairman took part.

THE GREAT AL-THING (ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING),
APRIL 16TH (St. Magnus' Day), 1894.

The business transacted was as follows :—

- (1) Annual Report of the Club.
- (2) New Law establishing additional Jarla-men (Vice-Presidents).
- (3) Election of Umboths-Vikings (officers) for 1894.

AL-THING, APRIL 27TH, 1894.

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

A paper was read by Dr. Karl Blind on "The Boar's Head Dinner at Oxford and a Teutonic Sun-god", which is printed in full in the present number of the *Saga-Book*.

After a brief discussion, in which Mr. E. H. Baverstock, the Rev. R. Gwynne, and Mr. A. F. Major took part, the Rev. A. Sandison moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his erudite and eloquent address.

AL-THING, MAY 4TH, 1894.

Professor W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl), in the Chair.

Mr. Edward Lovett read a paper on "The Orkney and Shetland Lamp and its Geographical Distribution," illustrated by lantern slides and examples from various countries. After referring to the difficulty of tracing back

ethnological subjects beyond a certain point, which compels us to depend largely on theory when we try to account for the origin of customs or appliances common to mankind, the lecturer said that it might be assumed that the lamp was originally devised as a means of re-kindling a fire if it went out, striking a light in early days not being on the simple process it is now. Mr. Lovett remarked that prehistoric man probably rose and retired to rest with the sun, and did not require a lamp as a source of artificial light. The earliest lamps were probably of stone, as shown in the photograph of a specimen found in a grave. This was an untrimmed flat stone, six inches by four, unworked, except for the hollow for the oil and the gutter for the wick which it contained. Shells had probably taken a very large share in the evolution of the lamp: in fact, the genus *Terebratula* was known as the lamp shell, and there were many species of shells which required no adaptation to make them into serviceable lamps. Especially the whelk, *Buccinum*, which the Scotch know as the "buckie", was actually still used in some instances as a lamp by Shetland fishermen; and it had probably helped to determine the shape of the Scotch "crusie" lamp. But all over the world it was found that similar wants evoked similar ideas; and, as far off as Kashmir, there were to be found iron bowls used as lamps in cottages, whose long suspending stems of twisted iron exactly resembled those of the Scotch "crusie". The "crusie" was to be found in many varieties. In its most perfect form it was hand-made, the pans for the oil being beaten out of thin sheets of metal in stone moulds, and comprised two pans, one for the oil and wick, the other beneath it to catch the overflow. The lower pan was affixed to the suspended stem of bent iron, while the upper one was attached to a ratchet, which allowed its angle of inclination to be varied as the oil burned lower. Various forms of "crusie" were then shown, as well as other early lighting appliances, such as clips for holding the rushlights, and

pine-slips which were used as primitive candles. These were known in Scotland as the "puir mon", probably because they replaced the unlucky "hewer of wood and drawer of water" who, in ruder times, among other menial tasks had to serve as candlestick to the household. The lecturer, in referring to the persistence with which the rude appliances of primitive times survive long after the inventions of science ought to have banished them into museums, instanced the fire-stick still to be found in use among savages, and the clip and rushlight which he actually found in use last year in a Yorkshire stable. A great variety of lamps were then thrown on the screen, some showing how the principle of the "crusie" was gradually developed and improved until at last, by the addition of a glass chimney, the paraffin lamp with all its modern offspring was evolved. Others showed how lamps of the "crusie" pattern were to be found all over the world, and in very various materials, while examples from widely distant lands often showed a marked similarity in design or details of construction. The subject of the lamp of Greece, Rome, and Etruria was expressly avoided, as it would require in itself a whole evening to do it anything like justice.

The President proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Lovett, which was supported by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, who also, on behalf of the meeting, thanked Mr. Kenneth McKean for the very beautiful series of slides he had photographed and prepared specially to illustrate the lecture. Mr. Allen mentioned that there was an instance of a chalk lamp, found at Cissbury, in what had evidently been a mine where flints were obtained from the chalk, as an instance where prehistoric man had found it necessary to use the lamp as a source of light. He also pointed out that the twisted iron suspender of the "crusie", with its characteristic hook, was to be found represented in the picture of Diogenes Fossor in the catacombs at Rome.

Mr. Lovett, in replying, briefly referred to a question which had not yet been determined: How did the "crusie"

reach the Orkneys and Shetlands? It was scarcely known in England, except perhaps in Cornwall; and he conjectured that it must have come through Scandinavia, in the train of the Norsemen who colonised the islands.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 2ND, 1894.

Professor W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl), in the Chair.

A paper by Mr. Hyde Clarke, on "A Norman Queen of Jerusalem", was read by the Hon. Sec. in Mr. Clarke's absence through illness. This will be published in a future number of the *Saga-Book*. In the absence of the author no discussion followed. Professor Cheyne then announced that, in exercise of the powers conferred on the Jarl by the laws of the Club, he had appointed Mr. Albany F. Major, author of *Sagas and Songs of the Norsemen*, to be Jarla-Skald, and he requested him to justify the appointment by reciting one of his poems. The Jarla-Skald then recited the "The Burial of the Sea-King".

AL-THING, DECEMBER 7TH, 1894.

Dr. KARL BLIND (Jarla-Man), in the Chair.

Dr. Karl Blind introduced Mr. Poultney Bigelow to the Club, as one who had been at the opposite parts of the globe, among the Lapps and the Japs, and even up to the Chinese Wall, and as a well-known writer and author of some charming little books of travel. Among them was one entitled *Paddles and Politics*, giving an account of his cruise in a canoe down the Danube, from its source in the Black Forest to the Black Sea. The meeting was now to hear him lecture about the apparently oldest inhabitants of the North, who were settled in Norway, Sweden, and Russia, divided into Mountain, Fishermen, Forest, and Nomad Lapps.

Mr. Poultney Bigelow then gave a talk about "A Visit to a Lapland Settlement near the Arctic Circle."

He explained that owing to the circumstances under which his visit was paid, he could not pretend to give anything like a detailed or scientific account of it, as he went there while on his honeymoon, and the last thing he thought about was to make notes for future use. He could not even find the name of the Settlement, or say definitely where it was: but it was in Norway, between Hammerfest and the North Cape. The chief thing that struck him in the Settlement was the very distinctive Lapp odour that pervaded it, which, after he had been holding a Lapp baby, he did not get rid of for some time, and he pointed out how all over the world each race has a characteristic race odour. This was the case, for instance, in America, where, strongly as the whites dislike the "negro smell", the negroes considered the "white smell" equally objectionable. The Lapps were in a very similar position to that of the North American Indians, pushed back by a superior till they were only saved from extinction by the fact that the regions in which they had taken refuge were so desolate that no one else could covet their possession. He had been much struck by their similarity in appearance, stature, and manners to the Japanese, and there was a conceivable chain of communication *viâ* the Aleutian Islands and North America, which their progenitors might have made use of. The name Lapp meant "banished", and was one given them by their enemies, which they themselves did not recognise, presenting in this respect, as well as in meaning, a perfect parallel to the name Eskimo. The Lapps evinced considerable intelligence, their skilful management of their teams of reindeer being particularly noticeable.

At the close of his remarks, Mr. Bigelow presented the Club with two Lapp spoons, and a knife in an ornamented sheath, and called attention to the enormous expenditure of time and labour among uncivilised races on the making of such simple articles, and the economic waste that ensued. He also presented three Norwegian boat-models, one being on the lines of the famous Viking ship found

in a grave-mound at Gökstad, in Norway, in 1880, now in the University of Christiania. These lines, he said, were those of the best type of boat in all ages, and re-appear to-day in the canoe and the lifeboat.

Mr. A. Heneage Cocks said that the Lapps were certainly a non-Aryan race, and it would be interesting to know if in language they in any way resembled the Japanese. There were various distinct tribes of Lapps—Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and Russian—each possessing certain distinctive features. Some of them are very skilful in the use of the canoe, but canoes did not seem to be used by any of the reindeer Lapps.

In answer to a question addressed to the Chair, Karl Blind said that, the Lapps being, like the Japanese, of Turanian race, there was a probability of the two languages containing some kindred roots—as seemed also to be the case between Finnish, Magyar, and Chinese, who belong to the same stock. A race like the Lapps were mentioned in the Edda, where in the “Rigsmal” three classes were described: the Jarls, or noblemen; the Karls, or freemen; and the Thralls, or serfs. The latter were portrayed with some physical characteristics which came very near to what Mr. Bigelow had said about the Lapps; for instance, their ugly countenances, flat noses, swarthy colour (*hörfi svartan hétu thrael*), and shrivelled skin—“*hrokkit skinn*” in the Edda. This would tend to show that they were an aboriginal race in the North. Lappish and Finnish races preceded Aryans in Europe. M. Renan says that, when he visited Norway, he was very much struck with the similarity of the Lapps to some people in Brittany—especially to children and women there.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Bigelow for his talk and for the objects he had presented to the Club for the museum which it is hoped to form eventually.

The Chairman then introduced Dr. J. Stefansson to the meeting, and said that the lecturer’s native country, Iceland, which had given us the grand Norse Scripture,

was one which, during the time of its independence as a free commonwealth, had produced, in spite of its scanty population, a larger amount of valuable literature than any other nation, comparatively speaking.

Dr. Stefansson read a paper on "Scandinavian Influence on English literature", which will be printed in a future number of the *Saga-Book*.

Mr. Albany F. Major, in moving a vote of thanks to Dr. Stefansson, said that they were glad to welcome among them a native of that country which all who loved the ancient stories of their forefathers must reverence, since there were preserved the annals of the valiant Norsemen who were the ancestors not only of the Scandinavian races, but also of the inhabitants of these islands. Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson had expressed the opinion that some of the Eddaic songs were composed by settlers in these islands, probably in those Orkneys to which the Club owed its birth, and he cited in support of his theory that very "Rigsmal" from which Dr. Blind drew a very different conclusion, and he should be glad to have the opinion of the latter on this point. The lecturer's paper showed that there were men in England who were quick to recognize the power of the Icelandic literature when it began to be re-discovered in Europe, and for that the country might justly claim credit. In conclusion, he was glad to welcome an Icelander as a member of the Club, for it was one of the aims of the Club to draw together all the nations that sprang from the old Teutonic stock; and he hoped their efforts, in time, would lead Englishmen to recognize the old Icelandic tongue, with its grand literature, for what in truth it might claim to be, more than any Greek or Latin, the classic language of their race.

Mr. Bigelow, in seconding the vote of thanks, said that Dr. Stefansson's presence among them, and the welcome he had received, was only another proof of the truth of the old proverb, "blood is thicker than water,"

and he claimed for America a share in kinship with the descendants of the Norsemen, who first discovered America.

Dr. Karl Blind, the Chairman, said that all those present had no doubt, listened with great interest to the lecture just given. In answer to a question by Mr. Albany Major, referring to a hypothesis of Dr. Vigfusson, Dr. Karl Blind went on to observe that, though that eminent scholar had done a large amount of most excellent work, he could not follow him in some of his strange speculations. Thus, Dr. Vigfusson had endeavoured, in an essay written for the Grimm Centenary, to show that the designation of Sigurd, in the Edda, as a "Hunic ruler" (*húnskr konungr*), was absurd, and that the names of the Hunes should be struck out from those Sigurd lays, and be replaced by "Heorsk", which would mean the German Cheruskans, whose leader, Armin, was the deliverer of Germany from the Roman yoke. Now, this idea of seeing in Sigurd, or Siegfried, a transfiguration of Armin is a very old theory—a fact unknown to Mr. Vigfusson, as he afterwards confessed during a controversy with the Chairman in the *Academy*. As to the proposal of eliminating from the Edda the name of the Hunes—by which no Mongol Hunns were meant, as Mr. Vigfusson erroneously imagined—these German Hunes are historically proved in the clearest manner. They once dwelt in north-western Germany. There the Hunsrück mountain and various place-names still bear their trace. There were many old German personal names composed with "Hun", as may also be seen from the Anglo-Saxon epic, "Beowulf". There were Hunes in Sweden, too. Place-names in this country, from Sussex up to Shetland, testified to these Hunes, who, according to Bede, were among the German tribes that made Britain into an England. Such names as Hunston, Hunstanton, Hunswick, Hunie, and a mass of similar ones, spoke for themselves. The Sigurd saga had been brought by Icelanders, who had travelled in Germany, to the

North, where it was preserved in its purer state. Thus we met in the Edda with the name of Atli—which occurred in England in such names as Attleborough—on the Lower Rhine, where the revenge after Sigurd's death took place in the corresponding Eddic lays, in accordance with the true old tradition. But after the Great Migrations, the names of the German Hunes and of Atli were mistaken for those of the Mongol Hunns and of Attila; and then the revenge for Siegfried's death was transposed in the Nibelungen epic to the Danube. Having spoken of England proper as being mainly Anglo-Saxon, that is, German, Dr. Karl Blind referred to the infusion of Norse blood and to the Norse "Kingdom of the Isles", which lasted on the western side of Scotland for so many centuries. He also said that, but for the unfortunate quarrels between Danes and Norwegians, Ireland, which had been conquered by them, might have become a Germanic country, in which case there would have been no "Irish Question" to-day. He then mentioned that these unfortunate contests between the various branches of the great Teutonic stock were already recorded by Greek and Roman authors. Tacitus expressed a hope that "such divisions might last for ever", so as to save the Roman empire. In conclusion, the chairman made a warm appeal for union among the different Germanic nationalities, adding that what the Viking Club was doing in the way of reviving interest in Norse and Teutonic antiquity was a powerful step in the direction of such brotherhood.

A vote of thanks to Dr. Karl Blind for consenting to preside, and for the important additions he had made to the interest of the evening, brought the proceedings to a close.

WHALE HUNTING IN THE SHETLANDS.

BY THE REV. A. SANDISON.

THE whale I am to speak of to-night is not the Right whale. The Right or Greenland whale certainly does not frequent the Shetland seas, and it may fairly be questioned whether, in the memory of man, it has ever been seen off those coasts. I may mention, however, that a fisherman, entirely veracious and exceptionally intelligent, assured me that he saw one pass down Bluemullsond. It had been harpooned, and was dragging a length of line which, becoming for a moment entangled on an outlying point of rock, somewhat checked its course, and afforded him a fair opportunity of observing it. He was certain it was a Right whale; but notwithstanding his assurance, my conjecture is that it was a Rorqual.

The Rorqual, in all its varieties, is very commonly met with, and visitors to the islands seldom miss the sight of one or more slowly showing huge black sides among the waves, and spouting with great apparent deliberation. Occasionally they fling themselves entirely out of the water, and, when this leaping of theirs is observed, as I once was fortunate enough to observe it from no great distance, it presents a grand spectacle. Their object, according to the fishermen, is to relieve themselves from swarms of dogfish which fasten bodily on them, and may be seen hanging in fringes from their sides. Whatever may be the cause, the whales appear wild and distressed at such times, and it is well to give them a wide berth. I knew of one which continued to spring forward after this fashion until he had covered some four miles of water. A number of boats, fishing for cod with the handline, finding them-

selves in the way of his approach, scattered as he came on, and made all haste for the shore.

Indeed, so far as the Rorqual is concerned, it is he who hunts the Shetlanders, and not the Shetlanders who hunt him. Seldom a fishing season passes without some adventure of this kind. The fishermen's hypothesis is that the whales mistake the boats for members of their own species, and come with amorous intent. Anyhow, they frequently come close to them, and will follow for many miles. Accidents not infrequently occur. Three years ago off the north of Unst a Swedish fishing smack had her small boat stove in while working the lines, and on the west side, about the same time, a native boat was destroyed. Her crew of six men were never heard of, but the wreck of the boat drifted on shore, and then, attached to her broken bottom, were discovered numerous shreds of whale skin, making it only too plain how she had perished.

A boat's crew, many years ago, were compelled to seek refuge on the Vare Rock, where they were kept close prisoners by an enraged Rorqual, which, not content with chasing them on shore, kept circling round and round them for half a day.

A few summers back a small whale came up to a boat whose crew, tiring of its attentions, threw stones and drove it away. Presently they saw it attacked by an immense Rorqual, the blows of whose ponderous tail struck it clean out of the water. Now it returned to the boat, as if for protection, and though repeatedly driven off, as often returned. Fearing nothing from it, and sympathising rather with its manifest inability to cope with the great bully, they let it stay beside them. But now the Rorqual began swimming, in ever-narrowing circles, round the boat, and alarmed for their own safety, they fastened a knife to the end of their boat-hook, and speared the fugitive. Off it darted at tremendous speed, and after it the persecutor.

There are various methods by which the fishermen, when they anticipate danger, endeavour to escape from the attentions of these Rorquals. They will row their boat so as to place it between the sun and the whale, which then seems to be blinded by the strong light on its eyes. Or, if this manœuvre fails, they make up an attractive-looking bundle of such things as can be spared from the boat. This is weighted with a ballast stone or two, and thrown overboard, and while the curious whale follows it downwards, they pull off. Another practice is to keep flinging towards the whale water in which copper has been rinsed—this last expedient, however ridiculous it may appear, is yet often resorted to.

The hunting, so far as these whales are concerned, is, as I hinted at the start, rather by the whales than by the fishermen.

I only know of one attempt on the part of Shetlanders to hunt the Rorqual, and then they did not get the best of it. A number of boats having the temerity to attempt the capture of a shoal of finners, were, in their turn, assailed, and fled precipitately for the shore. One boat was upset, the others hardly escaped. The victorious whales kept possession of the bay for several days, gave chase to and drove on shore every boat that ventured off, and so terrified the men that, for the time being, they abandoned prosecution of their ordinary fishing, and one and all declared that while they lived they would never again hunt the Rorqual.

Indeed some of these monsters are not held to be altogether canny, and I recollect seeing and fleeing from one which was firmly believed to be no true whale at all, but just Betty somebody—a reputed witch. I venture no opinion, but I give it on my personal testimony that several towards whom Betty had ill will were scared by the creature!

This Rorqual, or Finner, though growing to a larger size than any other of the whale family, yields but little oil, and

that of an inferior quality, while its bone is scant, short, and comparatively valueless.

I saw and carefully examined one 96 feet in length, and, if I am not mistaken, it realised only about £100. It had swum into a narrow cove or goe, and been killed, but save that the lower jaw was laid bare for a space of about three feet there were no outward injuries. An examination of the skeleton subsequently made showed that the vertebræ had been dislocated not far from the skull. When I saw it first it had been floated on to a piece of sand in the bay of Norwick, in Unst. It lay on its back, and having been dead for over twenty-four hours, the belly was vastly inflated with gases. Below the jaws, and down almost the entire length of the belly, ran longitudinal bars of a dull colour outside, and rather brighter than flesh pink between. The carcass was taken possession of by the Admiralty, and by their receiver handed over to the finders to "french". This they did easily enough as to the upper parts; but having no possibility of turning the whale over, the underside puzzled them. At length they hit on a plan, and tunnelling away in the sand, they approached from below and, piece by piece, succeeded in removing all the blubber.

One of them, standing on the distended stomach, incautiously made an opening; presently he slipped, and his feet went in at the hole—farther and farther he went, and louder and louder he roared, and had it not been for the passing of a rope under his armpits, by which he was extricated, his end would have been worse than that of Jonah.

Another monster Rorqual was secured by the Unst folk and his jawbones may be seen to this day in front of the house of Buniss. For a whole day he had fought his rival. They rushed upon one another, and withdrew only to encounter anew; they struck and lashed one another until the sea swirled about them in roaring cataracts of foam. In the end the vanquished drifted on shore, and lay with awful gaping jaws. A party going to view the dead leviathan, and a hailstorm coming on as they were beside

him, the boatmen rowed the boat into the whale's mouth, and sheltered there from the storm.

The whale which is hunted by my countrymen comes far short of the immense proportions of the Rorqual. It is known by Shetlanders as the Caa'ing whale, *i.e.*, the whale which is caa'd or driven. There would appear to be two or even three distinct species, all of which I have seen. That which is most commonly met with—or the Caa'ing whale proper—is entirely black, and seldom if ever over 18 ft. long. Another, known as the Cow whale, its shiny black skin beautifully marked by irregular patches of white, attains a length—to my own knowledge—of over 25 ft., and is in proportion thicker than the common Caa'ing whale: a large, jib-shaped fin rises vertically from its back, and its head differs markedly from the common sort. Another Caa'ing whale appears to be a true dolphin, and measures some 8 or 10 ft. in length.

The Caa'ing whale proper is met with in packs of hundreds. On one occasion in Iceland 1110 were captured, while two hunts in the Faroë Isles resulted in the stranding of about 1000.

The Faroëese organise their hunts better than the Shetlanders, for, although formerly, the Caas are said to have been driven in by the Shetlanders from the open ocean, it is long since they captured or attempted to capture any that were not embayed. But in Faroë, if not now, at least recently, the boats sought the whales out at sea. They had a long rope, extending for hundreds of yards—to this, at intervals, were attached switches of straw or heather; when the whales were observed, this long sweep was cautiously carried round the off side of the pack, and then slowly moved towards the land by boats pulling at either extremity. The bunches of straw splashed the surface of the water as they were drawn along, and the whales, keenly sensible of any disturbance, were driven for miles before this simple contrivance.

About the end of autumn, and before the winter has

set in, there is looked for in Shetland a spell of fine weather known as the "peerie" summer. It is in the peerie summer that the coming of the whales may most confidently be looked for. Then the fishermen look out their old lances, give their points a grind and set them handy, for when the cry of "Whaäls" is heard there will be no time for preparation. Some, who live a mile or so from such a whale-favoured bay as Uyeasound used to be, would in the old days tether a pony close by the door before they went to bed, so that at the first alarm they might up and ride away.

So soon as ever a school is discovered to have made its way into one of the bays the alarm is given—as many boats as can immediately be manned are got ready and launched, that, rowing cautiously and noiselessly out, they may close the mouth of the bay and bar the whales' return. Meanwhile, on land, the news is spreading like wild-fire. The women are off, hair streaming behind them, dress tucked up so as not to hinder the running of their bare feet, they speed from house to house with a shrill cry of "Whaäls—whaäls!" The men and boys turn out and make for the bay.

If the fishing village or town be a small one, and so hardly able to furnish enough boats to make the capture of the whales a matter of reasonable probability, the fair heralds run on to the neighbouring village. But if the whales are few and the village fairly large, very considerable secrecy is observed, so that the prospective gain may not have to be divided among too many. But if it chance—and it often does chance—that some one or other of these fair maidens has brother or sweetheart in a neighbouring toön, then sure enough she never stops her race till the favoured one knows of the Godsend waiting down in the bay.

But it must not be thought that the only part taken by the women in a hunt is in spreading the news of it. They help to launch the boats, and should the whales

be stranded, no man will do more to secure them than they. Indeed, it is not many years ago that the women, almost unaided, planned and successfully carried through a hunt on their own account. It was summer, and the men were away at the haaf or deep sea fishing. One morning whales were seen—a great pack of them—well up the voe, tumbling along after their own fashion. Perhaps they had passed the boats at sea and knew the men were away, so felt secure! But they had counted without the women. They were nowise at sea. If they waited until their men folk returned the whales might not wait. They resolved on action. The old grandfathers of the village were helped down to the shore, the young boys were called, and soon the boats were launched and away. The old men counselled, the boys pulled and shouted, the women shouted and pulled. Shouting is very important in whale hunting, and so, whether it was the tactics of the greybeards, or the dash of the boys, or just, as some folks said, the whales' disgust at being hunted by shrieking women, anyhow, ashore they went like a flock of sheep.

Of course there were those rude enough to say it was the only sensible thing for the creatures to do when assailed by a fleet of shrieking amazons; still I trust all of you have only admiration for the daring and dash of these brave women.

The first hunt I witnessed was an exceedingly wild and ill-conducted affair. The whales were of the smallest species—a kind which commonly distinguishes itself by jumping—and though enclosed in a narrow bay, they successfully evaded the onsets of the boats, breaking away in all directions, so that only an occasional one, stranding in its efforts to escape, was here and there secured. The men, worsted in the first endeavours and despairing of capturing the whole flock, fell to wrangling among themselves—lost what partial order they had for a while maintained, and the hunt became a confused melée. Each boat's crew singling out some particular whale, would seek

to drive it on shore by itself. All were at cross purposes, sometimes in collision with one another, sometimes dashing against the whales, which, frantic with terror, rushed through the bay, diving, spouting, tumbling, and again and again launching themselves sheer into the air. On the shore, some dying whales lashed the sea in their last flurry, while their would-be captors, drunk with excitement, flourished lances, knives, and great boat-hooks, wounding again and again not only the whales but their fellows as well. The women shrieked in unreasoning fright, and gesticulated as though the whole township was mad, as perhaps it was.

One incident was amusing. A very small whale came rushing ashore close to where a knot of women were standing. Now, it was not clear whether it had been driven to this course by a certain boat, which certainly was managed in a way calculated to drive any whale to desperation, or whether it had grounded of itself. The men made for the shore to secure their prize, and now the women noticed that they were men, not of their own, but of a neighbouring island, and worse than this they were neither fishermen nor Shetlanders, but shepherds and Scotchmen. At that recognition the women took instant action. For a shepherd to a Shetlander, as to an ancient Egyptian, is an abomination. Dashing into the surf, before the boat could reach the beach, they seized on the living whale and bore it bodily up on to the grass. There they surrounded it, and so determinately fronted the canny Scots that they wisely retired, leaving both victory and substantial booty with these daughters of the soil.

It was not until after several years that the startling cry of "whaals" again aroused me. I hurried to the shore, Already the hunt was well advanced, not a boat—not even the most rickety old shell—but had been launched and away. There was nothing for it but to join the very miscellaneous gathering of men, women, and boys, who were watching from the beach. This was at Uyea Sound, in

the Isle of Unst—it is a large and open bay with two entrances.

The odds were in favour of the whales. We could see them moving along so exceedingly quietly that the sea around them was hardly rippled by their motion. Their upright back fins had almost the appearance of a procession of gentlemen in black walking upon the waters—at times one would spout—a clear, fine jet of vapour, as from a fountain. The hunt was being splendidly conducted. The boats, some thirty or forty in number, advanced in a beautiful crescent—steadily, quietly, and all keeping station. Occasionally a boat would break line, but it was waved back by a signal from the leader. The whales were being driven towards a long stretch of gently sloping beach in the N.E. of the bay. Slowly the shore was being neared, and we who were assembled on it fell back noiselessly. Noise in front would frustrate all. The very repression increased our excitement as moment by moment the whales came nearer. Suddenly they paused. Outside, the half-circle of boats paused too. Tail after tail was thrown into the air, and the whales seemed to go vertically downwards. They were sounding. The depth was not satisfactory, and after their return to the surface alarm was manifest in their every movement. Then one took the lead, and headed right for the boats. Away went the pack, the water ploughed into foam. The boats were expecting this, and now there broke from the whole forty of them a maddening uproar. The oars were clattered upon the gunwales; the men halloed and yelled; shower after shower of stones was hurled in the direction of the fast approaching whales, and fell splashing into the water; lances were flourished and guns fired. It was too much for the whales. They stopped, paused, and then threw themselves round and went to their death upon the shore.

On swept the boats, all confused and full of uproar. They flung their volleys of stones so wildly, and fired their guns and flourished their lances, so that one expected half the

men in the leading boats to be killed. The leader of the whales made straight for the beach, swimming with such impetus that his head came up to the water's edge. After him came all, bringing with them a great wave, which, as it retreated, left them stranded every one, and before the wave receded the foremost boats were in among the whales. At the same moment the crowd upon the beach rushed down and met them in the water. Now began a struggle which baffles description. It lives in my recollection like a confused and hideous nightmare. Once seen, it could no more be forgotten than it could be told. Yet it was no time for sentiment, and the sickening repulsion with which one looks back on it was at the moment swallowed up in a fierce excitement. The whales were alive—very awfully alive—lashing, plunging, spouting; but all their struggles only forced them farther up on the shore. The boats pulled alongside of them, and lances and knives were plunged again and again and again into the quivering sides. The falling tide every moment left the miserable whales more hopelessly fixed upon the beach. Ropes were slipped round the tails of some that lay farthest off. But really all that now remained to do was to kill. The butchery went on. The black and white sides that still shone in the bright sun were barred by streams of warm, red blood. Everywhere there was blood—every one was reeking in blood. The dying whales spouted it in jets—every struggle of theirs sent up showers of their own blood, which fell like spray around, and for more than a quarter of a mile the waves were crimson as they broke upon the shore.

The morning was well advanced—but the sun had only dawned when the alarm came, and it was strange to see the fantastic attire in which both men and women had dressed themselves; every one seemed drunk, they laughed, they shouted, and, in a kind of purposeless fury, they lanced and gashed the dying whales. Presently, one after another was seized with its dying “flurry”, which threw them into wild

contortions, and the stones of the beach were flung in showers into the air. Ever since they came on shore, a low, pained sound, which suggested nothing so much as a stifled moan, broke from them at intervals. What made it so awful was an apparent restraint, as though it was riven from them by very agony. One affecting incident was when some boys laid hold of a young one and removed it from under its mother's fins. She was badly wounded, almost dead in fact; yet, when too weak for struggling, she shielded her babe under her great flapper. As they dragged it away from her it shrieked aloud. That was the only unstifled cry. The mother could not even moan.

It must not be thought that after the whales have been stranded the killing of them is unattended by danger. At one hunt some men were killed outright, and many seriously maimed by the showers of stones thrown into the air by the dying whales; and on this occasion there was more than one very narrow escape.

By noon, the whales were all lying high and dry upon the beach, and flenching had already commenced. An uninteresting and dirty operation it proved, the blubber being cut into long strips and removed from the crang or carcass. It is then cut into small pieces, preparatory to being boiled down into oil. In the Caaing whale there is no whalebone, and their whole value to the captors used to be in the oil produced. In recent years, however, certain meat-preserving companies have bought the carcasses, for what purpose we will not inquire. The flesh is like very coarse beef. How it would eat I cannot say, but I bear witness that whale tongue, which I have tasted, is a toothsome morsel.

It follows, as a matter of course, that the share of booty which falls to every individual hunter must vary according to the number engaged in the hunt, and the number and size of the whales killed. Sometimes as much as £5 or £6 may fall to one who has taken part in the hunt in one of the boats, and half as much to him who has assisted

after the stranding. To women and boys a half-share falls, and thus every one comes in for part of the proceeds.

By the use and wont of the country, a very vexatious claim used to be made by the proprietor of the land on which the whales were landed. He claimed, and he took—for his claim there was none to dispute—one-half of the entire value of all whales captured. There was no law for this, and all analogy would seem to be against it; for the fisherman may anywhere secure his boat, build his booth, and cure his fish, as best suits the convenience of his precarious calling.

In 1839, this pretended right was litigated in the Court of Session. No decision was given, the lairds agreeing to accept of one-third in place of one-half.

So the matter continued until some few years ago, when the Court of Session at Edinburgh, on a case being taken, decided against the lairds; and now whatever comes of the hunt goes altogether to the hunters.

PREHISTORIC ART IN THE NORTH.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A. SCOT.

AS a preliminary to a paper which deals with subjects that are to a certain extent technical, it is almost necessary to give an explanation of the terms to be used. This I shall endeavour to do in as simple language as possible. Many, if not all, of the facts stated are perfectly well known to specialists, and to the more learned portion of my audience I must apologise for having to repeat things which are already quite familiar to them, in order to make my remarks intelligible to every one present.

Firstly, with regard to the term art, there is perhaps no word in the English language which is so often misapplied. When I speak of art in the following discourse I shall use the term only in one restricted sense, namely, to describe the skill and method exhibited in the representation of real or imaginary objects, or in the production of ornamental patterns by means of drawing, painting, sculpture, or some other technical process.

How, when, and where art first had its origin we have no certain knowledge, since the earliest art efforts of man have not survived to throw any light upon the subject. It is, nevertheless, possible to form some idea as to the most probable lines upon which the evolution of art took place, by watching the rude attempts made by untaught children to draw, by studying the decoration used by savage or uncultured peoples, and by assuming that the more difficult ways of representing objects were preceded by simpler ones.

It must not be forgotten that the process of seeing things is partly optical and partly mental. The human

eye is an instrument bearing a close resemblance to a photographic camera, by means of which a reversed image of every object presented to the view is thrown upon the retina. The images formed upon the retina of the two eyes are not the same, because each eye sees things from different points of view about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. apart. The illusion of solidity is the direct result of binocular vision, as is shown by the stereoscope. The idea conveyed to the mind by two different views of the same object upside down upon the retina is that of a single object the right way up. And the function of the brain does not stop here, because every mental image is influenced by every previously received and remembered image of the same thing. It is evident, then, that the highest grades of art must take into account the mental as well as the optical portion of the process of vision.

Let us now endeavour to arrange the various ways of representing objects in order of their development, placing the simpler ones first. The most elementary notion of drawing is to make an outline sketch on a flat surface of a thing, showing it from the most familiar point of view or from the one that is easiest to manipulate. Whether the sketch is made visible by means of contrast of colour, that is to say, by a black line on a white ground, or by drawing an incised line with a sharp-pointed instrument, the effect is the same. In the outline sketch neither surface nor solidity are taken into account.

The next advance in art is to separate the objects or figures from the back-ground by indicating the texture of the surfaces by lines, by contrast of colour, or by producing figures in relief upon a sunk back-ground, or sunk figures upon a back-ground in relief.

A further development is to endeavour to give the effect of mass and solidity on a flat surface by shading and perspective. The same result is attained in sculpture by rounding the edges of figures in bas relief, by undercutting the edges of figures in alto-relievo, and by getting rid of

the back-ground altogether by converting the figures into statues.

The later phases of art, which involve colour, ærial perspective, and impressionism, hardly come within the scope of our present investigation.

Quite apart from the technical processes employed in producing representations of objects, we are able to recognise different kinds of art according to the method of treatment and the purpose for which the work of art is intended. Thus we have art that is

PICTORIAL,
IMAGINATIVE,
CONVENTIONAL,
SYMBOLICAL,
DECORATIVE.

In pictorial art the representation is made as realistic as possible; imaginative art deals with subjects that are idealised; conventional art involves the stereotyping of certain features by continual repetition; symbolical art endeavours to convey some idea beyond the actual thing portrayed; and the function of decorative art is to beautify structures, monuments, and objects by patterns or conventionalised figures rhythmically arranged in definite positions with regard to the form of the thing they are intended to adorn.

It must always remain a matter for conjecture whether man's first artistic efforts took the direction of pattern making, or of trying to draw pictures of the familiar scenes with which he was surrounded. My own opinion is that it is in a great measure a question of race, some showing a remarkable facility for designing ornament, others finding figure drawing come to them as if by instinct, while certain peoples appear to be absolutely devoid of artistic capacity.

Mr. Henry Balfour, Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, has recently published an excellent little

treatise on *The Evolution of Decorative Art*, in which he traces its origin to "the appreciation by man of curious or decorative effects occurring in nature, or as accidents in manufacture, and the slight increasing of the same by artificial means, in order to augment their peculiar character or enhance their value as ornament." Patterns were thus suggested, which were afterwards produced, not only partially, but entirely, by artificial means. He attributes the metamorphosis of designs chiefly to two causes: (1) *unconscious variation*, in which the changes are not intentional, but are due to want of skill or careless copying, difficulty of material, or reproducing from memory; and (2) *conscious variation*, in which the changes are intentional, and may be made to serve some useful purpose (*e.g.*, marks of ownership), or to increase an ornamental effect; to emphasize some specially important feature in a symbolic design; to adapt the same design to a variety of objects or spaces, by the development of a new idea from the modification of a pre-existing design, etc.¹

Mr. Balfour² believes it to be more likely that art owes its absolute origin to accident, rather than it is the outcome of intelligence, or the application of matured reasoning. If this be the case, it is quite possible—as pointed out by Mr. John Collier in his *Primer of Art*—that sculpture was the earliest means employed for artificially representing such natural objects as animals, the human form, etc., graphic design applied to flat surfaces being of later growth. A savage is not slow in noticing the accidental resemblance of a natural piece of wood or stone to the figure of a man or a beast, and, by the skilful addition of an eye or the improvement of some other feature, the likeness is made more perfect. Mr. Balfour³ says "The carrying a little further of the use of artificial means to increase an accidental resemblance would in time have suggested

¹ *Evolution of Decorative Art*, p. 76.

² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

that the whole animal might be represented by carving ; and that, therefore, any substance easy to work could be fashioned into the desired shape, and made to resemble animals and other objects. Thus the art of carving figures grew up from the simplest beginnings through the 'appreciative,' 'adaptive,' and 'creative' stages, passing from one to the other." Mr. John Collier has a rather far-fetched theory : the application of graphic art to flat surfaces may be traced to the slight scratched lines by which the details are often expressed on figures carved or modelled in complete relief. According to this, the art of sculpture in the round would precede that of drawing in outline, which is rather reversing the natural order of things.

The art of carving in *bas-relief* should be classed with graphic designs on the flat rather than with sculpture properly so-called, and it was probably developed from incised work by cutting away the back-ground.

Having said so much by way of preface, we are now in a position to investigate the facts which recent archæological research has disclosed with regard to prehistoric art in northern Europe.

Before the dawn of history, the lapse of time can only be estimated approximately by the rate at which certain geological, physical, and astronomical changes have taken place, but it is possible to divide prehistoric time into definite periods marked by an advance in man's culture at the beginning of each, due to the discovery of an improved material for the manufacture of cutting implements, tools, and weapons. The first three great divisions are the ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron. The end of the last overlaps the historic period, whilst the beginning of the first takes us as far back as the Pleistocene Age of the geologist.

These stages of culture did not necessarily extend over the whole world at the same time, for there are savage races existing at the present day who are still in the Stone Age, and, whilst the ancient populations of Northern Europe were only acquainted with bronze implements, the

Egyptians, Assyrians, and Greeks were well advanced in the Iron Age. It is not always possible to decide whether the new metals of bronze and iron were introduced by conquering races, or whether the transition from stone to bronze, and from bronze to iron, took place in peaceful times. However this may be, the periods generally overlap one another. Until bronze became comparatively cheap, polished stone weapons would still be used; and, even when stone was given up entirely, the forms of the bronze implements still preserve marks of their descent from a stone ancestor.

The duration of the stone age was vastly greater than that of either the ages of bronze or iron, and there was a gradual advance in the skill shown in the manufacture of cutting implements, from the rudely chipped flints of the river gravels up to the beautifully shaped polished celts which immediately preceded the invention of bronze. The difference between the first and the last of the series is so fundamental that it has been found expedient to subdivide the Stone Age into the Neolithic, or newer stone age, and the Palæolithic, or older stone age. The neolithic man is separated from the palæolithic, not only by the difference in the finish given to his stone implements, but by differences of race, climate, distribution of land and sea, and the animals by which he was surrounded.

When man first made his appearance in northern Europe the channels between England and France and between England and Ireland were non-existent, their places being taken by rivers draining a great continent extending as far as the 100-fathom line on the Atlantic side, where the bed of the ocean makes a sudden dip down from 100 to 2,000 fathoms, thus indicating where the position of the old coast line must have been. The highlands of the north of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales were covered with glaciers. The climate was much warmer in summer and colder in winter than at present, as is shown by the fauna, which consisted of a *southern group*, including the lion, hyæna, hippopotamus, and African elephant; a

northern group, including the arctic fox, reindeer, ibex, and chamois ; and a *temperate group*, including the beaver, hare, rabbit, otter, bear, wolf, fox, horse, wild boar, stag, etc. In addition to these there were several extinct species, such as the mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, the cave bear, and the Irish elk.

The oldest traces of man's handiwork yet discovered are the palæolithic implements of the river drift, which are characterised by their great size, the rudeness of their chipping, the discoloration of their surfaces, and the abrasion of their sharp edges. In 1847 M. Boucher de Perthes found palæolithic implements of this early type in the river gravels of Abbeville, associated with the bones of extinct animals.

Palæolithic implements of a later type, of smaller size, better formed, less discoloured, and not so much abraded, have been dug out of the caves at Kent's Hole, Torquay, by the Rev. J. McEnery, between 1825 and 1841 ; at Brixham by Mr. Pengelly, in 1858 ; and at Wookey Hole Wells, by Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, in 1859 ; in the same undisturbed strata beneath stalagmite are the bones of the lion, hyæna, cave bear, mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, and reindeer.

The Neolithic Age is separated from the Palæolithic Age by vast changes in the configuration of the sea and land by a complete alteration in the climate, by the extinction of the Irish elk, the mammoth, the cave bear, and the woolly rhinoceros, and by the migration of the reindeer northwards, and the disappearance of the hyæna and lion southwards. In the Neolithic Age the geography of Great Britain was much the same as it is at present, except that the now-submerged forests and peat bogs were then above high-water mark, and increased the area since encroached upon by the sea to a certain extent along the coasts of England and Wales. The climate may possibly have been damper than in the historic period, owing to the greater amount of forests and morasses, and the larger

area of land would produce a greater contrast between the temperature of winter and summer.

The neolithic implements differ from the palæolithic in being more highly finished; they exhibit a greater number of specialised forms in order to adapt them to a variety of purposes; they are smaller, because when fixed in handles there was no reason for wasting material in making the implement unnecessarily cumbrous; their cutting edges were ground, and often the whole surface of the implement polished.

With regard to the question of race, Professor W. Boyd Dawkins identifies the palæolithic man of the cave period with the Eskimo, and the neolithic man with the Basque. He believes that the palæolithic man became extinct in Europe at the end of the Pleistocene period, and that the Iberians were driven westward by an invasion of bronze-using Celts.

We now have to consider the question of the art of the ages of stone and bronze in northern Europe. It must be borne in mind, however, that it is only possible to found our conclusions on the examination of works of art made of materials not liable to perish, or which owe their preservation to specially favourable circumstances.

At different periods and amongst different races we find that decoration is lavished on a different class of objects, and if the particular class of objects exhibiting the highest perfection of art workmanship happens to be made of perishable materials, whilst inferior things survive, the deductions made from archæological research may often be very misleading.

Of the first beginnings of art we must be content to remain ignorant, for although palæolithic man of the river-drift period has left behind him countless examples of artificially formed flint implements, no object of any kind exhibiting decorative features has yet been discovered in the gravel beds from which the implements are derived. The only things that have been found suggesting that the

river-drift man or woman was fond of personal ornament are some little fossils (*coscinopora globularis*, D'Orb) with their natural perforations artificially enlarged for use as beads.¹

The earliest works of human art, which archæological research has yet disclosed, are the carved bone implements found in caves and rock-shelters of England, France, Belgium, and Switzerland, associated with worked flints of the more recent palæolithic type, and the remains of the mammoth, cave bear, and reindeer.

The explorations made by M. Lartet and Mr. Christy² in 1863-4 in the caves of Perigord, in the South of France, were rewarded by the discovery of a very large number of bone objects carved by the prehistoric inhabitants. These caves are in the calcareous limestone rock forming the sides of the valley of the River Vezère just above its junction with the Dordogne, about 20 miles south-east of Périgeux, between Miremont and Les Eyzies. The valley is about 190 ft. deep, with overhanging ledges of rock that give the required shelter from the weather that induced palæolithic man to choose the locality as particularly suited to his wants. The preservation of the remains is due to the protection from wet afforded by the overhanging cliffs, and the dry soil without any vegetable matter or acid which would corrode. The principal caves, taking them in order as we ascend the valley, are Les Eyzies, Gorge d'Enfer, Cro Magnon, Laugerie Haute, Laugerie Basses, La Madelaine, and Le Moustier. The carved objects of bone have only been found in three of these, namely, Les Eyzies, Laugerie Basse, and La Madelaine. Since 1865 the examination of the caves of the Dordogne has been continued by M. Massénat.

Next in importance after the caves of the Dordogne for having revealed works of prehistoric art are the Bruniquel, Duruthy, and Kesserloch caves. The famous cavern of

¹ Worthington G. Smith's *Man, the Primæval Savage*, p. 274.

² *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*.

the Bruniquel,¹ which was explored by the Vicomte de Lastic in 1863-4, is situated in the valley of the River Aveyron, in the department of Tarn et Garonne. The carved bones found here in association with palæolithic flint implements and the remains of the rhinoceros, reindeer, and Irish elk, are now in the British Museum. The Duruthy Cave² is situated on a rocky promontory of nummulitic limestone, near Sorde, in the Western Pyrenees, overlooking the junction of the Gare d'Oleron and the Gare de Pau, two tributaries of the Adour. On the lowest layer of the cave earth rested a crushed human skull, together with no less than forty canine teeth of the bear, some of which were engraved with figures, and three canine teeth of the lion, lying side by side in such a manner as to leave no doubt that they had once formed a necklace. In the layer above were bones of the reindeer and palæolithic flint implements. This cave was explored by MM. L. Lartet and Chaplain Duparc in 1874.

The Kesserloch Cave³ is near Thayngen, in the Canton of Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, at the western end of the Lake of Constance. It was excavated by Conrad the Merk in 1874, and yielded a rich harvest, comprising remains of the rhinoceros, mammoth, and reindeer, a large assortment of flint and bone implements, and bones engraved with figures of animals.

The only cave in England which has produced an engraved bone of similar age to those in France is the Robin Hood Cave⁴ at Creswell Crags, on the north-east border of Derbyshire, 5 miles south-east of Worksop, which was explored by Professor W. Boyd Dawkins and

¹ *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. clix, p. 517.

² *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, 1874, p. 101.

³ *Excavations at the Kesserloch*, by Conrad Merk, translated by J. E. Lee.

⁴ *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London*, vol. xxxi, p. 679, etc. ; W. Boyd Dawkins' *Early Man in Britain*, p. 175.

the Rev. J. Magens Mello in 1878. The remains found in the Cresswell Caves are now in the British Museum.

The most astonishing thing about the cave man of the reindeer period is that he possessed a far greater capacity for art than would be deemed possible, considering the stage of culture he had reached. The implements, the sketches on bone, and the contents of the refuse heaps he has left behind him show that he lived by hunting and fishing. There is no evidence that he was acquainted with agriculture ; and the absence of pottery and spindle-whorls in the caves shows that he was very much behind the neolithic man, who succeeded him, in industries of a more settled and civilised existence. Notwithstanding this, he was superior as an artist not only to his neolithic successor, but even to the man of the Bronze Age, and some of his spirited sketches of animals could hardly be surpassed at the present day.

Examples of three different technical methods of producing representations of objects are to be found amongst the works of art of the cave men. The commonest method employed was to sketch the object in outline by means of a sharp-pointed flint on a piece of bone or stone, adding a few dexterous touches afterwards to indicate the texture of the surface. But, besides this, sculpture in low relief, and also modelling of the complete figure in the round was practised.

The treatment of the subjects chosen for representation was always realistic, there being no traces of symbolism, and but rarely of conventionalised features. The artists were sufficiently advanced to group figures naturally and to give the idea of skin texture.

The favourite subjects were the animals, birds, and fish that were most familiar to a race of men who lived by the chase. These included the mammoth, reindeer, urus, bear, seal, pike, horse, Irish elk, ibex, bison, and deer. The human figure is seen only occasionally.

The objects on which the sculptured representations

occur consist of pieces of bone and stone, bone implements with round holes in them (probably used as arrow straighteners), and dagger handles. In the case of the latter only is the animal placed in a conventional, as opposed to a natural, attitude.

Besides the figure subjects, ornaments of a simple kind, chiefly composed of straight-line chevrons, were extensively used for the decoration of the bone spear and harpoon heads for hunting. In a rare instance, from Veyrier, conventional foliage appears, being the earliest known case of the use of this kind of ornament.

The kinds of bone on which the carvings occur are various, and include those of the reindeer and mammoth.

We will now give some typical examples of the art of the cave man.¹

- (1) Mammoth ; incised on a piece of mammoth ivory ; from La Madelaine ; in the Natural History Museum ; Paris.
- (2) Reindeer ; incised on a piece of reindeer horn ; from the Kesserloch ; in the Museum at Constance.
- (3) Mammoth ; sculptured conventionally on dagger-handle of reindeer horn ; from the Bruniquel ; in the British Museum.
- (4) Reindeer ; sculptured conventionally on dagger-handle of reindeer horn ; from the Bruniquel ; in the British Museum.
- (5) Man hunting the urus ; incised on reindeer horn ; from Laugerie Basse ; Massénat collection.
- (6) Group of four horses ; incised on arrow straightener of reindeer horn ; from La Madelaine ; in the British Museum.
- (7) Seal ; incised on perforated canine tooth of bear ; from the Duruthy.

¹ For engravings see G. and A. de Mortillet, *Musée Préhistorique* ; Boyd Dawkin's *Early Man in Britain* ; and Lartet and Christy's *Reliquiæ Aquitainæ*.

- (8) Pike ; incised on perforated canine tooth of bear ;
from the Duruthy.
- (9) Glove ; incised on perforated canine tooth of bear ;
from the Duruthy.
- (10) Ornament ; incised on bone implement ; from the
Lagerie Basse ; Massénat collection.

Professor Boyd Dawkins¹ and others have pointed out the wonderful resemblance which exists between the shapes of the bone implements from the caves and those used by the Esquimaux at the present time. The resemblance extends even to the decoration of the implements with groups of animals.

The objects most commonly presenting carved figures amongst the Esquimaux are arrow-straighteners and bows used with a leather thong for working a drill spindle.² From these analogies Professor Boyd Dawkins argues that the Esquimaux are the modern representatives of the cave men of the reindeer period.

The changes in the geography, the climate, and the fauna of Europe at the close of the pleistocene period were of such magnitude that we cannot expect to find any continuity of race or of art between palæolithic and neolithic times. The cave man disappeared as a natural result of his environment becoming completely altered, and possibly followed the reindeer and the cold climate to higher latitudes, where he could still pursue his favourite occupations of hunting and fishing, unmolested, leaving the neolithic farmer to take his place, and advance the civilization of the human race on entirely new lines. The bone harpoon, and the large ovate pointed flint spear heads were superseded by the beautifully finished arrow head and the polished stone celt. Woven garments took the place of skins sewn together with bone needles ; the manufacture of pottery was introduced ; man surrounded himself with

¹ *Early Man in Britain*, p. 233.

² *Ninth Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Inst., Washington*, pp. 178 and 389.

domesticated animals, lived in artificially constructed habitations instead of in natural rock shelters, and buried his dead with a care that indicates the dawn of a belief in a future existence, and with neolithic man the germ of religion makes its first appearance.

An intimate connection may be generally traced between art and the industries which require skilled workmanship. The hand and eye acquire a facility by practice in making necessaries, which finds a natural outlet in hours of leisure in fashioning objects which are beautiful, quite apart from the useful purpose they are intended to serve. We have an instance of this in the development of the art of carving from the manufacture of bone implements employed in the chase in the case of the cave man.

The number of works of art of the neolithic period which have survived is surprisingly small as compared with those of the later palæolithic period. Perhaps this may be accounted for by supposing that the domestic industries of spinning, weaving, and pot making, and the additional labours involved in farming, looking after domestic animals, and polishing stone tools or weapons, left but little spare time for anything else. It is possible also that art may have been turned into a new channel, and have been devoted to producing woven fabrics with beautiful patterns, or the decoration of objects, which, being of perishable materials, have disappeared, leaving no record behind them.

As it is, almost the only examples of neolithic art to which we can turn for information are the sculptures on the dolmens and other megalithic structures in the district of the Morbihan in Brittany. These dolmens are known to belong to the polished stone age, both on account of the presence of stone and absence of metal amongst the grave goods found in them, and because in several cases representations of stone axes, with and without their handles, are sculptured on the great slabs of granite of which the sides and roofs of the dolmens are constructed.

The art of the neolithic period exhibits a curious mixture of symbolism and rude attempts at ornament. A good instance of this is to be seen in the decoration of the side walls of the great chambered Cairn of Gav'r Inis in the Morbihan. Of the 53 slabs of granite of which the chamber and passage are built, 30 are sculptured with patterns composed of parallel lines forming series of chevrons, semicircles one within the other, and concentric circles. Single and double spirals occur in a few cases. On nine of the slabs there are representations of rows of stone Celts, varying in number from 2 to 20, in the midst of the ornament, and on one of the slabs serpents accompany the celts. On a small stone behind two of the larger slabs is carved a stone axe with its handle. There can be little doubt that the hafted axe, the celts without handles, and the serpents, have a symbolic signification, and are not intended merely as realistic representations of objects. Other sculptures of axes are to be seen on the dolmens of Locmariaquer, Carnac, and other localities in the Morbihan,¹ the best example being that on the underside of the cap stone of the Dol ar Marchand, at Locmariaquer.

Ceremonial axes are used for carrying in procession by savage tribes; the ancient Egyptians had one of their hieroglyphics made in the shape of an axe to signify god; and it is not to be wondered at that an instrument which has played so prominent a part in enabling man to control the powers of nature, and thus advance civilization, should have been selected as an emblem of power.

Another symbol of frequent occurrence on the dolmens of Brittany has an outline not unlike that of a bell or of a Buddhist Tope. The principal support of the Dol ar Marchand is sculptured into this shape, it is represented in

¹ Dol ar Marchand, Mané Lud, Mané er H'roek, Mené Rethual, and Mein Drein, at Locmariaquer; Kercado, at Carnac; Petit Mont, in Arzon; and Penhap, Ile aux Moines.

colossal proportions on the huge cap-stone of the Dolmen du Mané-Rethual, and there are other examples of it on a slab found in the Dolmen of Mané er H'roek, on the Dolmen du Mané Lud, the Dolmen de Keryaval, and the Dolmen on the Ile Longue. In addition to the symbols just mentioned, an object like a cattle-yoke is repeated several times ; and on one of the supports of the chamber of the Petit Mont tumulus there is a unique instance of a sculpture of a pair of naked feet.

The general conclusions to be drawn from the very scanty evidence we possess is that the art of the neolithic man was inferior in every respect to that of his palæolithic predecessor ; and that it was decorative and symbolical rather than realistic or imaginative. As far as negative evidence goes there is no reason to believe that the neolithic man was able to represent the human form or animals. The naked foot-prints on one of the stones of the tumulus of Petit Mont, in Arzon, are the nearest approach to figure drawing that have come down to us.

In discussing the art of the stone age, Scandinavia has not been mentioned, because during the palæolithic period it was covered with glaciers, which unfitted it for the abode of man, and the evidence of neolithic art that is scanty in other parts of Europe is entirely wanting there. For information as to the art of the bronze age it is to Sweden, Norway, and Denmark that we must chiefly direct our attention.

On the west coast of Sweden, between Gothenburg and Frederikshald, are to be seen the most remarkable series of prehistoric sculptures in Europe, which I shall endeavour to show are of the bronze age. This part of the coast of Sweden lies at the end of the Skager Rack, between latitude 58° and 59° north, corresponding in position to Caithness and Orkney in our own country.

The sculptures were known as early as 1627, but the attention of archæologists was not seriously directed to them until the publication of Alex Holmberg's magnificent

work on the subject, entitled *Skandinaviens Hällristningar*.¹ Interest was again revived in them by M. Oscar Montelius' paper, *Sur les Sculptures de Rochers de la Suède*, read before the International Congress of Anthropology held at Stockholm² in 1874. Professor Brunius, Mr. N. G. Bouzelius, and others, have also written about them.

The sculptures are found on granite rock surfaces, polished by the agency of the glaciers. Some of the rocks are almost horizontal, but they are more frequently slightly inclined, and never vertical.

The size of the sculptured surface is often considerable.

The method of the execution of the sculptures is very peculiar. The figures are not drawn with incised lines, or carved in relief, but the whole of the figures are sunk to a lower level than the background.

The subjects represented consist of ships, men, animals, and a variety of symbols. The reasons for assigning these sculptures to the Bronze Age are (1) that the subjects correspond exactly with those engraved on bronze knives and other objects of the Bronze Age found in Sweden and Denmark; (2) that the shapes of the swords and axes with which the men are armed show clearly that they are of the Bronze Age type; and (3) that the symbols, more especially the wheel with four spokes, are specially characteristic of the Bronze Age, and no other. Several considerations, moreover, prevent our assigning them to the Iron Age: (1) the entire absence of Runes; (2) the non-occurrence of the Swastika amongst the symbols; (3) the difference in the shape of the ships from those of the Viking period; (4) the method of executing the sculpture by sinking the figures, which is never found in the Iron Age; and (5) the style of the figure drawing, which is not the least like that of the Iron Age.

¹ *I.e.*, Scandinavian rock-engravings, the word *Heller* meaning a rock surface of the hard granite peculiar to the North.

² *Compte Rendu de la 7e session*, vol. i, p. 453.

Sculptures similar to those of Bohuslan have been discovered in other parts of Sweden, and more rarely in Norway and Denmark.

The bronze objects which most frequently exhibit exactly the same kind of art as the rock sculptures are the small bronze knives found in women's graves of this period, but the ships, wheel symbols, etc., occur also sometimes on the bronze mountings of horns.

The art of the rock sculptures is apparently partly pictorial and partly symbolical. Ornamental patterns are conspicuous by their absence on the rocks, although we know from other sources that the Bronze Age inhabitants of Scandinavia were capable of designing very beautiful forms of spiral decoration. A great advance on the art of the neolithic period is to be observed in the power of representing groups of human figures, and treating scenes with a good deal of realism.

The symbolism of the Bronze Age in Sweden is very different from that of the Stone Age dolmens of Brittany, although some forms, such as cup-markings, cups and rings, axes, and footprints, are common to both. The characteristic symbol of the Bronze Age is the wheel with four spokes, and in some cases the ship seems to be intended for a symbol. Many attempts have been made to explain the meaning of these symbols, the favourite theory being that they have to do with sun-worship. When an archaeologist is in doubt he always falls back on the sun-god.

By far the most interesting fact disclosed by the Swedish rock sculptures is that even in the Bronze Age the Scandinavians were already a maritime people. The stage of the dug-out canoe of the neolithic man was long gone by, for here we see great vessels, with prows and sterns high out of the water, manned by a large crew, and propelled by oars, and in rare instances provided with a single mast and sail. It is easy to trace in them the parentage of the Viking ships, which in the 9th and 10th centuries were the terror of all Europe; and we cannot help speculating

whether the possession of a splendid navy may not have tempted the Scandinavians of the Bronze Age to commence their piratical inroads on their neighbours even in prehistoric times.

The rock sculptures of Sweden afford some of the first representations in the North of wheeled vehicles, ploughs, and men on horseback. In drawing conclusions as to the culture indicated by the sculptures it must clearly be borne in mind that the Bronze Age was much later in Scandinavia than in other parts of Europe.

Works of art of the Bronze Age are not sufficiently common in Great Britain to throw much light on the question of whether any connection can be traced between this country and Scandinavia in prehistoric times. The bronze implements found in Great Britain are but seldom ornamented, and in the few cases where they are the decoration consists either of concentric circles, chevrons, or triangles and lozenges filled in with diagonal cross hatching. The most curious works of art of the Bronze Age yet brought to light in England are three drum- or cheese-shaped objects of chalk found by Canon Greenwell with the body of a young child, in a barrow, in the parish of Folkton, in Yorkshire, and now in the British Museum. They are covered with patterns formed of concentric circles, diagonal lines, and have rude attempts to indicate a human face on the round sides.

Decoration of a very similar character occurs on the stones of the chambered cairns at New Grange and Sliabh-na-Caillighe, co. Meath, Ireland, and on cist covers found in Scotland, at Carnwath, Craigie Wood, near Edinburgh.

The only instance of an object of any kind being represented on a work of art of the Bronze Age in Great Britain is a slab forming the end of a cist discovered at Kilmartin, in Argyllshire, which has sculptured on it axe heads, showing clearly by their shape that the originals were of bronze. The sculpture is sunk, as on the Swedish rocks.

Cup and ring sculptures also probably belong to the Bronze Age, and form a class of symbolic representations by themselves.

The art of the Bronze Age in Great Britain is decorative and symbolical only, there being a complete absence of figure subjects.

Cup and ring sculptures are common to Scandinavia and to this country, but the wheel symbol does not occur here except in one case, on the stone of a cist found at Aspatria, in Cumberland. A curious figure, like a curved form of the swastika, has been observed both at Tossene, in Sweden, and at Ilkley, in Yorkshire. With the exceptions just mentioned, the archæological evidence tends to show that although there are isolated instances of similarities between the art of England and of Scandinavia in prehistoric times, the connection between the two countries could never have been so close then as it became subsequently.

Our task is now accomplished, for with the introduction of iron the historic period commences, and with it took place a complete revolution in the native art of every country in Europe, due to two great causes—contact with the civilization of Rome and Greece, and the overthrow of Paganism by Christianity.

ON
THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE SEA,
AND THE
SUBSIDENCE OF LAND, AS SEEN IN THE
ISLAND OF SANDAY.

BY THE LATE W. TRAIL DENNISON.¹

(Read: June 1st, 1893.)

FIRST of all, gentlemen, I must crave your indulgence in presenting this paper to a scientific society, because its author is no scientist. Unacquainted with scientific terminology, he gives in language best understood by himself, what has come under his own observation. Allow me to hope that where I am in error, a more scientific investigator may be induced by my errors to search for and find the truth. Will you then condescend to hear unscientific thoughts suggested by the dug up remains of trees, specimens of which I present?

These remains are found on the west side of the Bay of Otterswick, and can, so far as I know, only be got at low water line, during spring tide. And as the sea recedes further during spring tides in March, that month is the best for obtaining specimens. We first dig through a thin layer of sand, from one to two feet in depth, and then reach a bed of moss, in which the decaying skeletons of trees lie in every conceivable position. It is a melancholy sight to look into the open grave of what had at one time been an umbrageous forest, blooming in all the sylvan beauty of stately trunk, spreading bough, and green leaves; where beasts roamed and fair birds sang. The joyous murmur of that once leafy forest is for ever hushed. Ever

¹ The death of the author has prevented his being able to revise the proofs.

and anon, the restless waves roll over that forest's grave. From this moss-bed specimen No. 1 was dug up in March 1850. Anxious to know if the lapse of 40 years had produced any noticeable change on the forest *débris*, I procured, in March 1890, from the same bed, many fragments of trees, of which specimen No. 2 is part. In subjecting the two specimens to comparison, it should be remembered that No. 1 has been in a dry position for 40 years, while No. 2 has only been exhumed for a few months. Examining both when first dug up, I found no discernible difference in the amount of decay. There possibly may be remains of larger trees lower down in the moss-bed, but from its situation, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to dig to any depth through the moss. There can be, however, no doubt that we have here the remains of trees that have at one time grown and flourished at a level considerably above their present position. And this is no isolated instance of submerged trees being found in Orkney. We hear of them in many bays of the mainland and south isles. I have heard of them being dug up in the bays of Pierowall, Westray, and Millbay, Stronsay. And, to my own knowledge, they have been found in Storehouse Bay, N. Ronaldshay.

Now, what do all these submerged graves of long departed forests prove? Belonging as they do to the flora of dry land, those trees prove that they once grew on land above the level of the sea, and that land is now below sea level. Those submerged remains prove to my mind, incontestably, that land in and around the Orkney archipelago has been for many ages undergoing a process of gradual subsidence. Further, I hold, and taking the island of Sanday, with which I am best acquainted, as an example, I hope to show, that this sinking process is going on at the present moment.

In our "tall talk", we speak of the firm, stable, immovable earth. No words can be more fallacious when applied to our world. The truth is, we live on a globe of fire, ready

at any moment, from many causes, to be hurled into terrific destruction. Imagine a huge chasm opening longitudinally in that part of the abysmal area on which the two Atlantic oceans rest or roll. Those oceans would at once be precipitated on a tremendous mass of igneous matter, whereby an amount of steam would be generated sufficient to explode the world, making the earth like a bursting bombshell. There are many other imaginable contingencies that would easily cause the destruction of our world. And while we talk of the immutable laws of nature, we should remember that all these laws must succumb to the inexorable law of exhaustion.

But to return to the subject on hand, the so-called earth's crust may be compared to the skin of an enormous bladder filled with matter in a state of fusion. The wrinkles in this skin, in reference to the size of the globe it encloses, are not so deep as careworn furrows on an old man's brow in relation to the human head. The greatest depth of which I am aware, ascertained by soundings over the abysmal area, is at a place called the Tuscarora Deep. Here a depth of 30,000 feet below sea level was found. From this greatest known depth of ocean to the highest point of dry land is less than 12 miles. Doubtless, a great height, when thought of as a vertical line; but, looked at as a horizontal plane, it is not so formidable. A fast locomotive like the "Flying Scotchman" might run its length in 12 minutes. The thinness of earth's crust is well shown by those ulcerous excrescences we call volcanoes; which, while they deform earth's fair skin, yet act as safety valves and outlets for the fiery elements that war within. It is well known that those igneous elements shut up within earth's crust have, perhaps, by changes in their temperature, the tremendous power of sometimes elevating, and at other times depressing, large portions of earth's surface. The instances of mobility in earth's surface are numerous and well known. I need only remind you of one instance, which happened in a

latitude near our own. In the year 1783, about 30 miles from Iceland, an island with precipitous cliffs was raised in and above the sea. The island was taken possession of by the King of Denmark, and named Nyoe; but, alas, for the power of kings! in a year, the new-born and christened island sank again into the ocean, leaving only a reef of rocks below sea level. This happened immediately before a great outburst of volcanic eruptions from mountains in Iceland; and, if you will allow an interpolation, the years 1784 and 1785 were called by old Orcadians "the years o' the black snaw", because of the large quantities of volcanic dust blown to the Orkneys in those years, "black snaw" being the name given to such dust showers.

An instance more appropriate to our subject, also occurring in the North, is that of Heligoland. That morsel of earth, lately ceded to the German empire, was once one island, but by a gradual process of sinking it has been separated, and is now two islands. It were idle, before a scientific society, to prove the well-known phenomenon of the gradual upheaval of earth's surface, and of its slow depression in other parts.

As most *à propos*, let me only quote the words of your much respected President, spoken at a former meeting of this Society. I quote from the *Orkney Herald*, "Orkney being in the sinking area, has, for a century or two, been slowly submerging."

From whatever cause, there can be no doubt that along all the shores of Sanday the sea has been and is continually encroaching on the land. We often find fragmentary ruins of old houses, originally built with one end facing the sea. This seaward gable, the side walls of the house, and the ground on which they stood, are gone; and we find the foundations of the landward end of the house on the beach, below high-water line. The loss of ground indicated by such instances, is not only that covered by the houses, but a broad space which, doubtless, existed between

the sea bank and the houses when erected. On such a space of ground I sat more than fifty years ago, in company with an old soldier, whilst he poured out his doleful tales of the American War of Independence, in which he had been a Royalist soldier. At every tale of mishap to the British army he would launch out into imprecations against the British commanders. If I told of Clive, in India, the old man's eyes would flash, and he would swear, "If we had only been commanded by a Clive, by Jove, we would have told the Yankee lubbers another tale!" We sat in the shelter of the west gable of the soldier's cottage, on a plot of grass that lay between that gable and the sea bank. This grassy plot would be from fifteen to twenty feet in breadth, and rose a few feet above the sea beach. In ten years, this bank had been eroded by the sea. In five years more the west gable of the house had been undermined and carried away; and, at present, the sea has encroached beyond where the landward gable stood.

In 1808, a kelp store was built on Hamaness, with its gable end next the sea. The late Mr. Reid, by whom the store was erected, told me that when built the store stood 20 feet from the shore. In 1851, the seaward gable of the store was washed by each high-water tide. The site of the store, about 20 feet in length, has now, 1891, disappeared. On the same Ness, in 1850, a road existed sufficient for a horse and cart to pass between certain dykes and the shore; that passage is now gone, and some of the stone fences knocked down by the sea. Houses that once stood near the shore at Swarthammer and Pool, have been swept away by the encroachments of the sea.

For about a quarter of a mile at the head of Brough Bay the beach is formed by what is locally known as an "ayre". It is a huge heap of water-worn stones, flung up by the waves. On this natural breakwater, the sea acts in a different manner, but still so as to make constant advance on the land. When a westerly storm and high tide come simultaneously, the stones on the sea side of the ayre are torn

up and flung over to its land side, so that with every heavy surf the whole mass of stones is hurled in landward. For draining purposes, this ayre was cut through, a sluice laid at sea end of cut, a drain built from inner end of sluice to the backwater, and all covered up to natural height. The sluice was 24 feet in length, having the sluice valve at its seaward end, where 2 feet of its length were left uncovered, thus leaving 22 feet buried under the ayre. This was done in 1857. In 1865 the ayre was so far rolled back as to leave 18 feet of the sluice cylinder uncovered. In 1867 the sluice cylinder was removed 20 feet further inland, and again strongly embedded under the ayre. In 1871, during a storm, the whole sluice trough was left bare and ultimately torn up.

The places already mentioned are on the west side of Sanday. Let us now turn to the more northerly shores of the island. We find, running out from the point of Riv, a rocky shoal lying dry at spring ebb for three-fourths of a mile, and separated from Riv point by a narrow channel. Now I suspect there is good reason for believing that this reef was once above sea level, and covered with herbage. Will you here allow me to call into court the evidence of tradition. And, truly, when Huxley, perhaps the greatest scientist of our day, attempts with one swoop of his sceptical besom to brush into the limbo of idle fancy all eastern traditions that tend to prove the reality of the Deluge, I may well hesitate to speak of tradition before a scientific society. Let me remind you that tradition is now a science, rejoicing in the name of folk-lore. Here is my tradition regarding Riv. A lady who died in 1851 told me that when a girl she heard an old man, Olie Scott, tell that his grandfather used to drive horses on to the Holms of Riv. The Holms were then accessible at ebb-tide, and, during flood, the horses were confined by water on the Holms. Another argument is, that old people always called this shoal the *Holms* of Riv. The word holm is only applied to islets whose sur-

face is always above water, as the word skerry is to tidal rocks.

The north, and north-easterly seaboard of Sanday is full of rocky shoals, running out from, or at small distances seaward of the shore. From Start Point to Ire, we have Claybrae, Langware Ting, Kreeso, a low reef from Whitesmill, Riv, Bas, or Bars of Trevan, Lather, and Tuo of Ire. And three and one-fourth nautical miles to sea of the north Holm of Ire, lying nearly at equal distance from Papa Westray and North Ronaldshay, we have Rima-brake. On this rocky shoal there is only a depth of 20 feet at spring low water, with an average of as many fathoms deep around the reef. I enumerate these reefs, because I believe them to be the broken and fragmentary remains, or the skeleton, of what was once dry land united to Sanday. Here, again, I bring in tradition. The following phrase was once in common use among old Orcadians, "in a' the braken isles o' Orkney." Does this saying bear on our subject? Be this as it may, here is another tradition more *à propos*. Some time, long ago, a Sanday woman in her youth went to live in Norway, and continued long in that country. When an old woman, she returned to her native island; and after looking around her, she put this question to the Sanday people, "What has become of the rabbit links of Kattasand, the woods of Otterswick, and the ba' green of Runnabrake?" All three had disappeared during her residence in Norway.

With regard to Otterswick, the probability is that the deepest part of the bay, where large vessels may anchor at a depth of four fathoms, has first sunk, leaving a margin of low sloping ground around the sunk portion, which would then form a narrow inlet of the sea. Along this long and narrow creek, which formed the first beginning of Otterswick, would stretch a margin of low ground, probably covered with trees, the submerged remains of which still exist. This wooded margin would be broadest towards the west, on the ground now covered by the shallow waters of

the present bay. That this land once occupied a higher level is proved by those remains. Another proof is that one of the dangerous shoals in Otterswick is still called *Back Holm*, a name which must have been given when that shoal held its head above water. Kattasand is now a pretty large sweep or plain of flat sand. It is covered by the sea at high water, and left dry with every receding tide. Tradition constantly speaks of this sand as having been at one time a rabbit warren. If this be correct, Kattasand must have then been at a much higher level than it now is; because rabbits will not burrow in low, damp ground. It is curious that when mentioning the Kattasand and Kettletoft to an Iceland gentleman he at once said, "These names indicate that the places so called have undergone some catastrophe or violent change." It is fair to say that the wind, by blowing away the sand, may have been an agent in lowering Kattasand. But I do not think that this agency alone could have brought it to its present level.

We have now come to the east side of the island, and though not exposed to the roll of the Atlantic waves, I suspect it will be found that the sea encroaches on this side with equal rapidity as on the west.

On the easterly sea-board of Sanday a long bight extends like a bent bow from Lopness to Tressness. This long curve of sea line shows an almost continuous sandy beach, backed by a low ridge of what is locally called sandy braes. This ridge, originally raised by the action of wave and wind, is now in many places the only unstable barrier against the advance of the sea. This sand ridge is somewhat diminished by dry easterly gales in the latter end of spring, wafting much of its loose particles inland. This loss is compensated by the ever restless sea, grinding the *débris* of rocks, sea weeds and shells into sand, and sweeping it on shore. Now, I may not be able to prove what I do believe, that this frail rampart is gradually being rolled landward. This ridge is nothing but a wave of earthy matter, in slow but sure motion, first on and closely fol-

lowed by waves of the sea. What the forlorn hope is to the assailants of a fort this sand wave is to the sea. The only corroboration which I have heard from folk-lore is a vague story that the Teeng of the old houses, now a tidal ridge, lying on the shore of this bight, was once dry land covered with green sward. The name Teeng seems to support this tale. Were there time, I could bring from the names of shoals on the foul ground east of Tressness etymological argument in favour of my opinion. But why overlay with burden of proof a self-evident fact?

While preparing this paper, I wrote to my intelligent friend Mr. Harvey in Lopness, asking him to give me what information he could on the subject. He kindly sent me the following note, which I subjoin:—

“ Lopness, 12th November, 1890.

“ In reply to your communication as to whether the sea has made any advance on the land in this part of the island, I beg to say that the sea has made a slow advance on the land around the bay Sandquoy, and also on the sandy beach west of Lopness.

“ A very considerable advance has been made east of the house of Galilee, at Sowardy and Hyngreenie and round Scuthow or Scurvie Bay, on to the Park, and two crofters' houses on the south side there had to be shifted a few years ago, owing to the encroachments of the sea. The sound of Start Point is now about three times as wide as it was when I came to Sanday. A gale from S.E. and a high tide in Feby., 1883, made a very wide breach there. The sea has also encroached round the bay of Newark, and I see a very considerable advance on the land on the east side towards the house of Tressness.”

Mr. Harvey came to Sanday in 1857. I now leave this part of the east coast, only remarking that the isthmus connecting the peninsular point of Elsness with the island has become narrower within the memory of living men. And the same is true of the isthmus connecting Tressness.

On the shore of Kettletoft stands an old store originally built for the storage of feu duties, paid in kind. It is said that the Sanday lairds were much exercised about the site of this store; Fea of Clestron wishing to have it built on his land at the bay of Store, while Traill of Elsness wished

it on his side of Kettletoft. Some time after it was built, the laird of Brough and the laird of Clestron, arguing over their cups on the suitability of its site, concluded by the following bet. The one wagering that the end of the store next the sea was seven tethers length from the brink of the low crag on the shore, while the other party betted that the distance was only one tether length, the forfeit to be a guinea and a keg of gin. A Kirkwall lawyer present suggested a difficulty in the variation of the size of tethers. "Ye muckle fuel," said the laird of Brough, "is that a' the laar the law has learned you? Every herd boy kens that the lawfu' lent o' a tether is four fathoms and a half." When the betters came from town, where the bet was taken, the ground was carefully measured, and was found to be three lengths of an orthodox tether. Now, if this tale be true, we have a gauge by which to measure the encroachment of the sea during a period of upwards of two centuries; and, without dogmatising on the subject, I give it for what it is worth. Three lengths of a tether gives $13\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, or 81 feet, as the distance between store and crag, when the store was erected. The space between them now is 15 feet, and would have been much less but for mason work erected to protect the crag. The store, as we know from an inscription on its wall, was erected in 1677. This gives the amount of land lost since that date as 66 feet. Seeing that the mason work has retarded the eroding process in recent years, we may regard the oceanic progress at this place to have been at the rate of 33 feet in the century. And, during the 40 years immediately previous to building up the face of the crag, elderly people acquainted with the locality can confirm the statement that the progress of encroachment has been much more rapid than the above figures indicate.

Farther south, on the two sands of Quoyaness, I can, from fifty years of personal observation, affirm that the sea is gradually encroaching. To seaward of these sands, in Sanday Sound, lie shoals, on which the waves of the German Ocean roll and break heavily with every easterly

gale. Every ground-swell violently breaks up, or helps to erode, the surface of these shoals. Stones on which seaweeds grow, mussels adhering to the seaweeds, are torn off; shells that burrow in the sand are torn up; and this mass of marine *débris* is hurled landward, and in its course is rolled to and fro, pounded, ground, and flung on shore in the form of sand, the sea being a first-rate pulverising machine. This sand is gradually being blown up, and now forms an extensive rabbit warren, rising to a considerable height behind the sandy shore. From the enormous amount of sand heaped up for ages on this warren, here, if in any place, the island may have undergone some surface elevation; but here, also, the work of disintegration is in full progress. Thousands of rabbits are ever rending the rough mantle of bent grass with which nature would seek to consolidate and cover the naked sand. The sand, having the wind for its propelling power, is as capricious and uncertain in its movements as are those of the element by which it is transported; so the sand, picturesque in its dissolution, has been whirled into every imaginable shape of miniature hill and valley. The surface of the ground presenting the nearest approach to the wild undulations of the sea, where a ground-swell rolls through a rapid tideway. This heaped-up sand will inevitably be swept down on the cultivated land to the west, thence to be ultimately blown into the sea from whence it came. I say to the west, because it is with the dry easterly gales that sand-drifts generally take place.

Long and wearisome as my indictment against the thievish propensities of the sea has been, I am persuaded that if we could fling back the dense curtain of water that now separates the "bracken isles of Orkney", and could look on the shoals and reefs lying hidden between these islands, we should be more easily convinced that Orkney has at one time been a continuous whole. In most of man's researches into nature, he is assisted by his powers of vision; but when investigating the sea bottom, he has,

so to speak, to do so by feeling with the sounding lead. To the inexperienced eye, the sea's surface gives little indication of the wonderful floor on which it rests. Standing on the southern extremity of Sanday, we see at our feet a pretty broad channel separating Spurness from the Holms of that name. In this channel we see a tumultuous body of water madly rushing through, and forming, as it bursts from the confined channel, a raging and dangerous sea. Now, no one unacquainted with the fact would imagine that there is on this channel a depth of water of only 16 feet at low tide.

Allow me now to mention a few things relative to the subsidence of the island. Let us first turn to the Bay of Stove, with the house of that name standing at its head. My father, who had passed his youth in this house, left it in 1794. He told me that at that time there lay a green lawn of considerable extent between the sea and the entrance gate of the court in front of the hall. My father was told by his grand aunt, a Miss Fea—sister of the Fea who captured Gow—that, in her lifetime, the sea had swallowed up more than half of the ground she remembered when young. That in her youth, young gentlemen visitors used to play golf with her brothers on the large green between the house and sea. This lady died in 1793. The lawn was then called the Yet Green. At present, every vestige of this green has disappeared; its place is covered by the sea at high water, and left a desolate sand at low tide. More than seventy years ago, the fine old gateway, and 10 feet from the end of the hall next the sea, had to be removed, the sea having begun to undermine both. The present tenant of the farm informs me that the progress of marine encroachment goes steadily on.

Now, the one fact to which I request especial attention is, that with all the advance of the sea on an inclined plain, gently rising as it recedes from the shore, there is not the slightest appearance of the beach being raised in height as the sea advances into the rising land. We should

expect to find the remaining foundations of the old hall at least 2 feet above high water level, but such is not the case, thus proving unmistakably that, as the sea has advanced, the land has sunk.

This fact is better seen, and more powerfully augments the argument, at a place called Pool, on the west side, because here the ground rises more abruptly than at Stove, while receding from the shore. Three houses stood here in a row, with their backs to the sea, and having a plot of ground for kail yards between them and the shore. This piece of ground in 1847 measured 38 yards from the back wall of the cottages to the beach, where grass ceased to grow. This ground is now wholly swallowed up, and the foundations of the cottages are being undermined by the sea. When a boy, I knew the old beach as it then was well, and there is no perceptible difference in the height of the present beach from that of the beach as existing in 1847. The foundations of the cottage wall, then at least 18 inches above high water level, are now below sea level at high water. I wish to emphasise this fact, that while the sea has advanced more than 100 feet in half a century—advanced, be it remembered, on an inclined plain, gradually rising as it recedes from the shore—yet, at the point of high water line, the bank or beach is no higher than it was fifty years ago.

Turn now to a district called Overbirster, on the east of the island. I have been told, but have not personally seen it, that in some places where the cultivated surface is now pure sand three or four feet down, you come to a layer of fine vegetable mould, containing roots of plants. This layer having evidently at one time been the surface of the ground on which vegetation flourished, though now at a depth below sea level. It is curious that this is the district from which several complaints are made in Lord Sinclair's Rental, 1497, of "blawn land". Indeed, "blawin landis" are the last words of the rental. I have heard of other parts in the island where a rich vegetable loam is said to

underlie a depth of surface sand. But, unless the present level of such layers relatively to sea level was ascertained, such examples prove nothing. I suspect, however, that proper investigation would show those vegetable subsoils to have been first sunk by depression from below, and that the sunk surface has afterwards been buried by moving sand swept over the depressions. Be this as it may, let us now look at the north-east extremity of the island. Here is what is, and what has ever been called the *Start Point*, which in reality is now a small islet, on which a lighthouse stands. Now, in none of the old rentals in print, or MS., that I have seen, is this island noticed, as it most certainly would have been had it existed as an islet at the date of the rentals. Had it then been separated from the rest of the island it would have been called by them the *Start Holm*, and rented, like other holms, at so much oil. Sibbald, in his map of Orkney, 1711, shows no separate land at the Point.

Anxious to know what McKenzie in his once well-known chart of Orkney gives regarding the Start, and not having a copy of his chart myself, I wrote to a friend who possessed one, asking if McKenzie marks or notices a sound running between the island and an islet at Start Point? His answer is curt, but decisive. "McKenzie does *not* separate the Start from the rest of the island on his map." McKenzie's work was published in 1750, and we may rest assured that had the sound existed at that date it would have been given on his map. There is evidence, however, that Start Point existed as a continuous whole at a much later date. On March 15th, 1802, the foundation of Start lighthouse was laid with masonic honours. The Rev. Walter Traill, of Westove, made a speech on the occasion; and I was informed by him, by the late William Strang, Lopness, living in the immediate vicinity, and by my father, that at the time the lighthouse was built there was no part of Start Point separated by the sea from the rest of the island. This fact alone is sufficient to prove the subsidence

of the land. It may be said that the tide rushing through the now existing sound is sufficient to deepen and widen the channel. Doubtless quite true. But how did the sea at first gain an entrance into the channel if the relative levels of land and sea have remained *in statu quo* since creation? The relative lines of elevation must have changed before the one element could overlap the other. And to revert to my text, I must continue to believe that the existence of trees buried under the sea proves that the earth has sunk. It can only be when some competent geologist shows a better reason that I can alter my belief.

Indeed, after long attention to the subject, I am convinced that, at the present rate of subsidence, every part of Sanday will be submerged in less than 400 years. If my forecast be correct, alas, for the landowners of Sanday! With the crofters on one hand, and the ocean on the other, their position is well described in the words of the old saw as being "between the devil and the deep sea."

I have said the island will be sunk in *less* than 400 years, but there falls to be taken into account another powerful force which, once it comes into play, will vastly accelerate the disintegration of the island.

There are at least four more or less easily distinguishable lines of depression on the surface of the island. These depressions, speaking generally, run across the island on a line from north-west to south-east. One of these depressions begins at the east head waters of Otterswick, ending at Sandgoe on Katasand. The next lies like a trough across the isthmus connecting the peninsular parish of Burness with the island. The third begins at Ayre, on the bay of Brough, and runs in a slight curvature, owing to a small elevation in its course, till it ends at the bridge of Oyce on the tidal head waters of Kettletoft. The last has its northerly end formed by two branches, beginning respectively at the two creeks of Pool and Braeswick, and ending at the head of the bay of Stove, itself a continuation of the line of depression. It is evident that as subsidence

of the land goes on these depressions will be the first through which the sea will form channels, as it has already done at Start Sound ; and the moment these channels are formed a rapid tide will pour through them from the Atlantic with the flood, and from the German Ocean with the ebb tide. And such perpetually alternating currents will powerfully tend to disintegrate the island, soon leaving only its rocky skeleton.

Yes, our island home is doomed.¹ In a few short ages the lobster and crab will crawl on our cold hearthstones ; whales and fishes will disport above where our chimney tops now reach ; sea-weeds and limpets will grow on our gravestones, and our graves be nowhere.² But our dust will be safe in that most glorious of all sepulchres—the mighty ocean—on which “time writes no wrinkle.”

Now, gentlemen, I have to thank you, if you have had patience to hear my long story. Methinks I hear you saying, regarding its author, “*Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*”

¹ The author does not seem to have taken into account the fact that the depressions of the land below the sea do not always go on continuously, but are often followed by periods of re-elevation. Great Britain has more than once been given a salt-water bath by Dame Nature, and has come up again smiling above the surface of the ocean all the better for the dip.—ED.

² If our graves will be nowhere, it is not easy to understand how limpets can grow on them.—ED.

THE
BOAR'S HEAD DINNER AT OXFORD,
AND A TEUTONIC SUN-GOD.

BY KARL BLIND.

(*Read: April 27th, 1894.*)

LAST year, when I had the honour of addressing the members of this Club, the subject was, *Shetland* Folklore, as containing strange survivals of the grand, weird, and at the same time charming Odinic creed of our common Teutonic forefathers. To-night I have to deal with an ancient custom on *English* ground. But this, too, as will presently be seen, concerns all men of Norse, and generally of Germanic, origin. It is a custom which once prevailed as a great religious rite—nay, which here and there still exists in some form or other—among the dwellers between the Rhine and the Danube, on the shores of the Baltic and of the German Ocean, among Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons.

I speak of the celebrated Boar's Head Dinner, held every year, on Christmas Day, at Queens' College, in Oxford. Truly, a tale of very ancient origin hangs by that time-honoured Yule-tide meal, which took its rise in a long-forgotten primæval worship of the Aryan race.

Most of you have, no doubt, seen a description of the quaint Oxford custom. Some have perhaps been present at the ceremony, as students at the University. Years ago I myself had the pleasure, through kind invitation, of sitting, as a guest, at the side of the venerable Provost of Queens' College, the late Rev. Dr. Jackson, and so was enabled personally to take stock of the details of a ceremony in which I was much interested from the point of view of

mythology. I will at once add that there were plenty of good things on the table to save it from any appearance of being a mere myth. I used the occasion of my stay at Queens' College also for looking up the several versions of Christmas Carols, in order to leave nothing undone which could shed light on the hallowed custom as maintained in the old University town.

The performance is, in short, in this way. On Christmas Day a large boar's head is solemnly carried into the Hall of Queens' College, by three bearers. It is on a silver platter, adorned with a crown, wreathed with gilded sprays of laurel and bay, as well as with mistletoe and rosemary, and stuck all over with little banners ;—a very remarkable honour for a dead, bristly four-footer. A flourish of trumpets announces the entry. The bearers are accompanied by a herald who sings the old English Song of the Boar's Head. At the end of each verse those present join in the Latin refrain. A formal procession of the Provost and Professors precedes the coming in of the boar's head. The people of the town—this is very notable—are for a short while admitted to the Hall before the repast begins, when the gilded sprays, little banners, and other ornaments of the dish are distributed to the crowd by the Provost. This shows at once that the ceremony was, of old, a public one, concerning the community at large. The temporary admission of the townsmen is a last remnant and survival of universal fellowship.

The song, as at present sung in Queens' College, runs thus :—

The boar's head in hand bear I,
Bedecked with bays and rosemary,
And I pray you, my masters, be merry,
Quot estis in convivio.
(As many as you are at the feast.)

Caput Apri defero,
Reddens laudes Domino.
(The boar's head here I bring,
Glorifying the Lord.)

The boar's head, as I understand,
Is the bravest dish in all the land ;
When thus bedecked with a gay garland—

Let us servire cantico.

(Let us serve it up with song.)

*Caput Apri defero,
Reddens laudes Domino.*

Our steward hath provided this,
In honour of the King of Bliss ;
Which on this day to be served is

In Reginensi Atrio.

(In Queens' College.)

*Caput Apri defero,
Reddens laudes Domino.*

Now, what is the meaning of this wonderful boar worship—for practically it comes to that—which is so curiously mixed up with Christmas?

At Oxford, the origin of that Yule-meal is traditionally stated in a very fanciful and modernising form. The well-known legend is, that a scholar of Queens' College, about 400 years ago, was walking in deep thought in a neighbouring forest, when he was attacked by a wild boar. He quickly despatched the animal by throwing down its throat the Aristotle he was just reading, with the exclamation: "*Graecum est!*" "It's Greek!" In remembrance of this miraculous escape, the Boar's Head Dinner is said to have been introduced at Christmas. Why at Christmas, the tale does not say! And, to this day, a bust of Aristotle adorns the large fireplace in the College Hall. So, who, of course, could doubt the correctness of the legend, which is repeated, year by year, in the reports of the Press?

To render the tale even more likely, the Queens' College preserves the picture of a saint, with a boar's head transfixed on a spear. A similar representation is found in the window of the church of Horspeth, a village on the southern slope of Shotover, not far from Oxford. The name of Shotover, by the by, is one of those frequent corruptions of words which you meet with, for example, in the name

of Rotten Row—originally in Norman French *Route du Roi*, King's Road; or in the family name of Cowderoy, where the cow seems to come in, whilst originally the name was a very swell one: *Cœur de Roi*, King's Heart. In the same way, Shotover originally was, in Norman French, *Château Vert*, the Green Castle; mispronounced afterwards Shot-over, and then Shotover. In mythology one often comes upon similar corruptions; and then, when the real meaning of a word or a custom is forgotten, some one is certain to start up with an explanation, "quite out of his own head," as the children say—and thus a fresh legend grows up which has no connection whatever with the true original sense.

Now, as to that Aristotle which was thrown by the Oxford student into the animal's jaw, I will not deny that Greek would be a most dangerous and very indigestible morsel for a boar. But I think it will easily be granted that this rather absurd tale does not quite account for a stately dinner, at Christmas, at an ancient seat of learning. Nor does it seem very probable that the boar who wanted to strike the student down, would receive the honour of being remembered at an annual festivity, with a crown being put on his sovereign head—for indeed, in one of the Christmas carols, the boar is literally called the "soverayne beste", or Sovereign Beast, which gives him a very exalted rank.

To say it at once, the Oxford ceremony is a survival of a sacrificial meal, in which the Sun-Boar, the symbol of the German and Norse God Fro, or Freyr, played a great part at the winter solstice among the Teutonic tribes. Freyr—the brother of Freyja, the Goddess of Beauty and Love—was a deity representing Light, Love, Peace, Goodwill, and Fertility. In this latter quality, he was connected with the Sun, the luminous agency which brings forth the fulness of the earth. His sacred animal was a golden-bristled boar—the golden bristles poetically signifying the rays of the heavenly orb.

The wild boar, whom I have often enough seen in our

German forests, and once even rather unpleasantly met as he rushed by, is, in spite of his seemingly clumsy body, a very nimble beast. He often outruns a horse. Of Gullinbursti (Golden-bristles), as Freyr's animal is called in the Edda, it was fabled that he ran quicker than a horse through air and water. The air means the sky; the water stands for the sea, into which the sun was supposed to drop in the evening, in the Far West. Riding on this Golden-bristles, the Sun-God made his quick daily course from east to west. Now at the winter-solstice festivities, which afterwards were supplanted by Christmas, it was the custom, among Germans and Northmen, to worship Fro, or Freyr, by a holy meal in which his sacred animal figured as a dish. Here we have the true origin of the Boar's Head Dinner.

This fact is as clearly provable as anything could be, from the history and the poetry of the Teutonic nations. I was, therefore, much astonished on finding that the aged Provost of Queens' College, who had presided at many a dinner of that kind, actually had never heard of the true explanation. Such is the tenacity of fictitious legends when once they have been set up. Well, seeing that the subject was quite new and unexpected to the Provost, I entered into it, at first, somewhat cautiously, but soon saw that he was highly interested in it; and when I had given him the full explanation, he expressed himself, if I may be allowed to mention it, very much satisfied and highly grateful—which was all the more pleasant, considering his eminent clerical status.

In order to show that the tale about the student is a mere fabrication, I need only point out that a similar custom, as at Oxford, exists, though on a very much reduced scale, at St. John's College, in Cambridge. There, a boar's head is also served up at the supper on St. John's Day, Dec. 27. Again, the same custom, but in a more stately manner, formerly flourished in the London Inns of Court. Dugdale, speaking of the Christmas Day ceremonies

in the Inner Temple, says that at the first course is served a fair and large boar's head upon a silver platter, "with ministralsye." Yet we have not heard that any London lawyer had saved himself, in the wilds of the Strand, from the tusks of a bristly quadruped, by throwing an Act of Parliament down its throat, which might have been even more deadly to an English boar than an untranslated Aristotle.

The Christmas custom in question, once generally prevalent, exists to this day also, in a reduced form, at the Queen's table. There, I understand, it was introduced, or re-introduced, from Germany, after the accession of the Duke of Cumberland to the throne of Hanover. In olden times, the same custom was upheld in all the English land, at Court, in noblemen's mansions, and in yeomen's homesteads. It was the universal German, Anglo-Saxon, Norse, Icelandic Yule-tide observance for peer and peasant, for the high and the hind.

One of the oldest records in this country, dating from 1170, says that King Henry II, upon the young prince's coronation, "served his son at table as a sewer, bringing up the boar's head, with trumpets before it, according to the manner." The stately and pompous way in which it was always done, was so well known that the chronicler simply says, "according to the manner." So far as I am aware, there is no further trace of it in any earlier historical record of England. But the missing links between the facts just mentioned and the epoch of the old Anglo-Saxon and Norse creed are easily found. They are contained in one of the oldest records of the faith of our forefathers—namely, in the Edda, as well as in the universal existence of the same customs throughout the nations of Teutonic origin.

As late as 1678, Aubrey wrote:—"Before the last civil wars, in gentlemen's houses at Christmas, the first dish that was brought to the table was a boar's head, with a lemon in his mouth." Again, there is an account of an Essex

parish, called Hornchurch, where on Christmas Day the boar's head was wrestled for by the peasants, and then feasted upon. All this will explain that taverns with the sign of the Boar's Head—such as we know from Shakespere's "Henry IV"—should once have been common in this country. Even now the custom observed with so much stateliness at Oxford, is, though with no pomp at all, to be found in a few country houses ; in some parts of England even among the common people, who have a simple sucking pig served to them.

In the old Christmas Carol literature there is a general agreement as to the Boar's high and distinguished position. In a song printed by Wynkyn de Worde, that animal's head is called the "chefe servyce in the lande". In all these songs, the joyous and somewhat boisterous character of the original Odinic festival is still traceable—as, for instance, in this version, which I will read in the older English :—

Hey, hey, hey, hey, the borrys head is armyd gaye.
The boris head in honde I brynge,
With garlands gay and byrde syngynge.
I pray you all help me to synge,

Qui estis in convivio.

The boris hede, I understond,
Ys chiefly sirved in all this londe,
Wher so ever it may be fonde

Cervitur cum sinapio.

(It is served with mustard.)

The boris head, I dare well say,
Anon after the xvth day
He taketh his leve and goth a way.

Exiuit de patria.

He goes out of the country ! Rather difficult for a boar in an island. In another version we hear :—

He takes his leyfe, and gothe his way,
Gone after the tweyl ffyt day—

With hay.

These verses clearly mark the ceremony as a peculiar one of a fixed period, corresponding to ancient Odinic rites. The twelve days after winter-solstice were specially hallowed. When we are told that, after that time, the boar goes out of the country, we come, as it were, upon the borderland between reality and myth; for Freyr's sacred animal, which had until then appeared as a substantial dish on the table, suddenly vanishes into the clouds like Lohengrin's swan. This is, no doubt, the original meaning of the words: "He goes out of the country."

Walter Scott, in his "Ancient Christmas", gives a good picture of the Yule festival in olden times:—

The fire, with well-dried logs supply'd,
Went, roaring, up the chimney wide;
The huge hall-table's oaken face,
Scrubb'd till it shone, the day to grace,
Bore then upon its massive board
No mark to part the squire and lord.
There was brought in the lusty brawn,
By old blue-coated serving man;
*Then the grim boar's head frowned on high,
Crested with bays and rosemary.*
Well can the green-garbed ranger tell
How, when, and where the monster fell;
What dogs before his death he tore,
And all the baiting of the boar;
While round the merry wassel bowl,
Garnished with ribbons, blithe did trowl
Then came the merry maskers in,
And carols roar'd with blithsome din.
If unmelodious was the song,
It was a hearty note and strong.
Who lists, may in the mumming see
Traces of ancient mystery.

As among the Romans during the Saturnalia, so also were the divisions of rank obliterated among the Teutons during Yule, when the great clog, or log, was lighted in token of sun-worship. Christmas, I need scarcely mention, was introduced as a festival only as late as the fourth

century. The Fathers of the Church are quite explicit on this subject. Christmas replaced, in fact, the various winter-solstice celebrations, among different nations given to sun-worship both in Asia and Europe.

Under cover of a New Faith, the old traditions, however, often survive. Thus, the name of Yule, which means the sun-wheel, and which perhaps comes from the same root as the Greek word "Helios" (the sun), is preserved to this day in the North, and in England, and at least in a part of Germany—in Mecklenburg—in the sense of Christmas. In Italy, the common people still call Christmas *ceppo*—that is, block of wood, Yule log.

In 1648, Thomas Warmstry, answering a question as to whether the Christian festival had not had its rise and growth from the conformity to the feasts of Saturnalia and of Yule, says that "since things are best cured by contraries, it was both wisdom and piety in the antient Christians (whose work it was to convert the Heathens...)" to act in this manner. Similar advice as to preserving deeply-rooted heathen customs, wherever possible, in order to facilitate conversions, was formally given in a well-known letter by Pope Gregory to the Abbot Mellitus, for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. The same counsel was offered by the Bishop of Winchester to Winfrith, or Boniface, the missionary who went out to preach the Gospel to the Germans. He did not follow the advice, and was killed by the Frisians.

German Christmas customs still show a strong trace of the old worship of Odin, or Wodan; of Thor, Thunaer, or Donar, as we called the God of Thunder; and of Freyja—that is to say, in the ancient mummeries which, with us, precede the Christian festival by a few days. Some of the very names, of the qualities, and of the symbols of this ancient circle of deities are yet recognisable in the strange masquerades that are to be seen in our villages and small towns, about the middle of December. Among the Saxons of far-off Transylvania, in Hungary, whose ancestors, many

centuries back, carried their popular customs from Germany into their new Carpathian home, a boar, or pig, figures in numerous processions at Christmas. Much that has now a mean or ridiculous aspect in these vulgar performances, had its origin in a creed to which a certain wild grandeur and poetical significance cannot be denied. The humble pig which is still made to trot in a boorish Christmas masquerade in Transylvania, is actually the last representative of a Germanic sun-worship and Aphroditean cult that had affinity with corresponding classic forms of worship.

If it should be thought extraordinary that a boar is taken as the symbol of a Deity representing the Sun and Love, I believe it would be wrong to ascribe this to any want of finer poetical feeling among our barbarian forefathers. Both Freyr and his sister Freyja were supposed to ride on a golden-bristled boar. These two deities came into Asgard, the heavenly abode of the Teutonic Gods, from the circle of water-deities, called Vaenir, whose very name has perhaps contact with that of the classic Venus. Now Venus, or Aphrodite, the foam-born, also stepped up from the waves of the sea, landing at Cyprus ; and curiously enough, a similar animal, but of a still lowlier form or name, was sacred to her, even as to Freyja.

If we turn to the Edda, the great Norse Scripture, we learn that the blessed heroes in Walhalla, or Valhöll, feasted every evening upon the flesh of the boar Sährimnir. It was really most celestial food ; for Sährimnir clearly typifies the Sun. Every day—it is said in the Edda—he is boiled ; yet every evening he is whole again. That's quite the case with the sun, who is always in a boiling state, yet whole and fresh again after having gone through that process during the day.

Coming down from the mythical realm of Asgard to the realities of this earth, we find that in the Scandinavian temples it was the rule, as in the households, to serve up at the Yule festival, as part of a kind of Holy Supper,

a boar dedicated to Freyr and Freyja. Its name was *Sónargaltr*; which may either mean Sun-boar or Boar of Atonement. In the Eddic "Song of Helgi", Hiörward's Son," that ceremony is mentioned in a Yule festival, when "vows were made, and the Boar of Atonement was brought in; the men placing their hands on it, and making vows by the cup of Bragi, the inspiriting God of Poetry."

This ceremony, though its origin is no longer understood by the people, is yet observed in Oster-Gothland, in Sweden. On Yule evening, the so-called *julbucken*, a block of wood covered with pig-skin, is put on the table. The housefather then places his hands on it and offers a vow that in the coming year he will be a loving father to his family, a kind master to his servants. Formerly, Freyr, the God of Peace and Goodwill, and his sister, were appealed to at this ceremony. The name of Bragi was introduced—as if he who made great promises wished to be remembered for his deeds in the songs of the skalds. Now, the names of those deities are forgotten; but the ceremony remains the same.

Cakes are still baked, in Sweden, at Christmas, in the form of a boar. The same is also done in some parts of Germany for the Christmas tree. In Sweden, the peasants preserve pieces of those cakes until spring, when they mix them with the seed or with the oats for the horses used in ploughing, or give them as food for the ploughboys who sow the seed. A good harvest is expected from this observance. Freyr, it ought to be remembered, was a ruler of rain and sunshine; he, therefore, was also a harvest-god. This boar symbol, though no longer understood, is by popular superstition in the North looked upon as efficient in agriculture even now.

In Germany, the custom of serving up a boar's head, or a sucking pig, adorned with rosemary, with its snout gilded, and a golden red apple or an orange between its mouth, was long prevalent, as may be seen from Grimm's work on "German Mythology." The gilding of the snout and the bright

colour of the apple evidently symbolise the sun. In Thuringia the belief has long lingered that he who on Christmas Eve does not partake of any food until supper time, will see the vision of a golden farrow. In the Uckermark, in Northern Germany, a pig's head is up to this day the festive dish during the twelve nights, but more especially on Christmas Day. On the Lower Rhine the superstition is, that, during the night following Christmas Eve, a spectral figure goes its round, called "Derk with the Boar". Derk, or Dietrich, takes here the place of Freyr. Dietrich, which signifies "Ruler of Men", corresponds to a cognomen of Freyr, who in the Edda is called the "folk-ruling God". Such substitutions of names are frequent when mythological ideas verge upon their decay.

In the "Statistical Account of Scotland", of 1793, it is recorded that in the parishes of Sandwick and Stromness in Orkney, every family that has a herd of swine kills one of the animals on a fixed day after the middle of December, which for that reason is called Sow-day. The account says:—"There is no tradition as to the origin of the practice." In some parts of Yorkshire a similar practice still prevails. It is to be found in various Germanic countries; so also in those parts of France to which the Frankish and other Teutonic invaders and conquerors, who gave Gaul its new name, evidently imported it. The sacrificial origin of the custom is patent from all that I have stated to-night. The sacred animal of the God to whom particular worship was addressed at Yule-time, naturally became the holy dish of the occasion. Primitive nations generally eat what they revere. A boar or pig was, therefore, killed for Freyr's sake on a particular day.

In the Christmas carol sung at Oxford it is said :

Our steward hath provided this
In honour of the King of Bliss—

and a Christian explanation easily suggests itself. Yet we must not forget that Freyr, who in the Edda is called "the

first and the best of the Aesir", or Gods, also was a King of Bliss; his very name pointing to friendliness, love, and the bliss connected therewith. The dwelling of this radiant deity, "against whom nobody is," is in the Home of the Light Elves whose face shines "more beautifully than the sun." He is a representative of peace, of happiness, and of good-luck. Hence Yule-tide, when he was particularly revered, was held to be a time of general peace and goodwill. The sword was sheathed and a three weeks' "Yule Peace" observed. That ancient King of Bliss may, therefore, have been sung already, in grey antiquity, at the Yule festival before it was changed into Christmas.

Odd as it may sound, there is every probability that the idea of good luck, as connected with the God and his boar, lingers even now in a vulgar German phrase. When we say of somebody: "*Er hat Schwein*," it is a synonym for: "He has great luck." I am inclined to believe that another unrefined phrase of that kind: "*Da möchte man auf einem wilden Schwein davonreiten*"—"One would like to ride away on a wild boar"—which means a wish to get well out of an unpleasant position, has also reference to Freyr. The saying seems to be tantamount to a desire to get away from trouble into the realm of undisturbed happiness. Many such, now vulgar, locutions are clearly traceable to ancient heathen ideas.

The figure of Freyr is, together with that of his sister, the noblest and most beautiful in the Teutonic Olympus. Both divine figures did, no doubt, degenerate occasionally into crudely sensual images, like similar conceptions of Greek and Roman antiquity. There were higher as well as lower kinds of Freyr and Freyja worship—even as there was an Aphrodite Urania, who carries men's hearts to the starry sky, and on the other hand, an Aphrodite Pandemos, or *Venus vulgivaga*.

As a God of Light, Freyr in many respects resembles the Greek Helios and Phaethon, or the Persian Mithra—the "Immortal with the swift steeds." In the Edda, we find

various beautiful images referring to the phenomenon of daylight. Not only has Freyr a golden-bristled boar in his solar stable ; but we are also told, in a song called "Odin's Raven Charm", that the God of Day careers along the sky in a chariot, drawn by a horse adorned with beautiful gems, whose sparkling splendour shines over the world, whilst the sun, whose rays illumine the face of the Light Elves, is sitting in the refulgent wain. I think that beats anything the Greeks have produced in that line.

Once, it is said, Freyr possessed a shining sword—again the ray of the Sun!—which brandished itself against the Frost Giants. In other words, the warmth of the Sun vanquishes the Ice of Winter. A saga mentions that on a hill in which Thorgrim, a zealous worshipper of Freyr, was buried, the snow never remained, and that eternal green covered the spot. The power of the Sun-god is here strongly expressed.

There is a romantic story connected with this solar deity and God of Love, Peace, and Goodwill. You will find it in the "Skirnismál"—"The Lay or Journey of Skirnir"—in the Edda. It has all the charm and at the same time all the grim fierceness of the old Norse character. Gerda was the name of the bride ardently wooed, and at last won, by Freyr. He is said to have become love-sick as soon as he perceived that beautiful maid, whom he saw walking in her grandfather's gardens, when the air and the sea became bright from the splendid whiteness of her arms.

I do not wish to harrow your feelings by going into the cruel details of the procedure of Skirnir, Freyr's servant, who delivered the God's love-message to Gerda. The way in which Skirnir urged Freyr's suit, is not the way in which young ladies would allow themselves to be addressed, or won, to-day—and, so far, I am sorry for the manners attributed, in the poem, to Freyr's very rude messenger. But then, all this happened so very long ago, in the heyday of these roystering young Gods. I must explain that Gerda, as her very name shows, is the Earth, into which the ray of

the Sun at last penetrates. The "nine nights", during which the God, almost dying of impatient longing, had to wait until Gerda meets him in the secluded grove, evidently are an allusion to the nine months of unfruitful season in the high North, during which the Sun has no power over the earth.

As a bridal gift, Freyr sends to his beloved one eleven golden apples, which some would interpret in an astronomical sense as signifying eleven months of the year. In the end, I am glad to say, Freyr and Gerda lived happily together for ever—at least as long as the Odin religion existed.

On the Christmas-tree, in Germany, we always hang red and golden-hued apples, and gilt nuts. They, too, symbolise the sun. To Freyr, the God of Fertility, the apple-tree was specially sacred. Apples, a very wholesome fruit, play a great part in the Odinic creed. Idun, the Goddess of Life, who dwells in the branches of the great World Ash, or Tree of Existence, Yggdrasil, keeps the whole circle of the Aesir with that fruit in good health ; and it is said that when once the supply momentarily failed, the very gods began to wither.

Now, in some parts of Germany and England there still exists the well-known custom of standing, during Twelfth-night, round an apple tree, when a rime is sung, praying for a good fruit-year. Keeping all this in mind, we shall better understand that German Christmas story which says that, at the birth of Christ, winter gave way to spring ; that the snow vanished from the ground ; that flowers sprouted up everywhere ; that apple-trees especially began to blossom, and that the sun leapt twice for joy. This is manifestly an old Teutonic idea in a later Christian garb. Of the apple put in the boar's gilded mouth at Christmas, ere the orange or the lemon replaced it, I have before spoken as a solar symbol.

More than a thousand years have passed since the Woden religion died out in England ; nearly a thousand

years since it was quite overthrown in northern Germany by armed force ; a little above seven hundred years since it has ceased to exist in Sweden. The old customs, however, survive, in some cases, with wonderful tenacity. A striking instance is this famous dinner at Oxford, the origin of which seems to be known to so very few, although, of yore, it was a general sacrificial rite, which many a Viking must have observed at Yule time, even when abroad.

We are far removed to-day from the ideas which gave rise to such customs ; but not farther—rather considerably less so—than from similar ideas of the Greeks and the Romans. And I, therefore, believe that it is well worth our while to study these things which connect the past with the present. In this way, through a better understanding of the mythological conceptions of our own forebears, we shall obtain a poetical enjoyment similar to that which we derive from noble classic sources, but which it would be an error to think could be derived only from them.

GODHILDA DE TONI,
WIFE OF BALDWIN I, KING OF JERUSALEM,
AND HER FAMILY OF TONI AND LIMESY.

BY THE LATE HYDE CLARKE, V.-P.R.HIST.SOC., AND OF
THE VIKING CLUB.¹

(*Read: November 2nd, 1894.*)

IT seemed to me that the incident of a Norman Queen of Jerusalem is one worthy of the notice of the Viking Club. It is that of Godhilda, or Gotthilda de Tony or de Toeni, wife of Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem.

This event is not referred to in the usual places. There it is stated that Baldwin de Boulogne or Bouillon, who succeeded his brother, Godfrey de Bouillon, as King of Jerusalem, married the widow of the Count de Mellent or de Meulem.

This hides the identity of Godhilda, for before marrying Robert, the Count de Mellent,² her name was Toni, being a daughter of Ralph de Toni the elder, by Isabel, daughter of Simon de Montfort, and most probably born at his chief seat at Flamstead in Hertfordshire.

Godhilda belonged to an illustrious house, styled by the Duchess of Cleveland (*Battle Roll*, iii, p. 175) "royal" which it was, being of identical descent with the Dukes of Normandy, and from Malahulch, uncle of Rollo. The name is Toni, Tony, Toesny, or Todeni, but in England it took various names. One great branch was named Limési or Limesy. The name perhaps best known in England is

¹ In consequence of the lamented death of Mr. Hyde Clarke, it has been necessary to print his paper without any revision by the author.

² Dugdale, *Baronagium*, 1, 469, quoting Ordericus Vitalis, mentions both marriages, but says nothing of Jerusalem.

that of De Stafford. In England, having largely shared in the spoils of the Norman invasion, these have become the foundation in female lines of many of the present ducal and other leading houses. Such are the Dukes of Rutland, Newcastle, and Devonshire, the Clintons, the Earls of Crawford, the Gresleys. The Dukes of Bridgewater, the Cholmondeleys, and others claim this descent, but their affiliation is doubtful. For eight hundred years they have held place in the Baronage.

The near connection with the ducal house of Normandy gave the Tonis and the Limesy strong claims, and they held high positions in Normandy. The Tonis were hereditary gonfanoniers or grand standard-bearers of Normandy. In this respect they distinguished themselves and maintained their military reputation. Roger de Espania was a popular hero. He made a crusade against the Moors in Catalonia, and rescued from them the County of Barcelona in 1018. Hence he had the name of Roger of Spain. He married Godhilda, daughter of Raymond Borrel, Count of Barcelona, and his name and hers long lived in the family of Toni. She was daughter of Raymond by Ermesinda, daughter of the Count of Carcassonne, and sister of the King of Navarre.

The Tonis acquired large possessions in Normandy.

At Hastings the standard-bearer, Toni, was present, and achieved distinction, but preferred to act as a warrior in the thick of the fight.

At Hastings, the Duchess of Cleveland says (*Battle Roll*, vol. iii, p. 171), six of the Tonis are commemorated in the Dives Roll as having taken part. They appear in the form of Touny, and appear as Ralph, Robert, Juhol, Berenger, and William. The Duchess states that Juhol is a mistake, as he was Juhel de Toteneis or Totness.

It may be mentioned incidentally that a miracle was performed by the father of Godhilda, Ralph, on his brother Roger de Toni, he being reputed to have been one of the few men who returned to life. It is said that, after his

death, when his brother addressed him, he came to life again, and recommended to his brother the care of his soul.

The family founded many religious establishments in England and Normandy, to the latter of which they made many English grants. In Hertfordshire were the Priory of Hertford, founded by Ralph de Limesy, and the Nunnery at Flamstead, in which Godhilda was probably brought up.

Her name of Godhilda was an old one, borne by an ancestress, Godhilda, wife of Ivar Vidfamer, King of Norway.

The Toni and Limesy were connected with the royal houses of England and Scotland, and with many others. It appears probable that these alliances, as Lord Lindsay suggests, influenced the settlement in Scotland of the Lindsays and many other Normans.

These alliances continued later. Robert de Toni left his possessions to his sister Alice, who married, secondly, Guy de Beauchamp, second Earl of Warwick. Her son was Thomas, Earl of Warwick, who distinguished himself at Cressy and at Poitiers, and was one of the first Knights of the Garter. His descendants were Isabel, wife of George, Duke of Clarence, and Anne, widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, and Queen of Richard III.

Of the line of Stafford, Shakespeare commemorates, in his *Richard III* and *Henry VIII*, the two unfortunate dukes.

Fair Rosamond, mother of William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, was of Toni blood.

Descendants of Toni and Limesy put forward claims to the crown of Scotland on the disputed succession.

The Limesy were a younger branch of the Toni, as determined by Lord Lindsay, and took part also in the invasion.

The Limesy Castle in Normandy, near Rouen, is still held by their female descendant of illustrious parentage, the Countess of Bagneux. It is a remarkable fact that in the land of revolutions this possession is, after a thousand

years, in the hands of a representative of the founder of the line.

The arms of the Limesy are, *Gules*, an eagle displayed *or*. The eagle is not common as a Norman bearing. It is to be noticed that the Lord of the Isles bore, *Argent*, an eagle *gules* in a galley *sable*. It is possible the Limesy bearing may have reference to the descent from the sea kings of the isles.

Regnar de Limesy, apparently brother of Ralph, had mimms and possessions in Herts. He must have died early, and a circumstance worthy of note is that no mere share of the spoil was assigned to him. In *Domesday* his possessions are found in the hands of Bishop Robert de Limesy, who perhaps received the bishopric as a compensation for claims of his father. The inheritance passed to the De Somerys, who perhaps represented a sister of Bishop Robert of Lichfield.

The history of the Toni and Limesi may be considered in their relation to English history, and that of Limesi is perhaps the most profitable. The possessions of Ralph de Limesi and Regnar de Limesi in Normandy were confined to one moderate fief or manor, which can have afforded them scanty resources, to take part in the invasion of England, and yet they stand in *Domesday* for some forty manors; Robert de Stafford, or de Toni, held two hundred. The forty of Ralph were, however, a magnificent portion.

Many of the chroniclers and county historians say that Ralph de Limesy was nephew of William the Norman, but no one states how this was. In the usual sense of nephew, Ralph cannot be affiliated. It is likewise to be observed that the near relatives of the King, even on the mother's side, were much more largely endowed than with forty manors.

My solution is that Ralph was regarded as what the French call, *neveu à la mode de Bretagne*, a relationship which I have noticed among many populations, and with which I was familiar among the Albanians. The Duke

being regarded as the head, the younger branches were treated as nephews. This relationship would apply to the large body of members of the ducal house in Normandy and England. They considered themselves as a privileged class or Athelings, and the title became equivalent to the later Cousin of the King here, or Prince de Rei in Portugal.

It will be noticed by the student that, so far as Hertfordshire is concerned, both Toni and Limesi are recorded in *Domesday* as holding manors. The late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (Lord Lindsay) a distinguished inquirer, went further, for he found this alliance in other shires, and that, as a general principle, the Normans were grouped according to families. This is of importance. It is generally held by historians, that to prevent his Barons from acquiring power by consolidated possessions, William astutely distributed them over the country. This was, however, by no means the case. There were many large domains, while Lord Crawford's discovery shows that near relations held their possessions side by side and could readily unite.

The solution of the fact must be sought in some other way. Ralph de Limesi received his portion by instalments. The first he and Regnar received was in Hertfordshire. This was one of the first regions available for distribution after the battle of Hastings had given possession of the Southern shires. Then as other regions were acquired Ralph received other instalments, some of them of little value.

The presumption is that the payments were made in virtue of an original compact before the invasion, in consideration of the assistance given. It was a kind of joint-stock company transaction. Ralph would not have represented himself alone, for, as stated, Limesi was a small manor and fief. Neighbours we know were associated with him, as was general, and probably Jews of Rouen and ship-owners on the coast.

In each centre in England Norman society was organised, which is a feature to be taken into account.

Of Baldwin, much is to be found in the annalists of the Crusades as Prince of Tarsus and King of Jerusalem (July 1100). In the *Jerusalem* of Tasso he figures as the opponent of Tancred. He died in an expedition to Egypt 26th March 1118, and was buried at Jerusalem.

Henry Gally Knight, in his *Normans in Sicily* (p. 41), says that Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, sent an embassy to Simon, Count of Sicily, to solicit the hand of his mother, Adelaide (quoting *Alexander Celesinus*, lib. I). Adelaide, niece of Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, and widow of Roger Guiscard, Count of Sicily, willingly accepted the proffered crown, but, after two years' marriage, she discovered that Baldwin had another wife, and returned to Sicily in disgust, and, entering the convent of Palli, soon after died.

Baldwin was uncle of King Stephen.

With the Tonis is associated the Order of the Swan, famous in the annals of chivalry. Toni was the Knight of the Swan. Roger de Espania is supposed to have begun the title.

It was attributed in the Middle Ages to the Tonis. The Duchess of Cleveland, in her great work, the *Battle Roll*, which has done so much for Norman history and genealogy, says of Robert, the last of the Barons Toni, that he is the Knight of the Swan spoken of at Caerlaverock—

Robert de Toni, ki bien signe,
Ki il est du Chivaller a Cigne.

The Order subsists, having been revived by the King of Prussia, and is enrolled among the Orders of Germany. Baring Gould, in his *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, has given the legend of the Knight of the Swan, a well-known romance. The descent of the Order is not made out, nor how the Dukes of Bouillon, Lorraine, and Cleves, became possessed of it. The only link is the marriage of Baldwin to

Godhilda de Toni, but she had no title to transmit the succession.

An unexplained circumstance, in relation to Ralph de Limesy, is the entry in *Domesday* as to his then holding half of the Castle of Strigul, in Wales. This is not found to have passed to his family, but other properties not entered to him in *Domesday* are found in the inheritance, including large manors in Warwickshire, etc., previously held by the Lady Christina, the grand-daughter of King Edmund.

How Ralph became possessed of the moiety of Strigul has not been explained. The castle of Strigul was built by William Fitzosbern. In the *County History of Herts*, by Clutterbuck, it is suggested that Ralph married a daughter of Fitzosbern, and thus inherited his claim to Strigul.

Strigul we afterwards find passing in the inheritance of the Fitzosberns, and it can scarcely be otherwise than that the King gave the Princess's land to Ralph in cession of his claims on Strigul, which became united under the Fitzosberns, and afterwards passed to Strongbow, who was styled Earl of Strigul.

Many of these obscure points would be cleared up if the proposition of Mr. William Alexander Lindsay for a Society to publish the Norman Chartularies were put into effect.

In connection with the possessions of the Toni and Limesi, some light is thrown on the part the Normans or French took in dispossessing the English cultivators of the soil. On landing at Hastings the Normans ravaged the country, and the consequence was the manors at *Domesday* were of little value. The value of a land grant really depended on the cultivators, and the English cultivators being turned out could seldom be replaced by Normans, who preferred their abodes in Normandy.

The policy of the Normans altered, and their object was to get the same return from their fiefs as the former holders had had in the time of King Edward. In the

north, where they pursued the same course as in Sussex and overcame the resistance by ravaging the country, they left it bare and little remunerative.

In the greater part of England the cultivators remained, and it was of small importance to them whether the Norman Lord of the Manor superseded the ancient Danish or Saxon holders; their position remained the same, cultivating the soil, and dividing the produce with the lord. The relations between lord and tenant became more peaceable. By political events the lords were cut off from Normandy, and the new Norman-English community was formed.

I regret that, suffering from illness, I am not able to apply my materials and pursue the subject at length, and that I must bring these desultory notes to a close.

The probability is that there is much more Norman blood in the English population than anthropologists acknowledge, and this in its entirety and its details is a subject of much more interest than it has met with from historians and anthropologists. The growth of historical societies in the United States, and their application to genealogical studies, promise to obtain much more attention in the future. The American branch of the English-speaking community is devoting itself to the establishment of its English descent, and none the less of Norman descent. The Viking Club can scarcely engage in any branch of research offering more promising results.

