

ANCIENT MAN IN BRITAIN



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

ANCIENT MAN IN BRITAIN

(A History of the Teutonic People)

BY

DONALD A. MACKENZIE

Author of "Egyptian Myth and Legend"

"Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe" "Colour Symbolism" &c.

WITH FOREWORD BY

G. ELLIOT SMITH, F.R.S.

BLACKIE AND SON LIMITED

50 OLD BAILEY, LONDON; GLASGOW, BOMBAY

Printed in Great Britain

1922

FOREWORD

In his Presidential Address to the Royal Anthropological Institute this year the late Dr. Rivers put his finger upon the most urgent need for reform in the study of Man, when he appealed for "the Unity of Anthropology". No true conception of the nature and the early history of the human family can be acquired by investigations, however carefully they may be done, of one class of evidence only. The physical characters of a series of skulls can give no reliable information unless their exact provenance and relative age are known. But the interpretation of the meaning of these characters cannot be made unless we know something of the movements of the people and the distinctive peculiarities of the inhabitants of the foreign lands from which they may have come. No less important than the study of their physical structure is the cultural history of peoples. The real spirit of a population is revealed by its social and industrial achievements, and by its

customs and beliefs, rather than by the shape of the heads and members of its units. The revival of the belief in the widespread diffusion of culture in early times has, as one of its many important effects, directed attention to the physical peculiarities of the mixed populations of important foci of civilization throughout the world. Such inquiries have not only enabled the student of human structure to detect racial affinities where he might otherwise have neglected to look for them, but on the other hand they have been able to give the investigator of cultural diffusion evidence of the most definite and irrefutable kind in corroboration of the reality of his inferences.

At the present time students are just awakening to the fact that no adequate idea of the anthropology of any area can be acquired unless every kind of evidence, somatic and cultural, be taken into account, and the problems of the particular locality are integrated with those worldwide movements of men and of civilization of which the people and culture of that locality form a part.

The great merit of Mr. Donald Mackenzie's book is due in the main to the fact that he has taken this wider vision of his subject and interpreted the history of early man in Britain, not simply by describing the varieties of head-form or of implements, customs and beliefs, but rather

by indicating how these different categories of information can be put into their appropriate setting in the history of mankind as a whole. There is nothing of technical pedantry about Mr. Mackenzie's writing. He has made himself thoroughly familiar with the customs and beliefs of the whole world, as his remarkable series of books on mythology has revealed, and in the process of acquiring this mass of information he has not sacrificed his common sense and powers of judgment. He has been able to see clearly through this amazing jumble of confusing statements the way in which every phase of civilization in all parts of the world is closely correlated with the rest; and he has given luminous expression to this clear vision of the history of man and civilization as it affects Britain.

G. ELLIOT SMITH,

The University of London.

PREFACE

This volume deals with the history of man in Britain from the Ice Age till the Roman period. The evidence is gleaned from the various sciences which are usually studied apart, including geology, archæology, philology, ethnology or anthropology, &c., and the writer has set himself to tell the story of Ancient Man in a manner which will interest a wider circle of readers than is usually reached by purely technical books. It has not been assumed that the representatives of Modern Man who first settled in Europe were simple-minded savages. The evidence afforded by the craftsmanship, the burial customs, and the art of the Crô-Magnon races, those contemporaries of the reindeer and the hairy mammoth in South-western France, suggests that they had been influenced by a centre of civilization in which considerable progress had already been achieved. There is absolutely no evidence that the pioneers were lacking in intelligence or foresight. If we are to judge merely by their skeletons and the shapes and sizes of their skulls, it would appear that they were, if anything, both physically and mentally superior to the average present-day inhabitants of Europe. Nor were they entirely isolated from the ancient culture area by which they had been originally influenced. As is shown, the evidence afforded by an Indian Ocean sea-shell, found in a Crô-

Magnon burial cavern near Mentone, indicates that much has yet to be discovered regarding the activities of the early people.

In writing the history of Ancient Man in Britain, it has been found necessary to investigate the Continental evidence. When our early ancestors came from somewhere, they brought something with them, including habits of life and habits of thought. The story unfolded by British finds is but a part of a larger story; and if this larger story is to be reconstructed, our investigations must extend even beyond the continent of Europe. The data afforded by the "Red Man of Paviland", who was buried with Crô-Magnon rites in a Welsh cave, not only emphasize that Continental and North African cultural influences reached Britain when the ice-cap was retreating in Northern Europe, but that from its very beginnings the history of our civilization cannot be considered apart from that of the early civilization of the world as a whole. The writer, however, has not assumed in this connection that in all parts of the world man had of necessity to pass through the same series of evolutionary stages of progress, and that the beliefs, customs, crafts, arts, &c., of like character found in different parts of the world were everywhere of spontaneous generation. There were inventors and discoverers and explorers in ancient times as there are at present, and many new contrivances were passed on from people to people. The man who, for instance, first discovered how to "make fire" by friction of fire-sticks was undoubtedly a great scientist and a benefactor of his kind. It is shown that shipbuilding had a definite area of origin.

The "Red Man of Paviland" also reveals to us minds pre-occupied with the problems of life and death. It is evident that the corpse of the early explorer was smeared with red earth and decorated with charms for very definite reasons. That the people who thus interred

their dead with ceremony were less intelligent than the Ancient Egyptians who adopted the custom of mummification, or the Homeric heroes who practised cremation, we have no justification for assuming.

At the very dawn of British history, which begins when the earliest representatives of Modern Man reached our native land, the influences of cultures which had origin in distant areas of human activity came drifting northward to leave an impress which does not appear to be yet wholly obliterated. We are the heirs of the Ages in a profounder sense than has hitherto been supposed.

Considered from this point of view, the orthodox scheme of Archæological Ages, which is of comparatively recent origin, leaves much to be desired. If anthropological data have insisted upon one thing more than another, it is that modes of thought, which govern action, were less affected by a change of material from which artifacts (articles made by man) were manufactured than they were by religious ideas and by new means for obtaining the necessary food supply. A profounder change was effected in the habits of early man in Britain by the introduction of the agricultural mode of life, and the beliefs, social customs, &c., connected with it, than could possibly have been effected by the introduction of edged implements of stone, bone, or metal.

As a substitute for the Archæological Ages, the writer suggests in this volume a new system, based on habits of life, which may be found useful for historical purposes. In this system the terms "Palæolithic", "Neolithic", &c., are confined to industries. "Neolithic man", "Bronze Age man", "Iron Age man", and other terms of like character may be favoured by some archæologists, but they mean little or nothing to most anatomists, who detect different racial types in a single "Age". A history of ancient man cannot ignore one set of scientists to pleasure another.

Several chapters are devoted to the religious beliefs and customs of our ancestors, and it is shown that there is available for study in this connection a mass of evidence which the archæological agnostics are too prone to ignore. The problem of the megalithic monuments must evidently be reconsidered in the light of the fuller anthropological data now available. Indeed, it would appear that a firmer basis than that afforded by "crude evolutionary ideas" must be found for British archæology as a whole. The evidence of surviving beliefs and customs, of Celtic philology and literature, of early Christian writings, and of recent discoveries in Spain, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, cannot, to say the least of it, be wholly ignored.

In dealing with the race problem, the writer has sifted the available data which throw light on its connection with the history of British culture, and has written as he has written in the hope that the growth of fuller knowledge on the subject will be accompanied by the growth of a deeper sympathy and a deeper sense of kinship than has hitherto prevailed in these islands of ours, which were colonized from time to time by groups of enterprising pioneers, who have left an enduring impress on the national character. The time is past for beginning a history of Britain with the Roman invasion, and for the too-oft-repeated assertion that before the Romans reached Britain our ancestors were isolated and half civilized.

DONALD A. MACKENZIE.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		Page
I.	BRITONS OF THE STONE AGE	1
II.	EARLIEST TRACES OF MODERN MAN	8
III.	THE AGE OF THE "RED MAN" OF WALES	19
IV.	SHELL DEITIES AND EARLY TRADE	35
V.	NEW RACES IN EUROPE	49
VI.	THE FAITHFUL DOG	61
VII.	ANCIENT MARINERS REACH BRITAIN	67
VIII.	NEOLITHIC TRADE AND INDUSTRIES	79
IX.	METAL WORKERS AND MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS	87
X.	CELTS AND IBERIANS AS INTRUDERS AND TRADERS	109
XI.	RACES OF BRITAIN AND IRELAND	121
XII.	DRUIDISM IN BRITAIN AND GAUL	140
XIII.	THE LORE OF CHARMS	157
XIV.	THE WORLD OF OUR ANCESTORS	167
XV.	WHY TREES AND WELLS WERE WORSHIPPED	176
XVI.	ANCIENT PAGAN DEITIES	195
XVII.	HISTORICAL SUMMARY	209
	INDEX	231

LIST OF PLATES

	Page
HEAD OF A CRÔ-MAGNON MAN - - - <i>Frontispiece</i>	
EXAMPLES OF LOWER PALÆOLITHIC INDUSTRIES FOUND IN ENGLAND - - - - - - - - -	12
WESTERN EUROPE DURING THE THIRD INTER-GLACIAL EPOCH	16
EXAMPLES OF PALÆOLITHIC ART - - - - - -	56
FLINT LANCE HEADS FROM IRELAND - - - - -	80
CHIPPED AND POLISHED ARTIFACTS FROM SOUTHERN ENGLAND	80
THE RING OF STENNIS, ORKNEY - - - - - -	96
MEGALITHS—KIT'S COTY HOUSE, KENT; TRETHEVY STONE, CORNWALL - - - - - - - - -	100
ENAMELLED BRONZE SHIELD - - - - - - -	116
EUROPEAN TYPES - - - - - - - -	124
RUINS OF PICTISH TOWER AT CARLOWAY, LEWIS - - -	128
A SCOTTISH "BROCH" (MOUSA, SHETLAND ISLES) - -	132
A SARDINIAN NURAGHE - - - - - - -	136
MEGALITHS—DOLMEN, NEAR BIRORI, SARDINIA; TYNEWYDD DOLMEN - - - - - - - - -	160
ONE OF THE GREAT TRILITHONS, STONEHENGE - - -	172
BRONZE URN AND CAULDRON - - - - - -	204
BRONZE BUCKLERS OR SHIELDS - - - - - -	224

ANCIENT MAN IN BRITAIN

CHAPTER I

Britons of the Stone Age

Caricatures of Early Britons—Enterprising Pioneers—Diseases and Folk-cures—Ancient Surgical Operations—Expert Artisans—Organized Communities—Introduction of Agriculture—Houses and Cooking Utensils—Spinning and Weaving—Different Habits of Life—The Seafarers.

The Early Britons of the Stone Age have suffered much at the hands of modern artists, and especially the humorous artists. They are invariably depicted as rude and irresponsible savages, with semi-negroid features, who had perforce to endure our rigorous and uncertain climate clad in loosely fitting skin garments, and to go about, even in the depth of winter, barefooted and bare-headed, their long tangled locks floating in the wind.

As a rule, the artists are found to have confused ideas regarding the geological periods. Some place the white savages in the age when the wonderful megalithic monuments were erected and civilization was well advanced, while others consign them to the far-distant Cretaceous Age in association with the monstrous reptiles that browsed on tropical vegetation, being unaware, apparently, that the reptiles in question ceased to exist

before the appearance of the earliest mammals. Not unfrequently the geological ages and the early stages of human culture are hopelessly mixed up, and monsters that had been extinct for several million years are shown crawling across circles that were erected by men possessed of considerable engineering skill.

It is extremely doubtful if our remote ancestors of the Stone Age were as savage or as backward as is generally supposed. They were, to begin with, the colonists who made Britain a land fit for a strenuous people to live in. We cannot deny them either courage or enterprise, nor are we justified in assuming that they were devoid of the knowledge and experience required to enable them to face the problems of existence in their new environment. They came from somewhere, and brought something with them; their modes of life did not have origin in our native land.

Although the early people lived an open-air life, it is doubtful if they were more physically fit than are the Britons of the twentieth century. They were certainly not immune from the ravages of disease. In their graves are found skeletons of babies, youths, and maidens, as well as those of elderly men and women; some spines reveal unmistakable evidence of the effects of rheumatism, and worn-down teeth are not uncommon. It is possible that the diseases associated with marshy localities and damp and cold weather were fairly prevalent, and that there were occasional pestilences with heavy death-rates. Epidemics of influenza and measles may have cleared some areas for periods of their inhabitants, the survivors taking flight, as did many Britons of the fifth century of our own era, when the country was swept by what is referred to in a Welsh book¹ as "the yellow plague", because "it made yellow and bloodless all whom it attacked". At the same time

¹ *Book of Llan Daf.*

recognition must be given to the fact that the early people were not wholly ignorant of medical science. There is evidence that some quite effective "folk cures" are of great antiquity—that the "medicine-men" and sorcerers of Ancient Britain had discovered how to treat certain diseases by prescribing decoctions in which herbs and berries utilized in modern medical science were important ingredients. More direct evidence is available regarding surgical knowledge and skill. On the Continent and in England have been found skulls on which the operation known as trepanning—the removing of a circular piece of skull so as to relieve the brain from pressure or irritation—was successfully performed, as is shown by the fact that severed bones had healed during life. The accomplished primitive surgeons had used flint instruments, which were less liable than those of metal to carry infection into a wound. One cannot help expressing astonishment that such an operation should have been possible—that an ancient man who had sustained a skull injury in a battle, or by accident, should have been again restored to sanity and health. Sprains and ordinary fractures were doubtless treated with like skill and success. In some of the incantations and charms collected by folk-lorists are lines which suggest that the early medicine-men were more than mere magicians. One, for instance, dealing with the treatment of a fracture, states:

"He put marrow to marrow; he put pith to pith; he put bone to bone; he put membrane to membrane; he put tendon to tendon; he put blood to blood; he put tallow to tallow; he put flesh to flesh; he put fat to fat; he put skin to skin; he put hair to hair; he put warm to warm; he put cool to cool."

"This," comments a medical man, "is quite a wonderful statement of the aim of modern surgical 'co-aptation',

and we can hardly believe such an exact form of words imaginable without a very clear comprehension of the natural necessity of correct and precise setting."¹

The discovery that Stone Age man was capable of becoming a skilled surgeon is sufficient in itself to make us revise our superficial notions regarding him. A new interest is certainly imparted to our examination of his flint instruments. Apparently these served him in good stead, and it must be acknowledged that, after all, a stone tool may, for some purposes, be quite as adequate as one of metal. It certainly does not follow that the man who uses a sharper instrument than did the early Briton is necessarily endowed with a sharper intellect, or that his ability as an individual artisan is greater. The Stone Age man displayed wonderful skill in chipping flint—a most difficult operation—and he shaped and polished stone axes with so marked a degree of mathematical precision that, when laid on one side, they can be spun round on a centre of gravity. His saws were small, but are still found to be quite serviceable for the purposes they were constructed for, such as the cutting of arrow shafts and bows, and the teeth are so minute and regular that it is necessary for us to use a magnifying glass in order to appreciate the workmanship. Some flint artifacts are comparable with the products of modern opticians. The flint workers must have had wonderfully keen and accurate eyesight to have produced, for instance, little "saws" with twenty-seven teeth to the inch, found even in the north of Scotland. In Ancient Egypt these "saws" were used as sickles.

Considerable groups of the Stone Age men of Britain had achieved a remarkable degree of progress. They lived in organized communities, and had evidently codes of laws and regularized habits of life. They were not

¹ Dr. Hugh Cameron Gillies in *Home Life of the Highlanders*, Glasgow, 1911, pp. 85 et seq.

entirely dependent for their food supply on the fish they caught and the animals they slew and snared. Patches of ground were tilled, and root and cereal crops cultivated with success. Corn was ground in handmills;¹ the women baked cakes of barley and wheat and rye. A rough but serviceable pottery was manufactured and used for cooking food, for storing grain, nuts, and berries, and for carrying water. Houses were constructed of wattles interwoven between wooden beams and plastered over with clay, and of turf and stones; these were no doubt thatched with heather, straw, or reeds. Only a small proportion of the inhabitants of Ancient Britain could have dwelt in caves, for the simple reason that caves were not numerous. Underground dwellings, not unlike the "dug-outs" made during the recent war, were constructed as stores for food and as winter retreats.

As flax was cultivated, there can be little doubt that comfortable under-garments were worn, if not by all, at any rate by some of the Stone Age people. Wool was also utilized, and fragments of cloth have been found on certain prehistoric sites, as well as spindle-whorls of stone, bone, and clay, wooden spindles shaped so as to serve their purpose without the aid of whorls, bone needles, and crochet or knitting-pins. Those who have assumed that the Early Britons were attired in skin garments alone, overlook the possibility that a people who could sew, spin, and weave, might also have been skilled in knitting, and that the jersey and jumper may have a respectable antiquity. The art of knitting is closely related to that of basket-making, and some would have it that many of the earliest potters plastered their clay inside baskets of reeds, and that the decorations of the early pots were suggested by the markings impressed

¹ A pestle or stone was used to pound grain in hollowed slabs or rocks before the mechanical mill was invented.

by these. It is of interest to note in this connection that some Roman wares were called *bascaudæ*, or "baskets", and that the Welsh *basged*—*basg*, from which our word "basket" is derived, signify "network" and "plaiting". The decoration of some pots certainly suggests the imitation of wickerwork and knitting, but there are symbols also, and these had, no doubt, a religious significance.

It does not follow, of course, that all the Early Britons of the so-called Stone Age were in the same stage of civilization, or that they all pursued the same modes of life. There were then, as there are now, backward as well as progressive communities and individuals, and there were likewise representatives of different races—tall and short, spare and stout, dark and fair men and women, who had migrated at different periods from different areas of origin and characterization. Some peoples clung to the sea-shore, and lived mainly on deep-sea fish and shell-fish; others were forest and moorland hunters, who never ventured to sea or cultivated the soil. There is no evidence to indicate that conflicts took place between different communities. It may be that in the winter season the hunters occasionally raided the houses and barns of the agriculturists. The fact, however, that weapons were not common during the Stone Age cannot be overlooked in this connection. The military profession had not come into existence.

Certain questions, however, arise in connection with even the most backward of the Stone Age peoples. How did they reach Britain, and what attracted them from the Continent? Man did not take to the sea except under dire necessity, and it is certain that large numbers could not possibly have crossed the English Channel on logs of wood. The boatbuilder's craft and the science of navigation must have advanced considerably before large migrations across the sea could have taken place.

When the agricultural mode of life was introduced, the early people obtained the seeds of wheat and barley, and, as these cultivated grasses do not grow wild in Britain, they must have been introduced either by traders or settlers.

It is quite evident that the term "Stone Age" is inadequate in so far as it applies to the habits of life pursued by the early inhabitants of our native land. Nor is it even sufficient in dealing with artifacts, for some people made more use of horn and bone than of stone, and these were represented among the early settlers in Britain.

CHAPTER II

Earliest Traces of Modern Man

The Culture Ages—Ancient Races—The Neanderthals—Crô-Magnon Man—The Evolution Theory—Palæolithic Ages—The Transition Period—Neanderthal Artifacts—Birth of Crô-Magnon Art—Occupations of Flint-yielding Stations—Ravages of Disease—Duration of Glacial and Interglacial Periods.

In 1865, Sir John Lubbock (afterwards Lord Avebury), writing in the *Prehistoric Times*, suggested that the Stone Age artifacts found in Western Europe should be classified into two main periods, to which he applied the terms Palæolithic (Old Stone) and Neolithic (New Stone). The foundations of the classification had previously been laid by the French antiquaries M. Boucher de Perthes and Edouard Lartet. It was intended that Palæolithic should refer to rough stone implements, and Neolithic to those of the period when certain artifacts were polished.

At the time very little was known regarding the early peoples who had pursued the flint-chipping and polishing industries, and the science of geology was in its infancy. A great controversy, which continued for many years, was being waged in scientific circles regarding the remains of a savage primitive people that had been brought to light. Of these the most notable were a woman's skull found in 1848 in a quarry at Gibraltar, the Cannstadt skull, found in 1700, which had long been lying in Stuttgart Museum undescribed and unstudied, and portions of a male skeleton taken from a

limestone cave in Neanderthal, near Dusseldorf, in 1857. Some refused to believe that these, and other similar remains subsequently discovered, were human at all; others declared that the skulls were those of idiots or that they had been distorted by disease. Professor Huxley contended that evidence had been forthcoming to prove the existence in remote times of a primitive race from which modern man had evolved.

It is unnecessary here to review the prolonged controversy. One of its excellent results was the stimulation of research work. A number of important finds have been made during the present century, which have thrown a flood of light on the problem. In 1908 a skeleton was discovered in a grotto near La Chapelle-aux-Saints in France, which definitely established the fact that during the earlier or lower period of the Palæolithic Age a Neanderthal race existed on the Continent, and, as other remains testify, in England as well. This race became extinct. Some hold that there are no living descendants of Neanderthal man on our globe; others contend that some peoples, or individuals, reveal Neanderthaloid traits. The natives of Australia display certain characteristics of the extinct species, but they are more closely related to Modern Man (*Homo sapiens*). There were pre-Neanderthal peoples, including Piltdown man and Heidelberg man.

During the Palæolithic Age the ancestors of modern man appeared in Western Europe. These are now known as the Crô-Magnon races.

In dealing with the Palæolithic Age, therefore, it has to be borne in mind that the artifacts classified by the archæologists represent the activities, not only of different races, but of representatives of different species of humanity. Neanderthal man, who differed greatly from Modern man, is described as follows by Professor Elliot Smith:

“His short, thick-set, and coarsely built body was carried in a half-stooping slouch upon short, powerful, and half-flexed legs of peculiarly ungraceful form. His thick neck sloped forward from the broad shoulders to support the massive flattened head, which protruded forward, so as to form an unbroken curve of neck and back, in place of the alteration of curves, which is one of the graces of the truly erect *Homo sapiens*. The heavy overhanging eyebrow ridges, and retreating forehead, the great coarse face, with its large eye-sockets, broad nose, and receding chin, combined to complete the picture of unattractiveness, which it is more probable than not was still further emphasized by a shaggy covering of hair over most of the body. The arms were relatively short, and the exceptionally large hands lacked the delicacy and the nicely balanced co-operation of thumb and fingers, which is regarded as one of the most distinctive of human characteristics.”¹

As Professor Osborn says: “the structure of the hand is a matter of the highest interest in connection with the implement-making powers of the Neanderthals”. He notes that in the large and robust Neanderthal hand, “the joint of the metacarpal bone which supports the thumb is of peculiar form, convex, and presenting a veritable convex condyle, whereas in the existing human races the articular surface of the upper part of the thumb joint is saddle-shaped, that is concave from within backward, and convex from without inward”. The Neanderthal fingers were “relatively short and robust”.²

The Crô-Magnons present a sharp contrast to the Neanderthals. In all essential features they were of modern type. They would, dressed in modern attire, pass through the streets of a modern city without particular notice being taken of them. One branch of the Crô-Magnons was particularly tall and handsome, with an average height for the males of 6 feet 1½ inches, with

¹ *Primitive Man*.

² *Men of the Old Stone Age* (1916), pp. 240-1.

chest very broad in the upper part, and remarkably long shin-bones that indicate swiftness of foot. The Neanderthals had short shins and bent knees, and their gait must have been slow and awkward. The Crô-Magnon hand was quite like that of the most civilized men of to-day.

It is of importance to bring out these facts in connection with the study of the development of early civilization in our native land, because of the prevalence of the theory that in collections of stone implements, dating from remote Palæolithic times till the Neolithic Age, a complete and orderly series of evolutionary stages can be traced. "As like needs", says one writer in this connection, "produce like means of satisfaction, the contrivances with which men in similar stages of progress overcome natural obstacles are in all times very much the same."¹ Hugh Miller, the Cromarty stonemason and geologist, was one of the first to urge this view. In 1835, he wrote in his *Scenes and Legends*, (1st edition, pp. 31, 32):

"Man in a savage stage is the same animal everywhere, and his constructive powers, whether employed in the formation of a legendary story or of a battleaxe, seem to expatiate almost everywhere in the same rugged track of invention. For even the traditions of this first stage may be identified, like its weapons of war, all the world over."²

He had written in this vein after seeing the collection of stone weapons and implements in the Northern Institution at Inverness. "The most practised eye", he commented, "can hardly distinguish between the weapons of the Old Scot and the New Zealander."

¹ *British Museum—A Guide to the Antiquities of the Stone Age*, p. 76 (1902).

² Miller had adopted the "stratification theory" of Professor William Robertson of Edinburgh University, who, in his *The History of America* (1777), wrote: "Men in their savage state pass their days like the animals round them, without knowledge or veneration of any superior power".

Eyes have become more practised in dealing with flints since Miller's time. Andrew Lang remembered his Miller when he wrote:

"Now just as the flint arrowheads are scattered everywhere, in all the continents and isles—and everywhere are much alike, and bear no very definite marks of the special influence of race—so it is with the habits and legends investigated by the student of folk-lore".¹

The recent discovery that the early flints found in Western Europe and in England were shaped by the Neanderthals and the pre-Neanderthals compels a revision of this complacent view of an extraordinarily difficult and complex problem. It is obvious that the needs and constructive powers of the Neanderthals, whose big clumsy hands lacked "the delicate play between the thumb and fingers characteristic of modern races", could not have been the same as those of the Crô-Magnons, and that the finely shaped implements of the Crô-Magnons could not have been evolved from the rough implements of the Neanderthals. The craftsmen of one race may, however, have imitated, or attempted to imitate, the technique of those of another.

There was a distinct break in the continuity of culture during the Palæolithic Age, caused by the arrival in Western Europe of the ancestors of Modern Man. The advent of the Crô-Magnons in Europe "represents on the cultural side", as Professor Elliot Smith says in *Primitive Man*, "the most momentous event in its history".

Some urge that the term "Palæolithic" should now be discarded altogether, but its use has become so firmly established that archæologists are loth to dispense with it. The first period of human culture has, however, had to be divided into "Lower" and "Upper Palæo-

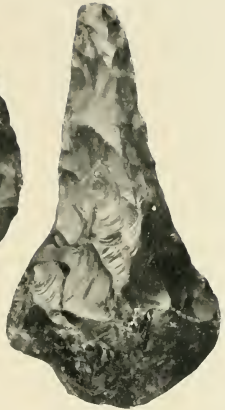
¹ *Custom and Myth* (1910 edition), p. 13. Lang's views regarding flints are worthless.



Mousterian type
(from Suffolk)



Acheulian type
(from Suffolk)



Photos. Oxford University Press
Chellean type
(from the Thames gravel)

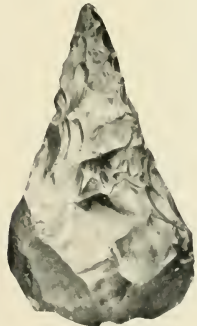


Photo. Mansell

EXAMPLES OF LOWER PALEOLITHIC INDUSTRIES
FOUND IN ENGLAND
(British Museum:)

lithic"—Lower closing with the disappearance of the Neanderthals, and Upper beginning with the arrival of the Crô-Magnons. These periods embrace the subdivisions detected during the latter half of last century by the French archæologists, and are now classified as follows:

Lower Palæolithic—

1. Pre-Chellean.
2. Chellean (named after the town of Chelles, east of Paris).
3. Acheulian (named after St. Acheul in Somme valley).
4. Mousterian (named after the caves of Le Moustier in the valley of the River Vézère).

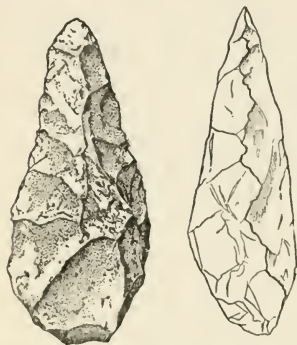
Upper Palæolithic—

1. Aurignacian (named after Aurignac, Haute Garonne).
2. Solutrean (named after Solutré, Saône-et-Loire).
3. Magdalenian (named after La Madeleine in the valley of the River Vézère).

Then follows, in France, the Azilian stage (named after Mas d'Azil, a town at the foot of the Pyrenees) which is regarded as the link between Upper Palæolithic and Neolithic. But in Western Europe, including Britain, there were really three distinct cultures during the so-called "Transition Period". These are the Azilian, the Tardenoisian, and the Maglemosian. These cultures were associated with the movements of new peoples in Europe.

The pre-Chellean flints (also called Eoliths) were wrought by the pre-Neanderthals. Chellean probably represents the earliest work in Europe of a pre-Neanderthal type like Piltdown man. The most characteristic

implement of this phase is the *coup de poing*, or pear-shaped "hand axe", which was at first roughly shaped and unsymmetrical. It was greatly improved during the Acheulian stage, and after being finely wrought in Mousterian times, when it was not much used, was supplanted by smaller and better chipped implements. The Neanderthals practised the Mousterian industry.



Chellean *Coup de Poing* or "Hand Axe"

Right-hand view shows sinuous cutting edge.

A profound change occurred when the Aurignacian stage of culture was inaugurated by the intruding Crô-Magnons. Skilled workers chipped flint in a new way, and, like the contemporary inhabitants of North Africa, shaped artifacts from bone; they also used reindeer horn, and the ivory tusks of mammoths. The birth of pictorial art took place in Europe after the Crô-Magnons arrived.

It would appear that the remnants of the Neanderthals in the late Mousterian stage of culture were stimulated by the arrival of the Crô-Magnons to imitate new flint forms and adopt the new methods of workmanship. There is no other evidence to indicate that the Crô-Magnons came into contact with communities of the Neanderthals. In these far-off days Europe was thinly peopled by hunters who dwelt in caves. The climate was cold, and the hairy mammoth and the reindeer browsed in the lowlands of France and Germany. Italy was linked with Africa; the grass-lands of North Africa stretched southward across the area now known as the Sahara desert, and

dense forests fringed the banks of the River Nile and extended eastward to the Red Sea.

Neanderthal man had originally entered Europe when the climate was much milder than it is in our own time. He crossed over from Africa by the Italian land-bridge, and he found African fauna, including species of the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, lion, and the hyæna, jackal, and sabre-tooth tiger in Spain, France, Germany. Thousands of years elapsed and the summers became shorter, and the winters longer and more severe, until the northern fauna began to migrate southward, and the African fauna deserted the plains and decaying forests of Europe. Then followed the Fourth Glacial phase, and when it was passing away the Neanderthals, who had long been in the Mousterian phase of culture, saw bands of Crô-Magnons prospecting and hunting in southern Europe. The new-comers had migrated from some centre of culture in North Africa, and appear to have crossed over the Italian land-bridge. It is unlikely that many, if any, entered Europe from the east. At the time the Black Sea was more than twice its present size, and glaciers still blocked the passes of Asia Minor.

A great contrast was presented by the two types of mankind. The short, powerfully built, but slouching and slow-footed Neanderthals were, in a conflict, no match for the tall, active, and swift-footed Crô-Magnons, before whom they retreated, yielding up their flint-working stations, and their caves and grottoes. It may be, as some suggest, that fierce battles were fought, but there is no evidence of warfare; it may be that the Neanderthals succumbed to imported diseases, as did so many thousands of the inhabitants of the Amazon Valley, when measles and other diseases were introduced by the Spaniards. The fact remains that the Neanderthals died out as completely as did the Tasmanians

before the advance of British settlers. We do not know whether or not they resisted, for a time, the intrusion of strangers on their hunting-grounds. It may be that the ravages of disease completed the tragic history of such relations as they may have had with the ancestors of Modern Man.

At this point, before we deal with the arrival in Britain of the representatives of the early races, it should be noted that differences of opinion exist among scientists regarding the geological horizons of the Palæolithic culture stages. In the Pleistocene Age there appear to have been four great glacial epochs and two minor ones. Geological opinion is, however, divided in this connection.

During the First Glacial epoch the musk-ox, now found in the Arctic regions, migrated as far south as Sussex. The Pliocene¹ mammals were not, however, completely exterminated; many of them survived until the First Interglacial epoch, which lasted for about 75,000 years—that is three times longer than the First Glacial epoch. The Second Glacial epoch is believed to have extended over 25,000 years. It brought to the southern shores of the Baltic Sea the reindeer and the hairy mammoth. Then came the prolonged Second Interglacial stage which prevailed for about 200,000 years. The climate of Europe underwent a change until it grew warmer than it is at the present day, and trees, not now found farther north than the Canary Islands, flourished in the forests of southern France. The Third Glacial stage gradually came on, grew in intensity, and then declined during a period estimated at about 25,000 years. It was followed by the Third Interglacial epoch which may have extended over at least 100,000 years. African animals returned to Europe and mingled with those that wandered from Asia and

¹ The last division of the Tertiary period.



WESTERN EUROPE DURING THE THIRD INTER-GLACIAL EPOCH

(According to the Abbé Breuil the Strait of Gibraltar was open and the Balearic group a great island.)

the survivors in Europe of the Second Interglacial fauna. The Fourth Glacial epoch, which is believed to have lasted for about 25,000 years, was very severe. All the African or Asiatic mammals either migrated or became extinct with the exception of lions and hyænas, and the reindeer found the western plains of Europe as congenial as it does the northern plains at the present time.

During the Fourth Post-glacial epoch there were for a period of about 25,000 years¹ partial glaciations and milder intervals, until during the Neolithic Age of the archæologists the climate of Europe reached the phase that at present prevails.

When, then, did man first appear in Europe? According to some geologists, and especially Penck and James Geikie, the Chellean phase of culture originated in the Second Interglacial epoch and the Mousterian endured until the Third Interglacial stage, when the Neanderthals witnessed the arrival of the Crô-Magnon peoples. Boule, Breuil, and others, however, place the pre-Chellean, Chellean, Acheulian, and early Mousterian stages of Lower (or Early) Palæolithic culture in the Third Interglacial epoch, and fix the extermination of Neanderthal man, in his late Mousterian culture stage, at the close of the Fourth Glacial epoch. This view is now being generally accepted. It finds favour with the archæologists, and seems to accord with the evidence they have accumulated. The Upper Palæolithic culture of Crô-Magnon man, according to some, began in its Aurignacian phase about 25,000 years ago; others consider, however, that it began about five or six thousand years ago, and was contemporaneous with the long pre-Dynastic civilization of Egypt. At the time England was connected with the Continent by a land-bridge,

¹ It must be borne in mind that the lengths of these periods are subject to revision. Opinion is growing that they were not nearly so long as here stated.

and as the climate grew milder the ancestors of modern man could walk across from France to the white cliffs of Dover which were then part of a low range of mountains. As will be shown, there is evidence that the last land movement in Britain did not begin until about 3000 B.C.

CHAPTER III

The Age of the "Red Man" of Wales

An Ancient Welshman—Aurignacian Culture in Britain—Coloured Bones and Luck Charms—The Cave of Aurignac—Discovery at Crô-Magnon Village—An Ancient Tragedy—Significant Burial Customs—Crô-Magnon Characters—New Race Types in Central Europe—Galley Hill Man—The Piltdown Skull—Ancient Religious Beliefs—Life Principle in Blood—Why Body-painting was practised—"Sleepers" in Caves—Red Symbolism in different Countries—The Heart as the Seat of Life—The Green Stone Talisman—"Soul Substance".

The earliest discovery of a representative of the Crô-Magnons was made in 1823, when Dr. Buckland explored the ancient cave-dwelling of Paviland in the vicinity of Rhossilly, Gower Peninsula, South Wales. This cave, known as "Goat's Hole", is situated between 30 and 40 feet above the present sea-level, on the face of a steep sandstone cliff about 100 feet in height; it is 60 feet in length and 200 feet broad, while the roof attains an altitude of over 25 feet. When this commodious natural shelter was occupied by our remote ancestors the land was on a much lower level than it is now, and it could be easily reached from the sea-shore. Professor Sollas has shown that the Paviland cave-dwellers were in the Aurignacian stage of culture, and that they had affinities with the tall Crô-Magnon peoples on the Continent.¹

¹ *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XLIII, 1913.

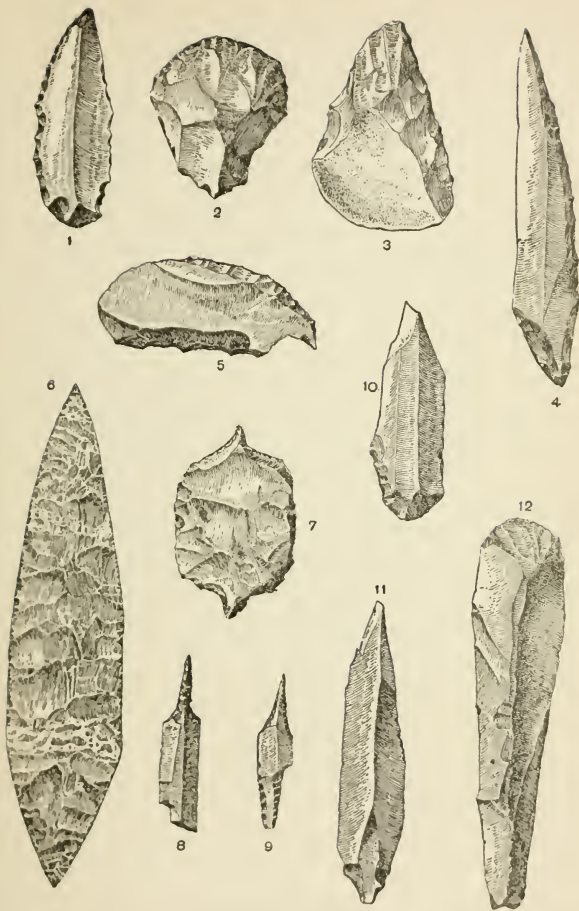
A human skeleton of a tall man was found in the cave deposit in association with the skull and tusks of a hairy mammoth, and with implements of Aurignacian type. Apparently the Aurignacian colonists had walked over the land-bridge connecting England with France many centuries before the land sank and the Channel tides began to carve out the white cliffs of Dover.

In his description of the bones of the ancient cave-man, who has been wrongly referred to as the "Red Lady of Paviland", Dr. Buckland wrote:

"They were all of them stained superficially with a dark brick-red colour, and enveloped by a coating of a kind of ruddle, composed of red micaceous oxide of iron, which stained the earth, and in some parts extended itself to the distance of about half an inch around the surface of the bones. The body must have been entirely surrounded or covered over at the time of its interment with this red substance."

Near the thighs were about two handfuls of small shells (*Nerita litoralis*) which had evidently formed a waist girdle. Over forty little rods of ivory, which may have once formed a long necklace, lay near the ribs. A few ivory rings and a tongue-shaped implement or ornament lay beside the body, as well as an instrument or charm made of the metacarpal bone of a wolf.

The next great discovery of this kind was made twenty-nine years later. In 1852 a French workman was trying to catch a wild rabbit on a lower slope of the Pyrenees, near the town of Aurignac in Haute Garonne, when he made a surprising find. From the rabbit's burrow he drew out a large human bone. A slab of stone was subsequently removed, and a grotto or cave shelter revealed. In the debris were found portions of seventeen skeletons of human beings of different ages and both sexes. Only two skulls were intact.



Upper Palaeolithic Implements

1. Aurignacian (Chatelperron point). 2, 3. Aurignacian (keeled scrapers). 4. Aurignacian point. 5. Magdalenian ("parrot-beak" graving tool). 6. Solutrean (laurel-leaf point). 7, 8, 9. Solutrean (drill, awl, and "shouldered" point). 10, 11, 12. Magdalenian.

This discovery created a stir in the town of Aurignac, and there was much speculation regarding the tragedy that was supposed to have taken place at some distant date. A few folks were prepared to supply circumstantial details by connecting the discovery with vague local traditions. No one dreamt that the burial-place dated back a few thousand years, or, indeed, that the grotto had really been a burial-place, and the mayor of the town gave instructions that the bones should be interred in the parish cemetery.

Eight years elapsed before the grotto was visited by M. Louis Lartet, the great French archæologist. Outside the stone slab he found the remains of an ancient hearth, and a stone implement which had been used for chipping flints. In the outer debris were discovered, too, the bones of animals of the chase, and about a hundred flint artifacts, including knives, projectiles, and sling-stones, besides bone arrows, tools shaped from reindeer horns, and an implement like a bodkin of roe-deer horn. It transpired that the broken bones of animals included those of the cave-lion, the cave-bear, the hyæna, the elk, the mammoth, and the woolly-haired rhinoceros—all of which had been extinct in that part of the world for thousands of years.

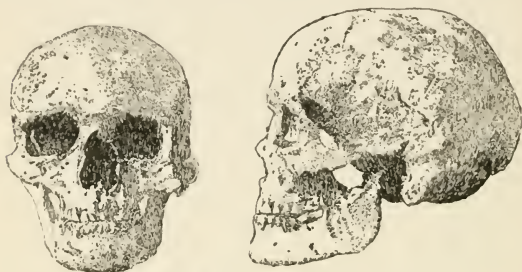
As in the Paviland cave, there were indications that the dead had been interred with ornaments or charms on their bodies. Inside the grotto were found "eighteen small round and flat plates of a white shelly substance, made of some species of cockle (*Cardium*) pierced through the middle, as if for being strung into a bracelet". Perforated teeth of wild animals had evidently been used for a like purpose.

The distinct industry revealed by the grotto finds has been named Aurignacian, after Aurignac. Had the human bones not been removed, the scientists would

have definitely ascertained what particular race of ancient men they represented.

It was not until the spring of 1868 that a flood of light was thrown on the Aurignacian racial problem. A gang of workmen were engaged in the construction of a railway embankment in the vicinity of the village of Crô-Magnon, near Les Eyzies, in the valley of the River Vézère, when they laid bare another grotto. Intimation was at once made to the authorities, and the Minister of Public Instruction caused an investigation to be made under the direction of M. Louis Lartet. The remains of five human skeletons were found. At the back of the grotto was the skull of an old man—now known as "the old man of Crô-Magnon"—and its antiquity was at once emphasized by the fact that some parts of it were coated by stalagmite caused by a calcareous drip from the roof of rock. Near "the old man" was found the skeleton of a woman. Her forehead bore signs of a deep wound that had been made by a cutting instrument. As the inner edge of the bone had partly healed, it was apparent she had survived her injury for a few weeks. Beside her lay the skeleton of a baby which had been prematurely born. The skeletons of two young men were found not far from those of the others. Apparently a tragic happening had occurred in ancient days in the vicinity of the Crô-Magnon grotto. The victims had been interred with ceremony, and in accordance with the religious rites prevailing at the time. Above three hundred pierced marine shells, chiefly of the periwinkle species (*Littorina littorea*), which are common on the Atlantic coasts, and a few shells of *Purpura lapillus* (a purple-yielding shell), *Turitella communis*, &c., were discovered besides the skeletons. These, it would appear, had been strung to form necklaces and other ornamental charms. M. Lartet found, too, a flat ivory pendant pierced with two holes, and was given two

other pendants picked up by young people. Near the skeletons were several perforated teeth, a split block of gneiss with a smooth surface, the worked antlers of a reindeer that may have been used as a pick for excavating flint, and a few chipped flints. Other artifacts of Aurignacian type were unearthed in the debris associated with the grotto, which appears to have been used as a dwelling-place before the interments had taken place.



Skull of a Crô-Magnon Man: front and side views
From the Grotte des Enfants, Mentone. (After Verneau.)

The human remains of the Crô-Magnon grotto were those of a tall and handsome race of which the "Red Man" of Paviland was a representative. Other finds have shown that this race was widely distributed in Europe. The stature of the men varied from 5 feet 10½ inches to 6 feet 4½ inches on the Riviera, that of the women being slightly less. That the Crô-Magnons were people of high intelligence is suggested by the fact that the skulls of the men and women were large, and remarkably well developed in the frontal region. According to a prominent anatomist the Crô-Magnon women had bigger brains than has the average male European of to-day. All these ancient skulls are of the dolichocephalic (long-headed) type. The faces, however, were comparatively

broad, and shorter than those of the modern fair North-Europeans, while the cheek bones were high—a characteristic, by the way, of so many modern Scottish faces.

This type of head—known as the "disharmonic", because a broad face is usually a characteristic of a broad skull, and a long face of a long skull—has been found to be fairly common among the modern inhabitants of the Dordogne valley. These French descendants of the Crô-Magnons are, however, short and "stocky", and most of them have dark hair and eyes. Crô-Magnon types have likewise been identified among the Berbers of North Africa, and the extinct fair-haired Guanches of the Canary Islands, in Brittany, on the islands of northern Holland, and in the British Isles.¹

A comparatively short race, sometimes referred to as the "Combe-Capelle", after the rock-shelter at Combe-Capelle, near Montferrand, Perigord, was also active during the stage of Aurignacian culture. An adult skeleton found in this shelter was that of a man only 5 feet 3 inches in height. The skull is long and narrow, with a lofty forehead, and the chin small and well developed. It has some similarity to modern European skulls. The skeleton had been subjected for thousands of years to the dripping of water saturated with lime, and had consequently been well preserved. Near the head and neck lay a large number of perforated marine shells (*Littorina* and *Nassa*). A collection of finely-worked flints of early Aurignacian type also lay beside the body.

Reference may also be made here to the finds in Moravia. Fragmentary skull caps from Brůx and Brůnn are regarded as evidence of a race which differed from the tall Crô-Magnons, and had closer affinities with

¹ For principal references see *The Races of Europe*, W. Z. Ripley, pp. 172 *et seq.*, and *The Anthropological History of Europe*, John Beddoe (Rhind lectures for 1891; revised edition, 1912), p. 47.

Combe-Capelle man. Some incline to connect the Brunn type with England, the link being provided by a skeleton called the "Galley Hill" after the place of its discovery below Gravesend and near Northfleet in Kent. Scientists regard him as a contemporary of the Aurignacian flint-workers of Combe-Capelle and Brunn. "Both the Brûx and Brunn skulls", writes Professor Osborn, "are harmonic; they do not present the very broad, high cheek-bones characteristic of the Crô-Magnon race,¹ the face being of a narrow modern type, but not very long. There is a possibility that the Brunn race was ancestral to several later dolichocephalic groups which are found in the region of the Danube and of middle and southern Germany."²

The Galley Hill man had been buried in the gravels of the "high terrace", 90 feet above the Thames. His bones when found were much decayed and denuded, and the skull contorted. The somewhat worn "wisdom tooth" indicates that he was a "fully-grown adult, though probably not an aged individual". Those who think he was not as old as the flints and the bones of extinct animals found in the gravels, regard him as a pioneer of the Brunn branch of the Aurignacians.

The Piltdown skull appears to date back to a period vastly more ancient than Neanderthal times.

Our special interest in the story of early man in Britain is with the "Red Man" of Paviland and Galley Hill man, because these were representatives of the species to which we ourselves belong. The Neanderthals and pre-Neanderthals, who have left their Eoliths and Palæoliths in our gravels, vanished like the glaciers and the icebergs, and have left, as has been indicated, no descendants in our midst. Our history begins with the arrival of the Crô-Magnon races, who

¹ That is, the tall representatives of the Crô-Magnon races

² *Men of the Old Stone Age*, pp. 335-6.

were followed in time by other peoples to whom Europe offered attractions during the period of the great thaw, when the ice-cap was shrinking towards the north, and the flooded rivers were forming the beds on which they now flow.

We have little to learn from Galley Hill man. His geological horizon is uncertain, but the balance of the available evidence tends to show he was a pioneer of the medium-sized hunters who entered Europe from the east, during the Aurignacian stage of culture. It is otherwise with the "Red Man" of Wales. We know definitely what particular family he belonged to; he was a representative of the tall variety of Crô-Magnons. We know too that those who loved him, and laid his lifeless body in the Paviland Cave, had introduced into Europe the germs of a culture that had been radiated from some centre, probably in the ancient forest land to the east of the Nile, along the North African coast at a time when it jutted far out into the Mediterranean and the Sahara was a grassy plain.

The Crô-Magnons were no mere savages who lived the life of animals and concerned themselves merely with their material needs. They appear to have been a people of active, inventive, and inquiring minds, with a social organization and a body of definite beliefs, which found expression in their art and in their burial customs. The "Red Man" was so called by the archæologists because his bones and the earth beside them were stained, as has been noted, by "red micaceous oxide of iron". Here we meet with an ancient custom of high significance. It was not the case, as some have suggested, that the skeleton was coloured after the flesh had decayed. There was no indication when the human remains were discovered that the grave had been disturbed after the corpse was laid in it. The fact that the earth as well as the bones retained the

coloration affords clear proof that the corpse had been smeared over with red earth which, after the flesh had decayed, fell on the skeleton and the earth and gravel beside it. But why, it will be asked, was the corpse so treated? Did the Crô-Magnons paint their bodies during life, as do the Australians, the Red Indians, and others, to provide "a substitute for clothing"? That cannot be the reason. They could not have concerned themselves about a "substitute" for something they did not possess. In France, the Crô-Magnons have left pictorial records of their activities and interests in their caves and other shelters. Bas reliefs on boulders within a shelter at Laussel show that they did not wear clothing during the Aurignacian epoch which continued for many long centuries. We know too that the Australians and Indians painted their bodies for religious and magical purposes—to protect themselves in battle or enable them to perform their mysteries—rain-getting, food-getting, and other ceremonies. The ancient Egyptians painted their gods to "make them healthy". Prolonged good health was immortality.

The evidence afforded by the Paviland and other Crô-Magnon burials indicates that the red colour was freshly applied before the dead was laid in the sepulchre. No doubt it was intended to serve a definite purpose, that it was an expression of a system of beliefs regarding life and the hereafter.

Apparently among the Crô-Magnons the belief was already prevalent that the "blood is the life". The loss of life appeared to them to be due to the loss of the red vitalizing fluid which flowed in the veins. Strong men who received wounds in conflict with their fellows, or with wild animals, were seen to faint and die in consequence of profuse bleeding; and those who were stricken with sickness grew ashen pale because, as it seemed, the supply of blood was insufficient, a condition

they may have accounted for, as did the Babylonians of a later period, by conceiving that demons entered the body and devoured the flesh and blood. It is not too much to suppose that they feared death, and that like other Pagan religions of antiquity theirs was deeply concerned with the problem of how to restore and prolong life. Their medicine-men appear to have arrived at the conclusion that the active principle in blood was the substance that coloured it, and they identified this substance with red earth. If cheeks grew pale in sickness, the flush of health seemed to be restored by the application of a red face paint. The patient did not invariably regain strength, but when he did, the recovery was in all likelihood attributed to the influence of the blood substitute. Rest and slumber were required, as experience showed, to work the cure. When death took place, it seemed to be a deeper and more prolonged slumber, and the whole body was smeared over with the vitalizing blood substitute so that, when the spell of weakness had passed away, the sleeper might awaken, and come forth again with renewed strength from the cave-house in which he had been laid.

The many persistent legends about famous "sleepers" that survive till our own day appear to have originally been connected with a belief in the return of the dead, the antiquity of which we are not justified in limiting, especially when it is found that the beliefs connected with body paint and shell ornaments and amulets were introduced into Europe in early post-glacial times. Ancient folk heroes might be forgotten, but from Age to Age there arose new heroes to take their places; the habit of placing them among the sleepers remained. Charlemagne, Frederick of Barbarossa, William Tell, King Arthur, the Fians, and the Irish Brian Boromhe, are famous sleepers. French peasants long believed that the sleeping Napoleon would one day return to

protect their native land from invaders, and during the Russo-Japanese war it was whispered in Russia that General Skobeleff would suddenly awake and hasten to Manchuria to lead their troops to victory. For many generations the Scots were convinced that James IV, who fell at Flodden, was a "sleeper". His place was taken in time by Thomas the Rhymer, who slept in a cave and occasionally awoke to visit markets so that he might purchase horses for the great war which was to redden Tweed and Clyde with blood. Even in our own day there were those who refused to believe that General Gordon, Sir Hector MacDonald, and Lord Kitchener, were really dead. The haunting belief in sleeping heroes dies hard.

Among the famous groups of sleeping heroes are the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus—the Christians who had been condemned to death by the Emperor Decius and concealed themselves in a cave where they slept for three and a half centuries. An eighteenth century legend tells of seven men in Roman attire, who lay in a cave in Western Germany. In Norse Mythology, the seven sons of Mimer sleep in the Underworld awaiting the blast of the horn, which will be blown at Ragnarok when the gods and demons will wage the last battle. The sleepers of Arabia once awoke to foretell the coming of Mahomet, and their sleeping dog, according to Moslem beliefs, is one of the ten animals that will enter Paradise.

A representative Scottish legend regarding the sleepers is located at the Cave of Craigiehowe in the Black Isle, Ross-shire, a few miles distant from the Rosemarkie cave. It is told that a shepherd once entered the cave and saw the sleepers and their dog. A horn, or as some say, a whistle, hung suspended from the roof. The shepherd blew it once and the sleepers shook themselves; he blew a second time, and they

opened their eyes and raised themselves on their elbows. Terrified by the forbidding aspect of the mighty men, the shepherd refrained from blowing a third time, but turned and fled. As he left the cave he heard one of the heroes call after him: "Alas! you have left us worse than you found us." As whistles are sometimes found in Magdalenian shelters in Western and Central Europe, it may be that these were at an early period connected with the beliefs about the calling back of the Crô-Magnon dead. The ancient whistles were made of hare- and reindeer-foot bone. The clay whistle dates from the introduction of the Neolithic industry in Hungary.

The remarkable tendency on the part of mankind to cling to and perpetuate ancient beliefs and customs, and especially those connected with sickness and death, is forcibly illustrated by the custom of smearing the bodies of the living and dead with red ochre. In every part of the world red is regarded as a particularly "lucky colour", which protects houses and human beings, and imparts vitality to those who use it. The belief in the protective value of red berries is perpetuated in our own Christmas customs when houses are decorated with holly, and by those dwellers in remote parts who still tie rowan berries to their cows' tails so as to prevent witches and fairies from interfering with the milk supply. Egyptian women who wore a red jasper in their waist-girdles called the stone "a drop of the blood of Isis (the mother goddess)".

Red symbolism is everywhere connected with life-blood and the "vital spark"—the hot "blood of life". Brinton¹ has shown that in the North American languages the word for blood is derived from the word for red or the word for fire. The ancient Greek custom of painting red the wooden images of gods was evidently connected with the belief that a supply of life-

¹ *Myths of the New World*, p. 163.

blood was thus assured, and that the colour animated the Deity, as Homer's ghosts were animated by a blood offering when Odysseus visited Hades. "The anointing of idols with blood for the purpose of animating them is", says Farnell, "a part of old Mediterranean magic."¹ The ancient Egyptians, as has been indicated, painted their gods, some of whom wore red garments; a part of their underworld Dewat was "Red Land", and there were "red souls" in it.² In India standing stones connected with deities are either painted red or smeared with the blood of a sacrificed animal. The Chinese regard red as the colour of fire and light, and in their philosophy they identify it with *Yang*, the chief principle of life;³ it is believed "to expel pernicious influences, and thus particularly to symbolize good luck, happiness, delight, and pleasure". Red coffins are favoured. The "red gate" on the south side of a cemetery "is never opened except for the passage of an Emperor".⁴ The Chinese put a powdered red stone called *hun-hong* in a drink or in food to destroy an evil spirit which may have taken possession of one. Red earth is eaten for a similar reason by the Polynesians and others. Many instances of this kind could be given to illustrate the widespread persistence of the belief in the vitalizing and protective qualities associated with red substances. In Irish Gaelic, Professor W. J. Watson tells me, "*ruadh*" means both "red" and "strong".

The Crô-Magnons regarded the heart as the seat of life, having apparently discovered that it controls the distribution of blood. In the cavern of Pindal, in south-western France, is the outline of a hairy mammoth painted in red ochre, and the seat of life is indicated by

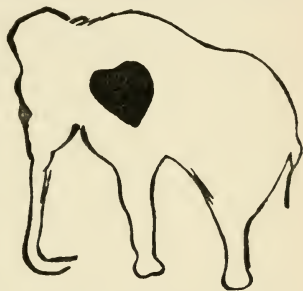
¹ *Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. V, p. 243.

² Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, Vol. I, p. 203.

³ De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Book I, pp. 216-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Book I, pp. 28 and 332.

a large red heart. The painting dates back to the early Aurignacian period. In other cases, as in the drawing of a large bison in the cavern of Niaux, the seat of life and the vulnerable parts are indicated by spear- or arrow-heads incised on the body. The ancient Egyptians identified the heart with the mind. To them the heart was the seat of intelligence and will-power as well as the seat of life. The germ of this belief can apparently be found in the pictorial art and burial customs of the Aurignacian Crô-Magnons.



Outline of a Mammoth painted in red ochre in the Cavern of Pindal, France

The seat of life is indicated by a large red heart. (After Breuil.)

Another interesting burial custom has been traced in the Grimaldi caves. Some of the skeletons were found to have small green stones between their teeth or inside their mouths.¹ No doubt these were amulets. Their colour suggests that green symbolism has not necessarily a connection with agricultural religion, as some have supposed. The Crô-Magnons do not appear to have paid much attention to vegetation. In ancient Egypt the green stone (Khepera) amulet "typified the germ of life". A text says, "A scarab of green stone . . . shall be placed in the heart of a man, and it shall perform for him the 'opening of the mouth'"—that is, it will enable him to speak and eat again. The scarab is addressed in a funerary text, "My heart, my mother. My heart whereby I came into being." It is believed by

¹ I am indebted to the Abbé Breuil for this information which he gave me during the course of a conversation.

Budge that the Egyptian custom of "burying green basalt scarabs inside or on the breasts of the dead" is as old as the first Dynasty (c. 3400 B.C.).¹ How much older it is one can only speculate. "The Mexicans", according to Brinton, "were accustomed to say that at one time all men have been stones, and that at last they would all return to stones, and acting literally on this conviction they interred with the bones of the dead a small green stone, which was called 'the principle of life'."² In China the custom of placing jade tongue amulets for the purpose of preserving the dead from decay and stimulating the soul to take flight to Paradise is of considerable antiquity.³ Crystals and pebbles have been found in ancient British graves. It may well be that these pebbles were regarded as having had an intimate connection with deities, and perhaps to have been coagulated forms of what has been called "life substance". Of undoubted importance and significance was the ancient custom of adorning the dead with shells. As we have seen, this was a notable feature of the Paviland cave burial. The "Red Man" was not only smeared with red earth, but "charmed" or protected by shell amulets. In the next chapter it will be shown that this custom not only affords us a glimpse of Aurignacian religious beliefs, but indicates the area from which the Crô-Magnons came.

Professor G. Elliot Smith was the first to emphasize the importance attached in ancient times to the beliefs associated with the divine "giver of life".

¹ Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, Vol. I, p. 358. These scarabs have not been found in the early Dynastic graves. Green malachite charms, however, were used in even the pre-Dynastic period.

² *The Myths of the New World*, p. 294. According to Bancroft the green stones were often placed in the mouths of the dead.

³ Laufer, *Jade*, pp. 293 *et seq.* (Chicago, 1912).

CHAPTER IV

Shell Deities and Early Trade

Early Culture and Early Races—Did Civilization originate in Europe?—An Important Clue—Trade in Shells between Red Sea and Italy—Traces of Early Trade in Central Europe—Religious Value of Personal Ornaments—Importance of Shell Lore—Links between Far East and Europe—Shell Deities—A Hebridean Shell Goddess—"Milk of Wisdom"—Ancient Goddesses as Providers of Food—Gaelic "Spirit Shell" and Japanese "God Body"—Influence of Deities in Jewels, &c.—A Shakespearean Reference—Shells in Crô-Magnon Graves—Early Sacrifices—Hand Colours in Palæolithic Caves—Finger Lore and "Hand Spells".

When the question is asked, "Whence came the Crô-Magnon people of the Aurignacian phase of culture?" the answer usually given is, "Somewhere in the East". The distribution of the Aurignacian sites indicates that the new-comers entered south-western France by way of Italy—that is, across the Italian land-bridge from North Africa. Of special significance in this connection is the fact that Aurignacian culture persisted for the longest period of time in Italy. The tallest Crô-Magnons appear to have inhabited south-eastern France and the western shores of Italy. "It is probable", says Osborn, referring to the men six feet four and a half inches in height, "that in the genial climate of the Riviera these men obtained their finest development; the country was admirably protected from the cold winds of the north, refuges were abundant, and game by no means scarce, to judge from the quantity of animal bones found in the caves. Under

such conditions of life the race enjoyed a fine physical development and dispersed widely."¹

It does not follow, however, that the tall people originated Aurignacian culture. As has been indicated, the stumpy people represented by Combe-Capelle skeletons were likewise exponents of it. "It must not be assumed", as Elliot Smith reminds us, "that the Aurignacian culture was necessarily invented by the same people who introduced it into Europe, and whose remains were associated with it . . . for any culture can be transmitted to an alien people, even when it has not been adopted by many branches of the race which was responsible for its invention, just as gas illumination, oil lamps, and even candles are still in current use by the people who invented the electric light, which has been widely adopted by many foreign peoples. This elementary consideration is so often ignored that it is necessary thus to emphasize it, because it is essential for any proper understanding of the history of early civilization."²

No trace of Aurignacian culture has, so far, been found outside Europe. "May it not, therefore," it may be asked, "have originated in Italy or France?" In absence of direct evidence, this possibility might be admitted. But an important discovery has been made at Grimaldi in La Grotte des Enfants (the "grotto of infants"—so called because of the discovery there of the skeletons of young Crô-Magnon children). Among the shells used as amulets by those who used the grotto as a sepulchre was one (*Cassia rufa*) that had been carried either by a migrating folk, or by traders, along the North African coast and through Italy from some southwestern Asian beach. The find has been recorded by Professor Marcellin Boule.³

¹ *Men of the Old Stone Age*, pp. 297-8.

² *Primitive Man (Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. VII)*.

³ *Les Grottes de Grimaldi (Baoussé-Rousse)*, Tome I, fasc. II—*Géologie et Paléontologie* (Monaco, 1906), p. 123.

In a footnote, G. Dollfus writes:

"*Cassis rufa*, L., an Indian ocean shell, is represented in the collection at Monaco by two fragments; one was found in the lower habitation level D, the other is probably of the same origin. The presence of this shell is extraordinary, as it has no analogue in the Mediterranean, neither recent nor fossil; there exists no species in the North Atlantic or off Senegal with which it could be confounded. The fragments have traces of the reddish colour preserved, and are not fossil; one of them presents a notch which has determined a hole that seems to have been made intentionally. The species has not yet been found in the Gulf of Suez nor in the raised beaches of the Isthmus. M. Jousseau has found it in the Gulf of Tadjoura at Aden, but it has not yet been encountered in the Red Sea nor in the raised beaches of that region. The common habitat of *Cassis rufa* is Socotra, besides the Seychelles, Madagascar, Mauritius, New Caledonia, and perhaps Tahiti. The fragments discovered at Mentone have therefore been brought from a great distance at a very ancient epoch by prehistoric man."

After the Crô-Magnon peoples had spread into Western and Central Europe they imported shells from the Mediterranean. At Laugerie Basse in the Dordogne, for instance, a necklace of pierced shells from the Mediterranean was found in association with a skeleton. Atlantic shells could have been obtained from a nearer seashore. It may be that the Rhone valley, which later became a well-known trade route, was utilized at an exceedingly remote period, and that cultural influences occasionally "flowed" along it. "Prehistoric man" had acquired some experience as a trader even during the "hunting period", and he had formulated definite religious beliefs.

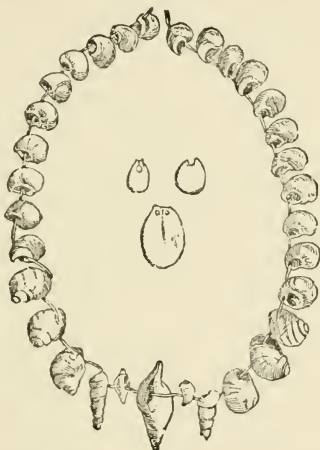
It has been the habit of some archæologists to refer to shell and other necklaces, &c., as "personal ornaments". The late Dr. Robert Munro wrote in this connection:

"We have no knowledge of any phase of humanity in which the love of personal ornament does not play an important part in the life of the individual. The savage of the present day, who paints or tattoos his body, and adorns it with shells, feathers, teeth, and trinkets made of the more gaudy materials at his disposal, may be accepted as on a parallel with the Neolithic people of Europe. . . . Teeth are often perforated and used as pendants, especially the canines of carnivorous animals, but such ornaments are not peculiar to Neolithic times, as they were equally prevalent among the later Palæolithic races of Europe."¹

Modern savages have very definite reasons for wearing the so-called "ornaments", and for painting and tattooing their bodies. They believe that the shells, teeth, &c., afford them protection, and bring them luck. Ear-piercing, distending the lobe of the ear, disfiguring the body, the pointing, blackening, or knocking out of teeth, are all practices that have a religious significance. Even such a highly civilized people as the Chinese perpetuate, in their funerary ceremonies, customs that can be traced back to an exceedingly remote period in the history of mankind. It is not due to "love of personal ornament" that they place cowries, jade, gold, &c., in the mouth of the dead, but because they believe that by so doing the body is protected, and given a new lease of life. The Far Eastern belief that an elixir of ground oyster shells will prolong life in the next world is evidently a relic of early shell lore. Certain deities are associated with certain shells. Some deities have, like snails, shells for "houses"; others issue at birth from shells. The goddess Venus (Aphrodite) springs from the froth of the sea, and is lifted up by Tritons on a shell; she wears a love-girdle. Hathor, the Egyptian Venus, had originally a love-girdle of shells. She appears to have originated as the personification of a

¹ *Prehistoric Britain*, pp. 142-3.

shell, and afterwards to have personified the pearl within the shell. In early Egyptian graves the shell-amulets have been found in thousands. The importance of shell lore in ancient religious systems has been emphasized by Mr. J. Wilfrid Jackson in his *Shells as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture*.¹ He shows why the



Necklace of Sea Shells, from the cave of Crô-Magnon. (After E. Lartet.)

cowry and snail shells were worn as amulets and charms, and why men were impelled "to search for them far and wide and often at great peril". "The murmur of the shell was the voice of the god, and the trumpet made of a shell became an important instrument in initiation ceremonies and in temple worship." Shells protected wearers against evil, including the evil eye. In like manner protection was afforded by the teeth and claws of carnivorous animals. In Asia and Africa the

¹ London, 1917.

belief that tigers, lions, &c., will not injure those who are thus protected is still quite widespread.

It cannot have been merely for love of personal ornaments that the Crô-Magnons of southern France imported Indian Ocean shells, and those of Central and Western Europe created a trade in Mediterranean shells. Like the ancient inhabitants of the Nile Valley who in remote pre-dynastic times imported shells, not only from the Mediterranean but from the Red Sea, along a long and dangerous desert trade-route, they evidently had imparted to shells a definite religious significance. The "luck-girdle" of snail-shells worn by the "Red Man of Paviland" has, therefore, an interesting history. When the Crô-Magnons reached Britain they brought with them not only implements invented and developed elsewhere, but a heritage of religious beliefs connected with shell ornaments and with the red earth with which the corpse was smeared when laid in its last resting-place.

The ancient religious beliefs connected with shells appear to have spread far and wide. Traces of them still survive in districts far separated from one another and from the area of origin—the borderlands of Asia and Africa. In Japanese mythology a young god, Ohonamochie—a sort of male Cinderella—is slain by his jealous brothers. His mother makes appeal to a sky deity who sends to her aid the two goddesses Princess Cockleshell and Princess Clam. Princess Cockleshell burns and grinds her shell, and with water provided by Princess Clam prepares an elixir called "nurse's milk" or "mother's milk". As soon as this "milk" is smeared over the young god, he is restored to life. In the Hebrides it is still the custom of mothers to burn and grind the cockle-shell to prepare a lime-water for children who suffer from what in Gaelic is called "wasting". In North America shells of *Unio* were placed in the graves

of Red Indians "as food for the dead during the journey to the land of spirits". The pearls were used in India as medicines. "The burnt powder of the gems, if taken with water, cures hæmorrhages, prevents evil spirits working mischief in men's minds, cures lunacy and all mental diseases, jaundice, &c. . . . Rubbed over the body with other medicines it cures leprosy and all skin diseases."¹ The ancient Cretans, whose culture was carried into Asia and through Europe by their enterprising sea-and-land traders and prospectors, attached great importance to the cockle-shell which they connected with their mother goddess, the source of all life and the giver of medicines and food. Sir Arthur Evans found a large number of cockle-shells, some in Faience, in the shrine of the serpent goddess in the ruins of the Palace of Knossos. The fact that the Cretans made artificial cockle-shells is of special interest, especially when we find that in Egypt the earliest use to which gold was put was in the manufacture of models of snail-shells in a necklace.² In different countries cowrie shells were similarly imitated in stone, ivory, and metal.³

Shells were thought to impart vitality and give protection, not only to human beings, but even to the plots of the earliest florists and agriculturists. "Mary, Mary, quite contrairie", who in the nursery rhyme has in her garden "cockle-shells all in row", was perpetuating an ancient custom. The cockle-shell is still favoured by conservative villagers, and may be seen in their garden plots and in graveyards. Shells placed at cottage doors, on window-sills, and round fire-places are supposed to bring luck and give security, like the horse-shoe on the door.

The mother goddess, remembered as the fairy queen,

¹ *Shells as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture*, pp. 84-91.

² G. A. Reisner, *Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Der*, Vol. I, 1908, Plates 6 and 7.

³ Jackson's *Shells*, pp. 128, 174, 176, 178.

is still connected with shells in Hebridean folk-lore. A Gaelic poet refers to the goddess as "the maiden queen of wisdom who dwelt in the beauteous bower of the single tree where she could see the whole world and where no fool could see her beauty". She lamented the lack of wisdom among women, and invited them to her knoll. When they were assembled there the goddess appeared, holding in her hand the *copan Moire* ("Cup of Mary"), as the blue-eyed limpet shell is called. The shell contained "the ais (milk) of wisdom", which she gave to all who sought it. "Many", we are told, "came to the knoll too late, and there was no wisdom left for them."¹ A Gaelic poet says the "maiden queen" was attired in emerald green, silver, and mother-of-pearl.

Here a particular shell is used by an old goddess for a specific purpose. She imparts knowledge by providing a magic drink referred to as "milk". The question arises, however, if a deity of this kind was known in early times. Did the Crô-Magnons of the Aurignacian stage of culture conceive of a god or goddess in human form who nourished her human children and instructed them as do human mothers? The figure of a woman, holding in her hand a horn which appears to have been used for drinking from, is of special interest in this connection. As will be shown, the Hebridean "maiden" links with other milk-providing deities.

The earliest religious writings in the world are the

¹ Dr. Alexander Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, Vol. II, pp. 247 *et seq.* Mr. Wilfrid Jackson, author of *Shells as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture*, tells me that the "blue-eyed limpet" is our common limpet—*Patella vulgata*—the Lepas, Patelle, Jambe, Cail de boue, Bernicle, or Flie of the French. In Cornwall it is the "Crogan", the "Bornigan", and the "Brennick". It is "flither" of the English, "flia" of the Faroese, and "lapa" of the Portuguese. A Cornish giant was once, according to a folk-tale, set to perform the hopeless task of emptying a pool with a single limpet which had a hole in it. Limpets are found in early British graves and in the "kitchen middens". They are met with in abundance in cromlechs, on the Channel Isles and in Brittany, covering the bones and the skulls of the dead. Mr. Jackson thinks they were used like cowries for vitalizing and protecting the dead.

Pyramid Texts of ancient Egypt which, as Professor Breasted so finely says, "vaguely disclose to us a vanished world of thought and speech". They abound "in allusions to lost myths, to customs and usages long since ended". Withal, they reflect the physical conditions of a particular area—the Nile Valley, in which the sun and the river are two outstanding natural features. There was, however, a special religious reason for connecting the sun and the river.

In these old Pyramid Texts are survivals from a period apparently as ancient as that of early Aurignacian civilization in Europe, and perhaps, as the clue afforded by the Indian shell found in the Grimaldi cave, not unconnected with it. The mother goddess, for instance, is prayed to so that she may suckle the soul of the dead Pharaoh as a mother suckles her child and never wean him.¹ Milk was thus the elixir of life, and as the mother goddess of Egypt is found to have been identified with the cowrie—indeed to have been the spirit or personification of the shell—the connection between shells and milk may have obtained even in Aurignacian times in southwestern Europe. That the mother goddess of Crô-Magnons had a human form is suggested by the representations of mothers which have been brought to light. An Aurignacian statuette of limestone found in the cave of Willendorf, Lower Austria, has been called the "Venus of Willendorf". She is very corpulent—apparently because she was regarded as a giver of life. Other statues of like character have been unearthed near Mentone, and they have a striking resemblance to the figurines of fat women found in the pre-dynastic graves of Egypt and in Crete and Malta. The bas-relief of the fat woman sculptured on a boulder inside the Aurignacian shelter of Laussel may similarly have been a goddess. In her right hand she holds a

¹ Breasted, *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 130.

bison's horn—perhaps a drinking horn containing an elixir. Traces of red colouring remain on the body. A notable fact about these mysterious female forms is that the heads are formal, the features being scarcely, if at all, indicated.

Even if no such "idols" had been found, it does not follow that the early people had no ideas about supernatural beings. There are references in Gaelic to the *coich anama* (the "spirit case", or "soul shell", or "soul husk"). In Japan, which has a particularly rich and voluminous mythology, there are no idols in Shinto temples. A deity is symbolized by the *shintai* (God body), which may be a mirror, a weapon, or a round stone, a jewel or a pearl. A pearl is a *tama*; so is a precious stone, a crystal, a bit of worked jade, or a necklace of jewels, ivory, artificial beads, &c. The soul of a supernatural being is called *mi-tama*—*mi* being now a honorific prefix, but originally signifying a water serpent (dragon god). The shells, of which ancient deities were personifications, may well have been to the Crô-Magnons pretty much what a *tama* is to the Japanese, and what magic crystals were to mediæval Europeans who used them for magical purposes. It may have been believed that in the shells, green stones, and crystals remained the influence of deities as the power of beasts of prey remained in their teeth and claws. The ear-rings and other Pagan ornaments which Jacob buried with Laban's idols under the oak at Shechem were similarly supposed to be god bodies or coagulated forms of "life substance". All idols were temporary or permanent bodies of deities, and idols were not necessarily large. It would seem to be a reasonable conclusion that all the so-called ornaments found in ancient graves were supposed to have had an intimate connection with the supernatural beings who gave origin to and sustained life. These ornaments, or

charms, or amulets, imparted vitality to human beings, because they were regarded as the substance of life itself. The red jasper worn in the waist girdles of the ancient Egyptians was reputed, as has been stated, to be a coagulated drop of the blood of the mother goddess Isis. Blood was the essence of life.

The red woman or goddess of the Laussel shelter was probably coloured so as to emphasize her vitalizing attributes; the red colour animated the image.

An interesting reference in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* to ancient burial customs may here be quoted, because it throws light on the problem under discussion. When Ophelia's body is carried into the graveyard¹ one of the priests says that as "her death was doubtful" she should have been buried in "ground unsanctified"—that is, among the suicides and murderers. Having taken her own life, she was unworthy of Christian burial, and should be buried in accordance with Pagan customs. In all our old churchyards the takers of life were interred on the north side, and apparently in Shakespeare's day traditional Pagan rites were observed in the burials of those regarded as Pagans. The priest in *Hamlet*, therefore, says of Ophelia:

She should in ground unsanctified have lodged
Till the last trumpet; *for charitable prayers,*
Shards, flints, and pebbles should be thrown on her.

There are no shards (fragments of pottery) in the Crô-Magnon graves, but flints and pebbles mingle with shells, teeth, and other charms and amulets. Vast numbers of perforated shells have been found in the burial caves near Mentone. In one case the shells are so numerous that they seem to have formed a sort of burial mantle. "Similarly," says Professor Osborn, describing another of these finds, "the female skeleton

¹ *Hamlet*, V, i.

was enveloped in a bed of shells not perforated; the legs were extended, while the arms were stretched beside the body; there were a few pierced shells and a few bits of silex. One of the large male skeletons of the same grotto had the lower limbs extended, the upper limbs folded, and was decorated with a gorget and crown of perforated shells; the head rested on a block of red stone." In another case "heavy stones protected the body from disturbance; the head was decorated with a circle of perforated shells *coloured in red*, and implements of various types were carefully placed on the forehead and chest". The body of the Combe-Capelle man "was decorated with a necklace of perforated shells and surrounded with a great number of fine Aurignacian flints. It appears", adds Osborn, "that in all the numerous burials of these grottos of Aurignacian age and industry of the Crô-Magnon race we have the burial standards which prevailed in western Europe at this time."¹

It has been suggested by one of the British archæologists that the necklaces of perforated cowrie shells and the red pigment found among the remains of early man in Britain were used by children. This theory does not accord with the evidence afforded by the Grimaldi caves, in which the infant skeletons are neither coloured nor decorated. Occasionally, however, the children were interred in burial mantles of small perforated shells, while female adults were sometimes placed in beds of unperforated shells. Shells have been found in early British graves. These include *Nerita litoralis*, and even *Patella vulgata*, the common limpet. Holes were rubbed in them so that they might be strung together. In a megalithic cist unearched in Phoenix Park, Dublin, in 1838, two male skeletons had each beside them perforated shells (*Nerita litoralis*). During the construction of

¹ *Men of the Old Stone Age*, pp. 304-5.

the Edinburgh and Granton railway there was found beside a skeleton in a stone cist a quantity of cockle-shell rings. Two dozen perforated oyster-shells were found in a single Orkney cist. Many other examples of this kind could be referred to.¹

In the Crô-Magnon caverns are imprints of human hands which had been laid on rock and then dusted round with coloured earth. In a number of cases it is shown that one or more finger joints of the left hand had been cut off.

The practice of finger mutilation among Bushman, Australian, and Red Indian tribes, is associated with burial customs and the ravages of disease. A Bushman woman may cut off a joint of one of her fingers when a near relative is about to die. Red Indians cut off finger-joints when burying their dead during a pestilence, so as "to cut off deaths"; they sacrificed a part of the body to save the whole. In Australia finger mutilation is occasionally practised. Highland Gaelic stories tell of heroes who lie asleep to gather power which will enable them to combat with monsters or fierce enemies. Heroines awake them by cutting off a finger joint, a part of the ear, or a portion of skin from the scalp.²

The colours used in drawings of hands in Palæolithic caves are black, white, red, and yellow, as the Abbé Breuil has noted. In Spain and India, the hand prints are supposed to protect dwellings from evil influences. Horse-shoes, holly with berries, various plants, shells, &c., are used for a like purpose among those who in our native land perpetuate ancient customs.

The Arabs have a custom of suspending figures of an

¹ A Red Sea cowry shell (*Cypræa minor*) found on the site of Hurstbourne station (L. & S. W. Railway, main line) in Hampshire, was associated with "Early Iron Age" artifacts. (Paper read by J. R. le B. Tomlin at meeting of Linnæan Society, June 14, 1911.)

² For references see my *Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe*, pp. 30-31.

open hand from the necks of their children, and the Turks and Moors paint hands upon their ships and houses, "as an antidote and counter charm to an evil eye; for five is with them an unlucky number; and 'five (fingers, perhaps) in your eyes' is their proverb of cursing and defiance". In Portugal the hand spell is called the *figa*. Southey suggests that our common phrase "a fig for him" was derived from the name of the Portuguese hand amulet.¹

"The figo for thy friendship" is an interesting reference by Shakespeare.² Fig or figo is probably from *fico*, a snap of the fingers, which in French is *faire la figue*, and in Italian *far le fiche*. Finger snapping had no doubt originally a magical significance.

¹ Notes to *Thalaba*, Book V, Canto 36.

² *Henry V*, V, iii, 6.

CHAPTER V

New Races in Europe

The Solutrean Industry—A Racial and Cultural Intrusion—Decline of Aurignacian Art—A God-cult—The Solutrean Thor—Open-air Life—Magdalenian Culture—Decline of Flint Working—Horn and Bone Weapons and Implements—Revival of Crô-Magnon Art—The Lamps and Palettes of Cave Artists—The Domesticated Horse—Eskimos in Europe—Magdalenian Culture in England—The Vanishing Ice—Reindeer migrate Northward—New Industries—Tardenoisian and Azilian Industries—Pictures and Symbols of Azilians—"Long-heads" and "Broad-heads"—Maglemosian Culture of Fair Northerners—Pre-Neolithic Peoples in Britain.

In late Aurignacian times the influence of a new industry was felt in Western Europe. It first came from the south, and reached as far north as England where it can be traced in the caverns. Then, in time, it spread westward and wedge-like through Central Europe in full strength, with the force and thoroughness of an invasion, reaching the northern fringe of the Spanish coast. This was the Solutrean industry which had distinctive and independent features of its own. It was not derived from Aurignacian but had developed somewhere in Africa—perhaps in Somaliland, whence it radiated along the Libyan coast towards the west and eastward into Asia. The main or "true" Solutrean influence entered Europe from the south-east. It did not pass into Italy, which remained in the Aurignacian stage until Azilian times, nor did it cross the Pyrenees or invade Spain south of the Cantabrian Mountains. The earlier "influence" is referred to as "proto-Solutrean".

Solutrean is well represented in Hungary where no trace of Aurignacian culture has yet been found. Apparently that part of Europe had offered no attractions for the Crô-Magnons.

Who the carriers of this new culture were it is as yet impossible to say with confidence. They may have been a late "wave" of the same people who had first introduced Aurignacian culture into Europe, and they may have been representative of a different race. Some ethnologists incline to connect the Solutrean culture with a new people whose presence is indicated by the skulls found at Brünn and Brûx in Bohemia. These intruders had lower foreheads than the Crô-Magnons, narrower and longer faces, and low cheek-bones. It may be that they represented a variety of the Mediterranean race. Whoever they were, they did not make much use of ivory and bone, but they worked flint with surpassing skill and originality. Their technique was quite distinct from the Aurignacian. With the aid of wooden or bone tools, they finished their flint artifacts by pressure, gave them excellent edges and points, and shaped them with artistic skill. Their most characteristic flints are the so-called laurel-leaf (broad) and willow-leaf (narrow) lances. These were evidently used in the chase. There is no evidence that they were used in battle. Withal, their weapons had a religious significance. Fourteen laurel-leaf spear-heads of Solutrean type which were found together at Volgu, Saône-et-Loire, are believed to have been a votive offering to a deity. At any rate, these were too finely worked and too fragile, like some of the peculiar Shetland and Swedish knives of later times, to have been used as implements. One has retained traces of red colouring. It may be that the belief enshrined in the Gaelic saying, "Every weapon has its demon", had already come into existence. In Crete the double-axe was in Minoan times

a symbol of a deity;¹ and in northern Egypt and on the Libyan coast the crossed arrows symbolized the goddess Neith; while in various countries, and especially in India, there are ancient stories about the spirits of weapons appearing in visions and promising to aid great hunters and warriors. The custom of giving weapons personal names, which survived for long in Europe, may have had origin in Solutrean times.

Art languished in Solutrean times. Geometrical figures were incised on ivory and bone; some engraving of mammoths, reindeer, and lions have been found in Moravia and France. When the human figure was depicted, the female was neglected and studies made of males. It may be that the Solutreans had a god-cult as distinguished from the goddess-cult of the Aurignacians, and that their "flint-god" was an early form of Zeus, or of Thor, whose earliest hammer was of flint. The Romans revered "Jupiter Lapis" (silex). When the solemn oath was taken at the ceremony of treaty-making, the representative of the Roman people struck a sacrificial pig with the *silex* and said, "Do thou, Diespiter, strike the Roman people as I strike this pig here to-day, and strike them the more, as thou art greater and stronger". Mr. Cyril Bailey (*The Religion of Ancient Rome*, p. 7) expresses the view that "in origin the stone is itself the god".

During Solutrean times the climate of Europe, although still cold, was drier than in Aurignacian times. It may be that the intruders seized the flint quarries of the Crô-Magnons, and also disputed with them the possession of hunting-grounds. The cave art declined or was suspended during what may have been a military regime and perhaps, too, under the influence of a new religion and new social customs. Open-air camps

¹ For other examples see Mr. Legge's article in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1899, p. 310.

beside rock-shelters were greatly favoured. It may be, as has been suggested, that the Solutreans were as expert as the modern Eskimos in providing clothing and skin-tents. Bone needles were numerous. They fed well, and horse-flesh was a specially favoured food.

In their mountain retreats, the Aurignacians may have concentrated more attention than they had previously done on the working of bone and horn; it may be that they were reinforced by new races from north-eastern Europe, who had been developing a distinctive industry on the borders of Asia. At any rate, the industry known as Magdalenian became widespread when the ice-fields crept southward again, and southern and central Europe became as wet and cold as in early Aurignacian times. Solutrean culture gradually declined and vanished and Magdalenian became supreme.

The Magdalenian stage of culture shows affinities with Aurignacian and betrays no influence of Solutrean technique. The method of working flint was quite different. The Magdalenians, indeed, appear to have attached little importance to flint for implements of the chase. They often chipped it badly in their own way and sometimes selected flint of poor quality, but they had beautiful "scrapers" and "gravers" of flint. It does not follow, however, that they were a people on a lower stage of culture than the Solutreans. New inventions had rendered it unnecessary for them to adopt Solutrean technique. Most effective implements of horn and bone had come into use and, if wars were waged—there is no evidence of warfare—the Magdalenians were able to give a good account of themselves with javelins and exceedingly strong spears which were given a greater range by the introduction of spear-throwers—"cases" from which spears were thrown. The food supply was increased by a new method of catching fish. Barbed harpoons of reindeer-horn had been invented, and no

doubt many salmon, &c., were caught at river-side stations.

The Crô-Magnons, as has been found, were again in the ascendant, and their artistic genius was given full play as in Aurignacian times, and, no doubt, as a result of the revival of religious beliefs that fostered art as a cult product. Once again the painters, engravers, and sculptors adorned the caves with representations of wild animals. Colours were used with increasing skill and taste. The artists had palettes on which to mix their colours, and used stone lamps, specimens of which have been found, to light up their "studios" in deep cave recesses. During this Magdalenian stage of culture the art of the Crô-Magnons reached its highest standard of excellence, and grew so extraordinarily rich and varied that it compares well with the later religious arts of ancient Egypt and Babylonia.

The horse appears to have been domesticated. There is at Saint Michel d'Arudy a "Celtic" horse depicted with a bridle, while at La Madeleine was found a "bâton de commandement" on which a human figure, with a stave in his right hand, walks past two horses which betray no signs of alarm.

Our knowledge is scanty regarding the races that occupied Europe during Magdalenian times. In addition to the Crô-Magnons there were other distinctive types. One of these is represented by the Chancelade skeleton found at Raymondén shelter. Some think it betrays Eskimo affinities, and represents a racial "drift" from the Russian steppes. In his *Ancient Hunters* Professor Sollas shows that there are resemblances between Eskimo and Magdalenian artifacts.

The Magdalenian culture reached England, although it never penetrated into Italy, and was shut out from the greater part of Spain. It has been traced as far north as Derbyshire, on the north-eastern border of which the

Cresswell caves have yielded Magdalenian relics, including flint-borers, engravers, &c., and bone implements, including a needle, an awl, chisels, an engraving of a horse on bone, &c. Kent's Cavern, near Torquay in Devonshire, has also yielded Magdalenian flints and implements of bone, including pins, awls, barbed harpoons, &c.

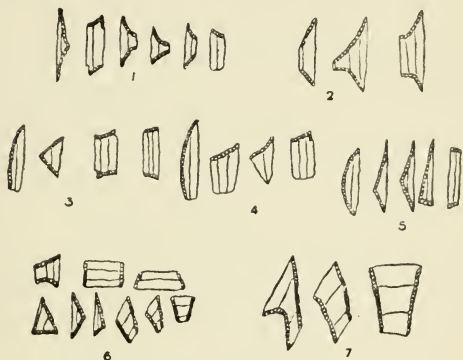
During early Magdalenian times, however, our native land did not offer great attractions to Continental people. The final glacial epoch may have been partial, but it was severe, and there was a decided lowering of the temperature. Then came a warmer and drier spell, which was followed by the sixth partial glaciation. Thereafter the "great thaw" opened up Europe to the invasion of new races from Asia and Africa.

Three distinct movements of peoples in Europe can be traced in post-Magdalenian times, and during what has been called the "Transition Period", between the Upper Palæolithic and Lower Neolithic Ages or stages. The ice-cap retreated finally from the mountains of Scotland and Sweden, and the reindeer migrated northward. Magdalenian civilization was gradually broken up, and the cave art suffered sharp decline until at length it perished utterly. Trees flourished in areas where formerly the reindeer scraped the snow to crop moss and lichen, and rich pastures attracted the northward migrating red deer, the roe-deer, the ibex, the wild boar, wild cattle, &c.

The new industries are known as the Tardenoisian, the Azilian, and the Maglemosian.

Tardenoisian flints are exceedingly small and beautifully worked, and have geometric forms; they are known as "microliths" and "pygmy flints". They were evidently used in catching fish, some being hooks and others spear-heads; and they represent a culture that spread round the Mediterranean basin: these flints are

found in northern Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, and Italy; from Italy they passed through Europe into England and Scotland. A people who decorated with scenes of daily life rock shelters and caves in Spain, and hunted red deer and other animals with bows and arrows, were pressing northward across the new grass-lands towards the old Magdalenian stations. Men wore pants and



Geometric or "Pygmy" Flints. (After Breuil.)

1. From Tunis and Southern Spain. 2. From Portugal. 3, 4. Azilian types.
5, 6, 7. Tardenoisian types.

feather head-dresses; women had short gowns, blouses, and caps, as had the late Magdalenians, and both sexes wore armlets, anklets, and other ornaments of magical potency. Females were nude when engaged in the chase. The goddess Diana had evidently her human prototypes. There were ceremonial dances, as the rock pictures show; women lamented over graves, and affectionate couples—at least they seem to have been affectionate—walked hand in hand as they gradually migrated towards northern Spain, and northern France and Britain. The horse was domesticated, and is seen being

led by the halter. Wild animal "drives" were organized, and many victims fell to archer and spearman. Arrows were feathered; bows were large and strong. Symbolic signs indicate that a script similar to those of the Ægean area, the northern African coast, and pre-dynastic Egypt was freely used. Drawings became conventional, and ultimately animals and human beings were represented by signs. This culture lasted after the introduction of the Neolithic industry in some areas, and in others after the bronze industry had been adopted by sections of the people.

When the Magdalenian harpoon of reindeer horn was imitated by the flat harpoon of red-deer horn, this new culture became what is known as Azilian. It met and mingled with Tardenoisian, which appears to have arrived later, and the combined industries are referred to as Azilian-Tardenoisian.

While the race-drifts, represented by the carriers of the Azilian and Tardenoisian industries, were moving into France and Britain, another invasion from the East was in progress. It is represented in the famous Ofnet cave where long-heads and broad-heads were interred. The Asiatic Armenoids (Alpine type) had begun to arrive in Europe, the glaciers having vanished in Asia Minor. Skulls of broad-heads found in the Belgian cave of Furfooz, in which sixteen human skeletons were unearthed in 1867, belong to this period. The early Armenoids met and mingled with representatives of the blond northern race, and were the basis of the broad-headed blonds of Holland, Denmark, and Belgium.

Maglemosian culture is believed to have been introduced by the ancestors of the fair peoples of Northern Europe. It has been so named after the finds at Maglemose in the "Great Moor", near Mullerup, on the western coast of Zeeland. A lake existed at this place at a time when the Baltic was an inland water completely



EXAMPLES OF PALÆOLITHIC ART

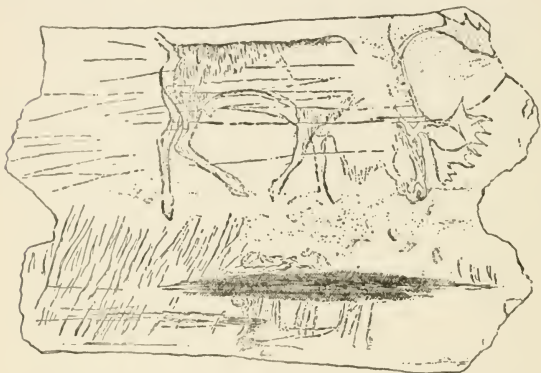
The objects include: handles of knives and daggers carved in ivory and bone, line drawings of wild animals, faces of masked men, of animal-headed deity or masked man with arms uplifted (compare Egyptian "Ka" attitude of adoration), of wild horses on perforated *bâton de commandement*, of man stalking a bison, of seal, cow, reindeer, cave bear, &c., and perforated amulets.

shut off from the North Sea. In a peat bog, formerly the bed of the lake, were found a large number of flint and bone artifacts. These included Tardenoisian micro-liths, barbed harpoons of bone, needles of bone, spears of bone, &c. Bone was more freely used than horn for implements and weapons. The animals hunted included the stag, roe-deer, moose, wild ox, and wild boar. Dogs were domesticated. It appears that the Maglemosians were lake-dwellers. Their houses, however, had not been erected on stilts, but apparently on a floating platform of logs, which was no doubt anchored or moored to the shore. There are traces of Magdalenian influence in Maglemosian culture. Although many decorative forms on bone implements and engravings on rocks are formal and symbolic, there are some fine and realistic representations of animals worthy of the Magdalenian cave artists. Traces of the Maglemosian racial drift have been obtained on both sides of the Baltic and in the Danish kitchen middens. Engravings on rocks at Lake Onega in Northern Russia closely resemble typical Maglemosian work. Apparently the northern fair peoples entered Europe from Western Siberia, and in time were influenced by Neolithic culture. But before the Europeans began to polish their stone implements and weapons, the blond hunters and fishermen settled not only in Denmark and Southern Sweden and Norway but also in Britain.

At the time when the Baltic was an inland fresh-water lake, the southern part of the North Sea was dry land, and trees grew on Dogger Bank, from which fishermen still occasionally lift in their trawls lumps of "moor-log" (peat) and the bones of animals, including those of the reindeer, the red deer, the horse, the wild ox, the bison, the Irish elk, the bear, the wolf, the beaver, the woolly rhinoceros, the mammoth, and the walrus. No doubt the Maglemosians found their way over this "land-

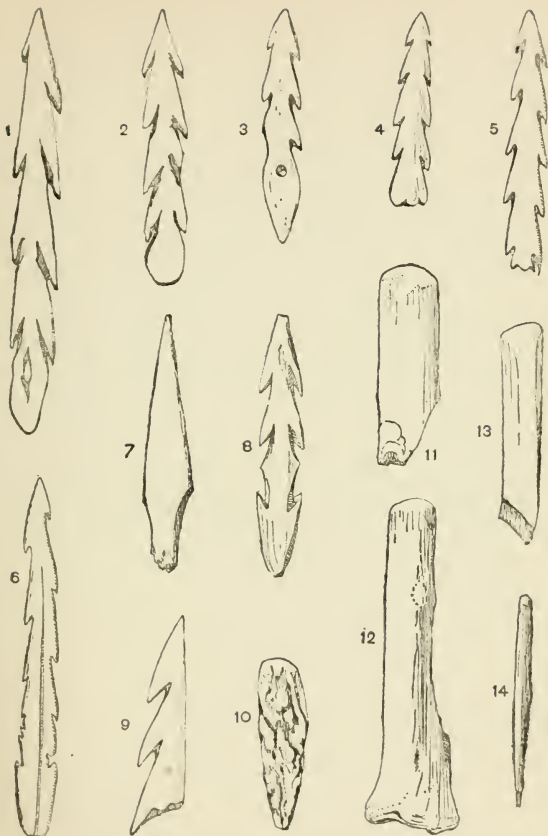
bridge", crossing the rivers in rude boats, and on foot when the rivers were frozen. Evidence has been forthcoming that they also followed the present coast line towards Boulogne, near which a typical Maglemosian harpoon has been discovered.

Traces of Maglemosian influence have been found as far north as Scotland on the Hebridean islands of



A Notable Example of late Magdalenian Culture: engraving on bone of browsing reindeer. From Kesslerloch, Switzerland. (After Heim.)

Oronsay and Risga. The MacArthur cave at Oban reveals Azilian artifacts. In the Victoria cave near Settle in Yorkshire a late Magdalenian or proto-Azilian harpoon made of reindeer-horn is of special interest, displaying, as it does, a close connection between late Magdalenian and early Azilian. Barbed harpoons, found at the shelter of Druimvargie, near Oban, are Azilian, some displaying Maglemosian features. Barbed harpoons of bone, and especially those with barbs on one side only, are generally Maglemosian, while those of horn and double-barbed are typically Azilian.



Horn and Bone Implements

Harpoons: 1 and 2, from MacArthur Cave, Oban; 3, from Laugerie Basse rock-shelter, France; 4, from shell-heap, Oronsay, Hebrides; 5, from bed of River Dee near Kirkcudbright; 6, from Palude Brabbie, Italy—all of Azilian type. 8, Reindeer-horn harpoon of late Magdalenian, or proto-Azilian, type from Victoria Cave, near Settle, Yorks. 9, Maglemosian, or Azilian-Maglemosian, harpoon from rock-shelter, Druimvargie, Oban.

7, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, bone and deer-horn implements from MacArthur Cave, Oban.

Apparently the fair Northerners, the carriers of Maglemosian culture, and the dark Iberians, the carriers of Azilian culture, met and mingled in Scotland and England long before the Neolithic industry was introduced. There were also, it would appear, communities in Britain of Crô-Magnons, and perhaps of other racial types that existed on the Continent and in late Magdalenian times. The fair peoples of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland are not therefore all necessarily descendants of Celts, Angles, Saxons, and Vikings. The pioneer settlers in the British Isles, in all probability, included blue and grey-eyed and fair or reddish-haired peoples who in Scotland may have formed the basis of the later Caledonian type, compared by Tacitus to the Germans, but bearing an undoubted Celtic racial name, the military aristocrats being Celts.¹

¹ The Abbé Breuil, having examined the artifacts associated with the Western Scottish harpoons, inclines to refer to the culture as "Azilian-Tardenoisian". At the same time he considers the view that Maglemosian influence was operating is worthy of consideration. He notes that traces of Maglemosian culture have been reported from England. The Abbé has detected Magdalenian influence in artifacts from Campbeltown, Argyllshire (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland*, 1921-2).

CHAPTER VI

The Faithful Dog

Transition Period between Palæolithic and Neolithic Ages—Theory of the Neolithic Edge—Crô-Magnon Civilization was broken up by Users of Bow and Arrow—Domesticated Dog of Fair Northerners—Dogs as Guides and Protectors of Man—The Dog in Early Religion—Dog Guides of Souls—The Dog of Hades—Dogs and Death—The Scape-dog in Scotland—Souls in Dog Form—Traces of Early Domesticated Dogs—Romans imported British Dogs.

The period we have now reached is regarded by some as that of transition between the Palæolithic and Neolithic Ages, and by others as the Early Neolithic period. It is necessary, therefore, that we should keep in mind that these terms have been to a great extent divested of the significance originally attached to them. The transition period was a lengthy one, extending over many centuries during which great changes occurred. It was much longer than the so-called "Neolithic Age". New races appeared in Europe and introduced new habits of life and thought, new animals appeared and animals formerly hunted by man retreated northward or became extinct; the land sank and rose; a great part of the North Sea and the English Channel was for a time dry land, and trees grew on the plateau now marked by the Dogger Bank during this "Transition Period", and before it had ended the Strait of Dover had widened and England was completely cut off from the Continent.

Compared with these great changes the invention of the polished axe edge seems almost trivial. Yet some

writers have regarded this change as being all-important. "On the edge ever since its discovery", writes one of them with enthusiasm, "has depended and probably will depend to the end of time the whole artistic and artificial environment of human existence, in all its infinite varied complexity. . . . By this discovery was broken down a wall that for untold ages had dammed up a stagnant, unprogressive past, and through the breach were let loose all the potentialities of the future civilization of mankind. It was entirely due to the discovery of the edge that man was enabled, in the course of time, to invent the art of shipbuilding."¹

This is a very sweeping claim and hardly justified by the evidence that of late years has come to light. Much progress had been achieved before the easy method of polishing supplanted that of secondary working. The so-called Palæolithic implements were not devoid of edges. What really happened was that flint-working was greatly simplified. The discovery was an important one, but it was not due to it alone that great changes in habits of life were introduced. Long before the introduction of the Neolithic industry, the earliest traces of which in Western Europe have been obtained at Campigny near the village of Blangy on the River Bresle, the Magdalenian civilization of the Crô-Magnons had been broken up by the Azilian-Tardenoisian intruders in Central and Western Europe and by the Maglemosians in the Baltic area.

The invading hordes in Spain, so far as can be gathered from rock pictures, made more use of bows and arrows than of spears, and it may be that their social organization was superior to that of the Magdalenians. Their animal "drives" suggest as much. It may be that they were better equipped for organized warfare—if there was warfare—and for hunting by organizing

¹ Frits K. Magnusson in *Notes on Shipbuilding and Nautical Terms*, London, 1906.

drives than the taller and stronger Crô-Magnons. When they reached the Magdalenian stations they adopted the barbed harpoon, imitating reindeer-horn forms in red-deer horn.

The blond Maglemosians in the Baltic area introduced from Asia the domesticated dog. They were thus able to obtain their food supply with greater ease than did the Solutreans with their laurel-leaf lances, or the Magdalenians with their spears tipped with bone or horn. When man was joined by his faithful ally he met with more success than when he pursued the chase unaided. Withal, he could take greater risks when threatened by the angry bulls of a herd, and operate over more extended tracks of country with less fear of attack by beasts of prey. His dogs warned him of approaching peril and guarded his camp by night.

Hunters who dwelt in caves may have done so partly for protection against lions and bears and wolves that were attracted to hunters' camps by the scent of flesh and blood. No doubt barriers had to be erected to shield men, women, and children in the darkness; and it may be that there were fires and sentinels at cave entrances.

The introduction of the domesticated dog may have influenced the development of religious beliefs. Crô-Magnon hunters appear to have performed ceremonies in the depths of caverns where they painted and carved wild animals, with purpose to obtain power over them. Their masked dances, in which men and women represented wild animals, chiefly beasts of prey, may have had a similar significance. The fact that, during the Transition Period, a cult art passed out of existence, and the caves were no longer centres of culture and political power, may have been directly or indirectly due to the domestication of the dog and the supremacy achieved by the intruders who possessed it.

There can be no doubt that the dog played its part in the development of civilization. As much is suggested by the lore attaching to this animal. It occupies a prominent place in mythology. The dog which guided and protected the hunter in his wanderings was supposed to guide his soul to the other world.

He thought admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog would bear him company.

In Ancient Egypt the dog-headed god Anubis was the guide and protector of souls. Apuatua, an early form of Osiris, was a dog god. Yama, the Hindu god of death, as Dharma, god of justice, assumed his dog form to guide the Panadava brothers to Paradise, as is related in the Sanskrit epic the *Mahá-bhárata*¹. The god Indra, the Hindu Jupiter, was the "big dog", and the custom still prevails among primitive Indian peoples of torturing a dog by pouring hot oil into its ears so that the "big dog" may hear and send rain. In the *Mahá-bhárata* there is a story about Indra appearing as a hunter followed by a pack of dogs. As the "Wild Huntsman" the Scandinavian god Odin rides through the air followed by dogs. The dog is in Greek mythology the sentinel of Hades; it figures in a like capacity in the Hades of Northern Mythology. Cuchullin, the Gaelic hero, kills the dog of Hades and takes its place until another dog is found and trained, and that is why he is called "Cu" (the dog) of Culann. A pool in Kildonan, Sutherland, which was reputed to contain a pot of gold, was supposed to be guarded by a big black dog with two heads. A similar legend attaches to Hound's Pool in the parish of Dean Combe, Devonshire. In different parts of the world the dog is the creator and ancestor of the human race, the symbol of kinship, &c. The star Sirius was associated with the dog. In Scotland and

¹ Pronounced ma-haw'-haw'-rata (the two final *a*'s are short).

Ireland "dog stones" were venerated. A common surviving belief is that dogs howl by night when a sudden death is about to occur. This association of the dog with death is echoed by Theocritus. "Hark!" cries Simaetha, "the dogs are barking through the town. Hecate is at the crossways. Haste, clash the brazen cymbals." The dog-god of Scotland is remembered as *an cù sìth* ("the supernatural dog"); it is as big as a calf, and by night passes rapidly over land and sea. A black demon-dog—the "Moddey Dhoo"—referred to by Scott in *Peveril of the Peak* was supposed to haunt Peel Castle in the Isle of Man. A former New Year's day custom in Perthshire was to send away from a house door a scape-dog with the words, "Get away you dog! Whatever death of men or loss of cattle would happen in this house till the end of the present year, may it all light on your head." A similar custom obtained among Western Himalayan peoples. Early man appears to have regarded his faithful companion as a supernatural being. There are Gaelic references to souls appearing in dog form to assist families in time of need. Not only did the dog attack beasts of prey; in Gaelic folk-tales it is the enemy of fairies and demons, and especially cave-haunting demons. Early man's gratitude to and dependence on the dog seems to be reflected in stories of this kind.

When the Baltic peoples, who are believed to be the first "wave" of blond Northerners, moved westward towards Denmark during the period of the "great thaw", they must have been greatly assisted by the domesticated dog, traces of which are found in Maglemosian stations. Bones of dogs have been found in the Danish kitchen middens and in the MacArthur cave at Oban. It may be that the famous breed of British hunting dogs which were in Roman times exported to Italy were descended from those introduced by the Maglemosian hunters.

Seven Irish dogs were in the fourth century presented to Symmachus, a Roman consul, by his brother. "All Rome", the grateful recipient wrote, "view them with wonder and thought they must have been brought hither in iron cages."

Great dogs were kept in Ancient Britain and Ireland for protection against wolves as well as for hunting wild animals. The ancient Irish made free use in battle of large fierce hounds. In the folk-stories of Scotland dogs help human beings to attack and overcome supernatural beings. Dogs were the enemies of the fairies, mermaids, &c.

Dog gods figure on the ancient sculptured stones of Scotland. The names of the Irish heroes Cuchullin and Con-chobar were derived from those of dog deities. "Con" is the genitive of "Cu" (dog).

CHAPTER VII

Ancient Mariners Reach Britain

Reindeer in Scotland—North Sea and English Channel Land-bridges—Early River Rafts and River Boats—Breaking of Land-bridges—Coast Erosion—Tilbury Man—Where were first Boats Invented?—Ancient Boats in Britain—"Dug-out" Canoes—Imitations of Earlier Papyri and Skin Boats—Cork Plug in Ancient Clyde Boat—Early Swedish Boats—An African Link—Various Types of British Boats—Daring Ancient Mariners—The Veneti Seafarers—Attractions of Early Britain for Colonists.

The Maglemosian (Baltic) and Azilian (Iberian) peoples, who reached and settled in Britain long before the introduction of the Neolithic industry, appear, as has been shown, to have crossed the great land-bridge, which is now marked by the Dogger Bank, and the narrowed land-bridge that connected England and France. No doubt they came at first in small bands, wandering along the river banks and founding fishing communities, following the herds of red deer and wild cows that had moved northward, and seeking flints, &c. The Crô-Magnons, whose civilization the new intruders had broken up on the Continent, were already in Britain, where the reindeer lingered for many centuries after they had vanished from France. The reindeer moss still grows in the north of Scotland. Bones and horns of the reindeer have been found in this area in association with human remains as late as of the Roman period. In the twelfth century the Norsemen hunted reindeer in

Caithness.¹ Cæsar refers to the reindeer in the Hercynian forest of Germany (*Gallie War*, VI, 26).

The early colonists of fair Northerners who introduced the Maglemosian culture into Britain from the Baltic area could not have crossed the North Sea land-bridge without the aid of rafts or boats. Great broad rivers were flowing towards the north. The Elbe and the Weser joined one another near the island of Heligoland, and received tributaries from marshy valleys until a long estuary wider than is the Wash at present was formed. Another long river flowed northward from the valley of the Zuyder Zee, the mouth of which has been traced on the north-east of the Dogger Bank. The Rhine reached the North Sea on the south-west of the Dogger Bank, off Flamborough Head; its tributaries included the Meuse and the Thames. The Humber and the rivers flowing at present into the Wash were united before entering the North Sea between the mouth of the Rhine and the coast of East Riding.

The Dogger Bank was then a plateau. Trawlers, as has been stated, sometimes lift from its surface in their trawl nets lumps of peat, which they call "moor-log", and also the bones of wild animals, including the wild ox, the wild horse, red deer, reindeer, the elk, the bear, the wolf, the hyæna, the beaver, the walrus the woolly rhinoceros, and the hairy mammoth. In the peat have been found the remains of the white birch, the hazel, sallow, and willow, seeds of bog-bean, fragments of fern, &c. All the plants have a northern range. In some pieces of peat have been found plants and insects that still flourish in Britain.²

The easiest crossing to Britain was over the English Channel land-bridge. It was ultimately cut through by

¹ *The Orkneyinga Saga*, p. 182, Edinburgh, 1873, and *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. VIII.

² Clement Reid, *Submerged Forests*, pp. 45-7, London, 1913.

the English Channel river, so that the dark Azilian-Tardenoisian peoples from Central and Western Europe and the fair Maglemosians must have required and used rafts or boats before polished implements of Neolithic type came into use. In time the North Sea broke through the marshes of the river land to the east of the Thames Estuary and joined the waters of the English Channel. The Strait of Dover was then formed. At first it may have been narrow enough for animals to swim across or, at any rate, for the rude river boats or rafts of the early colonists to be paddled over in safety between tides. Gradually, however, the strait grew wider and wider; the chalk cliffs, long undermined by boring molluscs and scouring shingle, were torn down by great billows during winter storms.

It may be that for a long period after the North Sea and English Channel were united, the Dogger Bank remained an island, and that there were other islands between Heligoland and the English coast. Pliny, who had served with the Roman army in Germany, writing in the first century of our era, refers to twenty-three islands between the Texel and the Eider in Schleswig-Holstein. Seven of these have since vanished. The west coast of Schleswig has, during the past eighteen hundred years, suffered greatly from erosion, and alluvial plains that formerly yielded rich harvests are now represented by sandbanks. The Goodwin Sands, which stretch for about ten miles off the Kentish coast, were once part of the fertile estate of Earl Godwin which was destroyed and engulfed by a great storm towards the end of the eleventh century. The Gulf of Zuyder Zee was formerly a green plain with many towns and villages. Periodic inundations since the Roman period have destroyed flourishing Dutch farms and villages and eaten far into the land. There are records of storm-floods that drowned on one occasion 20,000, and on another no

fewer than 100,000 inhabitants.¹ It is believed that large tracts of land, the remnants of the ancient North Sea land-bridge, have been engulfed since about 3000 B.C., as a result not merely of erosion but the gradual submergence of the land. This date is suggested by Mr. Clement Reid.

"The estimate", he says, "may have to be modified as we obtain better evidence; but it is as well to realize clearly that we are not dealing with a long period of great geological antiquity; we are dealing with times when the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Minoan (Cretan) civilizations flourished. Northern Europe was then probably barbarous, and metals had not come into use;² but the amber trade of the Baltic was probably in full swing. Rumours of any great disaster, such as the submergence of thousands of square miles and the displacement of large populations, might spread far and wide along the trade routes." It may be that the legend of the Lost Atlantis was founded on reports of such a disaster, that must have occurred when areas like the Dogger Bank were engulfed. It may be too that the gradual wasting away of lands that have long since vanished propelled migrations of peoples towards the smiling coasts of England. According to Ammianus the Druids stated that some of the inhabitants of Gaul were descendants of refugees from sea-invaded areas.

The gradual sinking of the land and the process of coast erosion has greatly altered the geography of England. The beach on which Julius Cæsar landed has long since vanished, the dwellings of the ancient Azilian and Maglemosian colonists, who reached England in post-Glacial times, have been sunk below the English Channel. When Tilbury Docks were being excavated

¹ The dates of the greatest disasters on record are 1421, 1532, and 1570. There were also terrible inundations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in 1825 and 1855.

² It was not necessarily barbarous because metal weapons had not been invented.

Roman remains were found embedded in clay several feet below high-water mark. Below several layers of peat and mud, and immediately under a bank of sand in which were fragments of decomposed wood, was found the human skeleton known as "Tilbury man". The land in this area was originally 80 feet above its present level.¹ But while England was sinking Scotland was rising. The MacArthur cave at Oban, in which Azilian hunters and fishermen made their home on the sea-beach, is now about 30 feet above the old sea-level.

Before Dover Strait had been widened by the gradual sinking of the land and the process of coast erosion, and before the great islands had vanished from the southern part of the North Sea, the early hunters and fishermen could have experienced no great difficulty in reaching England. It is possible that the Azilian, Tardenoisian, and Maglemosian peoples had made considerable progress in the art of navigation. Traces of the Tardenoisian industry have been obtained in Northern Egypt, along the ancient Libyan coast of North Africa where a great deal of land has been submerged, and especially at Tunis, and in Algiers, in Italy, and in England and Scotland, as has been noted. There were boats on the Mediterranean at a very early period. The island of Crete was reached long before the introduction of copper-working by seafarers who visited the island of Melos, and there obtained obsidian (natural glass) from which sharp implements were fashioned. Egyptian mariners, who dwelt on the Delta coast, imported cedar, not only from Lebanon but from Morocco, as has been found from the evidence afforded by mummies packed with the sawdust of cedar from the Atlas Mountains.² When this trade with Morocco began it is impossible to say

¹ *Submerged Forests*, p. 120.

² *The Cairo Scientific Journal*, Vol. III, No. 32 (May, 1909), p. 105.

with certainty. Long before 3000 B.C., however, the Egyptians were building boats that were fitted with masts and sails. The ancient mariners were active as explorers and traders before implements of copper came into use.

Here we touch on a very interesting problem. Where were boats first invented and the art of navigation developed? Rafts and floats formed by tying together two trees or, as in Egypt, two bundles of reeds, were in use at a very early period in various countries. In Babylonia the "kufa", a great floating basket made watertight with pitch or covered with skins, was an early invention. It was used as it still is for river ferry boats. But ships were not developed from "kufas". The dug-out canoe is one of the early prototypes of the modern ocean-going vessel. It reached this country before the Neolithic industry was introduced, and during that period when England was slowly sinking and Scotland was gradually rising. Dug-out canoes continued to come during the so-called "Neolithic" stage of culture ere yet the sinking and rising of land had ceased. "That Neolithic man lived in Scotland during the formation of this beach (the 45- to 50-foot beach) is proved", wrote the late Professor James Geikie, "by the frequent occurrence in it of his relics. At Perth, for example, a dug-out canoe of pine was met with towards the bottom of the carse clays; and similar finds have frequently been recorded from the contemporaneous deposits in the valleys of the Forth and the Clyde."¹

How did early man come to invent the dug-out? Not only did he hollow out a tree trunk by the laborious process of burning and by chipping with a flint adze, he dressed the trunk so that his boat could be balanced on the water. The early shipbuilders had to learn, and

¹ *Antiquity of Man in Europe*, p. 274, Edinburgh, 1914. The term "Neolithic" is here rather vague. It applies to the Azilians and Maglemosians as well as to later peoples.

did learn, for themselves, "the values of length and beam, of draught and sweet lines, of straight keel; with high stem to breast a wave and high stern to repel a following sea". The fashioning of a sea-worthy, or even a river-worthy boat, must have been in ancient times as difficult a task as was the fashioning of the first aeroplane in our own day. Many problems had to be solved, many experiments had to be made, and, no doubt, many tragedies took place before the first safe model-boat was paddled across a river. The early experimenters may have had shapes of vessels suggested to them by fish and birds, and especially by the aquatic birds that paddled past them on the river breast with dignity and ease. But is it probable that the first experiments were made with trees? Did early man undertake the laborious task of hewing down tree after tree to shape new models, until in the end he found on launching the correctly shaped vessel that its balance was perfect? Or was the dug-out canoe an imitation of a boat already in existence, just as a modern ship built of steel or concrete is an imitation of the earlier wooden ships? The available evidence regarding this important phase of the shipping problem tends to show that, before the dug-out was invented, boats were constructed of light material. Ancient Egypt was the earliest ship-building country in the world, and all ancient ships were modelled on those that traded on the calm waters of the Nile. Yet Egypt is an almost treeless land. There the earliest boats—broad, light skiffs—were made by binding together long bundles of the reeds of papyrus. Ropes were twisted from papyrus as well as from palm fibre.¹ It would appear that, before dug-outs were made, the problems of boat construction were solved by those who had invented papyri skiffs and skin boats. In the case of the latter the skins were stretched round a frame-

¹ Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, pp. 96-7.

work, sewed together and made watertight with pitch. We still refer to the "seams" and the "skin" of a boat.

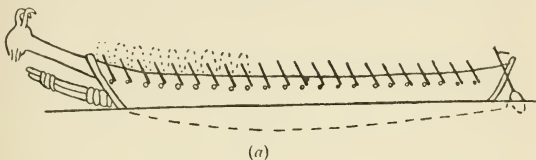
The art of boat-building spread far and wide from the area of origin. Until recently the Chinese were building junks of the same type as they did four or five hundred years earlier. These junks have been compared by more than one writer to the deep-sea boats of the Egyptian Empire period. The Papuans make "dug-outs" and carve eyes on the prows as did the ancient Egyptians and as do the Maltese, Chinese, &c., in our own day. Even when only partly hollowed, the Papuan boats have perfect balance in the water as soon as they are launched.¹ The Polynesians performed religious ceremonies when cutting down trees and constructing boats.² In their incantations, &c., the lore of boat-building was enshrined and handed down. The Polynesian boat was dedicated to the *mo-o* (dragon-god). We still retain a relic of an ancient religious ceremony when a bottle of wine is broken on the bows of a vessel just as it is being launched.

After the Egyptians were able to secure supplies of cedar wood from the Atlas Mountains or Lebanon, by drifting rafts of lashed trees along the coast line, they made dug-out vessels of various shapes, as can be seen in the tomb pictures of the Old Kingdom period. These dug-outs were apparently modelled on the earlier papyri and skin boats. A ship with a square sail spread to the wind is depicted on an Ancient Egyptian two-handed jar in the British Museum, which is of pre-dynastic age and may date to anything like 4000 or 5000 B.C. At that remote period the art of navigation was already well advanced, no doubt on account of the experience gained on the calm waters of the Nile.

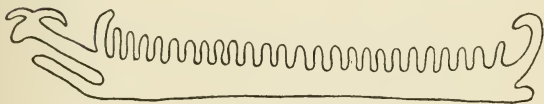
¹ Wollaston, *Pygmies and Papuans (The Stone Age To-day in Dutch New Guinea)*, London, 1912, pp. 53 *et seq.*

² Westervelt, *Legends of Old Honolulu*, pp. 97 *et seq.*

The existence of these boats on the Nile at a time when great race migrations were in progress may well account for the early appearance of dug-outs in Northern Europe. One of the Clyde canoes, found embedded in Clyde silt twenty-five feet above the present sea-level, was found to have a plug of cork which could only have come from the area in which cork trees grow—Spain,



(a)



(b)

(a) Sketch of a boat from Victoria Nyanza, after the drawing in Sir Henry Stanley's *Darkest Africa*. Only the handles of the oars are shown. In outline the positions of some of the oarsmen are roughly represented.

(b) Crude drawing of a similar boat carved upon the rocks in Sweden during the Early Bronze Age, after Montelius. By comparison with (a) it will be seen that the vertical projections were probably intended to represent the oarsmen.

The upturned hook-like appendage at the stern is found in ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean ships, but is absent in the modern African vessel shown in (a).

These figures are taken from Elliot Smith's *Ancient Mariners* (1918).

Southern France, or Italy.¹ It may have been manned by the Azilians of Spain whose rock paintings date from the Transition period. Similar striking evidence of the drift of culture from the Mediterranean area towards Northern Europe is obtained from some of the rock paintings and carvings of Sweden. Among the canoes depicted are some with distinct Mediterranean characteristics. One at Tegneby in Bohuslän bears a striking resemblance to a boat seen by Sir Henry Stanley on

¹ Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*, p. 48.

Lake Victoria Nyanza. It seems undoubted that the designs are of common origin, although separated not only by centuries but by barriers of mountain, desert, and sea extending many hundreds of miles. From the Maglemosian boat the Viking ship was ultimately developed; the unprogressive Victoria Nyanza boat-builders continued through the Ages repeating the design adopted by their remote ancestors. In both vessels the keel projects forward, and the figure-head is that of a goat or ram. The northern vessel has the characteristic inward curving stern of ancient Egyptian ships. As the rock on which it was carved is situated in a metal-yielding area, the probability is that this type of vessel is a relic of the visits paid by searchers for metals in ancient times, who established colonies of dark miners among the fair Northerners and introduced the elements of southern culture.

The ancient boats found in Scotland are of a variety of types. One of those at Glasgow lay, when discovered, nearly vertical, with prow uppermost as if it had foundered; it had been built "of several pieces of oak, though without ribs". Another had the remains of an outrigger attached to it: beside another, which had been partly hollowed by fire, lay two planks that appear to have been wash-boards like those on a Sussex dug-out. A Clyde clinker-built boat, eighteen feet long, had a keel and a base of oak to which ribs had been attached. An interesting find at Kinaven in Aberdeenshire, several miles distant from the Ythan, a famous pearling river, was a dug-out eleven feet long, and about four feet broad. It lay embedded at the head of a small ravine in five feet of peat which appears to have been the bed of an ancient lake. Near it were the stumps of big oaks, apparently of the Upper Forestian period.

Among the longest of the ancient boats that have been discovered are one forty-two feet long, with an animal

head on the prow, from Loch Arthur, near Dumfries, one thirty-five long from near the River Arun in Sussex, one sixty-three feet long excavated near the Rother in Kent, one forty-eight feet six inches long, found at Brigg, Lincolnshire, with wooden patches where she had sprung a leak, and signs of the caulking of cracks and small holes with moss.

These vessels do not all belong to the same period. The date of the Brigg boat is, judging from the geological strata, between 1100 and 700 B.C. It would appear that some of the Clyde vessels found at twenty-five feet above the present sea-level are even older. Beside one Clyde boat was found an axe of polished greenstone similar to the axes used by Polynesians and others in shaping dug-outs. This axe may, however, have been a religious object. To the low bases of some vessels were fixed ribs on which skins were stretched. These boats were eminently suitable for rough seas, being more buoyant than dug-outs. According to Himilco the inhabitants of the *Æstrymnides*, the islands "rich in tin and lead", had most sea-worthy skiffs. "These people do not make pine keels, nor", he says, "do they know how to fashion them; nor do they make fir barks, but, with wonderful skill, fashion skiffs with sewn skins. In these hide-bound vessels, they skim across the ocean." Apparently they were as daring mariners as the Oregon Islanders of whom Washington Irving has written:

"It is surprising to see with what fearless unconcern these savages venture in their light barks upon the roughest and most tempestuous seas. They seem to ride upon the wave like sea-fowl. Should a surge throw the canoe upon its side, and endanger its over turn, those to the windward lean over the upper gunwale, thrust their paddles deep into the wave, and by this action not merely regain an equilibrium, but give their bark a vigorous impulse forward."

The ancient mariners whose rude vessels have been excavated around our coasts were the forerunners of the Celtic sea-traders, who, as the Gaelic evidence shows, had names not only for the North Sea and the English Channel but also for the Mediterranean Sea. They cultivated what is known as the "sea sense", and developed shipbuilding and the art of navigation in accordance with local needs. When Julius Cæsar came into conflict with the Veneti of Brittany he tells that their vessels were greatly superior to those of the Romans. "The bodies of the ships", he says, "were built entirely of oak, stout enough to withstand any shock or violence. . . . Instead of cables for their anchors they used iron chains. . . . The encounter of our fleet with these ships was of such a nature that our fleet excelled in speed alone, and the plying of oars; for neither could our ships injure theirs with their rams, so great was their strength, nor was a weapon easily cast up to them owing to their height. . . . About 220 of their ships . . . sailed forth from the harbour." In this great allied fleet were vessels from our own country.¹

It must not be imagined that the "sea sense" was cultivated because man took pleasure in risking the perils of the deep. It was stern necessity that at the beginning compelled him to venture on long voyages. After England was cut off from France the peoples who had adopted the Neolithic industry must have either found it absolutely necessary to seek refuge in Britain, or were attracted towards it by reports of prospectors who found it to be suitable for residence and trade.

¹ Cæsar's *Gallie War*, Book 111, c. 13-15.

CHAPTER VIII

Neolithic Trade and Industries

Attractions of Ancient Britain—Romans search for Gold, Silver, Pearls, &c.—The Lure of Precious Stones and Metals—Distribution of Ancient British Population—Neolithic Settlements in Flint-yielding Areas—Trade in Flint—Settlements on Lias Formation—Implements from Basic Rocks—Trade in Body-painting Materials—Search for Pearls—Gold in Britain and Ireland—Agriculture—The Story of Barley—Neolithic Settlers in Ireland—Scottish Neolithic Traders—Neolithic Peoples not Wanderers—Trained Neolithic Craftsmen.

The "drift" of peoples into Britain which began in Aurignacian times continued until the Roman period. There were definite reasons for early intrusions as there were for the Roman invasion. "Britain contains to reward the conqueror", Tacitus wrote,¹ "mines of gold and silver and other metals. The sea produces pearls." According to Suetonius, who at the end of the first century of our era wrote the *Lives of the Cæsars*, Julius Cæsar invaded Britain with the desire to enrich himself with the pearls found on different parts of the coast. On his return to Rome he presented a corselet of British pearls to the goddess Venus. He was in need of money to further his political ambitions. He found what he required elsewhere, however. After the death of Queen Cleopatra sufficient gold and silver flowed to Rome from Egypt to reduce the loan rate of interest from 12 to 4 per cent. Spain likewise contributed its share to enrich the great predatory state of Rome.²

Long ages before the Roman period the early peoples

¹ *Agricola*, Chap. XII.

² Smith, *Roman Empire*.

entered Britain in search of pearls, precious stones, and precious metals because these had a religious value. The Celts of Gaul offered great quantities of gold to their deities, depositing the precious metals in their temples and in their sacred lakes. Poseidonius of Apamea tells that after conquering Gaul "the Romans put up these sacred lakes to public sale, and many of the purchasers found quantities of solid silver in them". He also says that gold was similarly placed in these lakes.¹ Apparently the Celts believed, as did the Aryo-Indians, that gold was "a form of the gods" and "fire, light, and immortality", and that it was a "life giver".² Personal ornaments continued to have a religious value until Christian times.

As we have seen when dealing with the "Red Man of Paviland", the earliest ornaments were shells, teeth of wild animals, coloured stones, ivory, &c. Shells were carried great distances. Then arose the habit of producing substitutes which were regarded as of great potency as the originals. The ancient Egyptians made use of gold to manufacture imitation shells, and before they worked copper they wore charms of malachite, which is an ore of copper. They probably used copper first for magical purposes just as they used gold. Pearls found in shells were regarded as depositories of supernatural influence, and so were coral and amber (see Chapter XIII). Like the Aryo-Indians, the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, and others connected precious metals, stones, pearls, &c. with their deities, and believed that these contained the influence of their deities, and were therefore "lucky". These and similar beliefs are of great antiquity in Europe and Asia and North Africa. It would be rash to assume that they were not

¹ *Strabo*, *Geography*, 4.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2d. Ed., "Sacred Books of the East", XLIV, 31, 32, 37, 23, 25, 26-27.



FLINT LANCE-HEADS FROM KILLARNEY GLASS MUSEUM.



CHIPPED AND POLISHED ARTIFACTS FROM SOUTHERN
ENGLAND GLASS MUSEUM.

known to the ancient mariners who reached our shores in vessels of Mediterranean type.

The colonists who were attracted to Britain at various periods settled in those districts most suitable for their modes of life. It was necessary that they should obtain an adequate supply of the materials from which their implements and weapons were manufactured. The distribution of the population must have been determined by the resources of the various districts.

At the present day the population of Britain is most dense in those areas in which coal and iron are found and where commerce is concentrated. In ancient times, before metals were used, it must have been densest in those areas where flint was found—that is, on the upper chalk formations. If worked flints are discovered in areas which do not have deposits of flint, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that the flint was obtained by means of trade, just as Mediterranean shells were in Aurignacian and Magdalenian times obtained by hunters who settled in Central Europe. In Devon and Cornwall, for instance, large numbers of flint implements have been found, yet in these counties suitable flint was exceedingly scarce in ancient times, except in East Devon, where, however, the surface flint is of inferior character. In Wilts and Dorset, however, the finest quality of flint was found, and it was no doubt from these areas that the early settlers in Cornwall and Devon received their chief supplies of the raw material, if not of the manufactured articles.

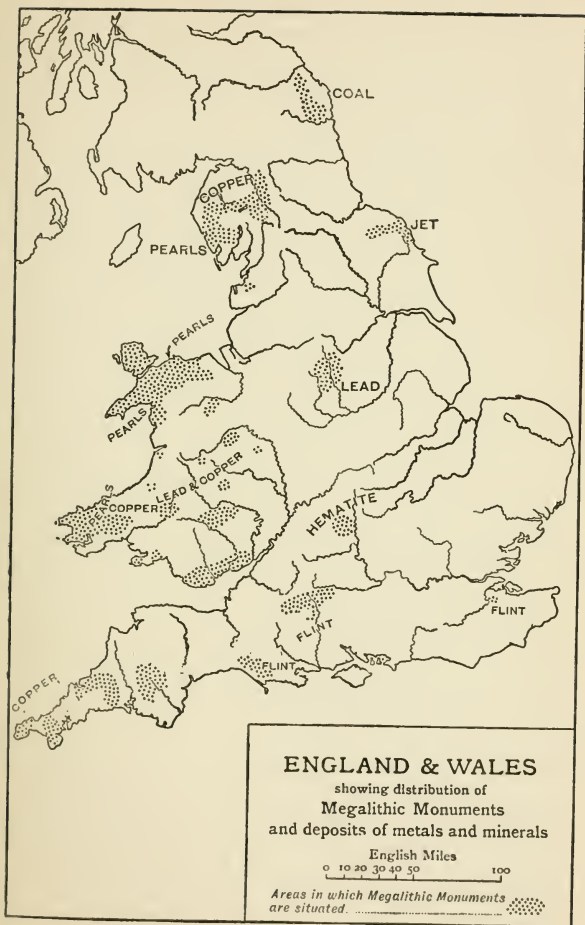
In England, as on the Continent, the most abundant finds of the earliest flint implements have been made in those areas where the early hunters and fishermen could obtain their raw materials. River drift implements are discovered in largest numbers on the chalk formations of south-eastern England between the Wash and the estuary of the Thames.

The Neolithic peoples, who made less use of horn and bone than did the Azilians and Maglemosians, had many village settlements on the upper chalk in Dorset and Wiltshire, and especially at Avebury where there were veritable flint factories, and near the famous flint mines at Grimes Graves in the vicinity of Weeting in Norfolk and at Cissbury Camp not far from Worthing in Sussex. Implements were likewise made of basic rocks, including quartzite, ironstone, greenstone, hornblende schist, granite, mica-schist, &c.; while ornaments were made of jet, a hydrocarbon compound allied to cannel coal, which takes on a fine polish, Kimeridge shale and ivory. Withal, like the Aurignacians and Magdalenians, the Neolithic-industry people used body paint, which was made with pigments of ochre, hæmatite, an ore of iron, and ruddle, an earthy variety of iron ore.

In those districts, where the raw materials for stone implements, ornaments, and body paint were found, traces survive of the activities of the Neolithic peoples. Their graves of long-barrow type are found not only in the chalk areas but on the margins of the lias formations. Hæmatite is found in large quantities in West Cumberland and north Lancashire and in south-western England, while the chief source of jet is Whitby in Yorkshire, where it occurs in large quantities in beds of the Upper Lias shale.

Mr. W. J. Perry, of Manchester University, who has devoted special attention to the study of the distribution of megalithic monuments, has been drawing attention to the interesting association of these monuments with geological formations.¹ In the Avebury district stone circles, dolmens, chambered barrows, long barrows, and Neolithic settlements are numerous; another group of megalithic monuments occurs in Oxford on the margin

¹ *Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, 1921.



of the lias formation, and at the south-end of the great iron field extending as far as the Cleveland. According to the memoir of the geological survey, there are traces of ancient surface iron-workings in the Middle Lias formation of Oxfordshire, where red and brown hæmatite were found. Mr. Perry notes that there are megalithic monuments in the vicinity of all these surface workings, as at Fawler, Adderbury, Hook Norton, Woodstock, Steeple Aston, and Hanbury. Apparently the Neolithic peoples were attracted to the lias formation because it contains hæmatite, ochre, shale, &c. There are significant megaliths in the Whitby region where the jet is so plentiful. Amber was obtained from the east coast of England and from the Baltic.

The Neolithic peoples appear to have searched for pearls, which are found in a number of English, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish rivers, and in the vicinity of most, if not all, of these megaliths occur. Gold was the first metal worked by man, and it appears to have attracted some of the early peoples who settled in Britain. The ancient seafarers who found their way northward may have included searchers for gold and silver. The latter metal was at one time found in great abundance in Spain, while gold was at one time fairly plentiful in south-western England, in North Wales, in various parts of Scotland and especially in Lanarkshire, and in north-eastern, eastern, and western Ireland. That there was a "drift" of civilized peoples into Britain and Ireland during the period of the Neolithic industry is made evident by the fact that the agricultural mode of life was introduced. Barley does not grow wild in Europe. The nearest area in which it grew wild and was earliest cultivated was the delta area of Egypt, the region from which the earliest vessels set out to explore the shores of the Mediterranean. It may be that the barley seeds were carried to Britain not by the overland routes alone

to Channel ports, but also by the seafarers whose boats, like the Glasgow one with the cork plug, coasted round by Spain and Brittany, and crossed the Channel to south-western England and thence went northward to Scotland. As Irish flints and ground axe-heads occur chiefly in Ulster, it may be that the drift of early Neolithic settlers into County Antrim, in which gold was also found, was from south-western Scotland. The Neolithic settlement at Whitepark Bay, five miles from the Giant's Causeway, was embedded at a considerable depth, showing that there has been a sinking of the land in this area since the Neolithic industry was introduced.

Neolithic remains are widely distributed over Scotland, but these have not received the intensive study devoted to similar relics in England. Mr. Ludovic Mann, the Glasgow archæologist, has, however, compiled interesting data regarding one of the local industries that bring out the resource and activities of early man. On the island of Arran is a workable variety of the natural volcanic glass, called pitch-stone, that of other parts of Scotland and of Ireland being "too much cracked into small pieces to be of use". It was used by the Neolithic settlers in Arran for manufacturing arrow-heads, and as it was imported into Bute, Ayrshire, and Wigtownshire, a trade in this material must have existed. "If", writes Mr. Mann, "the stone was not locally worked up into implements in Bute, it was so manipulated on the mainland, where workshops of the Neolithic period and the immediately succeeding overlap period yielded long fine flakes, testifying to greater expertness in manufacturing there than is shown by the remains in the domestic sites yet awaiting adequate exploration in Arran. The explanation may be that the Wigtownshire flint knappers, accustomed to handle an abundance of flint, were more proficient than in most other places, and that the pitch-stone was brought to them as experts,

because the material required even more skilful handling than flint".¹ In like manner obsidian, as has been noted, was imported into Crete from the island of Melos by seafarers, long before the introduction of metal working.²

It will be seen that the Neolithic peoples were no mere wandering hunters, as some have represented them to have been, but they had their social organization, their industries, and their system of trading by land and sea. They settled not only in those areas where they could procure a regular food supply, but those also in which they obtained the raw materials for implements, weapons, and the colouring material which they used for religious purposes. They made pottery for grave offerings and domestic use, and wooden implements regarding which, however, little is known. Withal, they had their spinners and weavers. The conditions prevailing in Neolithic settlements must have been similar to those of later times. There must have been systems of laws to make trade and peaceful social intercourse possible, and no doubt these had, as elsewhere, a religious basis. Burial customs indicate a uniformity of beliefs over wide areas. The skill displayed in working stone was so great that it cannot now be emulated. Ripple-flaking has long been a lost art. Craftsmen must have undergone a prolonged period of training which was intelligently controlled under settled conditions of life. It is possible that the so-called Neolithic folk were chiefly foreigners who exploited the riches of the country. The evidence in this connection will be found in the next chapter.

¹ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1917-18, pp. 149 *et seq.*

² See my *Myths of Crete and pre-Hellenic Europe* under "Obsidian" in Index.

CHAPTER IX

Metal Workers and Megalithic Monuments

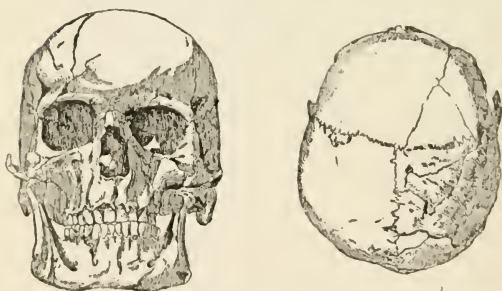
"Broad-heads" of Bronze Age—The Irish Evidence—Bronze Introduced by Traders—How Metals were Traced—A Metal Working Tribe—Damnonii in England, Scotland, and Ireland—Miners as Slaves—The Lot of Women Workers—Megalithic Monuments in English Metal-yielding Areas—Stone Circles in Barren Localities—Early Colonies of Easterners in Spain—Egyptian and Babylonian Relics associated with British Jet and Baltic Amber—A New Flint Industry of Eastern Origin—British Bronze identical with Continental—Ancient Furnaces of Common Origin—"Stones of Worship" adorned with Metals—The "Maggot God" of Stone Circles—Ancient Egyptian Beads at Stonehenge—Earliest Authentic Date in British History—The Aim of Conquests.

It used to be thought that the introduction of metal working into Britain was the result of an invasion of alien peoples, who partly exterminated and partly enslaved the long-headed Neolithic inhabitants. This view was based on the evidence afforded by a new type of grave known as the "Round Barrow". In graves of this class have been found Bronze Age relics, a distinctive kind of pottery, and skulls of broad-heads. The invasion of broad-heads undoubtedly took place, and their burial customs suggest that their religious beliefs were not identical with those of the long-heads. But it remains to be proved that they were the actual introducers of the bronze industry. They do not appear to have reached Ireland, where bronze relics are associated with a long-headed people of comparatively low stature.

The early Irish bronze forms were obviously obtained from Spain, while early English bronze forms resemble those of France and Italy. Cutting implements were the first to be introduced. This fact does not suggest



Long-head (Dolichocephalic) Skull



Broad-head (Brachycephalic) Skull

Both these specimens were found in "Round" Barrows in the East Riding of Yorkshire

that a conquest took place. The implements may have been obtained by traders. Britain apparently had in those ancient times its trading colonies, and was visited by active and enterprising seafarers.

The discovery of metals in Britain and Ireland was,

no doubt, first made by prospectors who had obtained experience in working them elsewhere. They may have simply come to exploit the country. How these men conducted their investigations is indicated by the report found in a British Museum manuscript, dating from about 1603, in which the prospector gives his reason for believing that gold was to be found on Crawford Moor in Lanarkshire. He tells that he saw among the rocks what Scottish miners call "mothers" and English miners "leaders" or "metalline fumes". It was believed that the "fumes" arose from veins of metal and coloured the rocks as smoke passing upward through a tunnel blackens it, and leaves traces on the outside. He professed to be able to distinguish between the colours left by "fumes" of iron, lead, tin, copper, or silver. On Crawford Moor he found "sparr, keel, and brimstone" between rocks, and regarded this discovery as a sure indication that gold was *in situ*. The "mothers" or "leaders" were more pronounced than any he had ever seen in Cornwall, Somersetshire, about Keswick, or "any other mineral parts wheresoever I have travelled".¹ Gold was found in this area of Lanarkshire in considerable quantities, and was no doubt worked in ancient times. Of special interest in this connection is the fact that it was part of the territory occupied by Damnonians,² who appear to have been a metal-working people. Besides occupying the richest metal-yielding area in Scotland, the Damnonians were located in Devon and Cornwall, and in the east-midland and western parts of Ireland, in which gold, copper, and tin-stone were found as in south-western England. The Welsh *Dyfnaint* (Devon) is supposed by some to be connected with a form of this tribal name. Another form in a Yarrow inscription is Dumnogeni. In Ireland Inber Domnann is the

¹ R. W. Cochrane Patrick, *Early Records relating to Mining in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1878, p. xxviii.

² The *Damnonii* or *Dumnonii*.

old name of Malahide Bay north of Dublin. Domnu, the genitive of which is Domnann, was the name of an ancient goddess. In the Irish manuscripts these people are referred to as Fir-domnann,¹ and associated with the Fir-bolg (the men with sacks). A sack-carrying people are represented in Spanish rock paintings that date from the Azilian till early "Bronze Age" times. In an Irish manuscript which praises the fair and tall people, the Fir-bolg and Fir-domnann are included among the black-eyed and black-haired people, the descendants of slaves and churls, and "the promoters of discord among the people".

The reference to "slaves" is of special interest because the lot of the working miners was in ancient days an extremely arduous one. In one of his collected records which describes the method "of the greatest antiquity" Diodorus Siculus (A.D. first century) tells how gold-miners, with lights bound on their foreheads, drove galleries into the rocks, the fragments of which were carried out by frail old men and boys. These were broken small by men in the prime of life. The pounded stone was then ground in handmills by women: three women to a mill and "to each of those who bear this lot, death is better than life". Afterwards the milled quartz was spread out on an inclined table. Men threw water on it, work it through their fingers, and dabbed it with sponges until the lighter matter was removed and the gold was left behind. The precious metal was placed in a clay crucible, which was kept heated for five days and five nights. It may be that the Scandinavian references to the nine maidens who turn the handle of the "world mill" which grinds out metal and soil, and the Celtic references to the nine maidens who are associ-

¹ The Fir-domnann were known as "the men who used to deepen the earth", or "dig pits" Professor J. MacNeil in *Labor Gabula*, p. 119. They were thus called "Diggers" like the modern Australians. The name of the goddess referred to the depths (the Under-world). It is probable she was the personification of the metal-yielding earth.

ated with the Celtic cauldron, survive from beliefs that reflected the habits and methods of the ancient metal workers.

It is difficult now to trace the various areas in which gold was anciently found in our islands. But this is not to be wondered at. In Egypt there were once rich goldfields, especially in the Eastern Desert, where about 100 square miles were so thoroughly worked in ancient times that "only the merest traces of gold remain".¹ Gold, as has been stated, was formerly found in south-western England, North Wales, and, as historical records, archæological data, and place names indicate, in various parts of Scotland and Ireland. During the period of the "Great Thaw" a great deal of alluvial gold must have distributed throughout the country. Silver was found in various parts. In Sutherland it is mixed with gold as it is elsewhere with lead. Copper was worked in a number of districts where the veins cannot in modern times be economically worked, and tin was found in Ireland and Scotland as well as in south-western England, where mining operations do not seem to have been begun, as Principal Sir John Rhys has shown,² until after the supplies of surface tin were exhausted. Of special interest in connection with this problem is the association of megalithic monuments with ancient mine workings. An interesting fact to be borne in mind in connection with these relics of the activities and beliefs of the early peoples is that they represent a distinct culture of complex character. Mr. T. Eric Peet³ shows that the megalithic buildings "occupy a very remarkable position along a vast seaboard which includes the Mediterranean coast of Africa and the Atlantic coast of Europe. In other words, they lie entirely along a

¹ Alford, *A Report on Ancient and Prospective Gold Mining in Egypt*, 1900, and *Mining in Egypt* (by Egyptologist).

² *Celtic Britain*, pp. 44 *et seq.* (4th edition).

³ *Rough Stone Monuments*, London, 1912, pp. 147-8.

natural sea route." He gives forcible reasons for arriving at the conclusion that "it is impossible to consider megalithic building as a mere phase through which many nations passed, and it must therefore have been a system originating with one race, and spreading far and wide, owing either to trade influence or migration". He adds:

"Great movements of races by sea were not by any means unusual in primitive days. In fact, the sea has always been less of an obstacle to early man than the land with its deserts, mountains, and unfordable rivers. There is nothing inherently impossible or even improbable in the suggestion that a great immigration brought the megalithic monuments from Sweden to India or vice versa. History is full of instances of such migrations."

But there must have been a definite reason for these race movements. It cannot be that in all cases they were forced merely by natural causes, such as changes of climate, invasions of the sea, and the drying up of once fertile districts, or by the propelling influences of stronger races in every country from the British Isles to Japan—that is, in all countries in which megalithic monuments of similar type are found. The fact that the megalithic monuments are distributed along "a vast seaboard" suggests that they were the work of people who had acquired a culture of common origin, and were attracted to different countries for the same reason. What that attraction was is indicated by studying the elements of the megalithic culture. In a lecture delivered before the British Association in Manchester in 1915, Mr. W. J. Perry threw much light on the problem by showing that the carriers of the culture practised weaving linen, and in some cases the use of Tyrian purple, pearls, precious stones, metals, and conch-shell trumpets, as well as curious beliefs and superstitions attached to the

latter, while they "adopted certain definite metallurgical methods, as well as mining". Mr. Perry's paper was subsequently published by the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. It shows that in Western Europe the megalithic monuments are distributed in those areas in which ancient pre-Roman and pre-Greek mine workings and metal washings have been traced. "The same correspondence", he writes, "seems to hold in the case of England and Wales. In the latter country the counties where megalithic structures abound are precisely those where mineral deposits and ancient mine-workings occur. In England the grouping in Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland, Durham, and Derbyshire is precisely that of old mines; in Cornwall the megalithic structures are mainly grouped west of Falmouth, precisely in that district where mining has always been most active."

Pearls, amber, coral, jet, &c., were searched for as well as metals. The megalithic monuments near pearling rivers, in the vicinity of Whitby, the main source of jet, and in Denmark and the Baltic area where amber was found were, in all likelihood, erected by people who had come under the spell of the same ancient culture.

When, therefore, we come to deal with groups of monuments in areas which were unsuitable for agriculture and unable to sustain large populations, a reasonable conclusion to draw is that precious metals, precious stones, or pearls were once found near them. The pearling beds may have been destroyed or greatly reduced in value,¹ or the metals may have been worked out, leaving but slight if any indication that they were ever *in situ*. Reference has been made to the traces left by ancient miners in Egypt where no gold is now

¹ The Scottish pearling beds have suffered great injury in historic times. They are the property of the "Crown", and no one takes any interest in them except the "pearl poachers".

found. In our own day rich goldfields in Australia and North America have been exhausted. It would be unreasonable for us to suppose that the same thing did not happen in our country, even although but slight traces of the precious metal can now be obtained in areas which were thoroughly explored by ancient miners.

When early man reached Scotland in search of suitable districts in which to settle, he was not likely to be attracted by the barren or semi-barren areas in which nature grudged soil for cultivation, where pasture lands were poor and the coasts were lashed by great billows for the greater part of the year, and the tempests of winter and spring were particularly severe. Yet in such places as Carloway, fronting the Atlantic on the west coast of Lewis, and at Stennis in Orkney, across the dangerous Pentland Firth, are found the most imposing stone circles north of Stonehenge and Avebury. Traces of tin have been found in Lewis, and Orkney has yielded traces of lead, including silver-lead, copper and zinc, and has flint in glacial drift. Traces of tin have likewise been found on the mainlands of Ross-shire and Argyllshire, in various islands of the Hebrides and in Stirlingshire. The great Stonehenge circle is like the Callernish and Stennis circles situated in a semi-barren area, but it is an area where surface tin and gold were anciently obtained. One cannot help concluding that the early people, who populated the wastes of ancient Britain and erected megalithic monuments, were attracted by something more tangible than the charms of solitude and wild scenery. They searched for and found the things they required. If they found gold, it must be recognized that there was a psychological motive for the search for this precious metal. They valued gold, or whatever other metal they worked in bleak and isolated places, because they had learned to value it elsewhere.

Who were the people that first searched for, found,

and used metals in Western Europe? Some have assumed that the natives themselves did so "as a matter of course". Such a theory is, however, difficult to maintain. Gold is a useless metal for all practical purposes. It is too soft for implements. Besides, it cannot be found or worked except by those who have acquired a great deal of knowledge and skill. The men who first "washed" it from the soil in Britain must have obtained the necessary knowledge and skill in a country where it was more plentiful and much easier to work, and where—and this point is a most important one—the magical and religious beliefs connected with gold have a very definite history. Copper, tin, and silver were even more difficult to find and work in Britain. The ancient people who reached Britain and first worked metals or collected ores were not the people who were accustomed to use implements of bone, horn, and flint, and had been attracted to its shores merely because fish, fowl, deer, and cows, were numerous. The searchers for metals must have come from centres of Eastern civilization, or from colonies of highly skilled peoples that had been established in Western Europe. They did not necessarily come to settle permanently in Britain, but rather to exploit its natural riches.

This conclusion is no mere hypothesis. Siret,¹ the Belgian archæologist, has discovered in southern Spain and Portugal traces of numerous settlements of Easterners who searched for minerals, &c., long before the introduction of bronze working in Western Europe. They came during the archæological "Stone Age"; they even introduced some of the flint implements classed as Neolithic by the archæologists of a past generation.

These Eastern colonists do not appear to have been an organized people. Siret considers that they were merely groups of people from Asia—probably the Syrian coast

¹ *L'Anthropologie*, 1921, contains a long account of his discoveries.

—who were in contact with Egypt. During the Empire period of Egypt, the Egyptian sphere of influence extended to the borders of Asia Minor. At an earlier period Babylonian influence permeated the Syrian coast and part of Asia Minor. The religious beliefs of seafarers from Syria were likely therefore to bear traces of the Egyptian and Babylonian religious systems. Evidence that this was the case has been forthcoming in Spain.

These Eastern colonists not only operated in Spain and Portugal, but established contact with Northern Europe. They exported what they had searched for and found to their Eastern markets. No doubt, they employed native labour, but they do not appear to have instructed the natives how to make use of the ores they themselves valued so highly. In time they were expelled from Spain and Portugal by the people or mixed peoples who introduced the working of bronze and made use of bronze weapons. These bronze carriers and workers came from Central Europe, where colonies of peoples skilled in the arts of mining and metal working had been established. In the Central European colonies Ægean and Danubian influences have been detected.

Among the archæological finds, which prove that the Easterners settled in Iberia before bronze working was introduced among the natives, are idol-like objects made of hippopotamus ivory from Egypt, a shell (*Dentalium elephantum*) from the Red Sea, objects made from ostrich eggs which must have been carried to Spain from Africa, alabaster perfume flasks, cups of marble and alabaster of Egyptian character which had been shaped with copper implements, Oriental painted vases with decorations in red, black, blue, and green,¹ mural paintings on layers of plaster, feminine statuettes in alabaster which Siret considers to be of Babylonian type,

¹ The colours blue and green were obtained from copper.



Valentine

THE RING OF STENNIS, ORKNEY (see page 94)



for they differ from Ægean and Egyptian statuettes, a cult object (found in graves) resembling the Egyptian *ded* amulet, &c. The Iberian burial places of these Eastern colonists have arched cupolas and entrance corridors of Egyptian-Mycenæan character.

Of special interest are the beautifully worked flints associated with these Eastern remains in Spain and Portugal. Siret draws attention to the fact that no trace has been found of "flint factories". This particular flint industry was an entirely new one. It was not a development of earlier flint-working in Iberia. Apparently the new industry, which suddenly appears in full perfection, was introduced by the Eastern colonists. It afterwards spread over the whole maritime west, including Scandinavia where the metal implements of more advanced countries were imitated in flint. This important fact emphasizes the need for caution in making use of such a term as "Neolithic Age". Siret's view in this connection is that the Easterners, who established trading colonies in Spain and elsewhere, prevented the local use of metals which they had come to search for and export. It was part of their policy to keep the natives in ignorance of the uses to which metals could be put.

Evidence has been forthcoming that the operations of the Eastern colonies in Spain and Portugal were extended towards the maritime north. Associated with the Oriental relics already referred to, Siret has discovered amber from the Baltic, jet from Britain (apparently from Whitby in Yorkshire) and the green-stone called "callais" usually found in beds of tin. The Eastern seafarers must have visited Northern Europe to exploit its virgin riches. A green-stone axe was found, as has been stated, near the boat with the cork plug, which lay embedded in Clyde silt at Glasgow. Artifacts of callais have been discovered in Brittany, in the south of France, in Portugal, and in south-eastern Spain. In the

latter area, as Siret has proved, the Easterners worked silver-bearing lead and copper.

The colonists appear to have likewise searched for and found gold. A diadem of gold was discovered in a necropolis in the south of Spain, where some eminent ancient had been interred. This find is, however, an exception. Precious metals do not as a rule appear in the graves of the period under consideration.

As has been suggested, the Easterners who exploited the wealth of ancient Iberia kept the natives in ignorance. "This ignorance", Siret says, "was the guarantee of the prosperity of the commerce carried on by the strangers. . . . The first action of the East on the West was the exploitation for its exclusive and personal profit of the virgin riches of the latter." These early Westerners had no idea of the use and value of the metals lying on the surface of their native land, while the Orientals valued them, were in need of them, and were anxious to obtain them. As Siret puts it:

"The West was a cow to be milked, a sheep to be fleeced, a field to be cultivated, a mine to be exploited."

In the traditions preserved by classical writers, there are references to the skill and cunning of the Phœnicians in commerce, and in the exploitation of colonies founded among the ignorant Iberians. They did not inform rival traders where they found metals. "Formerly", as Strabo says, "the Phœnicians monopolized the trade from Gades (Cadiz) with the islanders (of the Cassiterides); and they kept the route a close secret." A vague ancient tradition is preserved by Pliny, who tells that "tin was first fetched from Cassiteris (the tin island) by Midacritus".¹ We owe it to the secretive Phœnicians that the problem of the Cassiterides still remains a difficult one to solve.

¹ *Nat. Hist.*, VII, 56 (57), § 197.

To keep the native people ignorant the Easterners, Siret believes, forbade the use of metals in their own colonies. A direct result of this policy was the great development which took place in the manufacture of the beautiful flint implements already referred to. These the natives imitated, never dreaming that they were imitating some forms that had been developed by a people who used copper in their own country. When, therefore, we pick up beautiful Neolithic flints, we cannot be too sure that the skill displayed belongs entirely to the "Stone Age", or that the flints "evolved" from earlier native forms in those areas in which they are found.

The Easterners do not appear to have extracted the metals from their ores either in Iberia or in Northern Europe. Tin-stone and silver-bearing lead were used for ballast for their ships, and they made anchors of lead. Gold washed from river beds could be easily packed in small bulk. A people who lived by hunting and fishing were not likely to be greatly interested in the laborious process of gold-washing. Nor were they likely to attach to gold a magical and religious value as did the ancient Egyptians and Sumerians.

So far as can be gathered from the Iberian evidence, the period of exploitation by the colonists from the East was a somewhat prolonged one. How many centuries it covered we can only guess. It is of interest to find, in this connection, however, that something was known in Mesopotamia before 2000 B.C. regarding the natural riches of Western Europe. Tablets have recently been found on the site of Asshur, the ancient capital of Assyria, which was originally a Sumerian settlement. These make reference to the Empire of Sargon of Akkad (c. 2600 B.C.), which, according to tradition, extended from the Persian Gulf to the Syrian coast. Sargon was a great conqueror. "He poured out his glory over the world", declares a tablet found a good many years ago.

It was believed, too, that Sargon embarked on the Mediterranean and occupied Cyprus. The fresh evidence from the site of Asshur is to the effect that he conquered Kaptara (? Crete) and "the Tin Land beyond the Upper Sea" (the Mediterranean). The explanation may be that he obtained control of the markets to which the Easterners carried from Spain and the coasts of Northern Europe the ores, pearls, &c., they had searched for and found. It may be, therefore, that Britain was visited by Easterners even before Sargon's time, and that the Glasgow boat with the plug of cork was manned by dark Orientals who were prospecting the Scottish coast before the last land movement had ceased—that is, some time after 3000 B.C.

When the Easterners were expelled from Spain by a people from Central Europe who used weapons of bronze, some of them appear to have found refuge in Gaul. Siret is of opinion that others withdrew from Brittany, where subsidences were taking place along the coast, leaving their megalithic monuments below high-water mark, and even under several feet of water as at Morbraz. He thinks that the settlements of Easterners in Brittany were invaded at one and the same time by the enemy and the ocean. Other refugees from the colonies may have settled in Etruria, and founded the Etruscan civilization. Etruscan menhirs resemble those of the south of France, while the Etruscan *crozier* or wand, used in the art of augury, resembles the *croziers* of the megaliths, &c., of France, Spain, and Portugal. There are references in Scottish Gaelic stories to "magic wands" possessed by "wise women", and by the mothers of Cyclopean one-eyed giants. Ammianus Marcellinus, quoting Timagenes,¹ attributes to the

¹ Timagenes (c. 85-5 B.C.), an Alexandrian historian, wrote a history of the Gauls which was made use of by Ammianus Marcellinus (A.D. fourth century), a Greek of Antioch, and the author of a history of the Roman Emperors.



MEGALITHS

Upper: Kit's Coty House, Kent. Lower: Trethevy Stone, Cornwall.

Druids the statement that part of the inhabitants of Gaul were indigenous, but that some had come from the farthest shores and districts across the Rhine, "having been expelled from their own lands by frequent wars and the encroachments of the ocean".

The bronze-using peoples who established overland trade routes in Europe, displacing in some localities the colonies of Easterners and isolating others, must have instructed the natives of Western Europe how to mine and use metals. Bronze appears to have been introduced into Britain by traders. That the ancient Britons did not begin quite spontaneously to work copper and tin and manufacture bronze is quite evident, because the earliest specimens of British bronze which have been found are made of ninety per cent of copper and ten per cent of tin as on the Continent. "Now, since a knowledge of the compound", wrote Dr. Robert Munro, "implies a previous acquaintance with its component elements, it follows that progress in metallurgy had already reached the stage of knowing the best combination of these metals for the manufacture of cutting tools before bronze was practically known in Britain."¹

The furnaces used were not invented in Britain. Professor Gowland has shown that in Europe and Asia the system of working mines and melting metals was identical in ancient times.² Summarizing Professor Gowland's articles in *Archæologia* and the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Mr. W. J. Perry writes in this connection:² "The furnaces employed were similar; the crucibles were of the same material, and generally of the same form; the process of smelting, first on the surface and then in the crucibles was found everywhere, even persisting down to present times in

¹ *Prehistoric Britain*, p. 145.

² *The Relationship between the Geographical Distribution of Megalithic Monuments and Ancient Mines*, pp. 21 et seq.

the absence of any fresh cultural influence. The study of the technique of mining and smelting has served to consolidate the floating mass of facts which we have accumulated, and to add support for the contention that one cultural influence is responsible for the earliest mining and smelting and washing of metals and the getting of precious stones and metals. The cause of the distribution of the megalithic culture was the search for certain forms of material wealth."

That certain of the megalithic monuments were intimately connected with the people who attached a religious value to metals is brought out very forcibly in the references to pagan customs and beliefs in early Christian Gaelic literature. There are statements in the Lives of St. Patrick regarding a pagan god called "Cenn Cruach" and "Crom Cruach" whose stone statue was "adorned with gold and silver, and surrounded by twelve other statues with bronze ornaments". The "statue" is called "the king idol of Erin", and it is stated that "the twelve idols were made of stone, but he ('Crom Cruach') was of gold". To this god of a stone circle were offered up "the firstlings of every issue and the chief scions of every clan". Another idol was called Crom Dubh ("Black Crom"), and his name "is still connected", O'Curry has written, "with the first Sunday of August in Munster and Connaught". An Ulster idol was called Crom Chonnaill, which was either a living animal or a tree, or was "believed to have been such", O'Curry says. De Jubainville translates *Cenn Cruach* as "Bloody Head" and *Crom Cruach* as "Bloody Curb" or "Bloody Crescent". O'Curry, on the other hand, translates *Crom Cruach* as "Bloody Maggot" and *Crom Dubh* as "Black Maggot". In Gaelic legends "maggots" or "worms" are referred to as forms of supernatural beings. The maggot which appeared on the flesh of a slain animal was apparently

regarded as a new form assumed by the indestructible soul, just as in the Egyptian story of Bata the germ of life passes from his bull form in a drop of blood from which two trees spring up, and then in a chip from one of the trees from which the man is restored in his original form.¹ A similar belief, which is widespread, is that bees have their origin as maggots placed in trees. One form of the story was taken over by the early Christians, which tells that Jesus was travelling with Peter and Paul and asked hospitality from an old woman. The woman refused it and struck Paul on the head. When the wound putrified maggots were produced. Jesus took the maggots from the wound and placed them in the hollow of a tree. When next they passed that way, "Jesus directed Paul to look in the tree hollow where, to his surprise, he found bees and honey sprung from his own head".² The custom of placing crape on hives and "telling the bees" when a death takes place, which still survives in the south of England and in the north of Scotland, appears to be connected with the ancient belief that the maggot, bee, and tree were connected with the sacred animal and the sacred stone in which was the spirit of a deity. Sacred trees and sacred stones were intimately connected. Tacitus tells us that the Romans invaded Mona (Anglesea), they destroyed the sacred groves in which the Druids and black-robed priestesses covered the altars with the blood of captives.³ There are a number of dolmens on this island and traces of ancient mine-workings, indicating that it had been occupied by the early seafarers who colonized Britain and Ireland and worked metals. A connection between the tree cult of the Druids and the cult of the builders of megaliths is

¹ A worm crept from the heart of a dead Phœnix, and gave origin to a new Phœnix.—*Herodotus*, II, 73.

² Rendel Harris, *The Ascent of Olympus*, p. 2.

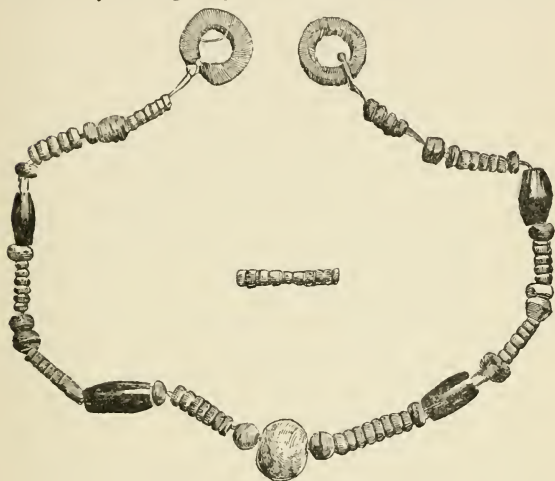
³ *Annals of Tacitus*, Book XIV, Chapter 29-30.

thus suggested by Tacitus, as well as by the Irish evidence regarding the Ulster idol Crom Chonnaill, referred to above (see also Chapter XII).

Who were the people that followed the earliest Easterners and visited our shores to search like them for metals and erect megalithic monuments? It is impossible to answer that question with certainty. There were after the introduction of bronze working, as has been indicated, intrusions of aliens. These included the introducers of the short-barrow method of burial and the later introducers of burial by cremation. It does not follow that all intrusions were those of conquerors. Traders and artisans may have come with their families in large numbers and mingled with the earlier peoples. Some intruders appear to have come by overland routes from southern and central France and from Central Europe and the Danube valley, while others came across the sea from Spain. That a regular over-seas trade-route was in existence is indicated by the references made by classical writers to the *Cassiterides* (Tin Islands). Strabo tells that the natives "bartered tin and hides with merchants for pottery, salt, and articles of bronze". The Phœnicians, as has been noted, "monopolized the trade from Gades (Cadiz) with the islanders and kept the route a close secret". It was probably along this sea-route that Egyptian blue beads reached Britain. Professor Sayce has identified a number of these in Devizes Museum, and writes:

"They are met with plentifully in the Early Bronze Age tumuli of Wiltshire in association with amber beads and barrel-shaped beads of jet or lignite. Three of them come from Stonehenge itself. Similar beads of ivory have been found in a Bronze Age cist near Warminster: if the material is really ivory it must have been derived from the East. The cylindrical faience beads, it may be added, have been discovered in Dorsetshire as well as in Wiltshire."

Professor Sayce emphasizes that these blue beads "belong to one particular period in Egyptian history, the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the earlier part of the Nineteenth Dynasty. . . . The period to which they belong may be dated 1450-1250 B.C., and as



Beads from Bronze Age Barrows on Salisbury Plain

The large central bead and the small round ones are of amber; the long plain ones are of jet; and the long segmented or notched beads are of an opaque blue substance (faience).

we must allow some time for their passage across the trade routes to Wiltshire an approximate date for their presence in the British barrows will be 1300 B.C."

Dr. H. R. Hall, of the British Museum, who discovered, at Deir el-Bahari in Egypt, "thousands of blue glaze beads of the exact particular type of those found in Britain", says that they date back till "about 1500 B.C.". He noted the resemblance before Professor

Sayce had written. "It is gratifying", he comments, "that the Professor agrees that the Devizes beads are undoubtedly Egyptian, as an important voice is thereby added to the consensus of opinion on the subject." Similar beads have been found in the "Middle Bronze Age in Crete and in Western Europe". Dr. Hall thinks the Egyptian beads may have reached Britain as early as "about 1400 B.C.". ¹ We have thus provided for us an early date in British history, based on the well authenticated chronology of the Empire period of Ancient Egypt. Easterners, or traders in touch with Easterners, reached our shores carrying Egyptian beads shortly before or early in the fourteenth century B.C. At this time amber was being imported into the south of England from the Baltic, while jet was being carried from Whitby in Yorkshire.

After the introduction of bronze working in Western Europe the natives began to work and use metals. These could not have been Celts, for in the fourteenth century B.C. the Celts had not yet reached Western Europe. ² The earliest searchers for metals who visited Britain must therefore have been the congeners of those who erected the megalithic monuments in the metal-yielding areas of Spain and Portugal and north-western France.

It would appear that the early Easterners exploited the virgin riches of Western Europe for a long period—perhaps for over a thousand years—and that, after their Spanish colonies were broken up by a bronze-using people from Central Europe, the knowledge of how to work metals spread among the natives. Overland trade routes were then opened up. At first these were controlled in Western Europe by the Iberians. In time the Celts

¹ *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. I, part 1, pp. 18-19.

² It may be that Celtic chronology will have to be readjusted in the light of recent discoveries.

swept westward and formed with the natives mixed communities of Celtiberians. The Easterners appear to have inaugurated a new era in Western European commerce after the introduction of iron working. They had colonies in the south and west of Europe and on the North African coast, and obtained supplies of metals, &c., by sea. They kept the sea-routes secret. British ores, &c., were carried to Spain and Carthage. After Pytheas visited Britain (see next chapter) the overland trade-route to Marseilles was opened up. Supplies of surface tin having become exhausted, tin-mines were opened in Cornwall. The trade of Britain then came under the control of Celtiberian and Celtic peoples, who had acquired their knowledge of shipbuilding and navigation from the Easterners and the mixed descendants of Eastern and Iberian peoples.

It does not follow that the early and later Easterners were all of one physical type. They, no doubt, brought with them their slaves, including miners and seamen, drawn from various countries where they had been purchased or abducted.

The men who controlled the ancient trade were not necessarily permanent settlers in Western Europe. When the carriers of bronze from Central Europe obtained control of the Iberian colonies, many traders may have fled to other countries, but many colonists, and especially the workers, may have become the slaves of the intruders, as did the Firbolgs of Ireland who were subdued by the Celts. The Damnonians of Britain and Ireland who occupied mineral areas may have been a "wave" of early Celtic or Celtiberian people. Ultimately the Celts came, as did the later Normans, and formed military aristocracies over peoples of mixed descent. The idea that each intrusion involved the extermination of earlier peoples is a theory which does not accord with the evidence of the ancient Gaelic manu-

scripts, of classical writers, of folk tradition, and of existing race types in different areas in Britain and Ireland.

A people who exterminated those they conquered would have robbed themselves of the chief fruits of conquest. In ancient as in later times the aim of conquest was to obtain the services of a subject people and the control of trade.

CHAPTER X

Celts and Iberians as Intruders and Traders

Few Invasions in 1000 Years — Broad-heads — The Cremating People—A New Religion—Celtic People in Britain—The Continental Celts—Were Celts Dark or Fair?—Fair Types in Britain and Ireland—Celts as Pork Traders—The Ancient Tin Trade—Early Explorers—Pytheas and Himilco—The Cassiterides—Tin Mines and Surface Tin—Cornish Tin—Metals in Hebrides and Ireland—Lead in Orkney—Dark People in Hebrides and Orkney—Celtic Art—Homeric Civilization in Britain and Ireland—Why Romans were Conquerors.

The beginnings of the Bronze and Iron Ages in Britain are, according to the chronology favoured by archaeologists, separated by about a thousand years. During this long period only two or three invasions appear to have taken place, but it is uncertain, as has been indicated, whether these came as sudden outbursts from the Continent or were simply gradual and peaceful infiltrations of traders and settlers. We really know nothing about the broad-headed people who introduced the round-barrow system of burial, or of the people who cremated their dead. The latter became predominant in south-western England and part of Wales. In the north of England the cremating people were less numerous. If they were conquerors they may have, as has been suggested, represented military aristocracies. It may be, however, on the other hand, that the cremation custom had in some areas more a religious than a racial signifi-

cance. The beliefs associated with cremation of the dead may have spread farther than the people who introduced the new religion. It would appear that the habit of burning the dead was an expression of the beliefs that souls were transported by means of fire to the Other-world paradise. As much is indicated by Greek evidence. Homer's heroes burned their dead, and when the ghost of Patroklos appeared to his friend Achilles in a dream, he said: "Thou sleepest, and hast forgotten me, O Achilles. Not in my life wast thou unmindful of me, but in my death. Bury me with all speed, that I may pass the gates of Hades. Far off the spirits banish me, the phantoms of men outworn, nor suffer me to mingle with them beyond the River, but vainly I wander along the wide-gated dwelling of Hades. Now give me, I pray pitifully of thee, thy hand, for never more again shall I come back from Hades, when ye have given me my due of fire."¹ The Arab traveller Ibn Haukal, who describes a tenth-century cremation ceremony at Kieff, was addressed by a Russ, who said: "As for you Arabs you are mad, for those who are the most dear to you, and whom you honour most, you place in the ground, where they will become a prey to worms, whereas with us they are burned in an instant and go straight to Paradise."²

The cremating people, who swept into Greece and became the over-lords of the earlier settlers, were represented in the western movement of tribes towards Gaul and Britain. It is uncertain where the cremation custom had origin. Apparently it entered Europe from Asia. The Vedic Aryans who invaded Northern India worshipped the fire-god Agni, who was believed to carry souls to Paradise; they cremated their dead and com-

¹ *Iliad*, XXIII, 75 (Lang, Leaf, and Myers' translation, p. 452).

² *The Mythology of the Eddas*, pp. 538-9 (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, second series, Vol. XII).

bined with it the practice of *suttee*, that is, of burning the widows of the dead. In Gaul, however, as we gather from Julius Cæsar, only those widows suspected of being concerned in the death of their husbands were burned. The Norsemen, however, were acquainted with *suttee*. In one of the Volsung lays Brynhild rides towards the pyre on which Sigurd is being burned, and casts herself into the flames. The Russians strangled and burned widows when great men were cremated.

The cremating people erected megalithic monuments, some of which cover their graves in Britain and elsewhere.

In some districts the intruders of the Bronze Age were the earliest settlers. The evidence of the graves in Buchan, Aberdeenshire, for instance, shows that the broad-heads colonized that area. It may be that, like the later Norsemen, bands of people sought for new homes in countries where the struggle for existence would be less arduous than in their own, which suffered from over population, and did not land at points where resistance was offered to them. Agriculturists would, no doubt, select areas suitable for their mode of life and favour river valleys, while seafarers and fishermen would cling to the coasts. The tendency of fishermen and agriculturists to live apart in separate communities has persisted till our own time. There are fishing villages along the east coast of Scotland the inhabitants of which rarely intermarry with those who draw their means of sustenance from the land.

During the Bronze Age Celtic peoples were filtering into Britain from Gaul. They appear to have come originally from the Danube area as conquerors who imposed their rule on the people they subjected. Like the Achæans who overran Greece they seem to have originally been a vigorous pastoral people who had herds of pigs, were "horse-tamers", used chariots, and

were fierce and impetuous in battle. In time they crossed the Rhine and occupied Gaul. They overcame the Etruscans. In 390 B.C. they sacked Rome. Their invasion of Greece occurred in the third century, but their attempt to reach Delphi was frustrated. Crossing into Asia Minor they secured a footing in the area subsequently known as Galatia, and their descendants there were addressed in an epistle by St. Paul.

Like the Achæans, the Celts appear to have absorbed the culture of the Ægean area and that of the Ægean colony at Hallstatt in Austria. They were withal the "carriers" of the La Tène Iron Age culture to Britain and Ireland. The potter's wheel was introduced by them into Britain during the archaeological early Iron Age. It is possible that the cremating people of the Bronze Age were a Celtic people. But later "waves" of the fighting charioteers did not cremate their dead.

Sharp difference of opinion exists between scholars regarding the Celts. Some identify them with the dark-haired, broad-headed Armenoids, and others with the tall and fair long-headed people of Northern Europe. It is possible that the Celts were not a pure race, but rather a confederacy of peoples who were influenced at different periods by different cultures. That some sections were confederacies or small nations of blended people is made evident by classic references to the Celtiberians, the Celto-Scythians, the Celto-Ligyes, the Celto-Thracians, and the Celtillyrians. On reaching Britain they mingled with the earlier settlers, forming military aristocracies, and dominating large areas. The fair Caledonians of Scotland had a Celtic tribal name, and used chariots in battle like the Continental Celts. Two Caledonian personal names are known—Calgacus ("swordsmen") and Argentocoxus ("white foot"). In Ireland the predominant tribes before and during the early Roman period were of similar type. Queen Meave



Weapons and Religious Objects (British Museum)

Bronze socketed celts, bronze dagger, sword and spear-heads from Thames; two bronze boars with "sun-disc" ears, which were worn on armour; bronze "sun-disc" from Ireland; "chalk drum" from grave (Yorkshire), with ornamentation showing butterfly and St. Andrew's Cross symbols; warrior with shield, from rock carving (Denmark).

of Connaught was like Queen Boadicea¹ of the Iceni, a fair-haired woman who rode to battle in a chariot.

The Continental trade routes up the Danube and Rhone valleys leading towards Britain were for some centuries under the control of the Celts. It was no doubt to obtain a control over trade that they entered Britain and Ireland. On the Continent they engaged in pork curing, and supplied Rome and indeed the whole of Italy with smoked and salted bacon. Dr. Sullivan tells that among the ancient Irish the general name for bacon was *tini*. Smoke-cured hams and flitches were called *tineiccas*, which "is almost identical in form with the Gallo-Roman word *taniaccae* or *tanacae* used by Varro for hams imported from Transalpine Gaul into Rome and other parts of Italy". Puddings prepared from the blood of pigs—now known as "black puddings"—were, we learn from Varro, likewise exported from Gaul to Italy. The ancient Irish were partial to "black puddings".² It would appear, therefore, that the so-called dreamy Celt was a greasy pork merchant.

According to Strabo the exports from Britain in the early part of the first century consisted of gold, silver, and iron, wheat, cattle, skins, slaves, and dogs; while the imports included ivory ornaments, such as bracelets, amber beads, and glass. Tin was exported from Cornwall to Gaul, and carried overland to Marseilles, but this does not appear to have been the earliest route. As has been indicated, tin appears to have been carried, before the Celts obtained control of British trade, by the sea route to the Carthaginian colonies in Spain.

The Carthaginians had long kept secret the sources of their supplies of tin from the group of islands known

¹ *Boudicca* was her real name.

² Introduction to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, Vol. I, pp. cccxix et seq.

as the Cassiterides. About 322 B.C., however, the Greek merchants at Marseilles fitted out an expedition which was placed in charge of Pytheas, a mathematician, for the purpose of exploring the northern area. This scholar wrote an account of his voyage, but only fragments of it quoted by different ancient authors have come down to us. He appears to have coasted round Spain and Brittany, and to have sailed up the English Channel to Kent, to have reached as far north as Orkney and Shetland, and perhaps, as some think, Iceland, to have crossed the North Sea towards the mouth of the Baltic, and explored a part of the coast of Norway. He returned to Britain, which he appears to have partly explored before crossing over to Gaul. In an extract from his diary, quoted by Strabo, he tells that the Britons in certain districts not detailed grew corn, millet, and vegetables. Such of them as had corn and honey made a beverage from these materials. They brought the corn ears into great houses (barns) and threshed them there, for on account of the rain and lack of sunshine out-door threshing floors were of little use to them. Pytheas noted that in Britain the days were longer and the nights brighter than in the Mediterranean area. In the northern parts he visited the nights were so short that the interval between sunset and sunrise was scarcely perceptible. The farthest north headland of Britain was Cape Orcas.¹ Six days sail north of Britain lay Thule, which was situated near the frozen sea. There a day lasted six months and a night for the same space of time.

Another extract refers to hot springs in Britain, and a presiding deity identified with Minerva, in whose temple "the fires never go out, yet never whiten into ashes; when the fire has got dull it turns into round lumps like stones". Apparently coal was in use at a temple situated

¹ *Orcas* is a Celtic word signifying "young boar".

at Bath. Timæus, a contemporary of Pytheas, quoting from the lost diary of the explorer, states that tin was found on an island called Mictis, lying inwards (northward) at a distance of six days' sail from Britain. The natives made voyages to and from the island in their canoes of wickerwork covered with hides. Mictis could not have been Cornwall or an island in the English Channel. Strabo states that Crassus, who succeeded in reaching the Cassiterides, announced that the distance to them was greater than that from the Continent to Britain, and he found that the tin ore lay on the surface. Evidently tin was not mined on the island of Mictis as it was in Cornwall in later times.

An earlier explorer than Pytheas was Himilco, the Carthaginian. He reached Britain about 500 B.C. A Latin metrical rendering of his lost work was made by Rufus Festus Avienus in the fourth century of our era. Reference is made to the islands called the *Æstrymnides* that "raise their heads, lie scattered, and are rich in tin and lead". These islands were visited by Himilco, and were distant "two days voyage from the Sacred Island (Ireland) and near the broad Isle of the Albiones". As Rufus Festus Avienus refers to "the hardy folk of Britain", his Albiones may have been the people of Scotland. The name Albion was originally applied to England and Scotland. In the first century, however, Latin writers never used "Albion" except as a curiosity, and knew England as Britain. According to Himilco, the Tartessi of Spain were wont to trade with the natives of the northern tin islands. Even the Carthaginians "were accustomed to visit these seas". From other sources we learn that the Phœnicians carried tin from the Cassiterides direct to the Spanish port of Corbilo, the exact location of which is uncertain.

It is of special importance to note that the tin-stone was collected on the surface of the islands before mining



ENAMELLED BRONZE SHIELD (from the Thames near Battersea)
(British Museum)

operations were conducted elsewhere. In all probability the laborious work of digging mines was not commenced before the available surface supplies became scanty. According to Sir John Rhys¹ the districts in southern England, where surface tin was first obtained, were "chiefly Dartmoor, with the country round Tavistock and that around St. Austell, including several valleys looking towards the southern coast of Cornwall. In most of the old districts where tin existed, it is supposed to have lain too deep to have been worked in early times." When, however, Poseidonius visited Cornwall in the first century of our era, he found that a beginning had been made in skilful mining operations. It may be that the trade with the Cassiterides was already languishing on account of changed political conditions and the shortage of supplies.

Where then were the Cassiterides? M. Reinach struck at the heart of the problem when he asked, "In what western European island is tin found?" Those writers who have favoured the group of islands off the north-western coast of Spain are confronted by the difficulty that these have failed to yield traces of tin, while those writers who favour Cornwall and the Scilly Islands cannot ignore the precise statements that the "tin islands" were farther distant from the Continent than Britain, and that in the time of Pytheas tin was carried from Mictis, which was six days' sail from Britain. The fact that traces of tin, copper, and lead have been found in the Hebrides is therefore of special interest. Copper, too, has been found in Shetland, and lead and zinc in Orkney. Withal there are Gaelic place-names in which *staoin* (tin) is referred to, in Islay, Jura (where there are traces of old mine-workings), in Iona, and on the mainland of Ross-shire. Traces of tin are said to have been found in Lewis where the great stone circle of Callernish

¹ *Celtic Britain*, p. 44.

in a semi-barren area indicates the presence at one time in its area of a considerable population. The Hebrides may well have been the Æstryrnides of Himilco and the Cassiterides of classical writers. Jura or Iona may have been the Mictis of Pytheas. Tin-stone has been found in Ireland too, near Dublin, in Wicklow, and in Killarney.

The short dark people in the Hebrides and Orkney may well be, like the Silurians of Wales, the descendants of the ancient mine workers. They have been referred to by some as descendants of the crews of wrecked ships of the Spanish Armada, and by others as remnants of the Lost Ten Tribes.

In Irish Gaelic literature, however, there is evidence that the dark people were in ancient times believed to be the descendants of the Fir-bolgs (men with sacks), the Fir-domnann (the men who dug the ground), and the Galioin (Gauls). Campbell in his *West Highland Tales* has in a note referred to the dark Hebrideans. "Behind the fire", he wrote, "sat a girl with one of those strange faces which are occasionally to be seen in the Western Isles, a face which reminded me of the Nineveh sculptures, and of faces seen in San Sebastian. Her hair was black as night, and her clear dark eyes glittered through the peat smoke. Her complexion was dark, and her features so unlike those who sat about her that I asked if she were a native of the island (of Barra), and learned that she was a Highland girl." It may be that the dark Eastern people were those who introduced the Eastern and non-Celtic, non-Teutonic prejudice against pork as food into Scotland. In Ireland the Celtic people apparently obliterated the "taboo" at an early period.

It was during the Archæological Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages that the Celtic artistic patterns reached England. These betray affinities with Ægean motifs, and they were afterwards developed in Ireland and

Scotland. In both countries they were fused with symbols of Egyptian and Anatolian origin.

Like the Celts and the pre-Hellenic people of Greece and Crete, the Britons and the Irish wore breeches. The Roman poet, Martial,¹ satirizes a *life* "as loose as the old breeches of a British pauper". Claudian, the poet, pictures Britannia with her cheeks tattooed and wearing a sea-coloured cloak and a cap of bear-skin. The fact that the Caledonians fought with scanty clothing, as did the Greeks, and as did the Highlanders in historic times, must not be taken as proof that they could not manufacture cloth. According to Rhys, Briton means a "cloth clad"² person. The bronze fibulæ found at Bronze Age sites could not have been used to fasten heavy skins.

When the Romans reached Britain, the natives, like the heroes of Homer, used chariots, and had weapons of bronze and iron. The archæology of the ancient Irish stories is of similar character.

In the Bronze Age the swords were pointed and apparently used chiefly for thrusting. The conquerors who introduced the unpointed iron swords were able to shatter the brittle bronze weapons. These iron swords were in turn superseded by the pointed and well-tempered swords of the Romans. But it was not only their superior weapons, their discipline, and their knowledge of military strategy that brought the Romans success. England was broken up into a number of petty kingdoms. "Our greatest advantage", Tacitus confessed, "in dealing with such powerful people is that they cannot act in concert; it is seldom that even two or three tribes will join in meeting a common danger; and so while each fights for himself they are all conquered together."³

¹ *Ep.* x, 22.

² *Celtic Britain* (4th edition), p. 212.

³ Tacitus, *Agricola*, Chap. XII.

When the Britons, under Agricola, began to adopt Roman civilization they "rose superior", Tacitus says, "by the forces of their natural genius, to the attainments of the Gauls". In time they adopted the Roman dress,¹ which may have been the prototype of the kilt. The Roman language supplanted the Celtic dialects in certain parts of England.

¹ *Agricola*, Chap. XXI.

CHAPTER XI

Races of Britain and Ireland

Colours of Ancient Races and Mythical Ages—Caucasian Race Theory—The Aryan or Indo-European Theory—Races and Languages—Celts and Teutons—Fair and Dark Palæolithic Peoples in Modern Britain—Mediterranean Man—The Armenoid or Alpine Broad-heads—Ancient British Tribes—Cruithne and Picts—The Picts of the “Brochs” as Pirates and Traders—Picts and Fairies—Scottish Types—Racial “Pockets”.

The race problem has ever been one of engrossing interest to civilized peoples. In almost every old mythology we meet with theories that were formulated to account for the existence of the different races living in the world, and for the races that were supposed to have existed for a time and became extinct. An outstanding feature of each racial myth is that the people among whom it grew up are invariably represented to be the finest type of humanity.

A widespread habit, and one of great antiquity, was to divide the races, as the world was divided, into four sections, and to distinguish them by their colours. The colours were those of the cardinal points and chiefly Black, White, Red, and Yellow. The same system was adopted in dealing with extinct races. Each of these were coloured according to the Age in which they had existence, and the colours were connected with metals. In Greece and India, for instance, the “Yellow Age” was a “Golden Age”, the “White Age” a “Silver

Age", the "Red Age" a "Bronze Age", and the "Black Age" an "Iron Age".

Although the old theories regarding the mythical ages and mythical races have long been discarded, the habit of dividing mankind and their history into four sections, according to colours and the metals chiefly used by them, is not yet extinct. We still speak of the "Black man", the "Yellow man", the "Red man", and the "White man". Archæologists have divided what they call the "pre-history of mankind" into the two "Stone Ages", the "Bronze Age" and the "Iron Age". The belief that certain races have become extinct as the result of conquest by invaders is still traceable in those histories that refer, for instance, to the disappearance of "Stone Age man" or "Bronze Age man", or of the British Celts, or of the Picts of Scotland.

That some races have completely disappeared there can be no shadow of a doubt. As we have seen, Neanderthal man entirely vanished from the face of the globe, and has not left a single descendant among the races of mankind. In our own day the Tasmanians have become extinct. These cases, however, are exceptional. The complete extinction of a race is an unusual thing in the history of mankind. A section may vanish in one particular area and yet persist in another. As a rule, in those districts where races are supposed to have perished, it is found that they have been absorbed by intruders. In some cases the chief change has been one of racial designation and nationality.

Crô-Magnon man, who entered Europe when the Neanderthals were hunting the reindeer and other animals, is still represented in our midst. Dr. Collignon, the French ethnologist, who has found many representatives of this type in the Dordogne valley

where their ancestors lived in the decorated cave-dwellings before their organization was broken up by the Azilian and other intruders, shows that the intrusion of minorities of males rarely leaves a permanent change in a racial type. The alien element tends to disappear. "When", he writes, "a race is well seated in a region, fixed to the soil by agriculture, acclimatized by natural selection and sufficiently dense, it opposes, for the most precise observations confirm it, an enormous resistance to newcomers, whoever they may be." Intruders of the male sex only may be bred out in time.

Our interest here is with the races of Britain and Ireland, but, as our native islands were peopled from the Continent, we cannot ignore the evidence afforded by Western and Northern Europe when dealing with our own particular phase of the racial problem.

It is necessary in the first place to get rid of certain old theories that were based on imperfect knowledge or wrong foundations. One theory applies the term "Caucasian Man" to either a considerable section or the majority of European peoples. "The utter absurdity of the misnomer Caucasian, as applied to the blue-eyed and fair-haired Aryan (?) race of Western Europe, is revealed", says Ripley,¹ "by two indisputable facts. In the first place, this ideal blond type does not occur within many hundred miles of Caucasasia; and, secondly, nowhere along the great Caucasian chain is there a single native tribe making use of a purely inflectional or Aryan language."

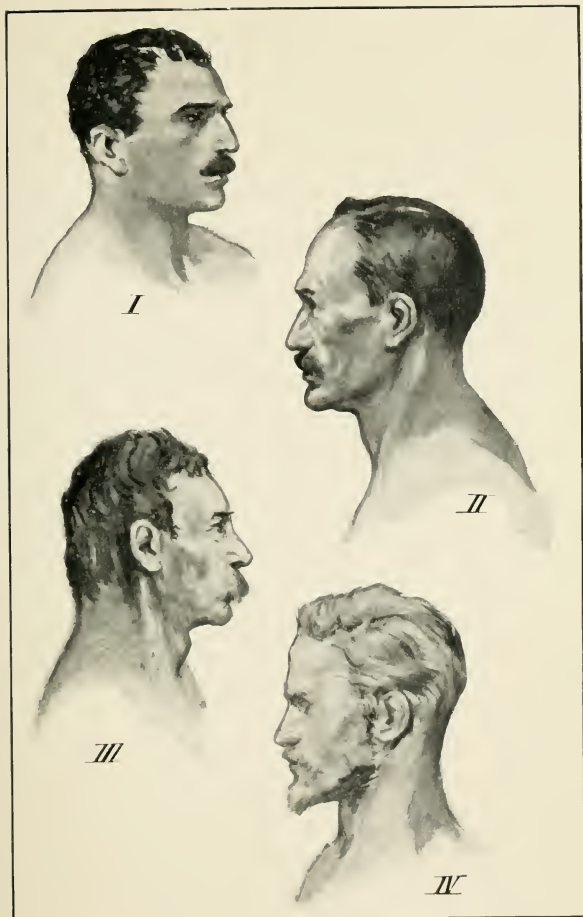
The term "Aryan" is similarly a misleading one. It was invented by Professor Max Müller and applied by him chiefly to a group of languages at a time when races were being identified by the languages they spoke. These peoples—with as different physical

¹ *Races of Europe*, p. 436.

characteristics as have Indians and Norseman, or Russians and Spaniards, who spoke Indo-European, or, as German scholars have patriotically adapted the term, Indo-Germanic languages—were regarded by ethnologists of the “philological school” as members of the one Indo-European or Aryan race or “family”. Language, however, is no sure indication of race. The spread of a language over wide areas may be accounted for by trade or political influence or cultural contact. In our own day the English language is spoken by “Black”, “Yellow”, and “Red”, as well as by “White” peoples.

A safer system is to distinguish racial types by their physical peculiarities. When, however, this system is applied in Europe, as elsewhere, we shall still find differences between peoples. Habits of thought and habits of life exercise a stronger influence over individuals, and groups of individuals, than do, for instance, the shape of their heads, the colours of their hair, eyes, and skin, or the length and strength of their limbs. Two particular individuals may be typical representatives of a distinct race and yet not only speak different languages, but have a different outlook on life, and different ideas as to what is right and what is wrong. Different types of people are in different parts of the world united by their sense of nationality. They are united by language, traditions, and beliefs, and by their love of a particular locality in which they reside or in which their ancestors were wont to reside. A sense of nationality, such as unites the British Empire, may extend to far-distant parts of the world.

But, while conscious of the uniting sense of nationality, our people are at the same time conscious of and interested in their physical differences and the histories of different sections of our countrymen. The problem as



EUROPEAN TYPES

I, Mediterranean. II, Crô-Magnon. III, Armenoid (Alpine).
IV, Northern.

to whether we are mainly Celtic or mainly Teutonic is one of perennial interest.

Here again, when dealing with the past, we meet with the same condition of things that prevail at the present day. Both the ancient Celts and the people they called Teutons ("strangers") were mixed peoples with different physical peculiarities. The Celts known to the Greeks were a tall, fair-haired people. In Western Europe, as has been indicated, they mingled with the dark Iberians, and a section of the mingled races was known to the Romans as Celtiberians. The Teutons included the tall, fair, long-headed Northerners, and the dark, medium-sized, broad-headed Central Europeans. Both the fair Celts and the fair Teutons appear to have been sections of the northern race known to antiquaries as the "Baltic people", or "Maglemosians", who entered Europe from Siberia and "drifted" along the northern and southern shores of the Baltic Sea—the ancient "White Sea" of the "White people" of the "White North". As we have seen, other types of humanity were "drifting" towards Britain at the same time—that is, before the system of polishing stone implements and weapons inaugurated what has been called the "Neolithic Age".

As modern-day ethnologists have found that the masses of the population in Great Britain and Ireland are of the early types known to archæologists as Palæolithic, Neolithic, and Bronze Age men, the race history of our people may be formulated as follows:

The earliest inhabitants of our islands whose physical characteristics can be traced among the living population were the Crô-Magnon peoples. These were followed by the fair Northerners, the "carriers" of Maglemosian culture, and the dark, medium-sized Iberians, who were the "carriers" of Azilian-Tardenoisian culture. There were thus fair people in England, Scotland, and Ireland

thousands of years before the invasions of Celts, Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Norsemen, or Danes.

For a long period, extending over many centuries, the migration "stream" from the Continent appears to have been continuously flowing. The carriers of Neolithic culture were in the main Iberians of Mediterranean racial type—the descendants of the Azilian-Tardenoisian peoples who used bows and arrows, and broke up the Magdalenian civilization of Crô-Magnon man in western and central Europe. This race appears to have been characterized in north and north-east Africa. "So striking", writes Professor Elliot Smith, "is the family likeness between the early Neolithic peoples of the British Isles and the Mediterranean and the bulk of the population, both ancient and modern, of Egypt and East Africa, that a description of the bones of an Early Briton of that remote epoch might apply in all essential details to an inhabitant of Somaliland."¹

This proto-Egyptian (Iberian) people were of medium stature, had long skulls and short narrow faces, and skeletons of slight and mild build; their complexions were as dark as those of the southern Italians in our own day, and they had dark-brown or black hair with a tendency to curl; the men had scanty facial hair, except for a chin-tuft beard.

These brunets introduced the agricultural mode of life, and, as they settled on the granite in south-western England, appear to have searched for gold there, and imported flint from the settlers on the upper chalk formation.

In time Europe was invaded from Asia Minor by increasing numbers of an Asiatic, broad-headed, long-bearded people of similar type to those who had filtered into Central Europe and reached Belgium and

¹ *The Ancient Egyptians*, p. 58.

Denmark before Neolithic times. This type is known as the "Armenoid race" (the "Alpine race" of some writers). It was quite different from the long-headed and fair Northern type and the short, brunet Mediterranean (proto-Egyptian and Iberian) type. The Armenoid skeletons found in the early graves indicate that the Asiatics were a medium-sized, heavily-built people, capable, as the large bosses on their bones indicate, of considerable muscular development.

During the archæological Bronze Age these Armenoids reached Britain in considerable numbers, and introduced the round-barrow method of burial. They do not appear, however, as has been indicated, to have settled in Ireland.

At a later period Britain was invaded by a people who cremated their dead. As they thus destroyed the evidence that would have afforded us an indication of their racial affinities, their origin is obscure.

While these overland migrations were in progress, considerable numbers of peoples appear to have reached Britain and Ireland by sea from northern and north-western France, Portugal, and Spain. They settled chiefly in the areas where metals and pearls were once found or are still found. "Kitchen middens" and megalithic remains are in Ireland mainly associated with pearl-yielding rivers.

The fair Celts and the darker Celtiberians were invading and settling in Britain before and after the Romans first reached its southern shores. During the Roman period, the ruling caste was mainly of south-European type, but the Roman legions were composed of Gauls, Germans, and Iberians, as well as Italians. No permanent change took place in the ethnics of Britain during the four centuries of Roman occupation. The Armenoid broad-heads, however, became fewer: "the disappearance", as Ripley puts it, "of the round-

barrow men is the last event of the prehistoric period which we are able to distinguish". The inhabitants of the British Isles are, on the whole, long-headed. "Highland and lowland, city or country, peasant or philosopher, all are", says Ripley, "practically alike in respect to this fundamental racial characteristic." Broad-headed types are, of course, to be found, but they are in the minority.

The chief source of our knowledge regarding the early tribes or little nations of Britain and Ireland is the work of Ptolemy, the geographer, who lived between A.D. 50 and 150, from which the earliest maps were compiled in the fourth century. He shows that England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland were divided among a number of peoples. The Dumnonii,¹ as has been stated, were in possession of Devon and Cornwall, as well as of a large area in the south-western and central lowlands of Scotland. Near them were the Durotriges, who were also in Ireland. Sussex was occupied by the Regni and Kent by the Cantion. The Atrebates, the Belgæ, and the Parisii were invaders from Gaul during the century that followed Cæsar's invasion. The Belgæ lay across the neck of the land between the Bristol Channel and the Isle of Wight; the Atrebates clung to the River Thames, while the Parisii, who gave their name to Paris, occupied the east coast between the Wash and the Humber. Essex was the land of the Iceni or Eцени, the tribe of Boadicea (Boudicca). Near them were the Catuvellauni (men who rejoiced in battle) who were probably rulers of a league, and the Trinovantes, whose name is said to signify "very vigorous". The most important tribe of the north and midlands of England was the Brigantes,² whose sphere of influence extended to the Firth of Forth,

¹ Englished "Damnonians" (Chapter IX).

² Tacitus says that the Brigantes were in point of numbers the most considerable folk in Britain (*Agricola*, Chapter XVII).



Valentine

RUINS OF PICTISH TOWER AT CARLOWAY, LEWIS

Modern "black house" in the foreground.

where they met the Votadini, who were probably kinsmen or allies. On the north-west were the Setantii, who appear to have been connected with the Brigantes in England and Ireland. Cuchullin, the hero of the Red Branch of Ulster, was originally named Setanta.¹ In south Wales the chief tribe was the Silures, whose racial name is believed to cling to the Scilly (Silura) Islands. They were evidently like the Dumnonii a metal-working people. South-western Wales was occupied by the Demetæ (the "firm folk"). In south-western Scotland, the Selgovæ ("hunters") occupied Galloway, their nearest neighbours being the Novantæ of Wigtownshire. The Selgovæ may have been those peoples known later as the Atecotti. From Fife to southern Aberdeenshire the predominant people on the east were the Vernicones. In north-east Aberdeenshire were the Tæxali. To the west of these were the Vacomagi. The Caledonians occupied the Central Highlands from Inverness southward to Loch Lomond. In Ross-shire were the Decantæ, a name resembling Novantæ and Setantii. The Lugi and Smertæ (smeared people) were farther north. The Cornavii of Caithness and North Wales were those who occupied the "horns" or "capes". Along the west of Scotland were peoples called the Cerones, Creones, and Carnonacæ, or Carini, perhaps a sheep-rearing people. The Epidii were an Argyll tribe, whose name is connected with that of the horse—perhaps a horse-god.² Orkney enshrines the tribal name of the boar—perhaps that of the ancient boar-god represented on a standing stone near Inverness with the sun symbol above its head. The Gaelic name

¹ Evidently Cuchullin and other heroes of the "Red Branch" in Ireland were descended from peoples who had migrated into Ireland from Britain. Their warriors in the old manuscript tales receive their higher military training in Alba. It is unlikely they would have been trained in a colony.

² Ancient sacred stones with horses depicted on them survive in Scotland. In Harris one horse-stone remains in an old church tower.

of the Shetlanders is "Cat". Caithness is the county of the "Cat" people, too. Professor Watson reminds us that the people of Sutherland are still "Cats" in Gaelic, and that the Duke of Sutherland is referred to as "Duke of the Cats".

The Picts are not mentioned by Ptolemy. They appear to have been an agricultural and sea-faring people who (c. A.D. 300) engaged in trade and piracy. A flood of light has been thrown on the Pictish problem by Professor W. J. Watson, Edinburgh.¹ He shows that when Agricola invaded Scotland (A.D. 85) the predominant people were the Caledonians. Early in the third century the Caledonians and Mæatae—names which included all the tribes north of Hadrian's Wall—were so aggressive that Emperor Septimus Severus organized a great expedition against them. He pressed northward as far as the southern shore of the Moray Firth, and, although he fought no battle, lost 50,000 men in skirmishes, &c. The Caledonians and Mæatae rose again, and Severus was preparing a second expedition when he died at York in A.D. 211. His son, Caracalla, withdrew from Scotland altogether. The Emperor Constantius, who died at York in A.D. 306, had returned from an expedition, not against the Caledonians, but against the Picts. The Picts were beginning to become prominent. In 360 they had again to be driven back. They had then become allies of the Scots from Ulster, who were mentioned in A.D. 297 by the orator Eumenius, as enemies of the Britons in association with the Picti. Professor Watson, drawing on Gaelic evidence, dates the first settlement of the Scots in Argyll "about A.D. 180".

In 368 the Caledonians were, like the Verturiones, a division of the Picts. Afterwards their tribal name dis-

¹ *The Picts*, Inverness, 1921 (lecture delivered to the Gaelic Society of Inverness and reprinted from *The Inverness Courier*).

appeared. That the Picts and Caledonians were originally separate peoples is made clear by the statement of a Roman orator who said: "I do not mention the woods and marshes of the Caledonians, the Picts, and others". In 365 the Pecti, Saxons, Scots, and Atecotti harassed the Britons. Thus by the fourth century the Picts had taken the place of the Caledonians as the leading tribe, or as the military aristocrats of a great part of Scotland, the name of which, formerly Caledonia, came to be Pictland, Pictavia.

Who then were the Picts? Professor Watson shows that the racial name is in old Norse "Pettr", in Old English "Peohta", and in old Scots "Pecht".¹ These forms suggest that the original name was "Pect". Ammianus refers to the "Pecti". In old Welsh "Peithwyr" means "Pict-men" and "Peith" comes from "Pect". The derivation from the Latin "pictus" (painted) must therefore be rejected. It should be borne in mind in this connection that the Ancient Britons stained their bodies with woad. The application of the term "painted" to only one section of them seems improbable. "Pecti", says Professor Watson, "cannot be separated etymologically from Pictones, the name of a Gaulish tribe on the Bay of Biscay south of the Loire, near neighbours of the Veneti. Their name

¹ The fact that in the Scottish Lowlands the fairies were sometimes called "Pechts" has been made much of by those who contend that the prototypes of the fairies were the original inhabitants of Western Europe. This theory ignores the well-established custom of giving human names to supernatural beings. In Scotland the hill-giants (Fomorians) have been re-named after Arthur (as in Arthur's Seat, Edinburgh), Patrick (Inverness), Wallace (Eildon Hills), Samson (Ben Ledi), &c. In like manner fairies were referred to as Pechts. The Irish evidence is of similar character. The Danann deities were consigned to fairyland. Donald Gorm, a West Highland chief, gave his name to an Irish fairy. Fairyland was the old Paradise. Arthur, Thomas the Rhymer, Finn-mac-Coul, &c., became "fairy-men" after death. A good deal of confusion has been caused by mistranslating the Scottish Gaelic word *sith* (Irish *sidhe*) as "fairy". The word *sith* (pronounced *shee*) means anything unearthly or supernatural, and the "peace" of supernatural life—of death after life, as well as the silence of the movements of supernatural beings. The cuckoo was supposed to dwell for a part of the year in the underworld, and was called *eun sith* ("supernatural bird"). Mysterious epidemics were *sith* diseases. There were *sith* (supernatural) dogs, cats, mice, cows, &c., as well as *sith* men and *sith* women.

shows the same variation between Pictones and Pectones. We may therefore claim Pecti as a genuine Celtic word. It is of the Cymric or Old British and Gaulish type, not of the Gaelic type, for Gaelic has no initial P, while those others have." Gildas (c. A.D. 570), Bede (c. A.D. 730), and Nennius (c. A.D. 800) refer to the Picts as a people from the north of Scotland. Nennius says they occupied Orkney first. The legends which connect the Picts with Scythia and Hercules were based on Virgil's mention of "picti Agathyrsi" and "picti Geloni" (*Æneid* IV, 146, *Georgics*, II, 115) combined with the account by Herodotus (IV, 10) of the descent of Gelonus and Agathyrsus from Hercules. Of late origin therefore was the Irish myth that the Picts from Scythia were called Agathyrsi and were descended from Gelon, son of Hercules.

There never were Picts in Ireland, except as visitors. The theory about the Irish Picts arose by mistranslating the racial name "Cruithne" as "Picts". Communities of Cruithne were anciently settled in the four provinces of Ireland, but Cruithne means Britons not Picts.

The ancient name of Great Britain was Albion, while Ireland was in Greek "Ierne", and in Latin "Iubernia" (later "Hibernia"). The racial name was applied by Pliny to Albion and Hibernia when he referred to the island group as "Britanniæ". Ptolemy says that Albion is "a Britannic isle" and further that Albion (England and Scotland) was an island "belonging to the Britannic Isles". Ireland was also a Britannic isle. It is therefore quite clear that the Britons were regarded as the predominant people in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and that the verdict of history includes Ireland in the British Isles. The Britons were P-Celts, and their racial name "Pretan-Pritan" became in the Gaelic language of the Q-Celts "Cruithen", plural "Cruithne".

In Latin the British Isles are called after their inhabi-



Valentine

A SCOTTISH "BROCH" (Mousa, Shetland Isles)

Compare with Sardinian *Nuraghe*, page 136.

tants, the rendering being "Britanni", while in Greek it is "Pretannoi" or "Pretanoi". As Professor W. J. Watson and Professor Sir J. Morris Jones, two able and reliable philologists, have insisted, the Greek form is the older and more correct, and the Latin form is merely an adaptation of the Greek form.

In the early centuries of our era the term "Britannus" was shortened in Latin to "Britto" plural "Brittones". This diminutive form, which may be compared with "Scotty" for Scotsman, became popular. In Gaelic it originated the form "Breatain", representing "Brittones" (Britons), which was applied to the Britons of Strathclyde, Wales, and Cornwall, who retained their native speech under Roman rule; in Welsh, the rendering was "Brython". The Welsh name for Scotland became "Prydyn". The northern people of Scotland, having come under the sway of the Picts, were referred to as Picts just as they became "Scots" after the tribe of Scots rose into prominence. In this sense the Scottish Cruithne were Picts. But the Cruithne (Britons) of Ireland were never referred to as Picts. Modern scholars who have mixed up Cruithne and Picts are the inventors of the term "Irish Picts".

The Picts of Scotland have been traditionally associated with the round buildings known as "brochs", which are all built on the same plan. "Of 490 known brochs", says Professor W. J. Watson, "Orkney and Shetland possess 145, Caithness has 150, and Sutherland 67—a total of 362. On the mainland south of Sutherland there are 10 in Ross, 6 Inverness-shire, 2 in Forfar, 1 in Stirling, Midlothian, Selkirk, and Berwick-shires, 3 in Wigtownshire. In the Isles there are 28 in Lewis, 10 in Harris, 30 in Skye, 1 in Raasay, and at least 5 in the isles of Argyll. The inference is that the original seat of the broch builders must have been in the far north, and that their influence proceeded southwards. The masonry

and contents of the brochs prove them to be the work of a most capable people, who lived partly at least by agriculture and had a fairly high standard of civilization. . . . The distribution of the brochs also indicate that their occupants combined agriculture with seafaring. . . . The Wigtown brochs, like the west coast ones generally, are all close to the sea, and in exceedingly strong positions."

These Scottish brochs bear a striking resemblance to the *nuraghi* of the island of Sardinia. Both the broch and the *nuraghe* have low doorways which "would at once put an enemy at a disadvantage in attempting to enter".

Describing the Sardinian structures, Mr. T. Eric Peet writes:¹ "All the *nuraghi* stand in commanding situations overlooking large tracts of country, and the more important a position is from a strategical point of view the stronger will be the *nuraghe* which defends it". Ruins of villages surround these structures. "There cannot be the least doubt", says Peet, "that in time of danger the inhabitants drove their cattle into the fortified enclosure, entered it themselves, and then closed the gates."

In the Balearic Islands are towers called *talayots* which "resemble rather closely", in Peet's opinion, the *nuraghi* of Sardinia. The architecture of the *talayots*, the *nuraghi*, and the brochs resembles that of the bee-hive tombs of Mycenæ (pre-Hellenic Greece). There are no brochs in Ireland. The "round towers" are of Christian origin (between ninth and thirteenth centuries A.D.). A tomb at Labbamologa, County Cork, however, resembles the tombs of the Balearic Isles and Sardinia (Peet, *Rough Stone Monuments*, pp. 43-4).

The Picts appear to have come to Scotland from the country of the ancient Pictones, whose name survives in

¹ *Rough Stone Monuments*, pp. 82 et seq.

Poitiers (Poitiers) and the province of Poitou in France. These Pictones were anciently rivals of the Veneti, the chief sea-traders in Western and Northern Europe during the pre-Roman period. We gather from Cæsar that the Pictones espoused the cause of the Romans when the Veneti and their allies revolted. They and their near neighbours, the Santoni, supplied Cæsar with ships.¹ These were apparently skiffs which were much lighter and smaller than the imposing vessels of the Veneti. As the big vessels of the Armada were no match for the smaller English vessels, so were the Veneti ships no match for the skiffs of the Pictones.

The Picts who settled in Orkney appear to have dominated the eastern and western Scottish sea-routes. It is possible that they traded with Scandinavia and imported Baltic amber. Tacitus states that the Baltic people, who engaged in the amber trade, spoke a dialect similar to that of Britain, worshipped the mother-goddess, and regarded the boar as the symbol of their deity.² Orkney, as has been noted, is derived from the old Celtic word for boar. The boar-people of Orkney who came under the sway of the Picts may have been related to the amber traders.

The Scottish broch-people, associated in tradition with the Picts, were notorious for their piratic habits. In those ancient days, however, piracy was a common occupation. The later Vikings, who seized the naval base of Orkney for the same reason we may conclude as did the Picts, occupied the brochs. Viking means "pirate", as York Powell has shown. In *Egil's Saga* (Chapter XXXII) the hero Bjorn "was sometimes in Viking but sometimes on trading voyages".³

It may be that the term *pictus* was confused with the

¹ *De Bello Gallico*, Book III, Chapter II.

² *Manners of the Germans*, Chapter XLV. The boar was the son of a sow-goddess. Demeter had originally a sow form.

³ *Scandinavian Britain* (London, 1908), pp. 61-3.

racial name Pecti, because the Picts had adopted the sailor-like habit of tattoing their skins—a habit which probably had a religious significance. Claudian, the fourth-century Roman poet, refers to “the fading steel-wrought figures on the dying Pict”. Like the seafaring Scots of northern Ireland who harried the Welsh coast between the second and fifth centuries of our era, the Picts of Scotland had skiffs (scaphæ) with sails and twenty oars a side. Vessels, masts, ropes, and sails were painted a neutral tint, and the crews were attired in the same colour. Thus “camouflaged”, the Picts and Scots were able to harry the coasts of Romanized Britain. They appear to have turned Hadrian’s wall from the sea. The Pictish seafaring tribes, the Keiths or Cats and the Mæataë, have left their names in Caithness, Inchkeith, Dalkeith, &c., and in the Isle of May, &c.¹

A glimpse of piratical operations in the first century before the Christian era is obtained in an Irish manuscript account of certain happenings in the reign of King Conaire the Great of Ireland. So strict was this monarch’s rule that several lawless and discontented persons were forced into exile.

“Among the most desperate of the outlaws were the monarch’s own foster brothers, the four sons of Dond Dess, an important chieftain of Leinster. These refractory youths, with a large party of followers, took to their boats and ships and scoured the coasts of Britain and Scotland, as well as of their own country. Having met on the sea with Ingcel, the son of the King of Britain, who, for his misdeeds, had been likewise banished by his own father, both parties entered into a league, the first fruits of which were the plunder and devastation of a great part of the British coast.”

They afterwards made a descent on the coast of Ireland, and when King Conaire returned from a visit to

¹ Rhys, *Celtic Britain* (4th ed.), pp. 152, 317.



By courtesy of the Director of The British School of Rome

A SARDINIAN *NURAGHE* (page 134)

Compare with the Scottish "Broch", page 132.

Clare, "he found the whole country before him one sheet of fire, the plunderers having landed in his absence and carried fire and sword wherever they went".¹

In his description of Britain, Tacitus says that the inhabitants varied in their physical traits. Different conclusions were drawn concerning their origin. He thought the Caledonians were, because of their ruddy hair and muscular limbs, of German descent, and that the dark Silures of Wales were descendants of Iberian colonists. He noted that the inhabitants of southern England resembled those of Gaul.²

Later writers have expressed divergent views regarding the ethnics of the British Isles. One theory is that the fair Teutonic peoples, who invaded Britain during the post-Roman period, drove the "dark Celts" westward, and that that is the reason why in England and Scotland the inhabitants of western areas are darker than those in the eastern. As we have seen, however, the early metal workers settled in the western areas for the reason that the minerals they sought for were located there. In south-western Scotland the inhabitants are darker than those on the east, except in Aberdeenshire, where there are distinctive megalithic remains and two famous pearling rivers, the Ythan and Ugie, as well as deposits of flint and traces of gold.

The people of Scotland are, on the whole, the tallest and heaviest people in Europe. It has been suggested that their great average stature is due to the settlement in their country of the hardy Norsemen of the Viking period, but this is improbable, because the average stature of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark is lower than that of Scotland. A distinctive feature of the Scottish face is the high cheek-bone. The Norse cheek-bone is distinctly flatter. It may be that the

¹ O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, Vol. III, p. 136.

² *Agricola*, Chap. XI.

tall Crô-Magnons, who had high cheek-bones, have contributed to Scottish physical traits. That all the fair peoples of Britain and Ireland are, as has been indicated, not necessarily descendants of the fair Celts and Anglo-Saxons is evident from the traces that have been found of the early settlement in these islands of the proto-Scandinavians, who introduced the Maglemosian culture long before the introduction of the Neolithic industry. Modern ethnologists lean to the view that the masses of the present-day population of Europe betray Palæolithic racial affinities. In no country in Europe, other than our own, have there been fewer ethnic changes. As we have seen, there were only two or three intrusions from the Continent between the periods when the bronze and iron industries were introduced—that is, during about a thousand years. The latter invasions were those of types already settled in Britain. As in other countries, the tendency to revert to the early types represented by the masses of the people has not been absent in our native land. The intrusions of energetic minorities may have caused changes of languages and habits of life, but in time the alien element has been absorbed.¹ Withal, the influences of climate and of the diseases associated with localities have ever been at work in eliminating the physically unfit—that is, those individuals who cannot live in a climate too severe for their constitutions. In large industrial cities the short, dark types are more numerous than the tall, fair, and large-lunged types. The latter appear to be more suited for an open-air life.

“Pockets” of peoples of distinctive type are to be found in different parts of the British Isles. In Barvas, Lewis, and elsewhere in the Hebrides, pockets of dark peoples of foreign appearance are reputed by theorists,

¹ “The rule is”, writes Beddoe in this connection (*The Anthropological History of Europe*, p. 53), “that an anthropological type is never wholly dispossessed or extirpated”.

as has been indicated, to be descendants of the sailors of the Spanish Armada. They resemble, however, the Firbolgs of Ireland and the Silures of Wales. Hertfordshire has a dark, short people too. Galloway, the country of the ancient Selgovæ (hunters), is noted for its tall people. It may be that there is a Crô-Magnon strain in Galloway, and that among the short, dark peoples are descendants of the ancient metal workers, including the Easterners who settled in Spain. (See Chaps. IX and XII.) Beddoe thinks that the Phœnician type "occasionally crops up" in Cornwall.¹

¹ *The Anthropological History of Europe* (new edition, Paisley, 1912), p. 50.

CHAPTER XII

Druidism in Britain and Gaul

Culture Mixing—Classical Evidence regarding Druids—Doctrine of Transmigration of Souls—Celtic Paradises: Isles of the Blest, Land-under-waves, Fairyland, and "Loveless Land"—Paradise as Apple-land—Apples, Nuts, and Pork of Longevity—Mistletoe connected with the Oak, Apple, and Other Trees—Druids and Oracular Birds—Druids as Soothsayers—Thomas the Rhymer as "True Thomas"—Christ as the Druid of St. Columba—Stones of Worship—Druid Groves and Dolmens in Anglesea—Early Christians denounce Worship of Stones, Trees, Wells, and Heavenly Bodies—Vows over Holy Objects—Bull Sacrifices, Stone Worship, &c., in Highlands—"Cup-marked" Stones—Origin of Druidism—Milk-Goddesses and Milk-yielding Trees—European and Oriental Milk Myths—Tree Cults and Megalithic Monuments.

When the question is asked "What was the religion of the ancient Britons?" the answer generally given is "Druidism". But such a term means little more than "Priestism". It would perhaps be better not to assume that the religious beliefs of our remote ancestors were either indigenous or homogeneous, or that they were ever completely systematized at any period or in any district. Although certain fundamental beliefs may have been widespread, it is clear that there existed not a few local or tribal cults. "I swear by the gods of my people" one hero may declare in a story, while of another it may be told that "Coll" (the hazel) or "Fire" was his god. Certain animals were sacred in some districts and not in others, or were sacred to some individuals only in a single tribe.

In a country like Britain, subjected in early times

to periodic intrusions of peoples from different areas, the process of "culture mixing" must have been active and constant. Imported beliefs were fused with native beliefs, or beliefs that had assumed local features, while local pantheons no doubt reflected local politics—the gods of a military aristocracy being placed over the gods of the subject people. At the same time, it does not follow that when we find a chief deity bearing a certain name in one district, and a different name in another, that the religious rites and practices differed greatly. Nor does it follow that all peoples who gave recognition to a political deity performed the same ceremonies or attached the same importance to all festivals. Hunters, seafarers, and agriculturists had their own peculiar rites, as surviving superstitions (the beliefs of other days) clearly indicate, while the workers in metals clung to ceremonial practices that differed from those performed by representatives of a military aristocracy served by the artisans.

Much has been written about the Druids, but it must be confessed that our knowledge regarding them is somewhat scanty. Classical writers have made contradictory statements about their beliefs and ceremonies. Pliny alone tells that they showed special reverence for the mistletoe growing on the oak, and suggests that the name Druid was connected with the Greek word *drus* (an oak). Others tell that there were Druids, Seers, and Bards in the Celtic priesthood. In his book on divination, Cicero indicates that the Druids had embraced the doctrines of Pythagoras, the Greek philosopher, who was born about 586 B.C., including that of the transmigration of souls.¹ Julius Cæsar tells that the special province of the Druids in Gaulish society was religion in all its aspects; they read oracles,

¹ CÆSAR (*De Bello Gallico*, VI. XIV, 4) says the Druids believed the soul passed from one individual to another.

and instructed large numbers of the nation's youth. Pomponius Mela¹ says the instruction was given in caves and in secluded groves. Cæsar records that once a year the Druids presided over a general assembly of the Gauls at a sacred spot in the country of the Carnutes, which was supposed to be the centre of Gaul. It is not known whether this holy place was marked by a mound, a grove, a stone circle, or a dolmen. The Archdruid was chief of the priesthood. Cæsar notes that the Germans had no Druids and paid no attention to sacrifices.

Of special interest is the statement that the Druids believed in the doctrine of Transmigration of Souls—that is, they believed that after death the soul passed from one individual to another, or into plants or animals before again passing into a human being at birth. According to Diodorus Siculus, who lived in the latter part of the first century A.D., the Gauls took little account of the end of life, believing they would come to life after a certain term of years, entering other bodies. He also refers to the custom of throwing letters on the funeral pyre, so that the dead might read them.² This suggests a belief in residence for a period in a Hades.

The doctrine of Transmigration of Souls did not, however, prevail among all Celtic peoples even in Gaul. Valerius Maximus, writing about A.D. 30, says that the Gauls were in the habit of lending sums of money on the promise that they would be repaid in the next world. Gaelic and Welsh literature contains little evidence of the doctrine of Transmigration of Souls. A few myths suggest that re-birth was a privilege of certain specially famous individuals. Mongan, King of Dalriada in Ulster, and the Welsh Taliessin, for instance, were supposed to have lived for periods in

¹ A Spaniard of the first century A.D.

² Book V, Chap. XXVIII.

various forms, including animal, plant, and human forms, while other heroes were incarnations of deities. The most persistent British belief, however, was that after death the soul passed to an Otherworld.

Julius Cæsar says that Druidism was believed to have originated in Britain.¹ This cannot apply, however, to the belief in transmigration of souls, which was shared in common by Celts, Greeks, and Indians. According to Herodotus, "the Egyptians are the first who have affirmed that the soul is immortal, and that when the body decays the soul invariably enters another body on the point of death". The story of "The Two Brothers" (Anpu and Bata) indicates that the doctrine was known in Egypt. There are references in the "Book of the Dead" to a soul becoming a lily, a golden falcon, a ram, a crocodile, &c., but this doctrine was connected, according to Egyptologists, with the belief that souls could assume different shapes in the Otherworld. In India souls are supposed to pass through animal or reptile forms only. The Greek doctrine, like the Celtic, includes plant forms. Certain African tribes believe in the transmigration of souls.

In ancient Britain and Ireland the belief obtained, as in Greece and elsewhere, that there was an Underworld Paradise and certain Islands of the Blest (in Gaelic called "The Land of Youth", "The Plain of Bliss", &c.) The Underworld was entered through caves, wells, rivers or lakes, or through the ocean cavern from which the moon arose. There are references in Scottish folktales to "The Land-Under-Waves", and to men and women entering the Underworld through a "fairy" mound, and seeing the dead plucking fruit and reaping grain as in the Paradise of the Egyptian god Osiris. It

¹ Pliny (Book XXX) says Britain seems to have taught Druidism to the Persians. Siret's view, given in the concluding part of this chapter, that Druidism was of Eastern origin, is of special interest in this connection.

is evident that Fairyland was originally a Paradise, and the fairy queen an old mother goddess. There are references in Welsh to as gloomy an Underworld as the Babylonian one. "In addition to *Annwfn*, a term which", according to the late Professor Anwyl, "seems to mean the 'Not-world', we have other names for the world below, such as *anghar*, 'the loveless place'; *difant*, the unrimmed place (whence the modern Welsh word *difancoll*, 'lost for ever'); *affwys*, the abyss; *affan*, 'the land invisible'." In a Welsh poem a bard speaks of the Otherworld as "the cruel prison of earth, the abode of death, the loveless land".¹

The Border Ballads of Scotland contain references to the Fairyland Paradise of the Underworld, to the islands or continent of Paradise, and to the dark Otherworld of the grave in which the dead lie among devouring worms.

In one Celtic Elysium, known to the Welsh and Irish, the dead feast on pork as do the heroes in the Paradise of the Scandinavian god Odin. There is no trace in Scotland of a belief or desire to reach a Paradise in which the pig was eaten. The popularity of the apple as the fruit of longevity was, however, widespread. It is uncertain when the beliefs connected with it were introduced into England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. As they were similar to those connected with the hazelnut, the acorn, the rowan, &c., there may have simply been a change of fruit rather than a religious change, except in so far as new ceremonies may have been associated with the cultivated apple tree.

A Gaelic story tells of a youth who in Paradise held a fragrant golden apple in his right hand. "A third part of it he would eat and still, for all he consumed, never a whit would it be diminished." As long as he ate the apple "nor age nor dimness could affect him". Paradise was in Welsh and Gaelic called "Apple land".²

¹ *Celtic Religion*, p. 62.

² Avalon, Emain Ablach, &c.

Its "tree of life" always bore ripe fruit and fresh blossoms. One of the Irish St. Patrick legends pictures a fair youth coming from the south¹ clad in crimson mantle and yellow shirt, carrying a "double armful of round yellow-headed nuts and of most beautiful golden-yellow apples". There are stories, too, about the hazel with its "good fruit", and of holy fire being taken from this tree, and withal a number of hazel place-names that probably indicate where sacred hazel groves once existed. Hallowe'en customs connected with apples and nuts are evidently relics of ancient religious beliefs and ceremonies.

The Druids are reported by Pliny (as has been stated) to have venerated the mistletoe, especially when it was found growing on an oak. But the popular parasitic plant is very rarely found associated with this tree. In France and England it grows chiefly on firs and pines or on apple trees, but never on the plane, beech, or birch.² It is therefore doubtful if the name Druid was derived from the root *dru* which is found in the Greek word *drus* (oak). In Gaelic the Druids are "wise men" who read oracles, worked spells, controlled the weather, and acted as intercessors between the gods and men. Like the dragon-slayers of romance, they understood "the language of birds", and especially that of the particular bird associated with the holy tree of a cult. One sacred bird was the wren. According to Dr. Whitley Stokes the old Celtic names of wren and Druid were derived from the root *dreo*, which is cognate with the German word *treu* and the English *true*. The Druid was therefore, as one who understood the language of the wren, a soothsayer, a truth-sayer—a revealer of

¹ The south was on the right and signified heaven, while the north was on the left and signified hell.

² Bacon wrote: "Mistletoe groweth chiefly upon crab trees, apple trees, sometimes upon hazels, and rarely upon oaks; the mistletoe whereof is counted very medicinal. It is evergreen in winter and summer, and beareth a white glistening berry; and it is a plant utterly differing from the plant on which it groweth."

divine truth. A judgment pronounced by Druid or king was supposed to be inspired by the deity. It was essentially a divine decree. The judge wore round his neck the symbol of the deity. "When what he said was true, it was roomy for his neck; when false, it was narrow." This symbol according to *Cormac's Glossary* was called *sin* (sheen). Some seers derived their power to reveal the truth by tasting the blood or juice of a holy animal or reptile, or, like Thomas the Rhymer, by eating of an apple plucked from the tree of life in the Paradise of Fairyland. In an old ballad it is told that when Thomas was carried off to the Underworld by the fairy queen he was given an inspiring apple that made him a "truth-sayer" (a prophet).

Syne they came to a garden green
And she pu'd an app'e frae a tree;
"Take this for thy wages, True Thomas;
It will give thee the tongue that can never lee (lie)."

"True Thomas" was "Druid Thomas".

An interesting reference to Druidism is found in a Gaelic poem supposed to have been written by St. Columba, in which the missionary says:

The voices of birds I do not reverence,
Nor sneezing, nor any charm in this wide world.
Christ, the Son of God, is my Druid.

There are Gaelic stories about Druids who read the omens of the air and foretell the fates of individuals at birth, fix the days on which young warriors should take arms, &c.

In England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales not only trees and birds were revered, but also standing stones, which are sometimes referred to even in modern Gaelic as "stones of worship". Some stories tell of standing stones being transformed into human beings when struck

by a magician's wand. The wand in one story is possessed by a "wise woman". Other traditions relate that once a year the stones become maidens who visit a neighbouring stream and bathe in it. A version of this myth survives in Oxfordshire. According to Tacitus there were on the island of Mona (Anglesea), which was a centre of religious influence, not only Druids, but "women in black attire like Furies"—apparently priestesses. As has been noted, a large number of dolmens existed on Mona, in which there were also "groves devoted to inhuman superstitions".¹

The early Christian writers refer to the "worship of stones" in Ireland. In the seventh century the Council at Rouen denounced all those who offer vows to trees, or wells, or stones, as they would at altars, or offer candles or gifts, as if any divinity resided there capable of conferring good or evil. The Council at Arles (A.D. 452) and the Council at Toledo (A.D. 681) dealt with similar pagan practices. That sacred stones were associated with sacred trees is indicated in a decree of an early Christian Council held at Nantes which exhorts "bishops and their servants to dig up and remove and hide in places where they cannot be found those stones which in remote and woody places are still worshipped and where vows are still made". This worship of stones was in Britain, or at any rate in part of England, connected with the worship of the heavenly bodies. A statute of the time of King Canute forbids the barbarous adoration of the sun and moon, fire, fountains, stones, and all kinds of trees and wood. In the Confession attributed to St. Patrick, the Irish are warned that all those who adore the sun shall perish eternally. *Cormac's*

¹ *The Annals of Tacitus*, XIV, 30. The theory that mediæval witches were the priestesses of a secret cult that perpetuated pre-Roman British religion is not supported by Gaelic evidence. The Gaelic "witches" had no meetings with the devil, and never rode on broomsticks. The Gaelic name for witchcraft is derived from English and is not old.

Glossary explains that *Indelba* signified *Images* and that this name was applied to the altars of certain idols. "They (the pagans) were wont to carve on them the forms of the elements they adored: for example, the figure of the sun." Irish Gaels swore by "the sun, moon, water, and air, day and night, sea and land". In a Scottish story some warriors lift up a portion of earth and swear on it. The custom of swearing on weapons was widespread in these islands. In ancient times people swore by what was holiest to them.¹

One of the latest references to pagan religious customs is found in the records of Dingwall Presbytery dating from 1649 to 1678. In the Parish of Gairloch, Ross-shire, bulls were sacrificed, oblations of milk were poured on the hills, wells were adored, and chapels were "circulated"—the worshippers walked round them sun-wise. Those who intended to set out on journeys thrust their heads into a hole in a stone.² If a head entered the hole, it was believed the man would return; if it did not, his luck was doubtful. The reference to "oblations of milk" is of special interest, because milk was offered to the fairies. A milk offering was likewise poured daily into the "cup" of a stone known as Clach-na-Gruagach (the stone of the long-haired one). A bowl of milk was, in the Highlands, placed beside a corpse, and, after burial took place, either outside the house door or at the grave. The conventionalized Azilian human form is sometimes found to be depicted by small "cups" on boulders or rocks. Some "cups" were formed by "knocking" with a small stone for purposes of divination. The "cradle stone" at Burghead is a case in point. It is dealt with by Sir Arthur Mitchell (*The Past in the Present*, pp. 263-5), who refers to other "cup-stones"

¹ "Every weapon has its demon" is an old Gaelic saying.

² According to the Dingwall records knowledge of "future events in reference especialle to lyfe and death" was obtained by performing a ceremony in connection with the hollowed stone.

that were regarded as being "efficacious in cases of barrenness". In some hollowed stones Highland parents immersed children suspected of being changelings.

A flood of light has been thrown on the origin of Druidism by Siret,¹ the discoverer of the settlements of Easterners in Spain which have been dealt with in an earlier chapter. He shows that the colonists were an intensely religious people, who introduced the Eastern Palm-tree cult and worshipped a goddess similar to the Egyptian Hathor, a form of whom was Nut. After they were expelled from Spain by a bronze-using people, the refugees settled in Gaul and Italy, carrying with them the science and religious beliefs and practices associated with Druidism. Commercial relations were established between the Etruscans, the peoples of Gaul and the south of Spain, and with the Phœnicians of Tyre and Carthage during the archæological Early Iron Age. Some of the megalithic monuments of North Africa were connected with this later drift.

The goddess Hathor of Egypt was associated with the sycamore fig which exudes a milk-like fluid, with a sea-shell, with the sky (as Nut she was depicted as a star-spangled woman), and with the primeval cow. The tree cult was introduced into Rome. The legend of the foundation of that city is closely associated with the "milk"-yielding fig tree, under which the twins Romulus and Remus were nourished by the wolf. The fig-milk was regarded as an elixir and was given by the Greeks to newly born children.

Siret shows that the ancient name of the Tiber was Rumon, which was derived from the root signifying milk. It was supposed to nourish the earth with terrestrial milk. From the same root came the name of Rome. The ancient milk-providing goddess of Rome

¹ *L'Anthropologie*, 1921, Tome XXX, pp. 235 *et seq.*

was Deva Rumina. Offerings of milk instead of wine were made to her. The starry heavens were called "Juno's milk" by the Romans, and "Hera's milk" by the Greeks, and the name "Milky Way" is still retained.

The milk tree of the British Isles is the hazel. It contains a milky fluid in the green nut, which Highland children of a past generation regarded as a fluid that gave them strength. Nut-milk was evidently regarded in ancient times as an elixir like fig-milk.¹ There is a great deal of Gaelic lore connected with the hazel. In Keating's *History of Ireland* (Vol. I, section 12) appears the significant statement, "Coll (the hazel) indeed was god to MacCuil". "Coll" is the old Gaelic word for hazel; the modern word is "Call". "Calltuinn" (Englished "Calton") is a "hazel grove". There are Caltons in Edinburgh and Glasgow and well-worn forms of the ancient name elsewhere. In the legends associated with the Irish Saint Maedóg is one regarding a dried-up stick of hazel which "sprouted into leaf and blossom and good fruit". It is added that this hazel "endures yet (A.D. 624), a fresh tree, undecayed, unwithered, nut-laden yearly".² The sacred hazel was supposed to be impregnated with the substance of life. Another reference is made to *Coll na nothar* ("hazel of the wounded"). Hazel-nuts of longevity, as well as apples of longevity, were supposed to grow in the Gaelic Paradise. In a St. Patrick legend a youth comes from the south ("south" is Paradise and "north" is hell) carrying "a double armful of round yellow-headed nuts and of beautiful golden-yellow apples". Dr. Joyce states that the ancient Irish "attributed certain druidical or fairy virtues to the yew, the hazel, and the quicken or rowan tree", and refers to "innumerable instances in tales, poems, and other old

¹ "Comb of the honey and milk of the nut" (in Gaelic *cir na meala 'is bainne nan cnò*) was given as a tonic to weakly children, and is still remembered, the Rev. Kenneth MacLeod, Colonsay, informs me.

² Standish H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, p. 505.

records, in such expressions as 'Cruachan of the fair hazels', 'Derry-na-nath, on which fair-nutted hazels are constantly found'. . . . Among the blessings a good king brought on the land was plenty of hazel-nuts:— 'O'Berga (the chief) for whom the hazels stoop', 'Each hazel is rich from the hero'." Hazel-nuts were like the figs and dates of the Easterners, largely used for food.¹

Important evidence regarding the milk elixir and the associated myths and doctrines is preserved in the ancient religious literature of India and especially in the *Mahá-bhárata*. The Indian Hathor is the cow-mother Surabhi, who sprang from Amrita (Soma) in the mouth of the Grandfather (Brahma). A single jet of her milk gave origin to "Milky Ocean". The milk "mixing with the water" appeared as foam, and was the only nourishment of the holy men called "Foam drinkers". Divine milk was also obtained from "milk-yielding trees", which were the "children" of one of her daughters. These trees included nut trees. Another daughter was the mother of birds of the parrot species (oracular birds). In the Vedic poems *soma*, a drink prepared from a plant, is said to have been mixed with milk and honey, and mention is made of "*Su-soma*" ("river of Soma"). *Madhu* (mead) was a drink identified with *soma*, or milk and honey.²

There are rivers of mead in the Celtic Paradise. Certain trees are in Irish lore associated with rivers that were regarded as sacred. These were not necessarily milk-yielding trees. In Gaul the plane tree took the place of the southern fig tree. The elm tree in Ireland and Scotland was similarly connected with the ancient milk cult. One of the old names for new milk, found in "Cormac's Glossary", is *lemlacht*, the later form of which is *leamhnacht*. From the same root (*lem*) comes

¹ *A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland*, pp. 100-2 and 367-8.

² Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, under *Soma* and *Madhu*.

leamh, the name of the elm. The River Laune in Killybeg is a rendering of the Gaelic name *leamhain*, which in Scotland is found as Leven, the river that gave its name to the area known as Lennox (ancient *Leamhna*). Milk place-names in Ireland include "new milk lake" (Lough Alewnaghta) in Galway, "which", Joyce suggests, "may have been so called from the softness of its water". A mythological origin of the name is more probable. Wounds received in battle were supposed to be healed in baths of the milk of white hornless cows.¹ In Irish blood-covenant ceremonies new milk, blood, and wine were mixed and drunk by warriors.² As late as the twelfth century a rich man's child was in Ireland immersed immediately after birth in new milk.³ In Rome, in the ninth century, at the Easter-eve baptism the chalice was filled "not with wine but with milk and honey, that they may understand . . . that they have entered already upon the promised land".⁴

The beliefs associated with the apple, rowan, hazel, and oak trees were essentially the same. These trees provided the fruits of longevity and knowledge, or the wine which was originally regarded as an elixir that imparted new life and inspired those who drank it to prophecy.⁵ The oak provided acorns which were eaten. Although it does not bear red berries like the rowan, a variety of the oak is greatly favoured by the insect *Kermes*, "which yields a scarlet dye nearly equal to cochineal, and is the 'scarlet' mentioned in Scripture". This fact is of importance as the early peoples attached

¹ Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, Vol. I, pp. 507-9, Vol. II, pp. 206-7 and 345. Marsh mallows (*leamh*) appear to have been included among the herbals of the milk-cult as the soma-plant was in India.

² *Revue Celtique*, Vol. XIII, p. 75.

³ Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 67.

⁴ Henderson's *Survivals*, p. 218.

⁵ Rowan-berry wine was greatly favoured. There are Gaelic references to "the wine of the apple (cider)".

much value to colour and especially to red, the colour of life blood. Withal, acorn-cups "are largely imported from the Levant for the purposes of tanning, dyeing, and making ink".¹ A seafaring people like the ancient Britons must have tanned the skins used for boats so as to prevent them rotting on coming into contact with water. Dr. Joyce writes of the ancient Irish in this connection, "Curraghs² or wicker-boats were often covered with leather. A jacket of hard, tough, tanned leather was sometimes worn in battle as a protecting corslet. Bags made of leather, and often of undressed skins, were pretty generally used to hold liquids. There was a sort of leather wallet or bag called *crioll*, used like a modern travelling bag, to hold clothes and other soft articles. The art of tanning was well understood in ancient Ireland. The name for a tanner was *sudaire*, which is still a living word. Oak bark was employed, and in connection with this use was called *coirteach* (Latin, *cortex*)." The oak-god protected seafarers by making their vessels sea-worthy.

Mistletoe berries may have been regarded as milk-berries because of their colour, and the ceremonial cutting of the mistletoe with the golden sickle may well have been a ceremony connected with the fertilization of trees practised in the East. The mistletoe was reputed to be an "all-heal", although really it is useless for medicinal purposes.

That complex ideas were associated with deities imported into this country, the history of which must be sought for elsewhere, is made manifest when we find that, in the treeless Outer Hebrides, the goddess known as the "maiden queen" has her dwelling in a tree and provides the "milk of knowledge" from a sea-shell. She could not possibly have had independent origin in Scot-

¹ George Nicholson, *Encyclopædia of Horticulture*, under "Oak".

² Curragh is connected with the Latin *corium*, a hide.

land. Her history is rooted in ancient Egypt, where Hathor, the provider of the milk of knowledge and longevity, was, as has been indicated, connected with the starry sky (the Milky Way), a sea-shell, the milk-yielding sycamore fig, and the primeval cow.

The cult animal of the goddess was in Egypt the star-spangled cow; in Troy it was a star-spangled sow¹. The cult animal of Rome was the wolf which suckled Romulus and Remus. In Crete the local Zeus was suckled, according to the belief of one cult, by a horned sheep², and according to another cult by a sow. There were various cult animals in ancient Scotland, including the tabooed pig, the red deer milked by the fairies, the wolf, and the cat of the "Cat" tribes in Shetland, Caithness, &c. The cow appears to have been sacred to certain peoples in ancient Britain and Ireland. It would appear, too, that there was a sacred dog in Ireland.³

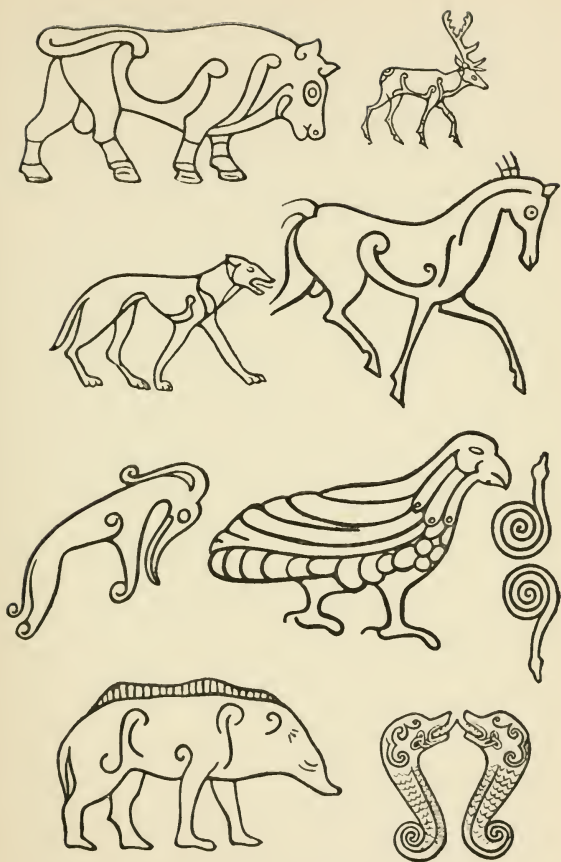
It is evident that among the Eastern beliefs anciently imported into the British Isles were some which still bear traces of the influence of cults and of culture mixing. That religious ideas of Egyptian and Babylonian origin were blended in this country there can be little doubt, for the Gaelic-speaking peoples, who revered the hazel as the Egyptians revered the sycamore, regarded the liver as the seat of life, as did the Babylonians, and not the heart, as did the Egyptians. In translations of ancient Gaelic literature "liver" is always rendered as "vitals".

It is of special interest to note that Siret has found evidence to show that the Tree Cult of the Easterners was connected with the early megalithic monuments. The testimony of tradition associates the stone circles,

¹ Schliemann, *Troy and Its Remains*, p. 232.

² *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXI, p. 129.

³ It was because Zeus had been suckled by a sow that the Cretans, as Athenæus records, "will not taste its flesh" (Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. I, p. 37). In Ireland the dog was taboo to Cuchullin. There is a good deal of Gaelic lore about the sacred cow.



Cult Animals and "Wonder Beasts" (dragons or makaras) on Scottish
Sculptured Stones

&c., with the Druids. "We are now obliged", he writes¹, "to go back to the theory of the archæologists of a hundred years ago who attributed the megalithic monuments to the Druids. The instinct of our predecessors has been more penetrating than the scientific analysis which has taken its place." In Gaelic, as will be shown, the words for a sacred grove and the shrine within a grove are derived from the same root *nem*. (See also Chapter IX in this connection.)

¹ *L'Anthropologie* (1921), pp. 268 *et seq.*

CHAPTER XIII

The Lore of Charms

The Meaning of "Luck"—Symbolism of Charms—Colour Symbolism—Death as a Change—Food and Charms for the Dead—The Lucky Pearl—Pearl Goddess—Moon as "Pearl of Heaven"—Sky Goddess connected with Pearls, Groves, and Wells—Night-shining Jewels—Pearl and Coral as "Life Givers"—The Morrigan and Morgan le Fay—Goddess Freyja and Jewels—Amber connected with Goddess and Boar—"Soul Substance" in Amber, Jet, Coral, &c.—Enamel as Substitute for Coral, &c.—Precious Metal and Precious Stones—Goddess of Life and Law—Pearl as a Standard of Value in Gaelic Trade.

Our ancestors were greatly concerned about their luck. They consulted oracles to discover what luck was in store for them. To them luck meant everything they most desired—good health, good fortune, an abundant food supply, and protection against drowning, wounds in battle, accidents, and so on. Luck was ensured by performing ceremonies and wearing charms. Some ceremonies were performed round sacred bon-fires (bone fires), when sacrifices were made, at holy wells, in groves, or in stone circles. Charms included precious stones, coloured stones, pearls, and articles of silver, gold, or copper of symbolic shape, or bearing an image or inscription. Mascots, "lucky pigs", &c., are relics of the ancient custom of wearing charms.

The colour as well as the shape of a charm revealed its particular influence. Certain colours are still regarded as being lucky or unlucky ("yellow is forsaken" some say). In ancient times colours meant much to the Britons, as they did to other peoples. This fact

is brought out in many tales and customs. A Welsh story, for instance, which refers to the appearance of supernatural beings attired in red and blue, says, "The red on the one part signifies burning, and the blue on the other signifies coldness".¹

On their persisting belief in luck were based the religious ideas and practices of the ancient Britons. Their chief concern was to protect and prolong life in this world and in the next. When death came it was regarded as "a change". The individual was supposed either to fall asleep, or to be transported in the body to Paradise, or to assume a new form. In Scottish Gaelic one can still hear the phrase *chaochail e* ("he changed") used to signify that "he died".² But after death charms were as necessary as during life. As in Aurignacian times, luck-charms in the form of necklaces, armlets, &c., were placed in the graves of the dead by those who used flint, or bronze, or iron to shape implements and weapons. The dead had to receive nourishment, and clay vessels are invariably found in ancient graves, some of which contain dusty deposits. The writer has seen at Fortrose a deposit in one of these grave urns, which a medical man identified as part of the skeleton of a bird.

Necklaces of shells, of wild animals' teeth, and ornaments of ivory found in Palæolithic graves or burial caves were connected with the belief that they contained the animating influence or "life substance" of the mother goddess. In later times the pearl found in the shell was regarded as being specially sacred.

Venus (Aphrodite) is, in one of her phases, the personification of a pearl, and is lifted from the sea seated on a shell. As a sky deity she was connected with

¹ Lady Charlotte Guest, *The Mabinogion* (Story of "Kilwch and Olwen" and note on "Gwyn the son of Nudd").

² Also *shíubhail e* which signifies "he went off" (as when walking).

the planet that bears her name¹ and also with the moon. The ancients connected the moon with the pearl. In some languages the moon is the "pearl of heaven". Dante, in his *Inferno*, refers to the moon as "the eternal pearl". One of the Gaelic names for a pearl is *neamhnuid*. The root is *nem* of *neamh*, and *neamh* is "heaven", so that the pearl is "a heavenly thing" in Gaelic, as in other ancient languages. It was associated not only with the sky goddess but with the sacred grove in which the goddess was worshipped. The Gaulish name *nemeton*, of which the root is likewise *nem*, means "shrine in a grove". In early Christian times in Ireland the name was applied as *nemed* to a chapel, and in Scottish place-names² it survives in the form of *neimhidh*, "church-land", the Englished forms of which are *Navity*, near Cromarty, *Navaty* in Fife, "Rosneath", formerly Rosneveth (the promontory of the *nemed*), "Dalnavie" (dale of the *nemed*), "Cnocnavie" (hillock of the *nemed*), Inchnavie (island of the *nemed*), &c. The Gauls had a *nemetomarus* ("great shrine"), and when in Roman times a shrine was dedicated to Augustus it was called *Augustonemeton*. The root *nem* is in the Latin word *nemus* (a grove). It was apparently because the goddess of the grove was the goddess of the sky and of the pearl, and the goddess of battle as well as the goddess of love, that Julius Cæsar made a thanksgiving offering to Venus in her temple at Rome of a corslet of British pearls.

The Irish goddess Nemon was the spouse of the war god Neit. A Roman inscription at Bath refers to the British goddess Nēmētōna. The Gauls had a goddess of similar name. In Galatia, Asia Minor, the particular tree connected with the sky goddess was the oak, as is

¹ When depicted with star-spangled garments she was the goddess of the starry sky ("Milky Way") like the Egyptian Hathor or Nut.

² Professor W. J. Watson, *Place-names of Ross and Cromarty*, pp. 62-3.

shown by the name of their religious centre which was *Dru-nemeton* ("Oak-grove"). It will be shown in a later chapter that the sacred tree was connected with the sky and the deities of the sky, with the sacred wells and rivers, with the sacred fish, and with the fire, the sun, and lightning. Here it may be noted that the sacred well is connected with the holy grove, the sky, the pearl, and the mother goddess in the Irish place-name *Neamhnach* (Navnagh),¹ applied to the well from which flows the stream of the Nith. The well is thus, like the pearl, "the heavenly one". The root *nem* of *neamh* (heaven) is found in the name of St. Brendan's mother, who was called *Neamhnat* (Navnat), which means "little" or "dear heavenly one". In *neamhan* ("raven" and "crow") the bird form of the deity is enshrined.

Owing to its connection with the moon, the pearl was supposed to shine by night. The same peculiarity was attributed to certain sacred stones, to coral, jade, &c., and to ivory. Munster people perpetuate the belief that "at the bottom of the lower lake of Killarney there is a diamond of priceless value, which sometimes shines so brightly that on certain nights the light bursts forth with dazzling brilliancy through the dark waters".² Night-shining jewels are known in Scotland. One is supposed to shine on Arthur's Seat, Edinburgh, and another on the north "souter" of the Cromarty Firth.³ Another sacred stone connected with the goddess was the onyx, which in ancient Gaelic is called *nem*. Night-shining jewels are referred to in the myths of Greece, Arabia, Persia, India, China, Japan, &c. Laufer has shown that the Chinese received their lore about the night-shining diamond from "Fu-lin" (the Byzantine Empire).⁴

¹ Dr. Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, Vol. 1, p. 375.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 378.

³ The two headlands, the "souters" or "sutors", are supposed to have been so called because they were sites of tanneries.

⁴ *The Diamond* (Chicago, 1915).



Upper picture by courtesy of Director, British School of Rome.

MEGALITHS

Upper: Dolmen near Birori, Sardinia. Lower: Tynewydd Dolmen.

The ancient pearl-fishers spread their pearl-lore far and wide. It is told in more than one land that pearls are formed by dew-drops from the sky. Pliny says the dew- or rain-drops fall into the shells of the pearl-oyster when it gapes.¹ In modern times the belief is that pearls are the congealed tears of the angels. In Greece the pearl was called *margaritoe*, a name which survives in Margaret, anciently the name of a goddess. The old Persian name for pearl is *margan*, which signifies "life giver". It is possible that this is the original meaning of the name of Morgan le Fay (Morgan the Fairy), who is remembered as the sister of King Arthur, and of the Irish goddess Morrigan, usually Englished as "Sea-queen" (the sea as the source of life), or "great queen". At any rate, Morgan le fay and the Morrigan closely resemble one another. In Italian we meet with Fata Morgana.

The old Persian word for coral is likewise *margan*. Coral was supposed to be a tree, and it was regarded as the sea-tree of the sea and sky goddess. Amber was connected, too, with the goddess. In northern mythology, amber, pearls, precious stones, and precious metals were supposed to be congealed forms of the tears of the goddess Freyja, the Venus of the Scandinavians.

Amber, like pearls, was sacred to the mother goddess because her life substance (the animating principle) was supposed to be concentrated in it. The connection between the precious or sacred amber and the goddess and her cult animal is brought out in a reference made by Tacitus to the amber collectors and traders on the southern shore of the Baltic. These are the *Æstyans*, who, according to Tacitus, were costumed like the Swedes, but spoke a language resembling the dialect of the Britons. "They worship", the historian records, "the mother of the gods. The figure of a wild boar

¹ *Natural History*, Book IX. Chap. LIV.

is the symbol of their superstition; and he who has that emblem about him thinks himself secure even in the thickest ranks of the enemy without any need of arms or any other mode of defence."¹ The animal of the amber goddess was thus the boar, which was the sacred animal of the Celtic tribe, the Iceni of ancient Britain, which under Boadicea revolted against Roman rule. The symbol of the boar (remembered as the "lucky pig") is found on ancient British armour. On the famous Witham shield there are coral and enamel. Three bronze boar symbols found in a field at Hounslow are preserved in the British Museum. In the same field was found a solar-wheel symbol. "The boar frequently occurs in British and Gaulish coins of the period, and examples have been found as far off as Gurina and Transylvania."² Other sacred cult animals were connected with the goddess by those people who fished for pearls and coral or searched for sacred precious stones or precious metals.

At the basis of the ancient religious system that connected coral, shells, and pearls with the mother goddess of the sea, wells, rivers, and lakes, was the belief that all life had its origin in water. Pearls, amber, marsh plants, and animals connected with water were supposed to be closely associated with the goddess who herself had had her origin in water. Tacitus tells that the Baltic worshippers of the mother goddess called amber *glesse*. According to Pliny³ it was called *glessum* by the Germans, and he tells that one of the Baltic islands famous for its amber was named *Glessaria*. The root is the Celtic word *glas*, which originally meant "water" and especially life-giving water. Boece (*Cosmographie*, Chapter XV) tells that in Scotland the belief prevailed

¹ Tacitus, *Manners of the Germans*, Chap. XLV.

² *British Museum Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age*, pp. 135-6.

³ *Natural History*, Book XXXVIII, Chapter III.

that amber was generated of sea-froth. It thus had its origin like Aphrodite. *Glas* is now a colour term in Welsh and Gaelic, signifying green or grey, or even a shade of blue. It was anciently used to denote vigour, as in the term *Gaidheal glas* ("the vigorous Gael" or "the ambered Gael", the vigour being derived from the goddess of amber and the sea); and in the Latinized form of the old British name *Cuneglasos*, which like the Irish *Conglas* signified "vigorous hound".¹ Here the sacred hound figures in place of the sacred boar.

From the root *glas* comes also *glaisin*, the Gaelic name for woad, the blue dyestuff with which ancient Britons and Gaels stained or tattooed their bodies with figures of sacred animals or symbols,² apparently to secure protection as did those who had the boar symbol on their armour. For the same reason Cuchullin, the Irish Achilles, wore pearls in his hair, and the Roman Emperor Caligula had a pearl collar on his favourite horse. Ice being a form of water is in French *glacé*, which also means "glass". When glass beads were first manufactured they were regarded, like amber, as depositories of "life substance" from the water goddess who, as sky goddess, was connected with sun and fire. Her fire melted the constituents of glass into liquid form, and it hardened like jewels and amber. These beads were called "adder stones" (Welsh *glain neidre* and "Druid's gem" or "glass"—in Welsh *Gleini na Droedh* and in Gaelic *Glaine nan Druidhe*).

A special peculiarity about amber is that when rubbed vigorously it attracts or lifts light articles. That is why it is called in Persian *Kahruba* (*Kah*, straw; *rubā*, to lift). This name appears in modern French as *carabé*

¹ Rhys rejects the view of Gildas that "*Cuneglasos*" meant "tawny butcher".

² Herodian, Lib. III, says of the inhabitants of Caledonia, "They mark their bodies with various pictures of all manner of animals".

(yellow amber). In Italian, Spanish, and Portugese it is *carabe*. No doubt the early peoples, who gathered Adriatic and Baltic amber and distributed it and its lore far and wide, discovered this peculiar quality in the sacred substance. In Britain, jet was used in the same way as amber for luck charms and ornaments. Like amber it becomes negatively electric by friction. Bede appears to have believed that jet was possessed of special virtue. "When heated", he says, "it drives away serpents."¹ The Romans regarded jet as a depository of supernatural power² and used it for ornaments. Until comparatively recently jet was used in Scotland as a charm against witchcraft, the evil eye, &c. "A ring of hard black schistus found in a cairn in the parish of Inchinan", writes a local Scottish historian, "has performed, if we believe report, many astonishing cures."³ Albertite, which, like jet and amber, attracts light articles when vigorously rubbed, was made into ornaments. It takes on a finer lustre than jet but loses it sooner.

The fact that jet, albertite, and other black substances were supposed to be specially efficacious for protecting black horses and cattle is of peculiar interest. Hathor, the cow goddess of Egypt, had a black as well as a white form as goddess of the night sky and death. She was the prototype of the black Aphrodite (Venus). In Scotland a black goddess (the *nigra dea* in Adamnan's *Life of Columba*) was associated with Loch Lochy.

The use of coral as a sacred substance did not begin in Britain until the knowledge of iron working was introduced. Coral is not found nearer than the Mediterranean. The people who first brought it to Britain must have received it and the beliefs attached to it from the Mediterranean area. Before reaching Britain they

¹ Book I. Chapter I.

² Pliny, Lib. XXXVI, cap. 34.

³ Ure's *History of Rutherglen and Kilbride*, p. 219.

had begun to make imitation coral. The substitute was enamel, which required for its manufacture great skill and considerable knowledge, furnaces capable of generating an intense heat being necessary. It is inconceivable that so expensive a material could have been produced except for religious purposes. The warriors apparently believed that coral and its substitutes protected them as did amber and the boar symbol of the mother goddess.

At first red enamel was used as a substitute for red coral, but ultimately blue, yellow, and white enamels were produced. Sometimes we find, as at Traprain in Scotland, that silver took the place of white enamel. It is possible that blue enamel was a substitute for turquoise and lapis lazuli, the precious stones associated with the mother goddesses of Hathor type, and that yellow and white enamels were substitutes for yellow and white amber. The Greeks called white amber "electrum". The symbolism of gold and silver links closely with that of amber. Possibly the various sacred substances and their substitutes were supposed to protect different parts of the body. As much is suggested, for instance, by the lingering belief that amber protects and strengthens the eyes. The solar cult connected the ear and the ear-ring with the sun, which was one of the "eyes" of the world-deity, the other "eye" being the moon. When human ears were pierced, the blood drops were offered to the sun-god. Sailors of a past generation clung to the ancient notion that gold ear-rings exercised a beneficial influence on their eyes. Not only the colours of luck objects, but their shapes were supposed to ensure luck. The Swastika symbol, the U-form, the S-form, and 8-form symbols, the spiral, the leaf-shaped and equal-limbed crosses, &c., were supposed to "attract" and "radiate" the influence of the deity. Thus Buddhists accumulate religious "merit"

not only by fasting and praying, but by making collections of jewels and symbols.

In Britain, as in other countries, the deity was closely associated as an influence with law. A Roman inscription on a slab found at Carvoran refers to the mother goddess "poising life and laws in a balance". This was Ceres, whose worship had been introduced during the Roman period, but similar beliefs were attached to the ancient goddesses of Britain. Vows were taken over objects sacred to her, and sacred objects were used as mediums of exchange. In old Gaelic, for instance, a jewel or pearl was called a *set*; in modern Gaelic it is *sed* (pronounced *shade*). A *set* (pearl) was equal in value to an ounce of gold and to a cow. An ounce of gold was therefore a *set* and a cow was a *set*, too. Three *sets* was the value of a bondmaid. The value of three sets was one *cumal*. Another standard of value was a sack of corn (*miach*).¹

The value attached to gold and pearls was originally magical. Jewels and precious metals were searched for for to bring wearers "luck"—that is, everything their hearts desired. The search for these promoted trade, and the *sets* were used as a standard of value between traders. Thus not only religious systems, but even the early systems of trade were closely connected with the persistent belief in luck and the deity who was the source of luck.²

¹ Joyce, *A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland*, p. 478.

² Professor W. J. Watson has drawn my attention to an interesting reference to amber. In the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. II, p. 18, under "Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy", Sir John Rhys deals with Vebrumaros, a man's name. The second element in this name is *māros* (great); the first, *uebru*, "is perhaps to be explained by reference to the Welsh word *gwefr* (amber)". Rhys thought the name meant that the man was distinguished for his display of amber "in the adornment of his person". The name had probably a deeper significance. Amber was closely associated with the mother goddess. One of her names may have been "Uebru". She personified amber.

CHAPTER XIV

The World of Our Ancestors

"All Heals"—Influences of Cardinal Points—The Four Red Divisions of the World—The Black North, White South, Purple East, and Dun or Pale East—Good and Bad Words connected with South and North—North the left, South the right, East in front, and West behind—Cardinal Points Doctrine in Burial Customs—Stone Circle Burials—Christian and Pagan Burial Rites—Sunwise Customs—Raising the Devil in Stone Circle—Coloured Winds—Coloured Stones raise Winds—The "God Body" and "Spirit Husk"—Deities and Cardinal Points—Axis of Stonehenge Avenue—God and Goddesses of Circle—Well Worship—Lore of Druids.

The ancient superstitions dealt with in the previous chapter afford us glimpses of the world in which our ancestors lived, and some idea of the incentives that caused them to undertake long and perilous journeys in search of articles of religious value. They were as greatly concerned as are their descendants about their health and their fate. Everything connected with the deity, or possessing, as was believed, the influence of the deity, was valuable as a charm or as medicine. The mistletoe berry was a famous medicine because it was the fruit of a parasite supposed to contain the "life substance" of a powerful deity. It was an "All Heal" or "Cure All",¹ yet it was a quack medicine and quite useless. Red earth was "blood earth"; it contained the animating principle too. Certain herbs were supposed to be curative. Some herbs were, and in the

¹ Richard of Cirencester (fourteenth century) says the mistletoe increased the number of animals, and was considered as a specific against all poisons (Book I, Chap. IV).

course of time their precise qualities were identified. But many of them continued in use, although quite useless, because of the colour of their berries, the shape of their leaves, or the position in which they grew. If one red-berried plant was "lucky" or curative, all red-berried plants shared in its reputation. It was because of the lore attached to colours that dusky pearls were preferred to white pearls, just as in Ceylon yellow pearls are chiefly favoured because yellow is the sacred colour of the Buddhists. Richard of Cirencester,¹ referring to Bede, says that British pearls are "often of the best kind and of every colour: that is, red, purple, violet, green, but principally white".

In the lore of plants, in religious customs, including burial customs, and in beliefs connected with the seasons, weather, and sacred sites, there are traces of a doctrine based on the belief that good or bad influences "flowed" from the cardinal points, just as good or bad influences "flowed" from gems, metals, wood, and water. When, for instance, certain herbs were pulled from the ground, it was important that one should at the time of the operation be facing the south. A love-enticing plant had to be plucked in this way, and immediately before sunrise.

There was much superstition in weather lore, as the beliefs connected with St. Swithin's Day indicate. Certain days were lucky for removals in certain directions. Saturday was the day for flitting northward, and Monday for flitting southward. Monday was "the key of the week". An old Gaelic saying, repeated in various forms in folk stories, runs:

Shut the north window,
And quickly close the window to the south;
And shut the window facing west,
Evil never came from the east.

¹ Book I. Chap. V.

South-running water was "powerful" for working protective charms; north-running water brought evil.

The idea behind these and other similar beliefs was that "the four red divisions" or the "four brown divisions" of the world were controlled by deities or groups of deities, whose influences for good or evil were continually "flowing", and especially when winds were

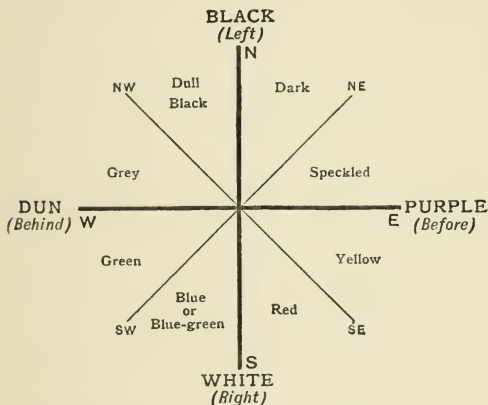


Diagram of the Gaelic Airts (Cardinal Points) and their Associated Colours
referred to in the text

Spring was connected with the east, summer with the south, autumn with the west,
and winter with the north.

blowing. A good deity sent a good wind, and a bad deity sent a bad wind. Each wind was coloured. The north was the airt¹ (cardinal point) of evil, misfortune, and bad luck, and was coloured black; the south was the source of good luck, good fortune, summer, and longevity, and was coloured white; the east was a specially sacred airt, and was coloured purple-red, while

¹ This excellent Gaelic word is current in Scotland. Burns uses it in the line, "O' a' the airts the wind can blaw".

the west was the air of death, and was coloured dun or pale. East and south and north and west were connected. There were various colours for the subsidiary points of the compass.

This doctrine was a very ancient one, because we find that in the Gaelic language the specially good words are based on the word for the south, and the specially bad ones on the name for the north. In Welsh and Gaelic the north is on the left hand and the south on the right hand, the east in front, and the west behind. It is evident, therefore, that the colour scheme of the cardinal points had a connection with sun worship. A man who adored the rising sun faced the east, and had the north on his left and the south on his right. In early Christian Gaelic literature it is stated that on the Day of Judgment the goats (sinners) will be sent to the north (the left hand) and the sheep (the justified) to the south (the right hand).

The same system can be traced in burial customs. Many of the ancient graves lie east and west. Graves that lie north and south may have been those of the members of a different religious cult, but in some cases it is found that the dead were placed in position so that they faced the east. In the most ancient graves in Egypt men were laid on their right sides with their feet directed towards the "red north" and their faces towards the golden east. Women were laid on the left sides facing the east. Red was in ancient Egypt the male colour, and white and yellow the female colours; the feet of the men were towards the red north and those of women towards the white or yellow south.

All ancient British burials were not made in accordance with solar-cult customs. It can be shown, however, in some cases that, although a burial custom may appear to be either of local or of independent origin, the fundamental doctrine of which it was an expression was the

same as that behind other burial customs. Reference may be made, by way of illustration, to the graves at the stone circle of Hakpen Hill in the Avebury area. In the seventeenth century a large number of skeletons were here unearthed. Dr. Toope of Oxford, writing in 1685, has recorded in this connection:¹

"About 80 yards from where the bones were found is a temple,² 40 yards diameter, with another 15 yards; round about bones layd so close that scul (skull) toucheth scul. Their feet all round turned towards the temple, one foot below the surface of the ground. At the feet of the first order lay the head of the next row, the feet always tending towards the temple."

Here the stone circle is apparently the symbol of the sun and the "Mecca" from which the good influence or "luck" of the sun emanated and gave protection. One seems to come into touch with the influence of an organized priesthood in this stone circle burial custom.

The more ancient custom of burying the dead so that the influences of the airts might be exercised upon them according to their deserts seems, however, to have been deep-rooted and persistent. In England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland the custom obtained until recently of reserving the north side of a churchyard for suicides and murderers; the "black north" was the proper place for such wrong-doers, who were refused Christian rites of burial, and were interred according to traditional pagan customs. The east was reserved chiefly for ecclesiastics, the south for the upper classes, and the west for the poorer classes. Funeral processions still enter the older churchyards from the east, and proceed in the direction of the sun towards the open graves. Suicides and murderers were carried in the opposite

¹ Quoted by Sir H. Colt Hoare in *Ancient Wiltshire*, II, p. 63.

² Stone circle.

direction ("withershins about").¹ The custom of dealing out cards "sunwise", of stirring food "sunwise", and other customs in which turning to the right (the south) is observed, appear to be relics of the ancient belief in the influences of the airts. Some fishermen still consider it unlucky to turn their boats "against the sun". It was anciently believed, as references in old ballads indicate, that a tempest-stricken vessel turned round three times against the sun before it sank. According to a belief that has survival in some parts of the north of Scotland, the devil will appear in the centre of a stone circle if one walks round it three times "against the sun" at midnight. Among the ancient Irish warriors, Professor W. J. Watson tells me, it was a mark of hostile intent to drive round a fort keeping the left hand towards it. The early Christian custom of circulating chapels and dwelling-houses "sunwise" was based on the pagan belief that good influences were conjured in this way.

As the winds were coloured like the airts from which they blew, it was believed that they could be influenced by coloured objects. In his description of the Western Isles, Martin, a seventeenth century writer, referring to the Fladda Chuan Island, relates:

"There is a chapel in the isle dedicated to St. Columba. It has an altar in the east end and therein a blue stone of a round form on it, which is always moist. It is an ordinary custom, when any of the fishermen are detained in the isle by contrary winds, to wash the blue stone with water all round, expecting thereby to procure a favourable wind. . . . And so great is the regard they have for this stone, that they swear decisive oaths upon it."

The moist stone had an indwelling spirit, and was there-

¹ In Gaelic *deis-iùil* means a turning sunwise (by the right or south) from east to west, and *tual*, i.e. *tuath-iùil*, a turning by the north or left from east to west. *Deis* is the genitive of *Deas* (south, right hand), and *Tuath* is north or left hand.



Valentine

ONE OF THE GREAT TRI-LITHONS, STONEHENGE
(see page 174)

fore a holy object which made vows and agreements of binding character. In Japan a stone of this kind is called *shintai* ("god body"). The Gaelic name for a god body is "*cuach anama*" ("soul shrine", or "spirit-case", or "spirit-husk"). *Coich na cno* is the shell of a nut. The Chinese believe that moist and coloured stones are the "eggs" of weather-controlling dragons.

The connection between blue and the mother goddess is of great antiquity. Imitation cowries and other shells in blue enamelled terra-cotta have been found in Egyptian graves. Blue was the colour of the "luck stone" of Hathor, the sky and water goddess whose symbols included the cowrie. The Brigantes of ancient Britain had, according to Seneca, blue shields. Shields were connected with the goddess of war. In Gaelic, blue is the luck colour for womens' clothing.¹ English and Scottish fishermen still use blue as a mourning colour. When a death takes place, a blue line is painted round a fishing-boat. The desire for protection by invoking the blue goddess probably gave origin to this custom.

As influences came from the coloured airts, so did the great deities and the groups of minor deities associated with them. The god Lugh, for instance, always comes in the old stories from the north-east, while the goddess Morrigan comes from the north-west.² The fierce wind-raising Scottish goddess of spring comes from the south-west. All over Britain the fairies come from the west and on eddies of wind like the Greek nereids. In Scotland the evil-working giants come from the black north. It was believed that the dead went westward or south-

¹ The following stanza is from the "Book of Ballymote":

Mottled to simpletons; blue to women;
Crimson to kings of every host;
Green and black to noble laymen;
White to clerics of proper devotion.

² In the Cuchullin Saga Lugh is "a lone man out of the north-eastern quarter". When the cry of another supernatural being is heard, Cuchullin asks from which direction it came. He is told "from the north-west". The goddess Morrigan then appeared.

westward towards Paradise. The fact that the axis of Stonehenge circle and avenue points to the north-east is of special interest when we find that the god Lugh, a Celtic Apollo, came from that air. Either Lugh, or a god like him, may have been invoked to come through the avenue or to send his influence through it, while the priests walked in procession round the circle sunwise. Apparently the south-west part of the circle, with its great trilithons, resembling the portals of the goddess Artemis, was specially consecrated to a goddess like the Scottish Cailleach ("Old Wife") who had herds of wild animals, protected deer from huntsmen, raised storms, and transformed herself into a standing stone. The Gaulish goddess Ro-smerta ("very smeared") is regularly associated with the god identified with Mercury. The god Smertullis is equated with Essus (the war god) by d'Arbois de Jubainville.

The differently coloured winds were divine influences and revealed their characters by their colours. It was apparently because water was impregnated with the influences of the deities that wind and water beliefs were closely associated. Holy and curative wells and sacred rivers and lakes were numerous in ancient Britain and Ireland. Offerings made at wells were offerings made to a deity. These offerings might be gold and silver, as was the case in Gaul, or simply pins of copper. A good many wells are still known as "pin wells" and "penny wells". The metals and pearls and precious stones supposed to contain vital substance were offered to the deities so as to animate them. The images of gods were painted red for the same reason, or sacrifices were offered and their altars drenched with blood. In Ireland children were sacrificed to a god called Crom Cruach and exchanged for milk and corn. As a Gaelic poem records:

Great was the horror and the scare of him.

The ancient doctrines of which faint or fragmentary traces survive in Britain and Ireland may have been similar to those taught by the Druids in Gaul. According to Pomponius Mela, these sages professed to know the secrets of the motions of the heavenly bodies and the will of the gods.¹ Strabo's statement that the Druids believed that "human souls and the world were immortal, but that fire and water would sometime prevail" is somewhat obscure. It may be, however, that light is thrown on the underlying doctrine by the evidence given in the next chapter regarding the beliefs that fire, water, and trees were intimately connected with the chief deity.

¹ In a Cuchullin saga the hero, addressing the charioteer, says: "Go out, my friend, observe the stars of the air, and ascertain when midnight comes". The Irish Gaelic *grien-tairisem* is given in an eighth- or ninth-century gloss. It means "sun-standing", and refers to the summer solstice.

CHAPTER XV

Why Trees and Wells were Worshipped

Ancient British Idols—Pagan Temples—Animism and Goddess Worship—Trees and Wells connected with Sky—Life Principle in Water—Sacred Berries, Nuts, and Acorns—Parasite as "King of Trees"—Fire-making Beliefs—Tree and Thunder-god—The Sacred Fish—Salmon as form of the Dragon—The Dragon Jewel—Celtic Dragon Myth—The Salmon and the Solar Ring—Polycrates Story—The St. Mungo Legends—Glasgow Coat of Arms—Holy Fire from the Hazel—Hunting the Wren, Robin, and Mouse—Mouse Lore and Mouse Deity—Mouse-Apollo in Britain—Goddess Bride or Brigit—The Brigantian Chief Deity—Goddess of Fire, Healing, Smith-work, and Poetry—Bride's Bird, Tree, and Well—Mythical Serpents—Soul Forms—Souls in Reptiles, Animals, and Trees—Were-animals—The Butterfly Deity—Souls as Butterflies—Souls as Bees—A Hebridean Sea-god.

Gildas, a sixth-century churchman, tells us that the idols in ancient Britain "almost surpassed in number those of Egypt". That he did not refer merely to standing stones, which, as we have seen, were "idols" to the Gaels, is evident from his precise statements that some idols could be seen in his day "mouldering away within or without the deserted temples", and that they had "stiff and deformed features". "Mouldering" suggests wood. Gildas states further that besides worshipping idols the British pagans were wont to pay "divine honour" to hills and wells and rivers. Reference is made in the *Life of Columba* to a well which was worshipped as a god.

The British temples are referred to also by Pope Gregory the Great, who in A.D. 601 addressed a letter to Abbot Mellitus, then on a mission to England, giving

him instructions for the guidance of Augustine of Canterbury. The Pope did not wish to have the heathen buildings destroyed, "for", he wrote, "if those are well constructed, it is requisite that they can be converted from the worship of demons to the service of the true God. . . . Let the idols that are in them be destroyed."¹

The temples in question may have been those erected during the Romano-British period. One which stood at Canterbury was taken possession of by St. Augustine after the conversion of King Ethelbert, who had worshipped idols in it. The Celtic peoples may, however, have had temples before the Roman invasion. At any rate there were temples as well as sacred groves in Gaul. Poseidonius of Apamea refers to a temple at Toulouse which was greatly revered and richly endowed by the gifts of numerous donors. These gifts included "large quantities of gold consecrated to the gods". The Druids crucified human victims who were sacrificed within their temples.

Diodorus Siculus refers as follows to a famous temple in Britain:

"There is in that island a magnificent temple of Apollo and a circular shrine, adorned with votive offerings and tablets with Greek inscriptions suspended by travellers upon the walls. The kings of that city and rulers of the temples are the Boreads who take up the government from each other according to the order of their tribes. The citizens are given up to music, harping and chaunting in honour of the sun."

Some writers have identified this temple with Stonehenge circle. Layamon informs us in his *Brute*, however, that the temple of Apollo was situated in London. Of course there may have been several temples to this god or the British deity identified with him.

¹ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Lib. I, cap. 30.

It may be that the stone circles were regarded as temples. It may be, too, that temples constructed of wattles and clay were associated with the circles. In Pope Gregory's letter reference is made to the custom of constructing on festival days "tabernacles of branches of trees around those churches which have been changed from heathen temples", and to the pagan custom of slaying "oxen in sacrifices to demons". Pytheas refers to a temple on an island opposite the mouth of the Loire. This island was inhabited by women only, and once a year they unroofed and reroofed their temple. In the Hebrides the annual custom of unroofing and reroofing thatched houses is not yet obsolete; it may originally have had a religious significance.

Gildas's reference to the worship of hills, wells, and rivers is by some writers regarded as evidence of the existence in ancient Britain of the "primitive belief" in spirits. This stage of religious culture is called Animism (Spiritism). The discovery, however, that a goddess was worshipped in Aurignacian times by the Crô-Magnon peoples in Western Europe suggests that Animistic beliefs were not necessarily as ancient as has been assumed. It may be that what we know as Animism was a product of a later period when there arose somewhat complex ideas about the soul or the various souls in man, and the belief became widespread that souls could not only transform themselves into animal shapes, but could enter statues and gravestones. This conception may have been confused with earlier ideas about stones, shells, &c., being impregnated with "life substance" (the animating principle) derived from the mother goddess. Backward peoples, who adopted complex religious beliefs that had grown up in centres of civilization, may not always have had a complete understanding of their significance. It is difficult to believe that even savages, who adopted the boats invented in

Egypt from those peoples that came into touch with them, were always entirely immune to other cultural influences, and retained for thousands of years the beliefs supposed to be appropriate for those who were in the "Stone Age".

Our concern here is with the ancient Britons. It is unnecessary for us to glean evidence from Australia, South America, or Central Africa to ascertain the character of their early religious conceptions and practices. There is sufficient local evidence to show that a definite body of beliefs lay behind their worship of trees, rivers, lakes, wells, standing stones, and of the sun, moon, and stars. Our ancestors do not appear to have worshipped natural objects either because they were beautiful or impressive, but chiefly because they were supposed to contain influences which affected mankind either directly or indirectly. These influences were supposed to be under divine control, and to emanate, in the first place, from one deity or another, or from groups of deities. A god or goddess was worshipped whether his or her influence was good or bad. The deity who sent disease, for instance, was believed to be the controller of disease, and to him or her offerings were made so that a plague might cease. Thus in the *Iliad* offerings are made to the god Mouse-Apollo, who had caused an epidemic of disease.

Trees and wells were connected with the sky and the heavenly bodies. The deity who caused thunder and lightning had his habitation at times in the oak, the fir, the rowan, the hazel, or some other tree. He was the controller of the elements. There are references in Gaelic charms to "the King of the Elements".

The belief in an intimate connection between a well, a tree, and the sky appears to have been a product of a quaint but not unintelligent process of reasoning.¹

¹ Of course it does not follow that the reasoning originally took place in these islands. Complex beliefs were imported at an early period. These were localized.

The early folk were thinkers, but their reasoning was confined within the limits of their knowledge, and biassed by preconceived ideas. To them water was the source of all life. It fell from the sky as rain, or bubbled up from the underworld to form a well from which a stream flowed. The well was the mother of the stream, and the stream was the mother of the lake. It was believed that the well-water was specially impregnated with the influences that sustained life. The tree that grew beside the well was nourished by it. If this tree was a rowan, its red berries were supposed to contain in concentrated form the animating influence of the deity; the berries cured diseases, and thus renewed youth, or protected those who used them as charms against evil influences. They were luck-berries. If the tree was a hazel, its nuts were similarly efficacious; if an oak, its acorns were regarded likewise as luck-bringers. The parasitic plant that grew on the tree was supposed to be stronger and more influential than the tree itself. This belief, which is so contrary to our way of thinking, is accounted for in an old Gaelic story in which a supernatural being says:

“O man that for Fergus of the feasts dost kindle fire . . . never burn the King of the Woods. Monarch of Innisfail’s forest the woodbine is, whom none may hold captive; no feeble sovereign’s effort it is to hug all tough trees in his embrace.”

The weakly parasite was thus regarded as being very powerful. That may be the reason why the mistletoe was revered, and why its milk-white berries were supposed to have curative and life-prolonging qualities.

Although the sacred parasite was not used for fire-wood, it served as a fire-producer. Two fire-sticks, one from the soft parasite and one from the hard wood of the tree to which it clung, were rubbed together until sparks

issued forth and fell on dry leaves or dry grass. The sparks were blown until a flame sprang up. At this flame of holy fire the people kindled their brands, which they carried to their houses. The house fires were extinguished once a year and relit from the sacred flames. Fire was itself a deity, and the deity was "fed" with fuel. "Need fires" (new fires)¹ were kindled at festivals so that cattle and human beings might be charmed against injury. These festivals were held four times a year, and the "new-fire" custom lingers in those districts where New Year's Day, Midsummer, May Day, and Hallowe'en bonfires are still being regularly kindled.

The fact that fire came from a tree induced the early people to believe that it was connected with lightning, and therefore with the sky god who thundered in the heavens. This god was supposed to wield a thunder-axe or thunder-hammer with which he smote the sky (believed to be solid) or the hills. With his axe or hammer he shaped the "world house".

In Scotland, a goddess, who is remembered as "the old wife",² was supposed to wield the hammer, or to ride across the sky on a cloud and throw down "fire-balls" that set the woods in flame. Here we find, probably as a result of culture mixing, a fusion of beliefs connected with the thunder god and the mother goddess.

Rain fell when the sky deity sent thunder and lightning. To early man, who took fire from a tree which was nourished by a well, fire and water seemed to be intimately connected.³ The red berries on the sacred tree were supposed to contain fire, or the essence of fire. When he made rowan-berry wine, he regarded it as "fire water" or "the water of life". He drank it, and

¹ In Gaelic these are called "friction fires".

² According to some, Isis is a rendering of a Libyan name meaning "old wife".

³ This connection can be traced in ancient Egypt. The sun and fire were connected, and the sun originally rose from the primordial waters. The sun's rays were the "tears" of Ra (the sun god). Herbs and trees sprang up where Ra's tears fell.

thus introduced into his blood fire which stimulated him. In his blood was "the vital spark". When he died the blood grew cold, because the "vital spark" had departed from it.

In the water fire lived in another form. Fish were found to be phosphorescent. The fish in the pool was at any rate regarded as a form of the deity who nourished life and was the origin of life. A specially sacred fish was the salmon. It was observed that this fish had red spots, and these were accounted for by the myth that the red berries or nuts from the holy tree dropped into the well and were swallowed by the salmon. The "chief" or "king" of the salmon was called "the salmon of wisdom". If one caught the "salmon of wisdom" and, when roasting it, tasted the first portion of juice that came from its body, one obtained a special instalment of concentrated wisdom, and became a seer, or magician, or Druid.

The salmon was revered also because it was a migratory fish. Its comings and goings were regular as the seasons, and seemed to be controlled by the ruler of the elements with whom it was intimately connected. One of its old Gaelic names was *orc* (pig). It was evidently connected with that animal; the sea-pig was possibly a form of the deity. The porpoise was also an *orc*.¹

Hidden in the well lay a great monster which in Gaelic and Welsh stories is referred to as "the beast", "the serpent", or "the great worm". Ultimately it was identified with the dragon with fiery breath. An Irish story connects the salmon and dragon. It tells that a harper named Cliach, who had the powers of a Druid, kept playing his harp until a lake sprang up.

¹ So was a whale. The Latin *orca* is a Celtic loan-word. Milton uses the Celtic whale-name in the line

The haunt of seals, and orcs, and sea-mews' clang.

—*Paradise Lost*, Book XI, line 835.

This lake was visited by a goddess and her attendants, who had assumed the forms of beautiful birds. It was called Loch Bél Seád ("lake of the jewel mouth") because pearls were found in it, and Loch Crotto Cliach ("lake of Cliach's harps"). Another name was Loch Bél Dragain ("dragon-mouth lake"), because Ternog's nurse caught "a fiery dragon in the shape of a salmon" and she was induced to throw this salmon into the loch. The early Christian addition to the legend runs: "And it is that dragon that will come in the festival of St. John, near the end of the world, in the reign of Flann Cinaidh. And it is of it and out of it shall grow the fiery bolt which will kill three-fourth of the people of the world."¹ Here fire is connected with the salmon.

The salmon which could transform itself into a great monster guarded the tree and its life-giving berries and the treasure offered to the deity of the well. Apparently its own strength was supposed to be derived from or concentrated in the berries. The queen of the district obtained the supernatural power she was supposed to possess from the berries too, and stories are told of a hero who was persuaded to enter the pool and pluck the berries for the queen. He was invariably attacked by the "beast", and, after handing the berries to the queen, he fell down and died. There are several versions of this story. In one version a specially valued gold ring, a symbol of authority, is thrown into the pool and swallowed by the salmon. The hero catches and throws the salmon on to the bank. When he plucks the berries, he is attacked by the monster and kills it. Having recovered the ring, he gives it to the princess, who becomes his wife. Apparently she will be chosen as the next queen, because she has eaten the salmon and obtained the gold symbol.

It may be that this story had its origin in the practice

¹ O'Curry, *Manuscript Materials*, pp. 426-7.

of offering a human sacrifice to the deity of the pool, so that the youth-renewing red berries might be obtained for the queen, the human representative of the deity. Her fate was connected with the ring of gold in which, as in the berries, the influence of the deity was concentrated.

Polycrates of Samos, a Hellenic sea-king, was similarly supposed to have his "luck" connected with a beautiful seal-stone, the most precious of his jewels. On the advice of Pharaoh Amasis of Egypt he flung it into the sea. According to Herodotus, it was to avert his doom that he disposed of the ring. But he could not escape his fate. The jewel came back; it was found a few days later in the stomach of a big fish.

In India, China, and Japan dragons or sea monsters are supposed to have luck pearls which confer great power on those who obtain possession of them. The famous "jewel that grants all desires" and the jewels that control the ebb and flow of tides are obtained from, and are ultimately returned to, sea-monsters of the dragon order.

The British and Irish myths about sacred gold or jewels obtained from the dragon or one of its forms were taken over with much else by the early Christian missionaries, and given a Christian significance. Among the legends attached to the memory of the Irish Saint Moling is one that tells how he obtained treasure for Christian purposes. His fishermen caught a salmon and found in its stomach an ingot of gold. Moling divided the gold into three parts—"one third for the poor, another for the ornamenting of shrines, a third to provide for labour and work".

The most complete form of the ancient myth is, however, found in the life of Glasgow's patron saint, St. Kentigern (St. Mungo). A queen's gold ring had been thrown into the River Clyde, and, as she was unable,

when asked by the king, to produce it, she was condemned to death and cast into a dungeon. The queen appealed to St. Kentigern, who instructed her messenger to catch a fish in the river and bring it to him. A large fish "commonly called a salmon" was caught. In its stomach was found the missing ring. The grateful queen, on her release, confessed her sins to the saint and became a Christian. St. Mungo's seal, now the



Seal of City of Glasgow, 1647-1793, showing Tree, Bird, Salmon, and Bell

coat of arms of Glasgow, shows the salmon with a ring in its mouth, below an oak tree, in the branches of which sits, as the oracle bird, a robin red-breast. A Christian bell dangles from a branch of the tree.

That the Glasgow saint took the place of a Druid,¹ so that the people might say "Kentigern is my Druid" as St. Columba said "Christ is my Druid", is suggested by his intimate connection, as shown in his seal, with the sacred tree of the "King of the Elements", the

¹ Professor W. J. Watson says in this connection: "The Celtic clerics stepped in to the shoes of the Druids. The people regarded them as superior Druids."

oracular bird (the thunder bird), the salmon form of the deity, and the power-conferring ring. As the Druids produced sacred fire from wood, so did St. Kentigern. It is told that when a youth his rivals extinguished the sacred fire under his care. Kentigern went outside the monastery and obtained "a bough of growing hazel and prayed to the 'Father of Lights'". Then he made the sign of the cross, blessed the bough, and breathed on it.

"A wonderful and remarkable thing followed. Straightway fire coming forth from heaven, seizing the bough, as if the boy had exhaled flames for breath, sent forth fire, vomiting rays, and banished all the surrounding darkness. . . . God therefore sent forth His light, and led him and brought him into the monastery. . . . That hazel from which the little branch was taken received a blessing from St. Kentigern, and afterwards began to grow into a wood. If from that grove of hazel, as the country folks say, even the greenest branch is taken, even at the present day, it catches fire like the driest material at the touch of fire. . . ."

A redbreast, which was kept as a pet at the monastery, was hunted by boys, who tore off its head. Kentigern restored the bird to life. The robin was hunted down in some districts as was the wren in other districts. An old rhyme runs:

A robin and a wren
Are God's cock and hen.

In Pagan times the oracular bird connected with the holy tree was sacrificed annually. The robin represented the god and the wren (Kitty or Jenny Wren) the goddess in some areas. In Gaelic, Spanish, Italian, and Greek the wren is "the little King" or "the King of Birds". A Gaelic folk-tale tells that the wren flew highest in a competition held by the birds for the kingship, by concealing itself on an eagle's back. When

the eagle reached its highest possible altitude, the wren rose above it and claimed the honour of kingship. In the Isle of Man the wren used to be hunted on St. Stephen's Day. Elsewhere it was hunted on Christmas Eve or Christmas Day. The dead bird was carried on a pole at the head of a procession and buried with ceremony in a churchyard.

In Scotland the shrew mouse was hunted in like manner, and buried under an apple tree. A standing stone in Perthshire is called in Gaelic "stone of my little mouse". As there were mouse feasts in ancient Scotland, it would appear that a mouse god like Smintheus (Mouse-Apollo) was worshipped in ancient times. Mouse cures were at one time prevalent. The liver of the mouse¹ was given to children who were believed to be on the point of death. They rallied quickly after swallowing it. Roasted mouse was in England and Scotland a cure for whooping-cough and smallpox. The Boers in South Africa are perpetuating this ancient folk-cure.² In Gaelic folk-lore the mouse deity is remembered as *lucha sith* ("the supernatural mouse").

There still survive traces of the worship of a goddess who is remembered as Bride in England and Scotland, and as Brigit in Ireland. A good deal of the lore connected with her has been attached to the memory of St. Brigit of Ireland.

February 1st (old style) was known as Bride's Day. Her birds were the wood linnet, which in Gaelic is called "Bird of Bride", and the oyster catcher called "Page of Bride", while her plant was the dandelion (*am bearnan bride*), the "milk" of which was the salvation of the early lamb. On Bride's Day the serpent awoke from its winter sleep and crept from its hole. This serpent is

¹ In old Gaelic the liver is the seat of life.

² Mrs. E. Tawse Jollie, Hervetia, S. Melssetter, S. Rhodesia, writes me under October 12, 1918, in answer to my query, that the Boers regard *strip muïs* (striped mice) as a cure for "weakness of the bowel" in children, &c.

called in Gaelic "daughter of Ivor", *an ribhinn* ("the damsel"), &c.

The white serpent was, like the salmon, a source of wisdom and magical power. It was evidently a form of the goddess. Brigit was the goddess of the Brigantes, a tribe whose territory extended from the Firth of Forth to the midlands of England.¹ The Brigantes took possession of a part of Ireland where Brigit had three forms as the goddess of healing, the goddess of smith-work, and the goddess of poetry, and therefore of metrical magical charms. Some think her name signifies "fiery arrow". She was the source of fire, and was connected with different trees in different areas. The Bride-wells were taken over by Saint Bride.

The white serpent, referred to in the legends associated with Farquhar, the physician, and Michael Scott, sometimes travelled very swiftly by forming itself into a ring with its tail in its mouth. This looks like the old Celtic solar serpent. If the serpent were cut in two, the parts wriggled towards a stream and united as soon as they touched water. If the head were not smashed, it would become a *beithis*, the biggest and most poisonous variety of serpent.² The "Deathless snake" of Egypt, referred to in an ancient folk-tale, was similarly able to unite its severed body. Bride's serpent links with the serpent dragons of the Far East, which sleep all winter and emerge in spring, when they cause thunder and send rain, spit pearls, &c. Dr. Alexander Carmichael translates the following Gaelic serpent-charm:

To-day is the day of Bride,
The serpent shall come from his hole;

¹ In a Roman representation of her at Birrens, in Perthshire, she is shown as a winged figure holding a spear in her right hand and a globe in her left. An altar in Chester is dedicated to "De Nymphæ Brig". Her name is enshrined in Bregentz (anciently Brigantium), a town in Switzerland.

² The *beithis* lay hidden in arms of the sea and came ashore to devour animals.

I will not molest the serpent
And the serpent will not molest me.

De Visser¹ quotes the following from a Chinese text referring to the dragons:

If we offer a deprecatory service to them,
They will leave their abodes;
If we do not seek the dragons
They will also not seek us.

The serpent, known in Scotland as *nathair challtuinn* ("snake of the hazel grove"), had evidently a mythological significance. Leviathan is represented by the Gaelic *cirein cròin* (sea-serpent), also called *mial mhòr a chuain* ("the great beast of the sea") and *cuairtag mhòr a chuain* ("the great whirlpool of the sea"); a sea-snake was supposed to be located in Corryvreckan whirlpool. Kelpies and water horses and water bulls are forms assumed by the Scottish dragon. There are Far Eastern horse- and bull-dragons.

In ancient British lore there are references to souls in serpent form. A serpent might be a "double" like the Egyptian "Ka". It was believed in Wales that snake-souls were concealed in every farm-house. When one crept out from its hiding-place and died, the farmer or his wife died soon afterwards. Lizards were supposed to be forms assumed by women after death.² The otter, called in Scottish Gaelic *Dobhar-chù* ("water dog") and *Rìgh nàn Dobhran* ("king of the water" or "river"), appears to have been a soul form. When one was killed a man or a woman died. The king otter was supposed to have a jewel in its head like the Indian *nāga* (serpent deity), the Chinese dragon, the toad, &c. The king otter was invulnerable except on one white

¹ *The Dragon in China and Japan* (1913).

² Trevelyan, *Folk-lore and Folk-stories of Wales*, p. 165.

spot below its chin. Those who wore a piece of its skin as a charm were supposed to be protected against injury in battle. Evidently, therefore, the otter was originally a god like the boar, the image of which, as Tacitus records, was worn for protection by the Baltic amber searchers of Celtic speech. The *biasd na srogaig* ("the beast of the lowering horn") was a Hebridean loch dragon with a single horn on its head; this unicorn was tall and clumsy.

The "double" or external soul might also exist in a tree. Both in England and Scotland there are stories of trees withering when some one dies, or of some one dying when trees are felled. Aubrey tells that when the Earl of Winchelsea began to cut down an oak grove near his seat at Eastwell in Kent, the Countess died suddenly, and then his eldest son, Lord Maidstone, was killed at sea. Allan Ramsay, the Scottish poet, tells that the Edgewell tree near Dalhousie Castle was fatal to the family from which he was descended, and Sir Walter Scott refers to it in his "Journal", under the date 13th May, 1829. When a branch fell from it in July, 1874, an old forester exclaimed "The laird's deed noo!" and word was received not long afterwards of the death of the eleventh Earl of Dalhousie. Souls of giants were supposed to be hidden in thorns, eggs, fish, swans, &c. At Fasnacloich, in Argyllshire, the visit of swans to a small loch is supposed to herald the death of a Stewart.

"External souls", or souls after death, assumed the forms of cormorants, cuckoos, cranes, eagles, gulls, herons, linnets, magpies, ravens, swans, wrens, &c., or of deer, mice, cats, dogs, &c. Fairies (supernatural beings) appeared as deer or birds. Among the Scottish were-animals are cats, black sheep, mice, hares, gulls, crows, ravens, magpies, foxes, dogs, &c. Children were sometimes transformed by magicians into white

dogs, and were restored to human form by striking them with a magic wand or by supplying shirts of bog-cotton. The floating lore regarding were-animals was absorbed in witch-lore after the Continental beliefs regarding witches were imported into this country. In like manner a good deal of floating lore was attached to the devil. In Scotland he is supposed to appear as a goat or pig, as a gentleman with a pig's or horse's foot, or as a black or green man riding a black or green horse followed by black or green dogs. Eels were "devil-fish", and were supposed to originate from the hairs of horses' manes or tails. Men who ate eels became insane, and fought horses.

In Scotland butterflies and bees were not only soul-forms but deities, and there are traces of similar beliefs in England, Wales, and Ireland. Scottish Gaelic names of the butterfly include *dealbhan-dé* ("image" or "form of God"), *dealbh* signifying "image", "form", "picture", "idol", or "statue"; *dearbadan-dé* ("manifestation of God"); *eunan-dé* ("small bird of God"); *teine-dé* ("fire of God"); and *dealan-dé* ("brightness of God"). The word *dealan* refers to (1) lightning, (2) the brightness of the starry sky, (3) burning coal, (4) the wooden bar of a door, and (5) to a wooden peg fastening a cow-halter round the neck. The bar and peg, which gave security, were evidently connected with the deity.

In addition to meaning butterfly, *dealan-dé* ("the *dealan* of God") refers to a burning stick which is shaken to and fro or whirled round about. When "need fires" (new fires) were lit at Beltain festival (1st May) — "Beltain" is supposed to mean "bright fires" or "white fires", that is, luck-bringing or sacred fires—burning brands were carried from them to houses, all domestic fires having previously been extinguished. The "new fire" brought luck, prosperity, health, increase, protection, &c. Until recently Highland boys

who perpetuated the custom of lighting bon-fires to celebrate old Celtic festivals were wont to snatch burning sticks from them and run homewards, whirling the *dealan-dé* round about so as to keep it burning.

Souls took the form of a *dealan-dé* (butterfly). Lady Wilde relates in *Ancient Legends* (Vol. I, pp. 66-7) the Irish story of a child who saw the butterfly form of the soul — "a beautiful living creature with four snow-white wings"; it rose from the body of a man who had just died and went "fluttering round his head". The child and others watched the winged soul "until it passed from sight into the clouds". The story continues: "This was the first butterfly that was ever seen in Ireland; and now all men know that the butterflies are the souls of the dead waiting for the moment when they may enter Purgatory, and so pass through torture to purification and peace".

In England and Scotland moths were likewise souls of the dead that entered houses by night or fluttered outside windows, as if attempting to return to former haunts.

The butterfly god or soul-form was known to the Scandinavians. Freyja, the northern goddess, appears to have had a butterfly *avatar*. At any rate, the butterfly was consecrated to her. In Greece the nymph Psyche, beloved by Cupid, was a beautiful maiden with the wings of a butterfly; her name signifies "the soul". Greek artistes frequently depicted the human soul as a butterfly, and especially the particular species called *ψυχή* ("the soul"). On an ancient tomb in Italy a butterfly is shown issuing from the open mouth of a death-mask. The Serbians believed that the butterfly souls of witches arose from their mouths when they slept. They died if their butterfly souls did not return.¹ Evidence of belief in the butterfly soul has been forth-

¹ W. R. S. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 117 *et seq.*

coming in Burmah, where ceremonies are performed to prevent the baby's butterfly soul following that of a dead mother.¹ The pre-Columbian Americans, and especially the Mexicans, believed in butterfly souls and butterfly deities. In China the butterfly soul was carved in jade and associated with the plum tree;² the sacred butterfly was in Scotland associated apparently with the honeysuckle (*deoghalag*), a plant containing "life-substance" in the form of honey (*lus a mheal*: "honey herb") and milk (another name of the plant being *bainne-ghamlhnach*: "milk of the heifer"). As we have seen, the honeysuckle was supposed to be more powerful than the tree to which it clung; like the ivy and mistletoe, it was the plant of a powerful deity. Its milk and honey names connect it with the Great Mother goddess who was the source of life and nourishment, and provided the milk-and-honey elixir of life.

Bee-souls figure in Scottish folk-stories. Hugh Miller relates a story of a sleeping man from whose mouth the soul issued in the form of the bee.³ Another of like character is related by a clergyman.⁴ Both are located in the north of Scotland, where, as in the south of England, the custom was prevalent of "telling the bees" when a death took place, and of placing crape on hives. The bee-mandible symbol appears on Scottish sculptured stones. Both the bee and the butterfly were connected with the goddess Artemis. Milk-yielding fig trees were fertilized by bees or wasps, and the goddess, especially in her form as Diana of the Ephesians, was connected with the fig tree, the figs being "teats".

Little is known regarding the Hebridean sea-god *Seonaidh* (pronounced "shony"), who may have been

¹ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXVI (1897), p. 23.

² Laufer, *Jade*, p. 310.

³ *My Schools and Schoolmasters*, Chapter VI.

⁴ Rev. W. Forsyth, Dornoch, in *Folk-lore Journal*, VI, 171.

a form of the sea-god known to the Irish as Lir and to the Welsh as Llyr. His name connects him with the word *seonadh*, signifying "augury", "sorcery", "druidism". According to Martin, the inhabitants of Lewis contributed the malt from which ale was brewed for an offering to the gods. At night a man waded into the sea up to his middle and cried out, "Seonaidh! I give thee this cup of ale, hoping that thou wilt be so good as to send us plenty of sea-ware for enriching our ground during the coming year." He then poured the ale into the sea. The people afterwards gathered in the church of St. Mulway, and stood still for a time before the altar on which a candle was burning. When a certain signal was given the candle was extinguished. The people then made merry in the fields, drinking ale.

CHAPTER XVI

Ancient Pagan Deities

Deities as Birds—Triads of Gaelic Goddesses—Shape-shifting Goddesses—Black Annis of Leicestershire—The Scottish Black Annis—Black Kali and Black Demeter—Cat Goddess and Witches—A Scottish Artemis—Celtic Adonis Myth—The Cup of Healing—Myths of Gaelic Calendar—Irish and Scottish Mythologies Different—Scottish Pork Taboo—Eel tabooed in Scotland but not in England—Ancient English Food Taboos—Irish Danann Deities—Ancient Deities of England and Wales—The Apple Cult—English Wassailing Custom—The Magic Cauldron—The Holy Grail—Cauldron a Goddess Symbol—Pearls and Cows of the Cauldron—Goddess—Romano-British Deities—Grouped Goddesses—The Star Goddess—Sky and Sea Spirits.

Many of the old British and Irish deities had bird forms, and might appear as doves, swallows, swans, cranes, cormorants, scald crows, ravens, &c. The cormorant, for instance, is still in some districts called the *Cailleach dubh* ("the black old wife"). Some deities, like Brigit and Morrigan, had triple forms, and appeared as three old hags or as three beautiful girls, or assumed the forms of women known to those they visited. In the Cuchullin stories the Morrigan appears with a supernatural cow, the milk of which heals wounds and prolongs life. When in conflict with Cuchullin, she takes alternately the forms of an eel, a grey wolf, and a white cow with red ears. On one occasion she changes from human form to that of a dark bird. An old west of England goddess was remembered until recently in Leicestershire as "Black Annis", "Black Anny", or "Cat Anna". She frequented a cave on the Dane

Hills,¹ above which grew an oak tree. In the branches of the tree she concealed herself, so that she might pounce unawares on human beings. Shepherds attributed to her the loss of lambs, and mothers their loss of children. The supernatural monster had one eye in her blue face, and talons instead of hands. Round her waist she wore a girdle of human skins.

A Scottish deity called "Yellow Muilearteach" was similarly one-eyed and blue-faced, and had tusks protruding from her mouth. An apple dangled from her waist girdle. The Indian goddess Black Kali is depicted as a ferocious being of like character, with a forehead eye, in addition to ordinary eyes, and a waist girdle of human heads. Greece had its Black Demeter with animal-head (a horse's or pig's), and snakes in her hair. She haunted a cave in Phigalia. The Egyptian goddess Hathor in her cat form (Bast) was kindly, and in her Sekhet form was a fierce slayer of mankind.²

Witches assume cat forms in Scottish witch lore,³ and appear on the riggings and masts of ships doomed to destruction. There are references, too, to cat roasting, so as to compel the "Big Cat" to appear. The "Big Cat" is evidently the deity. In northern India dogs are tortured to compel the "Big Dog" (the god Indra) to send rain. "Lapus Cati" (the cat stone) is referred to in early Christian records. As a mouse was buried under an apple tree to make it fruitful, a cat was buried under a pear tree.

The Scottish "Yellow Muilearteach" revels in the slaughter of human beings, and folk poems, describing a battle waged against her, have been collected. In the end she is slain, and her consort comes from the sea to

¹ It has been suggested that "Dane" stands for "Danann".

² A text states: "Kindly is she as Bast: terrible is she as Sekhet."

³ The Gaelic word for "witch" comes from English. Gaelic "witch lore" is distinctive, having retained more ancient beliefs than those connected with the orthodox witches.

lament her death. A similar hag is remembered as the Cailleach ("the old wife"). She had a "blue-black face" and one eye "on the flat of her forehead", and she carried a magic hammer. During the period of "the little sun" (the winter season) she held sway over the world. Her blanket was washed in the whirlpool of Corryvreckan, which kept boiling vigorously for several days. Ben Nevis was her chief dwelling-place, and in a cave in that mountain she kept as a prisoner all winter a beautiful maiden who was given the task of washing a brown fleece until it became white. When wandering among the mountains or along the sea-shore she is followed, like Artemis, by herds of deer, goats, swine, &c. The venomous black boar is in some of the stories under her special protection. Apparently this animal was her symbol as it was that of the Baltic amber traders. The hero who hunts and slays the boar is himself killed by it, as was the Syrian god Adonis by the boar form of Ares (Mars). In Gaul the boar-god Moccus was identified by the Romans with Mars.

In Gaelic stories the hero who hunts and slays the boar is remembered as Diarmid, the eponymous ancestor of the Campbell clan. Apparently the goddess was the ugly hag to whom he once gave shelter. She transformed herself into a beautiful maiden who touched his forehead and left on it a "love spot".¹

When she vanished he followed her to the "Land-Under-Waves". There he finds her as a beautiful girl who is suffering from a wasting disease. To cure her he goes on a long journey to obtain a draught of water from a healing well. This water he carries in the "Cup of Healing".

¹ The "fairy" Queen (the queen of enchantment), who carried off Thomas the Rhymer, appeared as a beautiful woman, but was afterwards transformed into an ugly hag. Thomas laments:

How art thou faded thus in the face,
That shone before as the sun so bright (bright).

The winter hag has a son who falls in love with the beautiful maiden of Ben Nevis. When he elopes with her, his mother raises storms in the early spring season to keep the couple apart and prevent the grass growing. These storms are named in the Gaelic Calendar as "the Pecker", "the Whistle", "the Sweeper", "the Complaint", &c. In the end her son pursues her on horseback, until she transforms herself into a moist grey stone "looking over the sea". The story tells that the son's horse leapt over arms of the sea. On Loch Etiveside a place-name "Horseshoes" is attached to marks on a rock supposed to have been caused by his great steed. In the Isle of Man the place of the giant son is taken by St. Patrick. He rides from Ireland on horseback like the ancient sea god. He cursed a monster, which was turned into solid rock. St. Patrick's steed left the marks of its hoofs on the cliffs.¹

In Arthurian romance King Arthur pursues Morgan le Fay, who likewise transforms herself into a stone. A Welsh folk story tells that Arthur's steed leapt across the Bristol Channel, and left the marks of its hoofs on a rock.

It appears that Morgan le Fay is the same deity as the Irish Morrigan. Both appear to link with Anu, or Danu, the Irish mother goddess, and with Black Anna or Annis of Leicestershire. The Irish Danann deities wage war against the Fomorians, who are referred to in one instance as the gods of the Fir Domnann (Dumnonii), the mineral workers or "diggers" of Cornwall and Devon, of the south-western and central lowlands of Scotland, and central and south-western Ireland. In Scotland the Fomorians are numerous; they are hill and cave giants like the giants of Cornwall. But there are no Scottish Dananns and no "war of the gods". The Fomorians of Scotland wage war against the fairies

¹ Wm. Cashen, *Manx Folk-lore* (Douglas, 1912), p. 48.

(as in Wester Ross) or engage in duels, throwing great boulders at one another.

The intruding people who in Ireland formulated the Danann mythology do not appear to have reached Scotland before the Christian period.

An outstanding difference between Scottish and Irish beliefs and practices is brought out by the treatment of the pig in both countries. Like the Continental Celts, the Irish Celts, who formed a military aristocracy over the Firbolgs, the Fir Domnann, and the Fir Gailian (Gauls), kept pigs and ate pork. In Scotland the pig was a demon as in ancient Egypt, and pork was tabooed over wide areas. The prejudice against pork in Scotland is not yet extinct. It is referred to by Sir Walter Scott in a footnote in *The Fortunes of Nigel*, which states:

“The Scots (Lowlanders), till within the last generation, disliked swine’s flesh as an article of food as much as the Highlanders do at present. Ben Jonson, in drawing James’s character,¹ says he loved no part of a swine.”²

Dr. Johnson wrote in his *A Journey to the Western Highlands in 1773*:

“Of their eels I can give no account, having never tasted them, for I believe they are not considered as wholesome food. . . . The vulgar inhabitants of Skye, I know not whether of the other islands, have not only eels, but pork and bacon in abhorrence; and, accordingly, I never saw a hog in the Hebrides, except one at Dunvegan.”

“In the year 1691 a question was put, ‘Why do Scotchmen hate swine’s flesh?’ and”, says J. G. Dalryell,³ “unsatisfactorily answered, ‘They might borrow it of the Jews’.” As the early Christians of England and

¹ King James VI of Scotland and I of England.

² Ben Jonson’s reference is in *A Masque of the Metamorphosed Gipsies*.

³ *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland* (London, 1834), p. 425, and *Athenian Mercury*, V, 1, No. 20, p. 13.

Ireland did not abhor pork, the prejudice could not have been of Christian origin. It was based on superstition, and as the superstitions of to-day were the religious beliefs of yesterday, the prejudice appears to be a survival from pagan times. An ancient religious cult, which may have originally been small, became influential in Scotland, and the taboo spread even after its original significance was forgotten. The Scottish prejudice against pork existed chiefly among "the common people", as Dr. Johnson found when in Skye. Proprietors of alien origin and monks ate pork, but the old taboo persisted. Pig-dealers, &c., in the Highlands in the nineteenth century refused to eat pork. They exported their pigs.¹

Traces of ancient food taboos, which were connected evidently with religious beliefs, have been obtained by archæologists in England. In some districts pork appears to have been more favoured than the beef or mutton or goat flesh preferred in other districts. Evidence has been forthcoming that horse flesh was eaten in ancient England. A reference in the *Life of St. Columba* to a relapsing Christian returning to horse flesh suggests that it was a favoured food of a Pagan cult.

As the devil is called in Scottish Gaelic the "Big Black Pig" and in Wales is associated with the "Black Sow of All Hallows", it may be that the Welsh had once their pig taboo too. The association of the pig with Hallowe'en is of special interest.

In Scotland the eel is still tabooed, although it is eaten freely in England. The reason may be that an

¹ The south-western Scottish pork trade dates only from the latter part of the eighteenth century. There was trouble at Carlisle custom house when the Lowland Scots began to export cured pork, because of the difference between the English and Scottish salt duty. "For some time", complained a Scottish writer on agriculture, in June, 1811, "a duty of 2s. per hunderweight has been charged." Dublin was exporting pork to London in the reign of Henry VIII. A small trade in pork was conducted in eastern Scotland but was sporadic.

ancient goddess, remembered longest in Scotland, had an eel form. Julius Cæsar tells that the ancient Britons with whom he came into contact did not regard it lawful to eat the hare, the domestic fowl, or the goose. In Scotland and England the goose was, until recently, eaten only once a year at a festival. The tabooed pig was eaten once a year in Egypt. It was sacrificed to Osiris and the moon. An annual sacrificial pig feast may have been observed in ancient Scotland. It is of special interest to find in this connection that in the *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1793) the writer on the parishes of Sandwick and Stromness, Orkney, says: "Every family that has a herd of swine, kills a sow on the 17th day of December, and thence it is called 'Sow-day'." Orkney retains the name of the Orcs (Boars), a Pictish tribe.

There are still people in the Highlands who detest "feathered flesh" or "white flesh" (birds), and refuse to eat hare and rabbit. Fish taboos have likewise persisted in the north of Scotland, where mackerel, ling,¹ and skate are disliked in some areas, while in some even the wholesome haddock is not eaten in the winter or spring, and is supposed not to be fit for food until it gets three drinks of May water—that is, after the first three May tides have ebbed and flowed.

The Danann deities of Ireland were the children of descendants of the goddess Danu, whose name is also given as Ana or Anu. She was the source of abundance and the nourisher of gods and men. As "Buanann" she was "nurse of heroes". As Aynia, a "fairy"² queen, she is still remembered in Ulster,

¹ King James I of England and VI of Scotland detested ling as he detested pork. The food prejudices of the common people thus influenced royalty, although earlier kings and Norman nobles ate pork, eels, &c.

² The Gaelic word *sidh* (Irish) or *sìth* (Scottish) means "supernatural" and the "peace" and "silence" of supernatural beings. "Fairy", as Skeat has emphasized, means "enchantment". It has taken the place of "fay", which is derived from fate. The "fay" was a supernatural being.

while as Aine, a Munster "fairy", she was formerly honoured on St. John's Eve, when villagers, circulating a mound, carried straw torches which were afterwards waved over cattle and crops to give protection and increase.

A prominent Danann god was Dagda, whose name is translated as "the good god", "the good hand", by some, and as "the fire god" or "fire of god" by others. He appears to have been associated with the oak. By playing his harp, he caused the seasons to follow one another in their proper order. One of his special possessions was a cauldron called "The Undry", from which an inexhaustible food supply could be obtained. He fed heavily on porridge, and was a cook (supplier of food) as well as a king. In some respects he resembles Thor, and, like him, he was a giant slayer. His wife was the goddess Boann, whose name clings to the River Boyne, which was supposed to have had its origin from an overflowing well. Above this well were nine hazel trees; the red nuts of these fell into the well to be devoured by salmon and especially by the "salmon of knowledge". Here again we meet with the tree and well myth. Brigit was a member of the Dagda's family. Another was Angus, the god of love.

Diancecht was the Danann god of healing. His grandson Lugh (pronounced *loo*) has been called the "Gaelic Apollo". Goibniu was a Gaelic Vulcan.

Neit, whose wife was Nemon,¹ was a Fomorian god of battle. The sea god was Manannán mac Lir. He was known to the Welsh as Manawydan ab Llyr, who was not only a sea god but "lord of headlands" and a patron of traders. Llyr has come down as the legendary King Lear, and his name survives in Leicester, originally Llyr-cestre of Cær-Llyr (walled city of Llyr). His famous and gigantic son Bran

¹ From the root *nem* in *neamh*, heaven, *nemus*, a grove, &c.

became, in the process of time, the "Blessed Bran" who introduced Christianity into Britain.

Another group of Welsh gods, known as "the children of Don", resemble somewhat the Danann deities of Ireland. The closest link is Govannon, the smith, who appears to be identical with the Irish Goibniu. As Irish pirates invaded and settled in Wales between the second and fifth centuries of our era, it may be that the process of "culture mixing" which resulted can be traced in the mythological elements embedded in folk and manuscript stories. The Welsh deities, however, were connected with certain constellations and may have been "intruders" from the Continent. Cassiopea's chair was Llys Don (the court of the goddess Don). Arianrod (silver circle), a goddess and wife of Govannon, had for her castle the Northern Crown (*Corona Borealis*). She is, in Arthurian romance, the sister of Arthur. Her brother Gwydion had for his castle the "Milky Way", which in Irish Gaelic is "the chain of Lugh". The Irish Danann god Nuada has been identified with the British Nudd whose children formed the group of "the children of Nudd".

There were three groups of Welsh deities, the others being "the children of Lyr" and "the children of Don". Professor Rhys has identified Nudd with Lud, the god whose name survives in London (originally *Cær Lud*) and in Ludgate, which may, as has been suggested, have originally been "the way of Lud", leading to his holy place now occupied by St. Paul's Cathedral. Lud had a sanctuary at Lidney in Gloucestershire, where he was worshipped in Roman times as is indicated by inscriptions. A bronze plaque shows a youthful god, with solar rays round his head, standing in a four-horsed chariot. Two winged genii and two Tritons accompany him. Apparently he was identified with Apollo. The

Arthurian Lot or Loth was Lud or Ludd. His name lingers in "Lothian".

Gwydion, the son of Don, was a prominent British deity and has been compared to Odin. He was the father of the god Lleu, whose mother was Arianrod. The rainbow was "Lleu's rod-sling". Dwynwen, the so-called British Venus, was Christianized as "the blessed Dwyn" and the patron saint of the church of Llanddwyn in Anglesey. The magic cauldron was possessed by the Welsh goddess Kerridwen.

A prominent god whose worship appears to have been wide-spread was connected with the apple tree, which in the Underworld and Islands of the Blest was the "Tree of Life". Ancient beliefs and ceremonies connected with the apple cult survive in those districts in southern England where the curious custom is observed of "wassailing" the apple trees on Christmas Eve or Twelfth Night.¹ The "wassailers" visit the tree and sing a song in which each apple is asked to bear

Hat-fulls, lap-fulls,
Sack-fulls, pocket-fulls.

Cider is poured about the roots of apple trees. This ceremony appears to have been originally an elaborate one. The tom-tit or some other small bird was connected with the apple tree, as was the robin or wren of other cults with the oak tree. At the wassailing ceremony a boy climbed up into a tree and impersonated the bird. It may be that in Pagan times a boy was sacrificed to the god of the tree. That the bird (in some cases it was the robin red-breast) was hunted and sacrificed is indicated by old English folk-songs beginning like the following:

¹ Rendel Harris, *Apple Cults*, and *The Ascent of Olympus*.



BRONZE URN AND CAULDRON (*circa* 500 B.C.)
(British Museum)

Vessels such as these are unknown outside the British Isles.

Old Robin is dead and gone to his grave,
Hum! Ha! gone to his grave;
They planted an apple tree over his head,
Hum! Ha! over his head.

In England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland a deity, or a group of deities in the Underworld, was associated with a magic cauldron, or as it is called in Gaelic a "pot of plenty". Heroes or gods obtain possession of this cauldron, which provides an inexhaustible food supply and much treasure, or is used for purposes of divination. It appears to have been Christianized into the "Holy Grail", to obtain possession of which Arthurian knights set out on perilous journeys.

Originally the pot was a symbol of the mother goddess, who renewed youth, provided food for all, and was the source of treasure, luck, victory, and wisdom. This goddess was associated with the mother cow and the life-prolonging pearls that were searched for by early Eastern prospectors. There are references to cows and pearls in Welsh and Gaelic poems and legends regarding the pot. An old Welsh poem in the *Book of Taliesin* says of the cauldron:

By the breath of nine maidens it would be kindled.
The head of Hades' cauldron—what is it like?
A rim it has, with pearls round its border:
It boils not coward's food: it would not be perjured.

This extract is from the poem known as "Preidden Annwn" ("Harryings of Hades"), translated by the late Professor Sir John Rhys. Arthur and his heroes visit Hades to obtain the cauldron, and reference is made to the "Speckled Ox". Arthur, in another story, obtains the cauldron from Ireland. It is full of money. The Welsh god Bran gives to a king of Ireland a magic cauldron which restores to life those dead men who are

placed in it. A Gaelic narrative relates the story of Cuchullin's harrying of Hades, which is called "Dun Scaith". Cuchullin's assailants issue from a pit in the centre of Dun Scaith in forms of serpents, toads, and sharp-beaked monsters. He wins the victory and carries away three magic cows and a cauldron that gives inexhaustible supplies of food, gold, and silver.

The pot figures in various mythologies. It was a symbol of the mother goddess Hathor of ancient Egypt and of the mother goddess of Troy, and it figures in Indian religious literature. In Gaelic lore the knife which cuts inexhaustible supplies of flesh from a dry bone is evidently another symbol of the deity.

The talismans possessed by the Dananns were the cauldron, the sword and spear of Lugh, and the Lia Fail (or Stone of Destiny)¹, which reminds one of the three Japanese symbols, the solar mirror, the dragon sword, and the tama (a pearl or round stone) kept in a Shinto shrine at Ise. The goddess's "life substance" was likewise in fruits like the Celestial apples, nuts, rowan berries, &c., of the Celts, and the grapes, pomegranates, &c., of other peoples, and in herbs like the mugwort and mandrake. Her animals were associated with rivers. The name of the River Boyne signifies "white cow". Tarf (bull) appears in several river names, as also does the goddess name Deva (Devona) in the Devon, Dee, &c. Philologists have shown that Ness, the Inverness-shire river, is identical with Nestos in Thrace and Neda in Greece. The goddess Belisama (the goddess of war) was identified with the Mersey.

Goddess groups, usually triads, were as common in Gaul as they were in ancient Crete. These deities were sometimes called the "Mothers", as in Marne, the famous French river, and in the Welsh *Y Mamau*, one of the names of the "fairies".

¹ Called also *clach na cineamhuinn* (the fatal stone).

Other names of goddess groups include Proximæ (kinswoman), Niskai (water spirits), and Dervonnæ (oak spirits). The Romans took over these and other groups of ancient deities and the beliefs about their origin in the mythical sea they were supposed to cross or rise from. Gaelic references to "the coracle of the fairy woman" or "supernatural woman" are of special interest in this connection, especially when it is found that the "coracle" is a sea-shell which, by the way, figures as a canopy symbol in some of the sculptured groups of Romano-British grouped goddesses who sometimes bear baskets of apples, sheafs of grain, &c. When the shell provides inexhaustible supplies of curative or knowledge-conferring milk, it links with the symbolic pot.

Most of the ancient deities had local names, and consequently a number of Gaulish gods were identified by the Romans with Apollo, including Borvo, whose name lingers in Bourbon, Grannos of Aquæ Granni (Aix la Chapelle), Mogounus, whose name has been shortened to Mainz, &c. The gods Taranucus (thunderer), Uxellimus (the highest), &c., were identified with Jupiter; Dunatis (fort god), Albiorix (world king), Caturix (battle king), Belatucadros (brilliant in war), Cocidius, &c., were identified with Mars. The name of the god Camulos clings to Colchester (Camulodunum). There are Romano-British inscriptions that refer to the ancient gods under various Celtic names. A popular deity was the god of Silvanus, who conferred health and was, no doubt, identified with a tree or herb.

It is uncertain at what period beliefs connected with stars were introduced into the British Isles.¹ As we have seen, the Welsh deities were connected with certain star groups. "Three Celtic goddesses", writes Anwyl,

¹ There is evidence in the Gaelic manuscripts that time was measured by the apparent movements of the stars. Cuchullin, while sitting at a feast, says to his charioteer: "Laeg, my friend, go out, observe the stars of the air, and ascertain when midnight comes".

referring to Gaul, "whose worship attained to highest development were Damona (the goddess of cattle), Sirona (the aged one or the star goddess), and Epōna (the goddess of horses). These names are Indo-European." An Irish poem by a bard who is supposed to have lived in the ninth century refers to the Christian saint Ciaran of Saigir as a man of stellar origin:

Liadaine (his mother) was asleep
On her bed.
When she turned her face to heaven
A star fell into her mouth.
Thence was born the marvellous child
Ciaran of Saigir who is proclaimed to thee.

In the north and north-west Highlands the aurora borealis is called *Na Fir Chlis* ("the nimble men") and "the merry dancers". They are regarded as fairies (supernatural beings) like the sea "fairies" *Na Fir Ghorm* ("blue men"), who were probably sea gods.

The religious beliefs of the Romans were on no higher a level than those of the ancient Britons and Gaels.

CHAPTER XVII

Historical Summary

The evidence dealt with in the foregoing chapters throws considerable light on the history of early man in Britain. We really know more about pre-Roman times than about that obscure period of Anglo-Saxon invasion and settlement which followed on the withdrawal of the Roman army of occupation, yet historians, as a rule, regard it as "pre-historic" and outside their sphere of interest. As there are no inscriptions and no documents to render articulate the archæological Ages of Stone and Bronze, they find it impossible to draw any definite conclusions.

It can be urged, however, in criticism of this attitude, that the relics of the so-called "pre-historic age" may be found to be even more reliable than some contemporary documents of the "historic" period. Not a few of these are obviously biassed and prejudiced, while some are so vague and fragmentary that the conclusions drawn from them cannot be otherwise than hypothetical in character. A plainer, clearer, and more reliable story is revealed by the bones and the artifacts and the surviving relics of the intellectual life of our remote ancestors than by the writings of some early chroniclers and some early historians. It is possible, for instance, in consequence of the scanty evidence available, to hold widely diverging views regarding the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic problems. Pro-Teutonic and pro-Celtic protagonists involve us invariably in bitter controversy. That contemporary

documentary evidence, even when somewhat voluminous, may fail to yield a clear record of facts is evident from the literature that deals, for instance, with the part played by Mary Queen of Scots in the Darnley conspiracy and in the events that led to her execution.

The term "pre-historic" is one that should be discarded. It is possible, as has been shown, to write, although in outline, the history of certain ancient race movements, of the growth and decay of the civilization revealed by the cavern art of Aurignacian and Magdalenian times, of early trade and of early shipping. The history of art goes back for thousands of years before the Classic Age dawned in Greece; the history of trade can be traced to that remote period when Red Sea shells were imported into Italy by Crô-Magnon man; and the history of British shipping can be shown to be as old as those dug-outs that foundered in ancient Scottish river beds before the last land movement had ceased.

The history of man really begins when and where we find the first clear traces of his activities, and as it is possible to write not only regarding the movements of the Crô-Magnon races, but of their beliefs as revealed by burial customs, their use of body paint, the importance attached to shell and other talismans, and their wonderful and high attainments in the arts and crafts, the European historical period can be said to begin in the post-Glacial epoch when tundra conditions prevailed in Central and Western Europe and Italy was connected with the North African coast.

In the case of ancient Egypt, historical data have been gleaned from archæological remains as well as from religious texts and brief records of historical events. The history of Egyptian agriculture has been traced back beyond the dawn of the Dynastic Age and to that inarticulate period before the hieroglyphic system of writing had been invented, by the discovery in the stomachs

of the bodies of proto-Egyptians, naturally preserved in hot dry sands, of husks of barley and of millet native to the land of Egypt.¹

The historical data so industriously accumulated in Egypt and Babylonia have enabled excavators to date certain finds in Crete, and to frame a chronological system for the ancient civilization of that island. Other relics afford proof of cultural contact between Crete and the mainland, as far westward as Spain, where traces of Cretan activities have been discovered. With the aid of comparative evidence, much light is thrown, too, on the history of the ancient Hittites, who have left inscriptions that have not yet been deciphered. The discoveries made by Siret in Spain and Portugal of unmistakable evidence of Egyptian and Babylonian cultural influence, trade, and colonization are, therefore, to be welcomed. The comparative evidence in this connection provides a more reliable basis than has hitherto been available for Western European archæology. It is possible for the historian to date approximately the beginning of the export trade in jet from England—apparently from Whitby in Yorkshire—and of the export trade in amber from the Baltic, and the opening of the sea routes between Spain and Northern Europe. The further discovery of Egyptian beads in south-western England, in association with relics of the English “Bronze Age”, is of far-reaching importance. A “pre-historic” period surely ceases to be “pre-historic” when its relics can be dated even approximately. The English jet found in Spain takes us back till about 2500 B.C., and the Egyptian beads found in England till about 1300 B.C.

The dating of these and other relics raises the question whether historians should accept, without qualification, or at all, the system of “Ages” adopted by archæolo-

¹ Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, p. 42.

gists. Terms like "Palæolithic" (Old Stone) and "Neolithic" (New Stone) are, in most areas, without precise chronological significance. As applied in the historical sense, they tend to obscure the fact that the former applies to a most prolonged period during which more than one civilization arose, flourished, and decayed. In the so-called "Old Stone Age" flint was worked with a degree of skill never surpassed in the "New Stone Age", as Aurignacian and Solutrean artifacts testify; it was also sometimes badly worked from poorly selected material, as in Magdalenian times, when bone and horn were utilized to such an extent that archæologists would be justified in referring to a "Bone and Horn Age".

Before the Neolithic industry was introduced into Western Europe and the so-called "Neolithic Age" dawned, as it ended, at various periods in various areas, great climatic changes took place, and the distribution of sea and land changed more than once. Withal, considerable race movements took place in Central and Western Europe. In time new habits of life were introduced into our native land that influenced more profoundly the subsequent history of Britain than could have been possibly accomplished by a new method of working flint. The most important cultural change was effected by the introduction of the agricultural mode of life.

It is important to bear in mind in this connection that the ancient civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia were based on the agricultural mode of life, and that when this mode of life passed into Europe a complex culture was transported with it from the area of origin. It was the early agriculturists who developed shipbuilding and the art of navigation, who first worked metals, and set a religious value on gold and silver, on pearls, and on certain precious stones, and sent out prospectors to search for precious metals and precious gems in distant

lands. The importance of agriculture in the history of civilization cannot be overestimated. In so far as our native land is concerned, a new epoch was inaugurated when the first agriculturist tilled the soil, sowed imported barley seeds, using imported implements, and practising strange ceremonies at sowing, and ultimately at harvest time, that had origin in a far-distant "cradle" of civilization, and still linger in our midst as folk-lore evidence, testifies to the full. In ancient times the ceremonies were regarded as being of as much importance as the implements, and the associated myths were connected with the agriculturists' Calendar, as the Scottish Gaelic Calendar bears testimony.

Instead, therefore, of dividing the early history of man in Britain into periods, named after the materials from which he made implements and weapons, these should be divided so as to throw light on habits of life and habits of thought. The early stages of civilization can be referred to as the "Pre-Agricultural", and those that follow as the "Early Agricultural".

Under "Pre-Agricultural" come the culture stages, or rather the industries known as (1) Aurignacian, (2) Solutrean, and (3) Magdalenian. These do not have the same chronological significance everywhere in Europe, for the Solutrean industry never disturbed or supplemented the Aurignacian in Italy or in Spain south of the Cantabrian Mountains, nor did Aurignacian penetrate into Hungary, where the first stage of Modern Man's activities was the Solutrean. The three stages, however, existed during the post-Glacial period, when man hunted the reindeer and other animals favouring similar climatic conditions. The French archæologists have named this the "Reindeer Age". Three later industries were introduced into Europe during the Pre-Agricultural Age. These are known as (1) Azilian, (2) Tardenoisian, and (3) Maglemosian. The ice-cap was retreating, the rein-

deer and other tundra animals moved northward, and the red deer arrived in Central and Western Europe. We can, therefore, refer to the latter part of the Pre-Agricultural times as the "Early Red Deer Age".

There is Continental evidence to show that the Neolithic industry was practised prior to the introduction of the agricultural mode of life. The "Early Agricultural Age", therefore, cuts into the archæological "Neolithic Age" in France. Whether or not it does so in Britain is uncertain.

At the dawn of the British "Early Agricultural Age" cultural influences were beginning to "flow" from centres of ancient civilization, if not directly, at any rate indirectly. As has been indicated in the foregoing pages, the Neolithic industry was practised in Britain by a people who had a distinct social organization and engaged in trade. Some Neolithic flints were of Eastern type or origin. The introduction of bronze from the Continent appears to have been effected by sea-faring traders, and there is no evidence that it changed the prevailing habits of thought and life. Our ancestors did not change their skins and their ideas when they began to use and manufacture bronze. A section of them adopted a new industry, but before doing so they had engaged in the search for gold. This is shown by the fact that they settled on the granite in Devon and Cornwall, while yet they were using flints of Neolithic form which had been made elsewhere. Iron working was ultimately introduced. The Bronze and Iron "Ages" of the archæologists can be included in the historian's "Early Agricultural Age", because agriculture continued to be the most important factor in the economic life of Britain. It was the basis of its civilization; it rendered possible the development of mining and of various industries, and the promotion of trade by land and sea. In time the Celtic peoples—that is,

peoples who spoke Celtic dialects—arrived in Britain. The Celtic movement was in progress at 500 B.C., and had not ended after Julius Cæsar invaded southern England. It was finally arrested by the Roman occupation, but continued in Ireland. When it really commenced is uncertain; the earliest Celts may have used bronze only.

The various Ages, according to the system suggested, are as follows:—

1. The Pre-Agricultural Age.

Sub-divisions: (A) the *Reindeer Age* with the Aurignacian, Solutrean, and Magdalenian industries; (B) the *Early Red Deer Age* with the Azilian, Tardenoisian, and Maglemosian industries.

2. The Early Agricultural Age.

Sub-divisions: (A) the *Pre-Celtic Age* with the Neolithic, copper and bronze industries; (B) the *Celtic Age* with the bronze, iron, and enamel industries.

3. The Romano-British Age.

Including in Scotland (A) the *Caledonian Age* and (B) the *Early Scoto-Pictish Age*; and in Ireland the *Cuchullin Age*, during which bronze and iron were used.

The view favoured by some historians that our ancestors were, prior to the Roman invasion, mere “savages” can no longer obtain. It is clearly without justification. Nor are we justified in perpetuating the equally hazardous theory that early British culture was of indigenous origin, and passed through a series of evolutionary stages in isolation until the country offered sufficient attractions to induce first the Celts and afterwards the Romans to conquer it. The correct and historical view appears to be that from the earliest times Britain was subjected to racial and cultural “drifts” from the Continent, and that the latter outnumbered the former.

In the Pre-Agricultural Age Crô-Magnon colonists reached England and Wales while yet in the Aurignacian stage of civilization. As much is indicated by the evidence of the Paviland cave in South Wales. At a later period, proto-Solutrean influence, which had entered Western Europe from North Africa, filtered into England, and can be traced in those caverns that have yielded evidence of occupation. The pure Solutrean culture subsequently swept from Eastern Europe as far westward as Northern Spain, but Britain, like Southern Spain and Italy, remained immune to it. Magdalenian culture then arose and became widespread. It had relations with the earlier Aurignacian and owed nothing to Solutrean. England yields undoubted traces of its influence, which operated vigorously at a time when Scotland was yet largely covered with ice. Certain elements in Aurignacian and Magdalenian cultures appear to have persisted in our midst until comparatively recent times, especially in connection with burial customs and myths regarding the "sleeping heroes" in burial caverns.

The so-called "Transition Period" between the Upper Palæolithic and Neolithic Ages is well represented, especially in Scotland, where the land rose after early man's arrival, and even after the introduction of shipping. As England was sinking when Scotland was rising, English traces of the period are difficult to find. This "Transition Period" was of greater duration than the archaeological "Neolithic Age".

Of special interest is the light thrown by relics of the "Transition Period" on the race problem. Apparently the Crô-Magnons and other peoples of the Magdalenian Age were settled in Britain when the intruders, who had broken up Magdalenian civilization on the Continent, began to arrive. These were (1) the Azilians of Iberian (Mediterranean) type; (2) the Tardenoisians, who came

through Italy from North Africa, and were likewise, it would appear, of Mediterranean racial type; and (3) the Maglemosians, who were mainly a fair, tall people of Northern type. The close proximity of Azilian and Maglemosian stations in western Scotland—at the Mac-Arthur cave (Azilian) and the Drumvaragie shelter (Maglemosian) at Oban, for instance—suggests that in the course of time racial intermixture took place. That all the fair peoples of England, Scotland, and Ireland are descended from Celts or Norwegians is a theory which has not taken into account the presence in these islands at an early period, and before the introduction of the Neolithic industry, of the carriers from the Baltic area of Maglemosian culture.

We next pass to the so-called Neolithic stage of culture,¹ and find it affords fuller and more definite evidence regarding the early history of our native land. As has been shown, there are data which indicate that there was no haphazard distribution of the population of England when the Neolithic industry and the agricultural mode of life were introduced. The theory must be discarded that "Neolithic man" was a wanderer, whose movements depended entirely on those of the wild animals he hunted, as well as the further theory that stone implements and weapons were not used after the introduction of metals. There were, as can be gathered from the evidence afforded by archæological remains, settled village communities, and centres of industry in the Age referred to by archæologists as "Neolithic". The Early Agricultural Age had dawned. Sections of the population engaged in agriculture, sections were miners and workers of flint, sections were hunters and fishermen, sections searched for gold, pigments for body paint, material for ornaments of religious

¹ It must be borne in mind that among the producers and users of Neolithic artifacts were the Easterners who collected and exported ores.

value, &c., and sections engaged in trade, not only with English and Scottish peoples, but with those of the Continent. The English Channel, and probably the North Sea, were crossed by hardy mariners who engaged in trade.

At an early period in the Early Agricultural Age and before bronze working was introduced, England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, were influenced more directly than had hitherto been the case by the high civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and especially by their colonies in South-western Europe. The recent Spanish finds indicate that a great "wave" of high Oriental culture was in motion in Spain as far back as 2500 B.C., and perhaps at an even earlier period. Included among Babylonian and Egyptian relics in Spain are, as has been stated, jet from Whitby, Yorkshire, and amber from the Baltic. Apparently the colonists had trading relations with Britain. Whether the "Tin Land", which was occupied by a people owing allegiance to Sargon of Akkad, was ancient Britain is quite uncertain. It was more probably some part of Western Europe. That Western European influence was reaching Britain before the last land movement had ceased is made evident by the fact that the ancient boat with a cork plug, which was found in Clyde silt at Glasgow, lay 25 feet above the present sea-level. The cork plug undoubtedly came from Spain or Italy, and the boat is of Mediterranean type.¹ It is evident that long before the introduction of bronze working the coasts of Britain were being explored by enterprising prospectors, and that the virgin riches of our native land were being exploited. In this connection it is of importance to find that the earliest metal artifacts introduced into our native islands were brought by traders, and that those that reached England were mainly of Gaulish type, while those that

¹ The boat dates the silting process rather than the silting process the boat.

reached Ireland were Spanish. The Neolithic industry does not appear to have been widespread in Ireland, where copper artifacts were in use at a very early period.

A large battle-axe of pure copper, described by Sir David Brewster in 1822 (*Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, Vol. VI, p. 357), was found at a depth of 20 feet in Ratho Bog, near Edinburgh. Above it were 9 feet of moss, 7 feet of sand, and 4 feet of hard black till-clay. "It must have been deposited along with the blue clay", wrote Brewster, "prior to the formation of the superincumbent stratum of sand, and must have existed before the diluvial operations by which that stratum was formed. This opinion of its antiquity is strongly confirmed by the peculiarity of its shape, and the nature of its composition." The Spanish discoveries have revived interest in this important find.

As has been indicated, jet, pearls, gold, and tin appear to have been searched for and found before bronze working became a British industry. That the early prospectors had experience in locating and working metals before they reached this country there can be little doubt. There was a psychological motive for their adventurous voyages to unknown lands. The distribution of the megalithic monuments and graves indicates that metals were found and worked in south-western England, in Wales, in Derbyshire, and Cumberland, that jet was worked at Whitby, and that metals were located in Ireland and Scotland. Gold must have been widely distributed during the period of the great thaw. It is unlikely that traces of alluvial gold, which had been located and well worked in ancient times, should remain until the present time. In Scotland no traces of gold can now be found in a number of districts where, according to the records, it was worked as late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some of the surviving Scottish megalithic monuments may mark the sites of

ancient goldfields that were abandoned in early times when the supplies of precious metal became exhausted. The great circles of Callernish in Lewis and Stennis in Orkney are records of activity in semi-barren areas. Large communities could not have been attracted to these outlying islands to live on the produce of land or sea. Traces of metals, &c., indicate that, in both areas in ancient times, the builders of megalithic monuments settled in remote areas in Britain for the same reason as they settled on parts of the Continent. A gold rod has been discovered in association with the "Druid Temple" at Leys, near Inverness. The Inverness group of circles may well have been those of gold-seekers. In Aberdeenshire a group of megalithic monuments appears to have been erected by searchers for pearls. Gold was found in this county in the time of the Stuart kings.

The close association of megalithic monuments with ancient mine workings makes it impossible to resist the conclusion that the worship of trees and wells was closely connected with the religion of which the megalithic monuments are records. Siret shows that the symbolic markings on typical stone monuments are identical with those of the tree cult. Folk-lore and philological data tend to support this view. From the root *nem* are derived the Celtic names of the pearl, heaven, the grove, and the shrine within the grove (see Chap. XIII). The Celts appear to have embraced the Druidic system of the earlier Iberians in Western Europe, whose culture had been derived from that of the Oriental colonists.

The Oriental mother goddess was connected with the sacred tree, with gold and gems, with pearls, with rivers, lakes, and the sea, with the sky and with the heavenly bodies, long centuries before the Palm-tree cult was introduced into Spain by Oriental colonists. The symbolism of pearls links with that of

jet, the symbolism of jet with that of Baltic amber, and the symbolism of Baltic amber with that of Adriatic amber and of Mediterranean coral. All these sacred things were supposed to contain, like jasper and turquoise in Egypt, the "life substance" of the mother goddess who had her origin in water and her dwelling in a tree, and was connected with the sky and "the waters above the firmament". Coral was supposed to be her sea tree, and jet, amber, silver, and gold were supposed to grow from her fertilizing tears. Beliefs about "grown gold" were quite rife in mediæval Britain.¹

It should not surprise us, therefore, to find traces of Oriental religious conceptions in ancient Britain and Ireland. These have apparently passed from country to country, from people to people, from language to language, and down the Ages without suffering great change. Even when mixed with ideas imported from other areas, they have preserved their original fundamental significance. The Hebridean "maiden-queen" goddess, who dwells in a tree and provides milk from a sea-shell, has a history rooted in a distant area of origin, where the goddess who personified the life-giving shell was connected with the cow and the sky (the Milky Way), as was the goddess Hathor, the Egyptian Aphrodite. The tendency to locate imported religious beliefs no doubt provides the reason why the original palm tree of the goddess was replaced in Britain by the hazel, the elm, the rowan, the apple tree, the oak, &c.

On the Continent there were displacements of peoples after the introduction of bronze, and especially of bronze weapons. There was wealth and there was trade to attract and reward the conqueror. The Eastern traders of Spain were displaced. Some appear to have

¹ The ancient belief is enshrined in Milton's lines referring to "ribs of gold" that "grow in Hell" and are dug out of its hill (*Paradise Lost*, Book I, lines 688-90).

migrated into Gaul and North Italy; others may have found refuge in Ireland and Britain. The sea-routes were not, however, closed. Ægean culture filtered into Western Europe from Crete, and through the Hallstatt culture centre from the Danubian area. The culture of the tribes who spoke Celtic dialects was veined with Ægean and Asiatic influences. In time Continental Druidism imbibed ideas regarding the Transmigration of Souls and the custom of cremation from an area in the East which had influenced the Aryan invaders of India.

The origin of the Celts is obscure. Greek writers refer to them as a tall, fair people. They were evidently a branch of the fair Northern race, but whether they came from Northern Europe or Northern Asia is uncertain. In Western Europe they intruded themselves as conquerors and formed military aristocracies. Like other vigorous, intruding minorities elsewhere and at different periods, they were in certain localities absorbed by the conquered. In Western Europe they were fused with Iberian communities, and confederacies of Celtiberians came into existence.

Before the great Celtic movements into Western Europe began—that is, before 500 B.C.—Britain was invaded by a broad-headed people, but it is uncertain whether they came as conquerors or as peaceful traders. In time these intruders were absorbed. The evidence afforded by burial customs and surviving traces of ancient religious beliefs and practices tends to show that the culture of the earlier peoples survived over large tracts of our native land. An intellectual conquest of conquerors or intruders was effected by the indigenous population which was rooted to the soil by agriculture and to centres of industry and trade by undisturbed habits of life.

Although the pre-Celtic languages were ultimately

displaced by the Celtic—it is uncertain when this process was completed—the influence of ancient Oriental culture remained. In Scotland the pig-taboo, with its history rooted in ancient Egypt, has had tardy survival until our own times. It has no connection with Celtic culture, for the Continental Celts were a pig-rearing and pork-eating people, like the Ægæan invaders of Greece. The pig-taboo is still as prevalent in Northern Arcadia as in the Scottish Highlands, where the descendants not only of the ancient Iberians but of intruders from pork-loving Ireland and Scandinavia have acquired the ancient prejudice and are now perpetuating it.

Some centuries before the Roman occupation, a system of gold coinage was established in England. Trade with the Continent appears to have greatly increased in volume and complexity. England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland were divided into small kingdoms. The evidence afforded by the Irish Gaelic manuscripts, which refer to events before and after the Roman conquest of Britain, shows that society was well organized and that the organization was of non-Roman character. Tacitus is responsible for the statement that the Irish manners and customs were similar to those prevailing in Britain, and he makes reference to Irish sea-trade and the fact that Irish sea-ports were well known to merchants. England suffered more from invasions before and after the arrival of Julius Cæsar than did Scotland or Ireland. It was consequently incapable of united action against the Romans, as Tacitus states clearly. The indigenous tribes refused to be allies of the intruders.¹

In Ireland, which Pliny referred to as one of the British Isles, the pre-Celtic Firbolgs were subdued by Celtic invaders. The later "waves" of Celts appeared

¹ *Agricola*, Chap. XII.

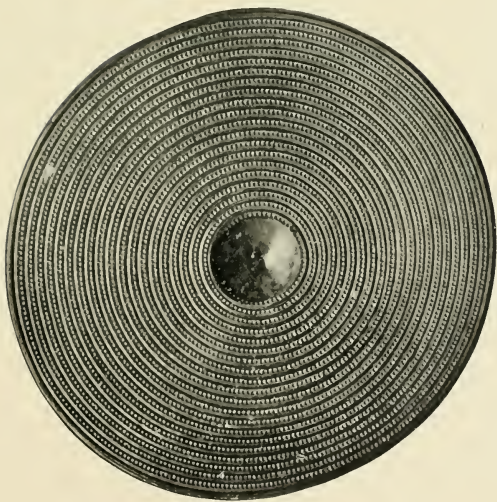
to have subdued the earlier conquerors, with the result that "Firbolg" ceased to have a racial significance and was applied to all subject peoples. There were in Ireland, as in England, upper and lower classes, and military tribes that dominated other tribes. Withal, there were confederacies, and petty kings, who owed allegiance to "high kings". The "Red Branch" of Ulster, of which Cuchullin was an outstanding representative, had their warriors trained in Scotland. It may be that they were invaders who had passed through Scotland into Northern Ireland; at any rate, it is unlikely that they would have sent their warriors to a "colony" to acquire skill in the use of weapons. There were Cruithne (Britons) in all the Irish provinces. Most Irish saints were of this stock.

The pre-Roman Britons had ships of superior quality, as is made evident by the fact that a British squadron was included in the great Veneti fleet which Cæsar attacked and defeated with the aid of Pictones and other hereditary rivals of the Veneti and their allies. In early Roman times Britain thus took an active part in European politics in consequence of its important commercial interests.

When the Romans reached Scotland the Caledonians, a people with a Celtic tribal name, were politically predominant. Like the English and Irish pre-Roman peoples, they used chariots and ornamented these with finely worked bronze. Enamel was manufactured or imported. Some of the Roman stories about the savage condition of Scotland may be dismissed as fictions. Who can nowadays credit the statement of Herodian¹ that the warriors of Scotland in Roman times passed their days in the water, or Dion Cassius's² story that they were wont to hide in mud for several days with nothing but their heads showing, and that despite their

¹ *Herodian*, III. 14.

² *Dion Cassius (Xiphilinus)* LXXVI, 12.



BRONZE BUCKLERS OR SHIELDS
(British Museum)

Upper: from the Thames. Lower: from Wales.



fine physique they fed chiefly on herbs, fruit, nuts, and the bark of trees, and, withal, that they had discovered a mysterious earth-nut and had only to eat a piece no larger than a bean to defy hunger and thirst. The further statement that the Scottish "savages" were without state or family organization hardly accords with historical facts. Even Agricola had cause to feel alarm when confronted by the well-organized and well-equipped Caledonian army at the battle of Mons Grampius, and he found it necessary to retreat afterwards, although he claimed to have won a complete victory. His retreat appears to have been as necessary as that of Napoleon from Moscow. The later invasion of the Emperor Severus was a disastrous one for him, entailing the loss of 50,000 men.

A people who used chariots and horses, and artifacts displaying the artistic skill of those found in ancient Britain, had reached a comparatively high state of civilization. Warriors did not manufacture their own chariots, the harness of their horses, their own weapons, armour, and ornaments; these were provided for them by artisans. Such things as they required and could not obtain in their own country had to be imported by traders. The artisans had to be paid in kind, if not in coin, and the traders had to give something in return for what they received. Craftsmen and traders had to be protected by laws, and the laws had to be enforced.

The evidence accumulated by archæologists is sufficient to prove that Britain had inherited from seats of ancient civilization a high degree of culture and technical skill in metal-working, &c., many centuries before Rome was built. The finest enamel work on bronze in the world was produced in England and Ireland, and probably, although definite proof has not yet been forthcoming, in Scotland, the enamels of which

may have been imported and may not. Artisans could not have manufactured enamel without furnaces capable of generating a high degree of heat. The process was a laborious and costly one. It required technical knowledge and skill on the part of the workers. Red, white, yellow, and blue enamels were manufactured. Even the Romans were astonished at the skill displayed in enamel work by the Britons. The people who produced these enamels and the local peoples who purchased them, including the Caledonians, were far removed from a state of savagery.

Many writers, who have accepted without question the statements of certain Roman writers regarding the early Britons and ignored the evidence that archæological relics provide regarding the arts and crafts and social conditions of pre-Roman times, have in the past written in depreciatory vein regarding the ancestors of the vast majority of the present population of these islands, who suffered so severely at the altar of Roman ambition. Everything Roman has been glorified; Roman victories over British "barbarians" have been included among the "blessings" of civilization. Yet "there is", as Elton says, "something at once mean and tragical about the story of the Roman conquest. . . . On the one side stand the petty tribes, prosperous nations in miniature, already enriched by commerce and rising to a homely culture; on the other the terrible Romans strong in their tyranny and an avarice which could never be appeased."¹

It was in no altruistic spirit that the Romans invaded Gaul and broke up the Celtic organization, or that they invaded Briton and reduced a free people to a state of bondage. The life blood of young Britain was drained by Rome, and, for the loss sustained, Roman institutions, Roman villas and baths, and the Latin language and

¹ *Origins of English History*, pp. 302-3.

literature were far from being compensations. Rome was a predatory state. When its military organization collapsed, its subject states fell with it. Gaul and Britain had been weakened by Roman rule; the ancient spirit of independence had been undermined; native initiative had been ruthlessly stamped out under a system more thorough and severe than modern Prussianism. At the same time, there is, of course, much to admire in Roman civilization.

During the obscure post-Roman period England was occupied by Angles and Saxons and Jutes, who have been credited with the wholesale destruction of masses of the Britons. The dark-haired survivors were supposed to have fled westward, leaving the fair intruders in undisputed occupation of the greater part of England. But the indigenous peoples of the English mining areas were originally a dark-haired and sallow people, and the invading Celts were mainly a fair people. Boadicea was fair-haired like Queen Meave of Ireland. The evidence collected of late years by ethnologists shows that the masses of the English population are descended from the early peoples of the Pre-Agricultural and Early Agricultural Ages. The theory of the wholesale extermination by the Anglo-Saxons of the early Britons has been founded manifestly on very scant and doubtful evidence.

What the Teutonic invasions accomplished in reality was the destruction not of a people but of a civilization. The native arts and crafts declined, and learning was stamped out, when the social organization of post-Roman Britain was shattered. On the Continent a similar state of matters prevailed. Roman civilization suffered decline when the Roman soldier vanished.

Happily, the elements of "Celtic" civilization had been preserved in those areas that had escaped the blight of Roman ambition. The peoples of Celtic

speech had preserved, as ancient Gaelic manuscripts testify, a love of the arts as ardent as that of Rome, and a fine code of chivalry to which the Romans were strangers. The introduction of Christianity had advanced this ancient Celtic civilization on new and higher lines. When the Columban missionaries began their labours outside Scotland and Ireland, they carried Christianity and "a new humanism" over England and the Continent, "and became the teachers of whole nations, the counsellors of kings and emperors". Ireland and Scotland had originally received their Christianity from Romanized England and Gaul. The Celtic Church developed on national lines. Vernacular literature was promoted by the Celtic clerics.

In England, as a result of Teutonic intrusions and conquests, Christianity and Romano-British culture had been suppressed. The Anglo-Saxons were pagans. In time the Celtic missionaries from Scotland and Ireland spread Christianity and Christian culture throughout England.

It is necessary for us to rid our minds of extreme pro-Teutonic prejudices. Nor is it less necessary to avoid the equally dangerous pitfall of the Celtic hypothesis. Christianity and the associated humanistic culture entered these islands during the Roman period. In Ireland and Scotland the new religion was perpetuated by communities that had preserved pre-Roman habits of life and thought which were not necessarily of Celtic origin or embraced by a people who can be accurately referred to as the "Celtic race". The Celts did not exterminate the earlier settlers. Probably the Celts were military aristocrats over wide areas.

Before the fair Celts had intruded themselves in Britain and Ireland, the seeds of pre-Celtic culture, derived by trade and colonization from centres of ancient civilization through their colonies, had been sown and

had borne fruit. The history of British civilization begins with neither Celt nor Roman, but with those early prospectors and traders who entered and settled in the British Isles when mighty Pharaohs were still reigning in Egypt, and these and the enterprising monarchs in Mesopotamia were promoting trade and extending their spheres of influence. The North Syrian or Anatolian carriers of Eastern civilization who founded colonies in Spain before 2500 B.C. were followed by Cretans and Phœnicians. The sea-trade promoted by these pioneers made possible the opening up of overland trade routes. It was after Pytheas had (about 300 B.C.) visited Britain by coasting round Spain and Northern France from Marseilles that the volume of British trade across France increased greatly and the sea-routes became of less importance. When Carthage fell, the Romans had the trade of Western Europe at their mercy, and their conquests of Gaul and Britain were undoubtedly effected for the purpose of enriching themselves at the expense of subject peoples. We owe much to Roman culture, but we owe much also to the culture of the British pre-Roman period.

INDEX

- Achæans, Celts and, 111, 112.
 Acheulian culture, 13, 14.
 Adonis, killed by boar, 197.
 Ægean culture, Celts absorbed, 112.
 — — in Central Europe, 96.
 Æstyans, the, amber traders, 161.
 — worship of mother goddess and boar god, 161, 162.
 Africa, Crô-Magnon peoples entered Europe from, 35.
 — ostrich eggs, ivory, &c., from, found in Spain, 96.
 — transmigration of souls in, 143.
 Age, the Agricultural and pre-Agricultural, 213.
 — the Early Red Deer, 214, 215.
 — the Prehistoric, 217.
 — the Historic, 217.
 — the Reindeer, 213.
 Ages, Archæological, new system of, 215.
 — — problem of Scottish copper axe, 219.
 — the Mythical, colours and metals of, 121. See also *Geological* and *Archæological Ages*.
 Agriculture, beginning of, in Britain, 217.
 — importance of introduction of, 212.
 — history of, 210.
 — Neolithic sickles, 4.
 — barley, wheat, and rye cultivated, 5.
 Aine, the Munster fairy, 202.
 Airs (Cardinal Points), the, doctrine of, 145. See also *Cardinal Points*.
 Akkad, Sargon of, his knowledge of Western Europe, 96, 218.
 Alabaster, Eastern perfume flasks of, in Neolithic Spain, 96.
 Albertite, jet and, 164.
 Albiorix, the Gaulish god, 207.
 All Hallows, Black Sow of, 200.
 Amber, associated with jet and Egyptian blue beads in England, 104, 105 (*ill.*), 106.
 — Celtic and German names of, 162.
 — as magical product of water, 162, 163.
 — eyes strengthened by, 165.
 — imported into Britain at 1400 B.C., 106; and in first century A.D., 114.
 — jet and pearls and, 22.
 — as "life substance", 80.
 — Megalithic people searched for, 93.
 — origin of, in Scottish lore, 162.
 — Persian, &c., names of, 163, 164.
 — Tacitus on the Baltic Æstyans, 161.
 — connection of, with boar god and mother goddess, 161.
 — as "tears" of goddess, 161.
 — trade in, 219.
 — the "vigorous Gael" and, 163.
 — connection of, with Woad, 163.
 — white enamel as substitute for, 165.
 America, green stone symbolism in, 34.
 Angles 126.
 — Celts and, 227.
 Anglo-Saxon intruders, our scanty knowledge of, 209.

- Angus, the Irish god of love, 202.
 Animism, not the earliest stage in religion, 178.
 Annis, Black (also "Black Anny" and "Cat Anna"), 195.
 — — Irish Anu (Danu), and, 198.
 Anthropology, stratification theory, 11, 12.
 Anu (Ana), the goddess, 198, 201.
 Aphrodite, 221.
 — amber and, 163.
 — the black form of, 164.
 — connection of, with pearl and moon, 158.
 — Julius Cæsar's pearl offering to, 159.
 — myth of origin of, 38.
 — Egyptian Hathor and, 38.
 — the Scandinavian, 161.
 Apollo, British temples of, 177.
 — the Gaelic, 202.
 — the Gaulish, 207.
 — god of London, 203.
 — mouse connection of, 179.
 — mouse feasts, 187.
 Apple, 221.
 — connection of mouse with, 196.
 — as fruit of longevity, 144.
 — Scottish hag-goddess and, 196.
 — Thomas the Rhymer and apple of knowledge and longevity, 146.
 — "wassailing", 204.
 Apple land (Avalon), the Celtic Paradise, 144.
 Apples, life substance in, 206.
 Apple tree, God of, 204.
 Archæological Ages, 1400 B.C., a date in British history, 106.
 — — "Broad-heads" in Britain and "Long-heads" in Ireland use bronze, 87.
 — — climate in Upper Palæolithic, 14.
 — — Egyptian and Babylonian relics in Neolithic Spain, 96.
 — — Egyptian Empire beads associated with bronze industry in south-western England, 104, 105 (*ill.*), 106.
 — — few intrusions between Bronze and Iron Ages, 109.
 — — in humorous art, 1.
 — — "Stone Age" man not necessarily a savage, 2.
 Archæological Ages, influences of Neanderthal and Crô-Magnon races, 12.
 — — Irish sagas and, 119.
 — — bronze and iron swords, 119.
 — — Lord Avebury's system, 8.
 — — Neolithic industry introduced by metal workers in Spain, 95, 99.
 — — relations of Neanderthal and Crô-Magnon races, 14, 15, 16.
 — — "Transition Period" longer than "Neolithic Age", 61.
 — — Western European metals reached Mesopotamia between 3000 B.C. and 2000 B.C., 99, 100. See also *Palæolithic* and *Neolithic*.
 Archæology, stratification theory, 11, 12.
 Argentocoxus, the Caledonian, 112.
 Armenoid (Alpine) races, early movements of, 56.
 Armenoids in Britain, 222.
 — intrusions of, in Europe, 126.
 — partial disappearance of, from Britain, 127.
 Armlets, in graves, 158.
 Arrow, the fiery, and goddess Brigit, 188.
 Arrows, Azilians introduced, into Europe, 55.
 — as symbols of deity, 51.
 Art, ancient man caricatured in modern, 1.
 Artemis, bee and butterfly connected with, 193.
 — myth of the Scottish, 174, 197.
 Arthur, King, Celtic myth attached to, 198.
 Arthur's Seat, Edinburgh, night-shining gem of, 160.
 — — giant of, 131, and also note 1.
 Aryans, The, 123.
 Astronomy in Ancient Britain and Ireland, 175, and also note 1.
 — Welsh and Gaelic names of constellations, 203.
 Atlantis, The Lost, 70.
 Atreates, The, in Britain, 128.
 Augustine of Canterbury, Pope Gregory's letter, 176.
 — — Canterbury temple occupied by, 177.

- Augustonemeton (shrine of Augustus), 159.
- Aurignac, Crô-Magnon cave-tomb of, 20, 22.
- Aurignacian, African source of culture called, 27, 35.
- custom of smearing bodies with red earth, 27.
- animism and goddess worship, 178.
- influence in Britain, 19, 216.
- burial customs, 45.
- cave hand-prints, 47.
- "Combe-Capelle" man, 25.
- Brûx and Brûnn race, 26.
- Crô-Magnons and, 14.
- culture of Crô-Magnon grotto, 23, 24.
- heart as seat of life, 32.
- green stone symbolism, 33.
- Indian Ocean shell at Grimaldi, 36.
- Magdalenians and, 52.
- the Mother-goddess, 42, 178.
- Egyptian milk and shells link, 43.
- "Tama" belief, 44.
- origin of term, 22.
- pre-Agricultural, 213.
- Proto-Solutrean influence on, 49.
- no trace of, in Hungary, 50.
- Aurignacian Age, 13.
- Aurignacian implements (*ill.*), 21.
- Australian natives, Neanderthal man and, 9.
- Avalon (Apple land), the Celtic Paradise, 144.
- Avebury, megaliths of, 82.
- — burial customs, 171.
- Axe, Chellean (*ill.*), 14.
- double, as "god-body", 50.
- Glasgow and Spanish green-stone axes, 97.
- as religious object, 77.
- Axes, Neolithic, distribution of population and, 82, 84.
- Neolithic, mathematical skill in manufacture of, 4.
- Aynia, Irish fairy queen, 201.
- Azilian culture, 62.
- — artifacts, 13.
- — English Channel land-bridge crossed by carriers of, 58, 67, 69.
- Azilian culture, Iberian carriers of, 216.
- — pre-Agricultural, 213.
- — rock paintings, 55.
- — customs of, revealed in art, 55.
- — script used, 56.
- — in Scotland and England, 58, 60.
- boats, 75.
- Azilians in Britain, 70, 125.
- Babylonia, goddess of, in Neolithic Spain, 96.
- influence of, in Asia Minor and Syria, 95.
- influence of culture of, 212.
- influence of, in Britain, 218.
- knowledge of European metal-fields in, 99.
- religious ideas of, in Britain, 154.
- Baptism, milk and honey used in, 152.
- Barley, cultivation of, 5.
- the Egyptian, reaches Britain, 84, 85.
- Basket-making, relation of, to pottery and knitting, 6.
- Beads, as "adder stones" and "Druid's gems", 163.
- Egyptian blue beads in England, 104, 105 (*ill.*), 106.
- Egyptian, in Britain, 211.
- Bede, on jet symbolism, 164.
- Bee, connection of, with Artemis and fig tree, 193.
- as soul form in legends, 193.
- Bees, connection of, with maggot soul form, 102.
- "Telling the bees" custom, 103, 193.
- Belatucadros, a Gaulish Mars, 207.
- Belgæ, The, in Britain, 128.
- Belisama, goddess of Mersey, 206.
- Beltain festival, fires at, 191.
- Berries, fire in, 181.
- life substance in, 206.
- "the luck", 180.
- salmon and red, 183.
- Berry charms, 47.
- Birds, butterfly as "bird of god", 191.
- Celtic deities as, 195.

- Birds, language of, Druids and wren, 145.
 — language of, in India, 151.
 — language of, St. Columba and, 146.
 — oyster catcher and wood linnet as birds of goddess Bride, 187.
 — swan form of soul, 190.
 — taboo in Ancient Britain, 201.
 — taboo in Highlands, 201.
 — tom-tit, robin, wren, and apple cults, 204.
 — wren as king of, 186.
 Black Annis, Irish Anu (Danu) and, 198.
 — — Leicestershire hag-deity, 195, 196.
 Black Demeter, 196.
 Black goddesses, Greek and Scottish, 164.
 Black Kali, Indian goddess, 196.
 Black Pig, Devil as, 200.
 Black Sow, Devil as, 200.
 Blood Covenant, 152.
 Boadicea, 162, 227.
 — (Boudicca), Queen, 114.
 — Iceni tribe of, 128.
 Boann, the goddess, 202.
 Boar, Adonis and Diarmid slain by, 197.
 — in Orkney, 129.
 — salmon and porpoise as, 182.
 Boar god on British and Gaulish coins, 162.
 — — connection of, with amber, 161.
 — — the Gaulish, 197.
 — — Mars as, 197.
 — — The Inverness, 129, 155 (*ill.*).
 Boats, ancient migrations by sea, 92.
 — axe of Clyde boat, 77.
 — Himilco's references to skin-boats, 77.
 — sea-worthiness of skin-boats, 77.
 — how sea-sense was cultivated, 78.
 — Veneti vessels, 78.
 — Azilian-Tardenoisians and Maglemosians required, 69.
 — Britain reached by, before last land movement ceased, 72.
 — Perth dug-out, under carse clays, 72.
 Boats, Forth and Clyde dug-outs, 72.
 — dug-outs not the earliest, 72, 73.
 — Ancient Egyptian papyri and skin-boats, 73.
 — "seams" and "skins" of, 74.
 — Egyptian models in Europe and Asia, 74.
 — religious ceremonies at construction of dug-outs, 74.
 — Polynesian, dedicated to gods, 74.
 — earliest Egyptian, 74.
 — Britons and Veneti, 224.
 — Celtic pirates, 136.
 — earliest, in Britain, 218.
 — early builders of, 6.
 — Easterners exported ores by, from Western Europe, 99.
 — Egyptian barley carried by early seafarers to Britain, 84.
 — exports from early Britain, 104.
 — Glasgow discoveries of ancient, 75, 76.
 — cork plug in Glasgow boat, 75, 76.
 — invention of, 72.
 — oak god and skin boats, 153.
 — outrigger at Glasgow, 76.
 — ancient Clyde clinker-built boat, 76.
 — Aberdeenshire dug-out, 76.
 — Sussex, Kentish, and Dumfries finds of, 77.
 — Brigg boat, 77.
 — Pictish, 136.
 — pre-Roman British, 224.
 — similar types in Africa and Scandinavia (*ill.*), 75.
 — why early seafarers visited Britain, 80, 81.
 Bodies painted for religious reasons, 28.
 Boers, the mouse cure of, 187, and also note 2.
 Bone implements, 82.
 — — Magdalenians favoured, 52.
 Bonfires, at Pagan festivals, 181.
 Borvo, the Gaulish Apollo, 207.
 Bows and arrows, Azilians introduced, into Europe, 55.
 Boyne, River goddess of, 202.
 Boyne, The "white cow", 206.

- Bran, the god and saint, 202.
 Bride, The goddess, Bird of, and Page of, 187.
 — — dandelion as milk-yielding plant of, 187.
 — — serpent of, as "daughter of Ivor" and the "damsel", 187, 188. See *Brigit*.
 — — Saint, Goddess Bride and, 188.
 Bride's Day, 187.
 Bride wells, 188.
 Brigantes, blue shields of, 173.
 — — Brigit (Bride) goddess of, 187.
 — — territory occupied by, 188.
 — — in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 128, 188.
 Brigit, Dagda and, 202.
 — — as "fiery arrow", 188.
 — — the goddess (also Bride), Brigantes and, 187.
 — — three forms of, 188, 195.
 — — as hag or girl, 195.
 Britain, Stone Age man in, 1.
 — — early races in, 16.
 — — date of last land movement in, 18.
 Briton, "cloth clad", 119.
 Britons, the, Cruithne of Ireland were, 131, 132.
 — — chief people in ancient England, Ireland, and Scotland, 132.
 Brittany, Easterners in, 100.
 Bronze, Celts and, 106.
 — — Gaelic gods connected with, 102.
 — — knowledge of, introduced into Britain by traders, 101.
 — — British, same as Continental, 101.
 — — Spanish Easterners displaced by carriers of, 221.
 Bronze Age, The Archæological, British "broad-heads" and Irish "long-heads" as bronze users, 87.
 — — French forms in Britain and Spanish in Ireland, 88.
 — — conquest theory, 88.
 — — prospectors discovered metals in Britain, 89.
 — — how metals were located, 89.
 — — bronze carriers reached Spain from Central Europe, 96.
 — — carriers of bronze earliest settlers in Buchan, Aberdeenshire, 111.
 Bronze Age, Celtic horse-tamers as bronze carriers, 111.
 — — carriers expel Easterners from Spain, 100, 101.
 — — Druidism and, 149.
 — — Egyptian relics of, 104.
 — — relics of (*ill.*), 113.
 Bronze industry, fibulæ and clothing, 119.
 Brunn and Brûx races, 50.
 — — skull caps, 25, 26.
Brut, *The*, reference in, to Apollo's temple, 177.
 Bull, rivers and, 206.
 Bulls, The Sacred, 155 (*ill.*).
 — — sacrifice of, in Ross-shire in seventeenth century, 148.
 Burial Customs, Avebury evidence regarding, 171.
 — — body painting, 27.
 — — Seven Sleepers myth, 29.
 — — British Pagan survivals, 17.
 — — Crô-Magnon Aurignacian, in Wales, 19.
 — — doctrine of Cardinal Points and, 168, 170.
 — — Egyptian pre-dynastic customs, 170.
 — — food for the dead, 158.
 — — urns in graves, 158.
 — — green stones in mouths of Crô-Magnon dead, 33.
 — — Egyptian and American use of green stones, 33, 34.
 — — long-barrow folk in England, 82.
 — — milk offerings to dead, 148.
 — — in Neolithic Britain, 86.
 — — Palæolithic, 158.
 — — "Round Barrow" folk, 87.
 — — Shakespeare's reference to Pagan, 45.
 — — Crô-Magnon rites, 45.
 — — shell and other ornaments, 36.
 — — short-barrow and cremation intruders, 104.
 — — solar aspect of ancient British, 170.
 — — Welsh ideas about destiny of soul, 144.
 — — why dead were cremated, 109, 110, 111.

- Butterfly, connection of, with jade and soul in China, 193.
- connection with plum tree in China and honeysuckle in Scotland, 193.
 - as fire god in Gaelic, 191.
 - Gaelic names of, 191.
 - goddess Freyja and, 192.
 - Psyche as, 192.
 - as Italian soul form, 192.
 - Serbian witches and, 192.
 - Burmese soul as, 193.
 - Mexican soul and fire god as, 194.
- Byzantine Empire, The, Chinese lore from, 160.
- Cailleach, The, 174, 197. See *Artemis*.
- Caithness, the "cat" country, 130.
- Caledonians, The, 129.
- Celtic tribal name of, 112.
 - personal names of, 112.
 - clothing of, 119.
 - the Picts and, 130.
 - Romans and, 224.
 - Tacitus's theory regarding, 137.
- Calendar, the Gaelic, 198.
- Calgacus, 112.
- Callernish stone circle, 94.
- Calton (hazel grove), 150.
- Camulos, god of Colchester, 207.
- Canoes. See *Boats*.
- Canterbury Pagan temple, St. Augustine used, 177.
- Canton, the, Kent tribe, 128.
- Cardinal Points, doctrine of, 145, 168.
- — south as road to heaven, 145, and also note 1.
 - — Gaelic colours of, 168.
 - — goddesses and gods come from their own, 173.
 - — giants of north and fairies of west, 173.
 - — in modern burial customs, 171.
 - — "sunwise" and "wither-shins", 172, and also note 1.
- Carnonac: Carini, the, 129.
- Carthage, Britain and, 229.
- British and Spanish connection with, 107.
 - megalithic monuments and, 149.
- Carthage, trade of, with Britain, 114.
- Cassiterides, The, 98.
- Carthagenians' trade with, 114.
 - Pytheas and, 115.
 - Crassus visits, 116.
 - exports and imports of, 104.
 - Estrymnides of Himilco and, 116.
 - the Hebrides and, 117.
- Cat, the Big, 196.
- as goddess, 154.
 - pear tree and, 196.
- Cat-Anna, Leicestershire hag-goddess, 195.
- Cat goddess of Egypt, 196.
- Cat stone, 196.
- Cats, the, peoples of Shetland, Caithness, and Sutherland as, 129, 130.
- witches as, 196.
- Caturix, the Gaulish god, 207.
- Catuvellauni, The, in England, 128.
- Cauldron. See *Pot*.
- Cauldron, the Celtic, 90, 91.
- — Welsh goddess of, 204.
 - of Dagda, 202.
 - Holy Grail and, 205.
 - myth of, 205.
- Celts, Achæans and, 111.
- as carriers of La Tène culture, 112.
 - confederacies formed by, 112.
 - as conquerors of earlier settlers in Britain and Ireland, 107.
 - as military aristocrats in Britain, 107.
 - conquests of, 111.
 - Etruscans overcome by, 112.
 - Sack of Rome, 112.
 - Danube valley and Rhone valley trade routes controlled by, 114.
 - as pig rearers and pork curers, 114, 223.
 - destiny of soul, 144. See *Soul*.
 - displacement theory regarding, 137.
 - earlier fair folks in Britain, 125.
 - ethnics of, 112.
 - the fair in Britain and Ireland, 227.
 - fair queens of, 112.
 - gold and silver offered to deities by, 80.

- Celts, Maglemosians and, 138.
- origin of, obscure, 222.
- as Fair Northerners, 222.
- Pictish problem, 130. See *Picts*.
- as pirates, 136.
- references to clothing of, 119.
- British breeches, 119.
- settlement of, in Asia Minor, 112.
- Tacitus on the Caledonians, &c., 137.
- Teutons and, 125.
- Iberians and, 125.
- Teutons did not exterminate, in England, 227.
- early Christian influence of, 228.
- theory of extermination of, in Britain, 122.
- as traders in Britain, 107.
- and transmigration of souls, 143.
- tribes of, in ancient Britain, 128.
- tribal rivalries of, in Britain, 119.
- westward movement of, 214.
- Celtic art, Ægean affinities, 118, 119.
- cauldron, 205, 206.
- gods, connection of, with metals, 102.
- Cenn Cruach, Irish god, 102, 103.
- Cereals, 5.
- Cerones, Creones, the, 129.
- Chancelade Man, 53.
- Chariots, in pre-Roman Britain, 119.
- Charms, hand-prints, horse-shoes, and berries as, 47.
- herbs and berries as, 167.
- lore of, 157 *et seq.* See *Shells, Necklaces, Pearls*.
- otter skin charm, 189.
- Chellean culture, 13.
- — artifacts of, 13, 14.
- *Coup de Poing* (ill.), 14.
- Children sacrificed, 174.
- China, butterfly soul of, 193.
- Chinese dragon, Scottish Bride serpent and, 188, 189.
- Churchyards, Pagan survivals, 171.
- Cocidius, a Gaulish Mars, 207.
- Cockle-shell elixir, in Japan and Scotland, 40, 41.
- — in Crete, 41.
- Coinage, ancient British, 223.
- Colour symbolism, black and white goddesses, 164.
- — blue artificial shells, 173.
- — blue shields of Brigantes, 173.
- — blue as female colour, 173.
- — blue as fishermen's mourning colour, 173.
- — blue stone raises wind, 172.
- — body paint used by Neolithic industry peoples, 82.
- — Celtic root *glas* as colour term, and in amber, &c., 162, 163.
- — coloured pearls favoured, 168.
- — coloured races and coloured ages, 121, 124.
- — coloured stones as amulets, 80.
- — Dragon's Eggs, 173.
- — enamel colours, 165.
- — four colours of Aurignacian hand impressions in caves, 47.
- — Gaelic colours of seasons, 169.
- — Gaelic colours of winds and of Cardinal Points, 168.
- — green stones used by Crê-Magnon, Ancient Egyptian, and pre - Columbian American peoples, 33, 34.
- — how prospectors located metals by rock colours, 89.
- — Irish rank colours, 173, and also note 1.
- — jade tongue amulets in China, 34.
- — luck objects, 165.
- — lucky and unlucky colours, 157.
- — painted vases in Neolithic Spain, 96.
- — painting of god, 174.
- — red berries as " fire berries ", 181.
- — red berries, 31.
- — Greek gods painted red, 31.
- — Indian megaliths painted, 32.
- — Chinese evidence, 32.
- — red earth devoured, 32.
- — *Ruadh* (red) means " strong " in Gaelic, 32.

- Colour symbolism, red and blue
 supernaturals in Wales, 158.
 — — red body paint in Welsh
 Aurignacian cave burial, 20.
 — — red earth and blood, 167.
 — — herbs and berries, 167.
 — — red jasper as blood of god-
 dess, 45.
 — — red stone in Aurignacian cave
 tomb, 46.
 — — shells coloured, in Mentone
 cave, 46.
 — — Red symbolism, 31.
 — — red blood and red fire, 31, 32.
 — — blood as food of the dead, 32.
 — — red souls in "Red Land",
 32.
 — — red woman as goddess, 45.
 — — scarlet-yielding insect, 152.
 — — sex colours, 170.
 — — significance of wind colours,
 174.
 — — Solutrean flint-offerings col-
 oured red, 50.
 — — white serpent, 188.
 — — why Crô-Magnon bodies
 were smeared with red earth, 27.
 — — Woad dye, 163.
 Columba, Saint, Christ as his
 Druid, 146.
 "Combe-Capelle" man, 25, 26,
 36.
 — — shells worn by, 46.
 Conchobar, dog god and, 66.
 Copper, axe of, in Scotland, 219.
 — in Britain, 91.
 — difficult to find and work in
 Britain, 95.
 — Easterners worked, in Spain, 97,
 98.
 — as variety of gold, 80.
 — offered to water deity, 174.
 Coral, enamel and, 162.
 — as "life-giver" (*margan*), 161.
 — as "life substance", 80.
 — Megalithic people searched for,
 93.
 — symbolism of, 221.
 — use of, in Britain, 164, 165.
 — enamel as substitute for, 165.
 Cormorants, Celtic deities as, 195.
 Cornavii, The, in England and Scot-
 land, 129.
 Cornwall, Damnonians in, 89.
 Cow, The Sacred, in Britain and
 Ireland, 152, 154, 195, 206.
 — connected with River Boyne,
 206.
 — Damōna, Celtic goddess of
 cattle, 208.
 — Indian, and milk-yielding trees,
 151.
 — Morrigan as, 195.
 — The Primeval, in Egypt, 149.
 — white, sacred in Ireland, 152.
 Cranes, Celtic deities as, 195.
 Cremation, in Britain, 127.
 — significance of, 109.
 Cresswell caves, Magdalenian art
 in, 53.
 Cromarty, night-shining gem of,
 160.
 Crom Cruach, Irish god, 102; chil-
 dren sacrificed to, 174.
 — — as maggot god, 102.
 Crô-Magnon, animism, 178.
 Crô-Magnon Grotto, discovery of,
 23.
 — — skeletons in, 23.
 Crô-Magnon Races, advent of, in
 Europe, 12.
 — — ancestors of "modern man",
 10, 11.
 — — archæological horizon of, 9.
 — — Aurignacian culture of the,
 14.
 — — Brûx and Brûnn types dif-
 ferent from, 26.
 — — burial customs of, 45.
 — — cultural influence of, on
 Neanderthals, 14.
 — — discovery of Crô-Magnon
 grotto skeletons, 23.
 — — first discovery of traces of,
 in France, 20.
 — — history of modern man be-
 gins with, 26.
 — — as immigrants from Africa,
 35.
 — — Indian Ocean shell at Men-
 tone, 36, 37.
 — — inventive and inquiring
 minds of, 27.
 — — Magdalenian culture stage
 of, 53.
 — — domestication of horse, 53.
 — — modern representatives of,
 122.

- Crô-Magnon Races. Mother-goddess of, 42.
 — — "Tama" belief, 44.
 — — not in Hungary, 50.
 — — "Red Man" of Wales, 19.
 — — Red Sea shells imported by, 210.
 — — history of, 210.
 — — relations of, with Neanderthal man, 14.
 — — in Wales, 19.
 — — sea-shell necklace (*ill.*), 39.
 — — trade of, in shells, 40.
 — — tall types, 24.
 — — high cheek bones of, 25.
 — — tallest types in Riviera, 35, 36.
 Crô-Magnon skulls (*ill.*), 24.
 Crô-Magnons, Azilian intruders and, 62.
 — heart as seat of life, among, 32.
 — in Britain, 67, 125, 216.
 — English Channel land-bridge crossed by, 67.
 — hand-prints and mutilation of fingers, 47.
 — modern Scots and, 137.
 — Selgovæ and, 139.
 Crow, and goddess of grove and sky, 160.
 Crows, Celtic deities as, 195.
 Cruithne, in Ireland, 224.
 — the Irish, not Picts, 132.
 — the Q-Celtic name of Britons, 132.
 Cuchullin, and Scotland, 224.
 — dog god and, 64.
 — goddess Morrigan and, 195.
 — his knowledge of astronomy, 175, and also note 1.
 — pearls in hair of, 163.
 Dagda, the god, 202.
 — connection with oak and fire, 202.
 — cauldron of, 202.
 — Thor and, 202.
 — a giant-slayer, 202.
 Damnonians. See *Dumnonii*.
 — an early Celtic "wave", 107.
 — Fomorians as gods of, 198.
 settlements of, in metal-yielding areas, 89.
 Damona, Celtic goddess of cattle, 208.
 Danann deities, 201.
 — — not in Scotland, 199.
 — — talismans of, 205.
 — — Japanese talismans, 205.
 — — war against Fomorians, 198.
 — — Welsh "Children of Don" and, 203.
 Dandelion, as milk-yielding plant of goddess Bride, 187.
 Danes, in Britain, 126.
 Dante, moon called "eternal pearl" by, 159.
 Danu, the goddess, 198.
 Danube valley trade route, 114.
 Danubian culture in Central Europe, 96.
 — — Celts as carriers of, 111, 112.
 Decantæ, The, 129.
 Deer, as goddess, 154.
 Demetæ, The, in Wales, 129.
 Demeter, The black, 196.
 Demons, dogs as enemies of, 65.
 Derbyshire, Magdalenian art in, 53.
 Deva, Devona, Dee, Rivers, 206.
 Devil as "Big Black Pig" in Scotland, 200.
 — as Black Sow in Wales, 200.
 — as pig, goat, and horse, 191.
 Devon, Damnonians in, 89.
 — Magdalenian art in, 54.
 Diamond, The night-shining, 160.
 Diana of the Ephesians, fig tree and, 193.
 Diancecht, Irish god of healing, 202.
 Diarmid, Gaelic Adonis, 197.
 Diodorus Siculus, on gold mining, 90.
 — — reference to British temple to Apollo, 177.
 Disease, deity who sends also withdraws, 179.
 — ancient man suffered from, 2.
 — "Yellow Plague", 2.
 Dog, The Big, god Indra as, 196.
 — The Sacred, 154, 155 (*ill.*).
 — taboo to Cuchullin, 154, and also note 3. See *Dogs*.
 Dogger Bank, ancient plateau, 68.
 — — animal bones, &c., from, 57, 61.
 — — Island, 69.
 Dog gods, 64.

- Dogs, children transformed into, 190.
 — domesticated by Maglemosians, 57, 63.
 — religious beliefs regarding, 63.
 — early man's dependence on, 65.
 — in ancient Britain and Ireland, 66.
 — in warfare, 66.
 — exported from Britain in first century A.D., 114.
 Dog Star, The, 64.
 Dolmen, The. See *Megalithic monuments*.
 Domnu, tribal goddess of Damnonians, 90.
 Don, the Children of, 203.
 Doves, Celtic deities as, 195.
 Dragon, Bride's Scottish serpent charm and Chinese charm, 188.
 — Hebridean, 190.
 — Irish, and the salmon, 182.
 — otter and, 189.
 — on sculptured stone, 155 (*ill.*).
 — luck pearls of, 184.
 — stones as eggs of, 173.
 Dragon-mouth Lake, The Irish, 183.
 Dragon Slayers, the, Druids and, 145.
 Druid Circle, the Inverness, 220.
 Druidism, 140.
 — belief in British origin of, 142.
 — doctrines absorbed by, 222.
 — eastern origin of, 149.
 — in ancient Spain, 149.
 — Pliny on Persian religion and, 143, and also note 1.
 — oak cult, 145.
 — tree cults and, 141.
 Druids, in Anglesea, 103.
 — human sacrifices of, 103.
 — "Christ is my Druid", 146.
 — the collar of truth, 146.
 — connection of, with megalithic monuments, 103, 154.
 — and oak, 141.
 — classical references to, 141.
 — "Druid's gem", 163.
 — evidence of, regarding races in Gaul, 100.
 — Tacitus on Anglesea Druids, 147.
 — temples of, 177.
 — "True Thomas" (the Rhymer) as "Druid Thomas", 146.
 — sacred salmon and, 182.
 Druids, salmon and dragon myth, 182.
 — star lore of, 175.
 — Kentigern of Glasgow as Christian Druid, 185.
 — wren connection, 145.
 — soothsayers, 145, 146.
 Dug-out canoes, origin of, 72. See *Boats*.
 Dumnogeni, The, in Yarrow inscription, 89.
 Dumnonii, 128. See *Damnonians*.
 — Fomorians as gods of, 198.
 — Silures and, 129.
 Dunatis, Gaulish Mars, 207.
 Durotriges, in Britain and Ireland, 128.
 Dwyn, St., formerly a goddess, 204.
 Dwywnwen, British Venus, 204.
 Eagle, the Sacred, 155 (*ill.*).
 — wren and, in myth, 186.
 Ear-rings, as solar symbols, 165.
 East, The, "Evil never came from", 168. See *Cardinal Points*.
 Easterners, colonies of, in Spain and Portugal, 95, 100, 211, 218, 229.
 — descendants of, in Britain, 118.
 — displacement of, in Spain, 100, 221.
 — Druidism introduced into Europe by, 149.
 — as exploiters of Western Europe, 98.
 — settlements of, in France and Etruria, 100.
 — in Hebrides, 139.
 — influence of, in Britain and Ireland, 221.
 — iron industry and, 107.
 — not all of one race, 107.
 — Neolithic industry of, 214.
 — in touch with Britain at 1400 B.C., 106.
 — in Western Europe, 218, 229.
 Eel, Morrigan as, 195.
 Eels, as "devil fish" in Scotland, 190.
 — tabooed in Scotland, 199.
 Eggs, Dragons', stones as, 173.

- Egypt, alabaster flasks, &c., from, in Neolithic Spain, 96.
- artificial shells in, 41, 173.
 - barley of, carried to Europe, 84.
 - black and white goddesses of, 164.
 - blue beads from, in England, 104, 105 (*ill.*), 106, 211.
 - Cat goddess of, 196.
 - culture of, transferred with barley seeds, 212.
 - "Deathless snake" of, and Scottish serpent, 188.
 - dog-headed god of, 64.
 - earliest sailing ship in, 74.
 - earliest use of gold in, 80.
 - malachite charms in, 80.
 - flint sickles of, 4.
 - furnaces and crucibles of, in Western Europe, 101.
 - Hathor and Aphrodite, 38.
 - shell amulets in early graves in, 39.
 - Isis as "Old Wife", 181, and also note 2.
 - gods in weapons, 51.
 - gold in, 90, 93.
 - gold diadem from, in Spanish Neolithic tomb, 98.
 - gold models of shells in, 41.
 - green stone symbolism, 33.
 - Hathor as milk goddess, 149.
 - history of agriculture in, 210.
 - ideas regarding soul in, 103.
 - influence of, in Asia Minor and Europe, 95.
 - influence of, in Britain, 218.
 - invention of boats in, 72.
 - ivory from, found in Spain, 96.
 - Ka and serpent, 189.
 - milk elixir in Pyramid Texts, 43.
 - milk goddess of, in Scotland, 221.
 - Mother Pot of, and Celtic cauldron, 206.
 - Osirian Underworld Paradise, 143.
 - pork taboo in, 201.
 - annual sacrifice of pigs in Scotland and, 201.
 - Post-Glacial forests of, 15.
 - pre-dynastic burial customs, 170.
 - sex colours in, 170.
- Egypt, proto-Egyptians and British Iberians, 126.
- red jasper as "Blood of Isis", 45.
 - "Red Souls" in "Red Land", 32.
 - why gods of, were painted, 32.
 - religious ideas of, in Britain, 154, 201, 206, 218, 221.
 - stones, pearls, metals, &c., and deities of, 80.
 - symbols of, in Celtic art, 118.
 - transmigration of souls, 143.
- Elk, on Dogger Bank, 57, 68.
- Elm, 221.
- Enamel, 224.
- British, the finest, 225.
 - coral and, 162.
 - as substitute for coral, 165.
 - turquoise, lapis lazuli, white amber and, 165.
- Enamels, colours of the British, 226.
- Eoliths, 13, 26.
- Epidii, The, 129.
- Epōna, Celtic goddess of horses, 208.
- Eskimo, the Chancelade skull, 53.
- Magdalenian art of, 53.
- Etruscans, 149.
- Celts as conquerors of, 112.
 - civilization of, origin of, 100.
- European metal-yielding areas, 99.
- Evil Eye, The, shells as protection against, 39.
- Fairies, associated with the west, 173.
- dogs as enemies of, 65.
 - on eddies of western wind, 173.
 - Greek nereids and, 173.
 - Fomorians (giants) at war with, 198.
 - goddess as "fairy woman", 207.
 - shell boat of, 207.
 - Irish "queens" of, 201.
 - as milkers of deer, 154.
 - as "the mothers" in Wales, 206.
 - Picts and, 131, and also note 1.
 - Scottish "Nimble Men" and "Blue Men", 208.

- Fairies, as supernatural beings, 201,
and also note 2.
- Fairy dogs, 64.
- Fairyland, as Paradise, 144.
- Thomas the Rhymer in Paradise
of, 146.
- Fata Morgana, 161.
- Fauna, Post-Glacial, in Southern
and Western Europe, 14.
- Festus Avienus, 116.
- Figs, hazel-nuts and, 151.
- Fig milk, 149.
- trees, bees and wasps fertilize,
193.
- tree, Diana of the Ephesians and,
193.
- Finger charms, 47.
- Finger - mutilation, Aurignacian
custom, 47.
- Australian, Red Indian, and
Scottish customs, 47.
- Fir, The Sacred, 179.
- Fir-bolgs, The, 188.
- as miners, 90, and also note 1.
- as slaves, 90.
- Celts as subduers of, 107.
- subject peoples called, 223.
- Fir-domnan, 90, and also note 1.
- Fir-domnann, 118.
- Fomorians as gods of, 198. See
Damnonians and *Dumnonii*.
- Fire, Beltain need fires, 191.
- Brigit and, 188.
- butterfly as god of, in Gaelic,
191.
- God Dagda and, 202.
- goddess and, 163.
- Mexican god of, as butterfly,
193.
- pool fish and, 182.
- salmon and, 183.
- Scottish goddess of, 181.
- in red berries, 181.
- in St. Mungo myth, 186.
- from trees, 180.
- lightning and, 181.
- worshipped in ancient Britain,
147.
- Fire-sticks, The, 180.
- "Fire water" as "water of life",
181.
- Fish taboo, 201.
- Flax, Stone Age people cultivated,
5.
- Flint, as god, 51.
- Flints, in Aurignacian cave-tomb,
45.
- as offerings to deity, 50.
- Flint deposits, English, 81.
- — early peoples settled beside,
81.
- — river-drift man in England
near, 81.
- Flint industry, Tardenoisian micro-
liths used by Maglemosians, 57.
- working, ancient English flint
factories, 82.
- — Aurignacian, 13, 14. See
Palæolithic.
- — Aurignacian, Solutrean, and
Magdalenian implements (*ill.*),
21.
- — Chellean *coup de poing* (*ill.*),
14.
- — "Combe - Capelle" man's,
25.
- — early English trade in worked
flints, 81.
- — eastern influence in Neo-
lithic industry, 214.
- — Egyptian origin of Spanish
Neolithic industry, 97.
- — the evolution theory, 99.
- — Hugh Miller's and Andrew
Lang's theories regarding, 11.
- — Neanderthal and pre-Nean-
derthal, 12.
- — Neolithic saws or sickles, 4.
- — Palæolithic and Neolithic,
212.
- — Tardenoisian microliths or
"pygmy flints", 54, 55 (*ill.*).
- — proto-Solutrean and "true"
Solutrean, 49.
- Flint-god, the Solutrean, 51.
- Zeus and Thor as, 51.
- Foam, as milk, 151.
- Fomorians, duels of, in Scotland,
199.
- as gods of Dumnonii, 198.
- Neit as war god, 202.
- Nemon as goddess of, 202.
- war of, with fairies, 198, 199.
- Fowl taboo in ancient Britain, 201.
- Freyja, Scandinavian Venus, 161.
- pearls, amber, &c., as tears of,
161.
- Furfooz man, 56.

- Gaelic Calendar, 198.
 Galatia, Celts in, 112.
 Galley Hill man, 26.
 Gaul, Celts of, in Roman army, 127.
 — early inhabitants of, 100.
 — refugees from sea-invaded areas in, 70.
 Gaulish gods, 207.
 Gems, "Druid's gem", 163.
 — night-shining, 160.
 — as soul-bodies, 44.
 Geological Ages, breaking of North Sea and English Channel land-bridges, 69.
 — — confusion regarding, in modern art, 1.
 — — date of last land movement, 100.
 — — megalithic monuments submerged, 100.
 — — early boats and, 72.
 — — England in Magdalenian times, 54.
 — — sixth glaciation and race movements, 54.
 — — England sinking when Scotland was rising, 71.
 — — last land movement, 70, 100.
 — — horizon of Crô-Magnon races, 26.
 — — Pleistocene fauna in Europe, 14.
 — — Archæological Ages and, 14.
 — — Post-Glacial and the early Archæological, 13, 14, 15.
 — — theories of durations of, 16, 17, 18.
 Giants, associated with the north, 173.
 — (Fomorians) as gods, 198.
 — war of, with fairies, 198.
 — Scottish, named after heroes, 131, and also note 1.
Glas, as "water", "amber", &c., 162, 163.
 Glasgow, seal of city of, 185.
 Glass, connection of, with goddess, 163.
 — imported into Britain in first century A.D., 114.
 Goat, Devil as, 191.
 God, in stone, 173.
 God-cult, Solutreans and, 51.
 God-cult, stone as god, 51, 173.
 Goddess, Anu (Danu), 198, 201.
 — — as "fairy queen" in Ireland, 201, 202.
 — bird forms of, 195.
 — Black Annis, 195.
 — Black Aphrodite, 164.
 — Black goddess of Scotland, 164.
 — The Blue, 173.
 — Bride (Brigit) and her serpent, 187.
 — Brigit as goddess of healing, smith-work, and poetry, 188.
 — cat forms of, 196.
 — connection of, with amber and swine deities, 161.
 — connection of, with glass, 163.
 — connection of, with grove, sky, pearl, &c., in Celtic religion, 158-60, 162, 179, 206.
 — animals and plants of, 162.
 — cult animals of, 154, 161, 162, 195, 196, 200.
 — eel and, 200.
 — eel, wolf, &c., forms of, 195.
 — Egyptian milk goddess, 149.
 — Indian milk goddess, 151.
 — Gaulish goddess Ro-smerta, 174.
 — influences of, 179.
 — groups of "mothers", 206.
 — Hebridean "maiden queen", 221.
 — honeysuckle as milk-yielding plant, 193.
 — bee and, 193.
 — luck and, 167.
 — Morrigan comes from north-west, 173.
 — wind goddess from south-west, 173.
 — Scottish Artemis, 174, 196.
 — The Mother, Aurignacians favoured, 51.
 — — connection of, with law and trade, 166.
 — — Crô-Magnon form of, 42, 51.
 — — jasper as blood of, 45.
 — — her life-giving shells, 40.
 — — shell-milk Highland myth, 42.
 — The mother-pot, 205.
 — rivers and, 206.
 — Oriental, in Spain, 220.

Goddess, pearl, &c., offerings to, 174.

- precious stones of, 221.
- Scottish hag goddess, 174, 196.
- Indian Kali, 196.
- shell and milk Hebridean goddess, 153.

Gods, animal forms of, 196.

- Danann deities, 198.
- deity who sends diseases with-draws them, 179.
- influences of, 179.
- Gaelic references to, 140, 179.
- Hazel god, 140, 150.
- Gaelic fire god, 140.
- "King of the Elements", 179.
- Romano-Gaulish, 207.

Goibniu, Irish god and the Welsh Govannan, 203.

Gold, amber and, 165.

- coins of, in pre-Roman Britain, 223.
- deposits of, in Britain and Ire-land, 79, 84, 89, 91, 95, 114, 219, 220.
- mixed with silver in Sutherland, 91.
- earliest use of, in Egypt, 80.
- copper used like, 80.
- Egyptian diadem of, found in Neolithic Spain, 98.
- in England (map), 83.
- exported from Britain in first century A.D., 114.
- finds of, in Scotland, 220.
- first metal worked, 84.
- as a "form of the gods", 80.
- as "fire, light, and immorta-lity", 80.
- as "life giver", 80.
- Gaelic god and, 102.
- Gauls offered, to water deity, 174.
- how miners worked, 90.
- "World Mill" myth, 90.
- ingot of, from salmon, 184.
- luck of, 166.
- no trace of where worked out, 93.
- not valued by hunting peoples in Europe, 99.
- offered to deities by Celts, 80.
- psychological motive for searches for, 94.

Gold, knowledge and skill of searchers for, in Britain, 95.

- ring in St. Mungo legend, 185.
- rod of, at Inverness stone circle, 220.
- in salmon myths, 183.
- Scottish deposits of, 89.
- search for, in Britain, 214, 217.
- shells imitated in, 41, 80.
- trade in, 219.
- as tree, 221.

Goodwin Sands, 69.

Goose, taboo in ancient Britain, 201.

Govannan. See *Goibniu*.

Grail, The Holy, 205.

Grannos, Gaulish Apollo, 207.

Gregory the Great, letter from, to Mellitus, 176.

Grimaldi, Indian Ocean shell in Aurignacian cave at, 36.

Grove, The sacred, Celtic names of, 159.

— Latin "nemus", 159.

Gwydion, the god, Odin and, 204.

Hades, dog and, 64.

Hallowe'en, pig associated with, 200.

Hallstatt culture, Celts influenced by, 112.

Hand-prints, in Aurignacian caves, 47.

— four colours used, 47.

— dwellings protected by, in India and Spain, 47.

— Arabian, Turkish, &c., customs, 47.

Hare, taboo in ancient Britain, 201

Harpoon, 62.

— Victoria cave, late Magdalenian or proto-Azilian, 58.

— finds of, in England and Scot-land, 58.

— Azilians imitated Magdalenian reindeer horn in red deer horn, 56.

— Magdalenians introduced, 52.

Hazel, nut of, as fruit of longevity, 144.

— as god, 150, 179.

— in early Christian legends, 150.

— as milk-yielding tree, 150.

- Hazel, as sacred tree, 150.
 — nuts of, as food, 151.
 — palm tree and, 221.
 — The Sacred, 150, 179.
 — connection of, with sky, wells, &c., 179.
 — snakes and, 189.
 — in St. Mungo (St. Kentigern) myth, 186.
 — sacred fire from, 186.
 — Groves, Sacred, "Caltons" were, 150.
 Heart, as seat of life, 154.
 — as seat of life to Crô-Magnons and Ancient Egyptians, 32.
 Heaven as South, 170.
 Hebrides, dark folks in, 138.
 — descendants of Easterners in, 118.
 — "Maiden Queen" of, 221.
 — reroofing custom in, 178.
 — Sea god of, 193.
 — traces of metals in, 117.
 — as the Cestrymnides, 118.
 Heifer, milk of, in honeysuckle, 193.
 Hell, as North. See *Cardinal Points*.
 Herbs, ceremonial gathering of, 168.
 — life substance in, 206.
 — lore of, 167.
 — from tears of sun god, 181, and also note 3.
 — Silvanus, god of, 207.
 Hills, Gildas on worship of, 176, 178.
 Himilco, voyage of, 116.
 Homer, reference of, to cremation, 110.
 Honey, in baptisms, 152.
 — as life-substance, 193.
 — nut milk and, 150, and also note 1.
 — in "soma" and "mead", 151.
 Honeysuckle, butterfly and, 193.
 — honey and milk of, 193.
 Horn implements, 82.
 — Magdalenians favoured, 52.
 Horse, Demeter and, 196.
 — domesticated by Azilians, 55.
 — domesticated by Crô-Magnons, 53.
 — eaten in Scotland, 200.
 — Epōna, Celtic horse goddess, 208.
 Horse, The Sacred, 155 (*ill.*).
 — god, 129, and also note 2.
 Horse-shoe charms, 47.
 Hound's Pool, 64.
 Houses, Neolithic, 5.
 Human sacrifices, children as, 174.
 Iberians, Armenoids and, 127.
 — as carriers of Neolithic culture, 126.
 — Celts and, 125.
 — Silurians as, 137.
 Ice, connection of, with amber, &c., 163.
 Ice Age. See *Geological Ages*.
 Icen, The, of Essex, 128.
 — boar god of, 162.
 Idols, in ancient Britain, 147, 176.
 — Pope Gregory's reference to ancient English, 176.
 Indo-European theory, 124.
 Indo-Germanic theory, 124.
 Indra, dog and, 64.
 Ireland, as a British island, 132.
 Iron, exported from Britain in first century, A.D., 114.
 Iron Age, Celts in, 112.
 Iron industry, Easterners and, in Western Europe, 107.
 Island of Women, 178.
 Isles of the Blest, Gaelic, 143.
 Ivory, associated with bronze, jet, and Egyptian beads in England, 104.
 — in Crô-Magnon grotto, 23.
 — Egyptian, in Neolithic Spain, 96.
 — imported into Britain in first century A.D., 114.
 — in Welsh cave-tomb, 20.
 Jade, butterfly soul in, 193.
 Japan, the *shintai* (god body) and Gaelic "soul case", 173.
 — talismans of, and the Irish, 206.
 Jasper, symbolism of, 221.
 Jet, amber and, 164.
 — British and Roman beliefs regarding, 164.
 — as article of trade at 1400 B.C., 106.
 — associated in Stonehenge area with Egyptian blue beads, 104, 105 (*ill.*), 106.

Jet, early trade in, 219.
 — early working of, 82.
 — megalithic people searched for, 93.
 — pearls and amber and, 221.
 Jupiter, The Gaulish, 207.
 — Lapis, 51.
 Jutes, 126.
 — Celts and, 227.

 Kali, the Black, 196.
 Kentigern, St., as Druid, 185.
 — in salmon and ring legend, 184.
 Kent's Cavern, Magdalenian art in, 54.
 Kerridiwen, the goddess, cauldron of, 204.
 Knife of deity, 206.
 Knitting, Stone Age people and, 5.
 — relation to basket-making and pottery, 5.

 Lake, the Sacred, goddess and, 180.
 Lanarkshire, Damnonians in, 89.
 Land-bridges, breaking of North Sea and English Channel bridges, 69.
 — Dogger Bank, 57, 61, 67, 68.
 — English Channel, 17, 67.
 — Italian, 14, 35.
 Land movement, the last, 216.
 Language and race, 123, 124, 222.
 Language of birds. See *Birds*.
 La Tène culture, Celts as carriers of, to Britain, 112.
 Leicestershire, Black Annis, a hag deity of, 195.
 Lewis, Callernish stone circle, 94.
 Lightning, butterfly form of god of, 191.
 — as heavenly fire, 181.
 — and trees, 181.
 Lir, sea god, 202. See *Llŷr*.
 — sea god, "Shony" and, 194.
 Liver as seat of life in Gaelic, 154, 187.
 — cure from mouse's, 187.
 Lizard as soul-form, 189.
 Lleu, the god, 204.
 Llŷr, sea god, 202. See *Lir*.
 — the sea god, "Shony" and, 194.
 London, god's name in, 203.
 Love-enticing plants, 168.

Luck, belief in, 157.
 — berries and, 180.
 — fire as bringer of, 191.
 — lucky and unlucky days, 168.
 — pearls and, 166, 167.
 Lud, god of London, 203.
 — form of, 203.
 Lugh, Celtic god, associated with north-east, 173.
 — Gaelic Apollo, 202.
 Lugi, The, 129.

 Mæataë, The, Picts and Caledonians and, 130.
 Magdalenian culture, 13.
 — — Azilian and, 62.
 — — Eskimo art and, 53.
 — — in Britain, 53.
 — — origin of, 52.
 — — new implements, 52.
 — — traces of influence of, in Scotland, 60.
 — — Victoria cave reindeer harpoon, 58.
 — cave art revival and progress, 53.
 — implements, 21 (*ill.*).
 — pre-Agricultural, 213.
 Maggot god, early Christian myth of, 103.
 — — bees and, 103.
 — — Gaelic, 102.
 Magic wands, 146, 191.
 — — Etruscan, French and Scottish, 100.
 Maglemosian culture, 54, 56.
 — — art and, 57.
 — — Magdalenian influence on, 57.
 — — Siberian origin of, 57.
 — — artifacts and, 13.
 — — in Britain, 125.
 — — Northerners as carriers of, 217.
 — — pre-Agricultural, 213.
 Maglemosians, boats of, 76.
 — animals hunted, 57.
 — land-bridges crossed by, 57.
 — in France and Britain, 58.
 — in Britain, 70.
 — Celts and, 138.
 — Dogger Bank land-bridge crossed by, 57, 67.
 — dogs domesticated by, 63.
 — Tardenoisian microliths used by, 58.

- Malachite charms, 80.
- Mammoth, bones of, from Dogger Bank, 68.
- evidence (*ill.*) that heart was regarded as seat of life, 33.
- in Western Europe, 14. See *Fauna*.
- Man, the Red, of Wales, ornaments of, 80.
- Mars, the Gaulish, 207.
- Greek and Gaulish boar forms of, 197.
- Marsh plants, goddess and, 162.
- Mead, milk and honey in, 151.
- Meave, Queen, 112, 114, 227.
- Mediterranean race in North Africa and Britain, 126.
- Sea, divided by Italian land-bridge, 14.
- Megalithic culture, Egyptian influence in Britain, &c., 101.
- monuments, burial customs and, 170.
- — connection of, with ancient mine workings, &c., 92, 93.
- — connection of, with metal deposits, 82.
- — connection of, with sacred groves, 103.
- — cult animals on Scottish, 155 (*ill.*).
- — "cup-marked" stones, 148.
- — knocking stones, 148.
- — Gruagach stone, 148.
- — "cradle stone", 148.
- — child-getting stones, 148.
- — distributed along vast sea-board, 91.
- — searchers for metals, gems, &c., erected, 92.
- — distribution of, 82, 83 (*ill.*).
- — distribution of Scottish, 219.
- — Druids and, 103, 154.
- — Easterners and followers of, as builders of, 104, 149.
- — Egyptian Empire beads and Stonehenge circle, 104, 105 (*ill.*), 106.
- — Gaelic gods and, 102.
- — Gaelic metal symbolism and, 102.
- — Gaelic name of sacred shrine, 159.
- — Phœnicians and, 149.
- Megalithic monuments, their relation to exhausted deposits of metals, 94.
- — problem of Lewis and Orkney circles, 94.
- — Standing Stones as maidens 147.
- — Tacitus on Anglesea altars and Druids, 147.
- — Stonehenge as temple, 177.
- — Heathen temples and, 178.
- — stone circle as sun symbol, 170.
- — stones submerged in Brittany, 100.
- — Tree Cult and, 220.
- — worship of stones, 147, 179.
- — connection of, with trees and wells, 147.
- Mentone, Aurignacian Mother-goddess, 43.
- Indian Ocean shell in Aurignacian cave at, 36.
- Mersey, the, goddess of, 206.
- Mesopotamia, influence of, in Western Europe, 218.
- knowledge of European metal fields in, 99.
- Metals, eastern colonists worked, in Spain, 95.
- Egyptian furnaces and crucibles in Britain, 101.
- megalithic monuments and deposits of, 82.
- searchers for, in Britain, 89.
- searchers for; how prospectors located deposits of gold, &c., 89.
- traces of, in Scotland, 93.
- Metal symbolism, Gaelic gods and metals, 102. See *Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze*.
- Metal working, after introduction of bronze working, 106.
- Mictis, tin from, 116.
- Milk, baptisms of, 152.
- in the blood covenant, 152.
- children sacrificed for corn and milk, 174.
- cult animals of milk goddess, 154.
- dandelion as milk-yielding plant of goddess Bride, 187.
- in elixirs, 151.

- Milk, "soma" and "mead" and, 151.
 — elm as milk tree, 151.
 — foam as milk, 151.
 — goddess-cow gives healing milk, 195.
 — Hebridean milk goddess, 153, 221.
 — honeysuckle as milk-yielding plant, 193.
 — Indian evidence regarding "river milk" and milk-yielding trees, 151.
 — Irish milk lake, 152.
 — healing baths of, 152.
 — marsh mallows and, 152, and also note 1.
 — mistletoe berries as milk berries, 153.
 — Oblations of, in Ross-shire, 148.
 — offerings of, to dead, 148.
 — elixir, Highland shell-goddess myn, 42.
 — Egyptian evidence regarding, 43.
 — — prepared from shells in Japan and Scotland, 40.
 — goddess, Hathor as, 149.
 Milky Way, The, 154, 221.
 — — in ancient religion, 150.
 — — in Welsh and Gaelic, 203.
 Mind, heart as, 33.
 Mining, Egyptian methods in Western Europe, 102.
 Mistletoe, as "All Heal", 153, 167.
 — milk berries, 153.
 — trees on which it grows in Britain, 145, and also note 2.
 Modern man, 9. See *Crô-Magnon Races*.
 Mogounus, a Gaulish Apollo, 207.
 Moon, Aphrodite as goddess of, 159.
 — Dante refers to, as pearl, 159.
 — Gaels swore by, 148.
 — as "Pearl of Heaven", 159.
 — worship of, in ancient Britain, 147.
 Morgan le Fay, Arthur's pursuit of, 198.
 — — goddess Anu and, 198.
 — — as "life giver", 161.
 Morrigan, The (Irish goddess), Anu and, 198.
 Morrigan, associated with north-west, 173.
 — as the "life giver", 161.
 — forms of, 195.
 Mother goddess. See *Goddess*.
 Moths as soul forms, 192.
 Mouse, buried under apple tree, 196.
 — hunting of, in Scotland, 187.
 — mouse cures, 187.
 — Scottish supernatural, 187.
 — Apollo and, 179.
 — — mouse feasts, 187.
 — cures, Boers have, 187, and also note 2.
 — feasts in Scotland and the Troad, 187.
 Mousterian Age, 13.
 — — artifacts of, 14.
 — — Neanderthal races of, 14.
 Mungo, St., as Druid, 185, 186.
 — — salmon legend of, 184.
 Navigation. See *Boats*.
 Neanderthal man, Crô-Magnon influence on, 14.
 — — disappearance of, 15, 16, 122.
 — — European climates experienced by, 14.
 — — relations of, with Crô-Magnon races, 14.
 — — first discovery of bones of, 8, 9.
 — — skeleton of, found, 9.
 — — Australian natives and, 9.
 — — description of, 9, 10.
 — — flint working of, 12.
 — — Mousterian artifacts of, 14.
 — — Piltown man and, 26.
 Necklaces in Crô-Magnon grotto, 23.
 — Crô-Magnon sea shells, 39 (*ill.*).
 — Egyptian blue beads in British "Bronze Age" necklace, 104, 104, 105 (*ill.*), 106.
 — as gods, 44.
 — in graves, 158.
 — shell, in Welsh Aurignacian cave-tomb, 20.
 — why worn, 37.
 Need fires, 181.
 — — butterfly and, 191.
 Neit, god of battle, 202.

- Nem*, the root in *neamh* (heaven), *neamhnuid* (pearl), *nemeton* (shrine in a grove), *nemed* (chapel), *neimhidh* (church-land), *nemus* (a grove), *Nemon* (goddess), and *Nēmētōna* (goddess), 159, 160.
- Nēmētōna*, British goddess, 159.
- Nemon*, the goddess, a Fomorian, 202.
- Irish goddess, and pearl, heaven, &c., 159.
- Neolithic, chronological problem, 212.
- Egyptian diadem of gold found in Spanish Neolithic tomb, 98.
- Egyptian origin of Spanish Neolithic industry, 97, 214.
- metal workers as flint users, 98.
- Scottish copper axe problem, 219.
- why ornaments were worn, 37, 38.
- Age, transition period longer than, 61.
- Culture, Iberians as carriers of, 126.
- Industry, carriers of, attracted to Britain, 78.
- — distribution of population and, 81-4.
- — "Edge" theory, 61.
- — Campigny find, 62.
- — in Ireland, 85.
- — in Scotland, 85.
- — Scottish pitch-stone artifacts, 85.
- — carriers of, not wanderers, 86.
- — a lost art, 86.
- Nereids, the, fairies and, 173.
- Ness, the River, 206.
- Night-shining gems, 160.
- Norsemen, 126.
- modern Scots and, 137.
- Northern fair race, 125.
- Northerners, Armenoids and, 127.
- Novantæ, The, 129.
- Nudd, the god, 203.
- Nut, as "soul case", 173.
- Nut-milk, 150.
- — honey and, as elixir, 150. and also note 1.
- Nuts, life substance in, 206.
- of longevity, 150.
- Oak, 221.
- acorn as fruit of longevity, 144.
- Druids and, 141, 145.
- Black Annis and, 196.
- Galatian oak grove and shrine, 159.
- on Glasgow seal, 185.
- god of, and seafarers, 153.
- god Dagda and, 202.
- the Sacred, 179.
- use of acorns, 153.
- in tanning, 153.
- Spirits, 207.
- Oaths, Sacred, Gaels swore by sun, moon, &c., 148.
- Oban, MacArthur Cave, 58, 217.
- Obsidian artifacts, 86.
- Odin, the dog and, 64.
- pork feasts of, 144.
- Welsh Gwydion and, 204.
- Estrymnides, The, Himilco's tin islands, 116, 118.
- Onyx, same name as pearl in Gaelic, 160.
- Oracles, Druids and, 145.
- Orc (young boar), salmon as, 182.
- Orcs, The Picts as, 201.
- Orkney, boar name of, 129.
- megalithic remains in, 94.
- "Sow day" in, 201.
- Ornaments, "adder stones", "Druid gems", &c., 163.
- jet charms, 164.
- in Crô-Magnon grotto, 23.
- as gods or god-cases, 44.
- in grotto at Aurignac, 22.
- in Mentone cave-tombs, 45.
- religious value of, 80, 165.
- in Welsh Aurignacian cave-tomb, 20.
- why worn by early peoples, 37, 38.
- Ostrich eggs, found in Spain, 96.
- Otter, skin charm of, 189.
- as god, 190.
- as soul-form, 189.
- the king, 189.
- jewel of, 189.
- Palæolithic, chronological problem, 212.
- implements of Upper Palæolithic, 21 (*ill.*).

- Palaeolithic Age, why ornaments were worn, 37, 38.
- break in culture of, 12.
 - origin of term, 8.
 - races of, 8.
 - sub-divisions of, 12, 13. See, *Chellean*, *Acheulian*, *Mousterian*, *Aurignacian*, *Solutrean*, and *Magdalenian*.
- Palm tree, British substitutes for, 221.
- cult of, in ancient Spain, 149.
- Paradise, as "Apple land" (Avalon) 144.
- Celtic ideas regarding, 143.
 - fairyland as, 143.
 - pork feasts in, 144.
 - Welsh ideas regarding, 144.
 - in Border Ballads, 144.
- Parisii, The, in Britain, 128.
- Patrick, St., Pagan myth attached to, 198.
- Paviland cave, Crô-Magnon burial in Welsh, 19.
- Pearl, Aphrodite (Venus) as pearl, 158.
- as life substance, 80, 158.
 - moon as "Eternal Pearl" in Dante's *Inferno*, 159.
 - Gaelic name of, 159.
 - nocturnal luminosity of, 160.
- Pearls, British, attracted Romans, 79.
- and sacred grove, &c., 159.
 - Cæsar's pearl offering to Venus, 159.
 - in Cuchullin's hair, 163.
 - on Roman emperor's horse, 163.
 - dragons possess, 184.
 - in England (map), 83, 84.
 - fabulous origin of, 161.
 - Irish standard of value a *set* (pearl), 166.
 - luck of, 166.
 - jet and amber and, 221.
 - as "life substance", 80, 158.
 - as *margan* (life-giver), 161.
 - as medicine in India, 41.
 - searched for by megalithic people, 92.
 - soul in, 206.
 - as *tama* in Japan, 44.
 - as "tears" of goddess Freyja, 161.
- Pearls, why offered to goddess, 174.
- Ythan River, Aberdeenshire, yields, 76.
- Pear tree, cat and, 196.
- Peat, from Dogger Bank, 57, 68.
- Penny Wells, 174.
- Phœnicians, the Cassiterides monopoly of, 104.
- eastern colonists in Spain and, 98.
 - methods of, as exploiters, 98.
 - in Iron Age, 107.
 - megalithic monuments and, 149.
 - in modern Cornwall, 139.
- Pictones, The, as allies of Romans, 224.
- Scottish Picts and, 131.
- Picts, The, agriculturists and seafarers, 130.
- Caledonians and, 130.
 - allies of the Scots, 130.
 - Cruithne were Britons, 132.
 - fairy theory, 131, and also note 1.
 - as Pechts and Pecti, 131.
 - Gildas, Bede, and Nennius on, 132.
 - Irish myth regarding, 132.
 - Irish Cruithne not Picts, 132.
 - Saxon allies of, 131.
 - Roman, Scottish, and Welsh names of, 131.
 - as branch of the Pictones, 131.
 - tattooing habit of, 136.
 - vessels of, 136.
 - tribes of, 136.
 - as pirates, 136.
- Pig, Demeter and, 196.
- Devil as, 191, 200.
 - in Roman religious ceremony, 51.
 - Scottish and Irish treatment of 199.
 - taboo in Scotland, 199.
 - the Sow goddess, 154.
- Pigs, Achæans and Celts as rearers of, 111, 199.
- Adonis and Diarmid and, 197.
 - Celts rearers of, 114.
 - and amber, 161.
 - as food of the dead, 144.
 - "lucky pigs", 157.
 - Orkney a boar name, 129.

- Pigs, salmon as, 182. See *Pork taboo*.
- Piltdown man, 26.
- Pin Wells, 174.
- Pirates, ancient, Picts as, 136.
- Gaelic reference to, 136.
- Pliocene mammals, 16.
- Poetry, goddess of, 188.
- Polycrates of Samos, luck of, in seal, 184.
- Pope Gregory the Great, letter on Pagans in England, 176.
- Pork. See *Pigs* and *Swine*.
- taboo in Arcadia, 223.
- why Cretans detested, 154, and also note 3.
- Scottish, 199 *et seq.*, 223.
- Celts ate pork, 199.
- Porpoise as sea-boar, 182.
- Portugal, colonists from, in Britain, 106.
- early eastern influence in, 211.
- settlements of Easterners in, 95.
- settlers from, in Britain, 127.
- Pot, the, shell as, 207.
- as symbol of Mother-goddess, 205.
- the Mother, Celtic cauldron as, 90.
- "Pot of Plenty", Celtic cauldron as, 205.
- Potter's wheel, 112.
- Pottery, Neolithic, 5.
- relation to basket-making and knitting, 5, 6.
- Priestesses, ancient British, Tacitus refers to, 147.
- witches and, 147, and also note 1.
- Ptolemy, evidence of, regarding British tribes, 128.
- Purple-yielding shells, in Crô-Magnon grotto, 23.
- searched for by megalithic people, 92.
- Pytheas, 229.
- exploration of Britain by, 115.
- the Mictis problem, 116.
- voyage of, 107.
- Races, alien elements may vanish, 123.
- "Caucasian Man", 123.
- Aryan theory, 123.
- Races, animal names of Scoto-Celtic tribes, 129.
- Azilian and Tardenoisian, 55.
- Maglemosian, 56.
- Britain in Roman period, 127.
- Britain mainly "long-headed", 128.
- Ptolemy's evidence regarding British tribes, 128.
- British extermination theory, 227.
- British Iberians and proto-Egyptians, 126.
- Armenoid intrusions, 87, 126, 222.
- Spanish settlers in Britain, 127.
- bronze carriers displace eastern metal searchers in Western Europe, 100.
- bronze users as earliest settlers in Aberdeenshire, 111.
- Brunn and Brûx, 50.
- Celts and Armenoids, 112.
- Celts and Northerners, 112, 222.
- Celts as conquerors of early settlers in Britain, 107.
- colours of the mythical, 121, 125.
- extermination theory, 122.
- Celts as Fair Northerners, 222.
- "broad heads" in Britain, 56, 87, 126, 222.
- Celts and Teutons, 125.
- Chancelade skull and Eskimos, 53.
- Crô-Magnons in Wales, 19.
- first discovery of Crô-Magnons in France, 20.
- Cuchullin and Scotland, 224.
- Britons in Ireland, 224.
- Damnonians as metal workers, 89.
- Damnonians in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 89, 90.
- dark and fair peoples in England, 227.
- descendants of Easterners in Britain, 118.
- drifts of, into Britain, 79.
- early settlers in Britain, 125, 216.
- eastern colonists in Spain, 95.
- Easterners reached ancient Britain from Spain, 97.
- fair and dark among earliest

- settlers in Post-Glacial Britain, 60.
- Races, fair Celts and Teutons, 60.
- Fir-bolgs in Ireland, 223.
 - Furfooz type, 56.
 - broad-headed fair types, 56.
 - Gaelic Fir-domnann and Fir-bolg, 90, and also note 1.
 - Gibraltar man, 8.
 - Cannstadt man, 8.
 - Neanderthal man, 9. See *Neanderthal Man*.
 - great migrations by sea, 92.
 - high and heavy Scots, 137.
 - intrusion of "Round Barrow", broad-headed people, 87, 126.
 - "Long heads" use bronze in Ireland, 87.
 - megalithic intruders, 94.
 - mixed peoples among Easterners in Western Europe, 107.
 - modern Crô-Magnons in Africa, British Isles, and France, 25.
 - "Combe-Capelle" man, 25.
 - Brûx and Brûnn skulls, 25.
 - "Galley Hill" man, 26, 27.
 - modern man, 9.
 - Crô-Magnon, 9, 19. See *Crô-Magnon Races*.
 - Piltdown man, 9, 26.
 - Heidelberg man, 9.
 - Phœnician type in Cornwall, 139.
 - physical characters of, 124.
 - "pockets" in British Isles, 138.
 - Post-Glacial movements of, 54.
 - pre-Celtic extermination theory, 107.
 - few intrusions in ancient Britain, 109.
 - settlements of traders and workers, 109.
 - "short barrow" intruders, 104.
 - cremating intruders, 104.
 - Solutrean intrusion, 49.
 - Tacitus's references to British races, 137.
 - transition period and Neolithic, 61.
- Rainbow as god's rod-sling, 204.
- Raven and goddess of grove and sky, 160.
- Ravens, Celtic deities as, 195.
- Red deer on Dogger Bank, 68.
- "Red Man", The Welsh, 19, 27.
- Regni, The, Sussex tribe, 128.
- Reindeer on Dogger Bank, 68.
- French and German, in early, Aurignacian times, 14. See *Fauna*.
 - in Scotland till twelfth century, 67.
 - in Germany in Roman times, 68.
 - Age, the, 213.
- Rhodesia, mouse cure in, 187, and also note 2.
- Rhone valley trade route, 114.
- Rivers, goddesses and, 206.
- River-worship, 176, 178, 179.
- Robin, apple cult and, 204.
- Robin Red-breast, on Glasgow seal, 185.
- in St. Mungo legend, 186.
- Romans, how Britain was conquered by, 119, 120.
- Celtic boats superior to boats of, 224.
 - as exploiters of conquered countries, 79.
 - how loan-rate of interest was reduced, 79.
 - goddess, groups of, 207.
 - Gauls in army of, 127.
 - mean and tragical conquest of Britain by, 226, 227.
 - myths of, regarding savages in ancient Britain, 224.
 - references of, to Picts and Caledonians, 130.
 - religious beliefs of, no higher than those of Gaels, 208.
 - Tacitus on rewards of, in Britain, 79.
 - wars for trade, 229.
- Rome, connection of, with milk goddess cult, 149, 150.
- sacked by Celts, 112.
- Ro-smerta, the Gaulish goddess 174.
- Rowan, 221.
- berry of, as fruit of longevity, 144.
 - the sacred, 179, 180. See *Tree Cults*.
- Rye, cultivation of, 5.
- Sacred stones and sacred trees,

103. See *Megalithic Monuments and Tree Cults*.
- Sacrifices, annual pig sacrifices, 201.
- oxen sacrificed to demons in England, 178.
- at "wassailing", 204, 205.
- Sahara, 27.
- grasslands of the, 14.
- St. Swithin's Day, 168.
- Salmon on city of Glasgow seal, 185.
- as form of dragon, 182.
- fire and, 183.
- Gaelic names of, 182.
- Irish saint finds gold in stomach of, 184.
- in St. Mungo legend, 184.
- the ring myth, 183.
- the sacred "salmon of wisdom", 182.
- Sargon of Akkad, his knowledge of Western European metal-yielding areas, 99 *et seq.*, 218.
- Saxons, 126.
- Celts and, 227.
- the, Picts as allies of, 131.
- Scape-dog, the, 65.
- Scots, The, Crô-Magnons and, 137.
- Picts and, 130.
- first settlement of, in Scotland, 130.
- Scott, Michael, in serpent myth, 188.
- Seafaring. See *Boats*.
- Sea god, the Hebridean *Seonaidh* (Shony), 193.
- Seasons, Gaelic colours of, 169.
- Selgovæ, The, 139.
- in Galloway, 129.
- Serpent, Bride's serpent and dragon, 188.
- as "daughter of Ivor", the "damsel", &c., 187.
- dragon as, 182.
- goddess Bride and, 187.
- jet drives away, 164.
- sacred white, 188.
- on sculptured stones, 155 (*ill.*).
- "snake of hazel grove", 189.
- sea-serpent, 189.
- as soul, 189.
- the white, in Michael Scott legend, 188.
- Setantii, The, in England and Ireland, 128.
- Cuchullin and, 128.
- Severus, disastrous invasion of Scotland by, 130, 225.
- Sheep, goddess as, 154.
- in Scoto-Celtic tribal names, 129.
- Shells, as amulets, 34, 80.
- Aphrodite as pearl in, 158.
- in British graves, 46.
- finds of, in Ireland and Scotland, 46.
- coloured, in Aurignacian cave-tomb, 46.
- wearing of, not a juvenile custom, 46.
- Combe-Capelle man wore, 25.
- in Crô-Magnon grotto, 23.
- Crô-Magnon trade in, 40.
- Japanese and Scottish "shell-milk" elixirs, 40, 221.
- "Cup of Mary" Highland myth, 42.
- limpet lore, 42, and also note 1.
- Egyptian artificial, 173.
- Egyptian gold models of, 41.
- stone, ivory, and metal models of, 41.
- as "life-givers", 41.
- "Evil Eye" charms, 39.
- Crô-Magnon necklace, 39 (*ill.*).
- as food for dead, 41.
- Cretan artificial, 41.
- fairy woman's coracle a shell, 207.
- in grotto at Aurignac, 22.
- ground shells as elixir, 38.
- as "houses" of gods, 38.
- love girdle of, 38.
- Hebridean tree goddess and, 153.
- Indian Ocean shell in Aurignacian cave, 36.
- as "life substance", 80, 158, 178.
- mantle of, in Aurignacian cave-tomb, 45.
- milk from, 40, 221.
- "personal ornaments" theory, 37.
- Red Sea shell in Hampshire, 47, and also note 1.
- Red Sea shell in Neolithic Spain, 96.

- Shells, Red Sea shell at Mentone, 210.
 — searched for by megalithic people, 92 *et seq.*
 — in Welsh cave-tomb, 20.
 Ships. See *Boats*.
 Silures, The, Hebrideans and, 139.
 — Tacitus on, 137.
 — in Wales and Scilly Islands, 129.
 Silurians, as miners, 118.
 Silvanus, British deity, 207.
 Silver, amber and, 165.
 — in Britain, 91.
 — difficult to find and work in Britain, 95.
 — exported from Britain in first century A.D., 114.
 — Easterners worked, in Spain, 97.
 — Gaelic god connected with, 102.
 — offered to water deity by Gauls, 174.
 — offered to deities by Celts, 80.
 — lead, as ballast for boats of Easterners, 99.
 Sin (pronounced *sheen*), the Druid's judgment collar, 146.
 Skins, exported from Britain in first century, A.D., 114.
 Sky, connection of sacred trees and wells with, 179.
 Slaves, exported from Britain in first century A.D., 114. See *Firbolgs*.
 Sleepers myth, in Highland story, 47.
 — the Seven, antiquity of myth of, 29.
 Smertæ, The, 129.
 Smertullis, the god, Ro-smerta and, 174.
 Smintheus Apollo. See *Mouse Apollo*.
 Solutrean Age, 13.
 — pre-Agricultural, 213.
 — proto-Solutrean influence, 216.
 — culture, cave art declines, 51.
 — — characteristic artifacts, 50.
 — — climate, 51.
 — — open-air camps, 51.
 — — bone needles numerous, 52.
 — — decline of, in Europe, 52.
 — — earliest influence of, in Europe, 49.
 Solutrean culture, "true" wave of, 49.
 — — carriers of, 50.
 — Implements, 21 (*ill.*).
 Soul, animal shapes of, 65, 178, 190.
 — bee and butterfly forms of, 191.
 — bee forms of, in folk tales, 193.
 — beliefs regarding, Sleepers myth, 29.
 — soul-case in Scotland and Japan 44.
 — butterfly as, in Greece, Italy, Serbia, Burma, Mexico, China, Scotland, Ireland, &c., 192, 193.
 — the "change" in Gaelic, 158.
 — nourishment of, 158.
 — cremation customs and destiny of, 109.
 — dead go west, 173.
 — dog form of, 65.
 — Druids and transmigration, 142.
 — heart and liver as seats of life, 154.
 — maggot as, 102.
 — Egyptian Bata myth, 103.
 — moth form of, 192.
 — serpent form of, 189.
 — lizard and other forms of, 189.
 — star as, 208.
 — in stone or husk, 173.
 — in trees, 190.
 — in egg, fish, swans, &c., 190.
 — in weapons, 50.
 — Welsh ideas regarding destiny of, 144.
 Sow-day in Orkney, 201.
 Sow goddess, the, 154. See *Pigs*.
 Spain, British trade with, 114, 116.
 — colonists from, in Britain, 106.
 — displacement of Easterners in, 221.
 — Druidism in, 149.
 — early trade of, with Britain, 218.
 — Easterners in, 95, 211, 218, 229.
 — Easterners kept natives of, ignorant of uses of metals, 99.
 — Egyptian gold diadem in Neolithic tomb, 98.
 — Egyptian origin of Neolithic industry in, 97.
 — expulsion of Easterners from, 100.
 — in pre-Agricultural Age, 213.
 — settlers from, in Britain, 127.

- Spear of god Lugh, 206.
 Spinning, 5.
 Spirit worship. See *Animism*.
 Standing Stones. See *Megalithic Monuments*.
 Star, St. Ciaran's stellar origin, 208.
 — the Dog, 64.
 Stars, Druid lore of, 175.
 — Gaels measured time by, 175, and also note 1.
 — Siröna, star goddess, 208.
 — Milky Way and milk goddess cult, 149.
 — Welsh and Gaelic names of, 203.
 Stennis, Standing Stones of, 94.
 Stone of Danann deities, 206.
 — as god, 51.
 Stonehenge, doctrine of Cardinal Points and, 174.
 — and Egyptian Empire beads, 104, 105 (*ill.*), 106.
 — Temple theory, 177.
 Stones, in graves, 33, 34.
 — wind raised by, in Hebrides, 172.
 — as "god body", 173.
 — as dragon's eggs, 173.
 Sumeria. See *Babylonia*.
 Sun, ancient British solar symbol, 162.
 — circulating chapels, &c., 148.
 — ear-rings and, 165.
 — fire and, 181.
 — rays of, as tears, 181, and also note 3.
 — Gaelic worship of, 170.
 — Gaels swore by, 148.
 — goddess and, 163.
 — modern and ancient sunwise customs, 171.
 Sun-worship in Britain, King Canute and, 147.
 Surgery, ancient man's skill in, 2.
 — folk-lore evidence regarding, 3, 4.
 Surrogate of life blood, 28.
 Sussex dug-out, 76, 77.
 Swallows, Celtic deities as, 195.
 Swans, as souls, 190.
 — as oracles, 190.
 — Celtic deities as, 195.
 Swine. See *Pork Taboo*.
 — Celts rearers of, 114.
 — Devil and, 200.
 Swine, Maglemosian hunters of, 57.
 — Orkney a boar name, 129.
 — in Roman religious ceremony, 51.
 — Scottish taboo of, 199.
 Sword of god Lugh, 206.
 Symbols, swastika, &c., 165, 166.
 See *Colour Symbolism*.
 Tæxali, The, 129.
 Talismans, Irish and Japanese, 206.
 Taranucus (Thunderer), Gaulish god, 207.
 Tardenoisian, 54, 62.
 — artifacts, 13.
 — Iberian carriers of, 216.
 — pre-Agricultural, 213.
 — pygmy flints, 54, 55 (*ill.*).
 Tardenoisians, The, in Britain, 125.
 — English Channel land-bridge crossed by, 69.
 — Industry, traces of, in Africa, Asia, and Europe, 71.
 — Maglemosians and, 57.
 Temples, pagan, used as Christian churches, 177.
 — the Gaulish, 177.
 — Apollo's temple in England, 177.
 — Stonehenge, 177.
 — Pytheas refers to, 178.
 — reroofing custom, 178.
 Ten Tribes, The Lost, 118.
 Teutons, British Celts' relations with, 137.
 — Celts and, 125.
 Thomas the Rhymer, "True Thomas" as "Druid Thomas", 146.
 Thor, Dagda and, 202.
 Tilbury man, 70, 71.
 Tin, 101.
 — beginning of mining in Cornwall, 116.
 — Scottish and Irish, 94, 117.
 — in Britain and Ireland, 91.
 — surface tin collected in Britain, 9.
 — English mines of, opened after surface tin was exhausted, 91.
 — the Mictis problem, 116.
 — descendants of ancient miners in Britain, 118.
 — exported from Cornwall in first century A.D., 114.

- Tin, Phœnicians and the Cassiterides, 104.
 — search for, in Britain, 95.
 — traces of, in Scotland, 94.
 — trade in, 219.
 — voyage of Pytheas, 107.
 — Cornish mines opened, 107.
 See *Cassiterides* and *Cestrymnides*.
 Tin Land, Sargon of Akkad's knowledge of the Western European, 99, 218.
 Tin-stone as ballast for boats of Easterners, 99.
 Toad, The, Jewel of, 189.
 Tom-tit, apple cult of, 204.
 Toothache, ancient man suffered from, 2.
 Torquay, Magdalenian art near, 54.
 Trade, early British exports, 104.
 — Red Sea shell in Hampshire, 47, and also note 1.
 — routes, British and Irish, 223.
 — — British trade with Spain and Carthage, 114.
 — — Danube valley and Rhone valley, 114.
 — — early trade between Spain and Britain, 218.
 — — exports from Britain in first century A.D., 114.
 — — when overland routes were opened, 106.
 — — Celts and, 106, 107.
 — — Phœnicians kept sea-routes secret, 107.
 — — voyage of Pytheas, 107.
 Transition Period. See *Azilian*, *Tardenoisian*, and *Maglemosian*.
 — — longer than Neolithic Age, 61.
 — — race movements in, 54.
 — in Scotland, 216.
 Transmigration, Druidism and, 142, 222.
 Traprain, silver as substitute for white enamel at, 165.
 Tree cults, apple of knowledge eaten by Thomas the Rhymer, 146.
 — — apple tree as "Tree of Life" 204.
 — — birds and apple trees, 204.
 — — Artemis and the fig, 193.
 Tree cults, bee and maggot soul forms in trees, 103.
 — — and standing stones, 103, 104.
 — — coral as sea tree, 221.
 — — grown gold, 221.
 — — and standing stones and wells, 147.
 — — trees and wells and heavenly bodies, 180.
 — — Druidism and, 141.
 — — fig as milk-yielding tree, 149.
 — — Gaelic and Latin names of sacred groves, 159.
 — — Galatian sacred oak, 159.
 — — Gaulish, 151.
 — — elm as milk tree, 151.
 — — plane as milk tree, 151.
 — — grove goddess as raven or crow, 160.
 — — the hazel god, 140, 144.
 — — apple of longevity, 144.
 — — Hebridean shell and milk goddess and, 153.
 — — Indian milk-yielding trees, 151.
 — — mouse and apple tree, 196.
 — — mistletoe and Druidism, 145.
 — — megalithic monuments and, 220.
 — — and pearls, &c., 220.
 — — palm tree cult in Spain, 220.
 — — oak on Glasgow seal, 185.
 — — sacred groves and stone shrines, 156.
 — — sacred rowan, 180.
 — — Silvanus, British tree god, 207.
 — — souls in trees, 190.
 — — St. Mungo takes fire from the hazel, 186.
 — — stone circles and, 178.
 — — Trees of Longevity and Knowledge, 152.
 — — woodbine as "King of the Woods" in Gaelic, 180.
 — — fire-producing trees, 180.
 Trepanning in ancient times, 2.
 Trinovantes, The, in England, 128.
 Turquoise, symbolism of, 221.
 Twelfth Night, 204.
 Underworld, Gaelic ideas regarding, 143.

- Underworld, Egyptian paradise of, 143.
 — fairyland as Paradise, 144.
 — Welsh ideas of, 144.
 — "Well of healing" in, 197.
 Urns, burial, food and drink in, 158.
 Uxellimus, Gaulish god, 207.
- Vacomagi, The, 129.
 Veneti, The, Pictones assist Romans against, 224.
 — Picts and, 131.
 Venus. See *Aphrodite*.
 — the British, 204.
 — Cæsar offered British pearls to, 79.
 — origin of, 38.
 — the Scandinavian, 161.
 Vernicones, The, in Scotland, 129.
 Viking ship, origin of, 76.
 Votadini, in Scotland, 129.
 Vulcan, the Celtic, 202, 203.
- Warfare, Neolithic weapons rare, 6.
 Water, fire in, 182.
 — as source of all life, 180.
 — spirits, 207.
 "Water of Life", "fire water" as, 181, 182.
 Weapons, Celts swore by, 148.
 — demons in, 50.
 — as sacred symbols in Ireland and Japan, 206.
 Well, "Beast" (dragon) in, 182.
 Wells, Bride (Brigit) and, 188.
 — connection of, with trees, stones, and sky, 180.
 — goddess and, 180.
 — "well of healing" in Underworld, 197.
 Well-worship and sacred grove, heaven, &c., 160.
- Well-worship, Dingwall Presbytery deals with, 148.
 — Gildas refers to, 176.
 — well as a god, 176-9.
 — trees, standing stones, and, 147.
 — winds and, 174.
 — offerings of gold, &c., 174.
 Welsh gods, 203.
 Were-animals, Scottish, 190.
 — witches and, 191.
 Wheat, cultivation of, 5.
 Whistle, the, antiquity of, 31.
 Widow-burning, 110.
 Wind, fairies come on eddies of, 173.
 Wind and water beliefs, 174.
 Wind goddess, Scottish, associated with south-west, 173.
 Winds, colours of, 169 *et seq.*
 — Gaelic names of, in spring, 198.
 — Hebridean wind-stone, 172.
 Witches, cat forms of, 196.
 — priestesses and, 147.
 — were-animals and, 191.
 Withershins, 172.
 Woad, Celtic connection of, with water, amber, &c., 163.
 Wolf, goddess as, 154.
 — goddess Morrigan as, 195.
 Woodbine as "King of the Woods", 180.
 "World Mill", The, metal workers and, 90.
 Wren, apple cult of, 204.
 — Druids and, 145.
 — hunting of, 187.
 — the sacred, 186.
 — as king of birds, 186.
- Yellow Muilearteach, the, Scottish deity, 196, 197.
- Zuyder Zee, formerly a plain, 69.
 — — disasters of, 69, 70.

PRINTED AND BOUND IN GREAT BRITAIN

By Blackie & Son, Limited, Glasgow



GENERAL

BRARY,

1946

YC 27725

54.2410

GN 805

1723

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY





INTOLERANCE IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH

INTOLERANCE IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH QUEEN OF ENGLAND

BY

ARTHUR JAY KLEIN

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty
of Political Science, Columbia University.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

215.12.1
K6

COPYRIGHT, 1917, BY ARTHUR JAY KLEIN

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Published February 1917

THE END
AND THE
BEGINNING

VITA

The writer of this dissertation was born at Sturgis, Michigan, in 1884. He studied at Wabash College, graduating in 1906 with the degree of B.A. and with membership in the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He studied at Union Theological Seminary, 1906-09, graduating in 1909 with the degree of B.D., *magna cum laude*. In 1908 he entered Columbia University, and he received the degree of M.A. in 1909. From 1910 until 1915 he taught history in Townsend Harris Hall, the academic department of the College of the City of New York. In 1915 he was appointed professor of history in Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts.

INTOLERANCE
IN THE REIGN OF
Elizabeth
Queen of England

By ARTHUR JAY KLEIN, Professor of History
in Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts.



BOSTON & NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press Cambridge
M.DCCC.XVII

COPYRIGHT, 1917, BY ARTHUR JAY KLEIN

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Published February 1917

PREFACE

IN the preparation of this study the writer has attempted to make the text interesting and intelligible to the average reader. He has, therefore, relegated the dry bones and paraphernalia of study to the footnotes and a bibliographical appendix. The material for the reign of Elizabeth is so voluminous, however, that footnotes and bibliography are not complete. The footnotes do not represent all the material upon which statements in the text are based, but the writer believes that the authorities given amply support the opinions and conclusions there expressed.

In selecting material for the footnotes from the vast amount of published and unpublished source matter collected in the preparation of this essay, the author has confined the references for the most part to a few representative men and collections of sources. The works of Jewel, Parker, Whitgift, Hooker, and Cartwright, the *Zurich Letters* and the *Domestic State Papers*, have, for instance, been chosen as most representative and easily available to the general reader. Unless otherwise noted, however, the author has depended upon the manuscripts in the Record Office and not upon the *Calendar of the Domestic State Papers*, since the *Calendar*, especially for the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign, is often so condensed as to give inadequate information. The representative sources selected have been given so as to make as complete as possible, within the limits of this study, the facts and opinions presented by them. Other sources have been given whenever those chosen as most representative were lacking or were not of sufficient weight.

The sources used consist of the laws, Parliamentary debates, acts of Council, proclamations, public and private

papers, correspondence, sermons, diaries, controversial works, and foreign comment. References in the footnotes to secondary works have been reduced to the minimum for the sake of the appearance of the printed page, but the writer has tried to express his sense of obligation to the work of others in the Bibliographical Appendix. It is hoped that the Appendix will serve the further purpose of assisting the American student, about to enter upon a study of Elizabethan ecclesiastical and religious history, to find his way in the somewhat confusing mass of the literature of the period.

There remains the pleasant duty of expressing my gratitude to the officials of the Public Record Office and of the British Museum for their courteous and painstaking assistance. To the Reverend Mr. Claude Jenkins, of the Lambeth Palace Library, who took the time to teach an American stranger how to read and handle the documents of the period, I owe one of my most pleasant memories of England and of Englishmen. To Miss Cornelia T. Hudson, reference assistant in the Library of Union Theological Seminary, I wish to express my thanks for friendly help in excess of the official courtesy with which I have met in all the libraries I have consulted. The mere acknowledgment of my debt of gratitude to Professor James T. Shotwell, of Columbia University, and to Professor William Walker Rockwell, of Union Theological Seminary, must necessarily express inadequately the value of the encouragement, the suggestions, and the hours of labor which they have so freely given. The kindness of Professor Edward P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania, in reading and criticizing the completed manuscript, and the help in reading the proof given by Professor F. J. Foakes Jackson, of Union Theological Seminary, have assisted materially in making the essay more readable.

ARTHUR J. KLEIN.

CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTORY I

Vague conceptions of tolerance — Social nature of intolerance — Intolerance manifested in all kinds of social activity — Intolerance of the larger groups of society — Religion intolerant because its truths are revealed and positive — Historic causes of religious intolerance — Extent of religious intolerance — Non-religious intolerance — Tolerance is not negative — This study deals with Elizabethan England — It was a period of the formation of parties — Importance of Protestant dissent for Elizabethan intolerance.

II. POLITICS AND RELIGION 7

The death of Mary Tudor — England at the accession of Elizabeth — Elizabeth's alleged illegitimacy — Catholics and Protestants — Paul IV and England — The position of Mary Stuart — The attitude of Philip II — The attitude of Scotland — Importance of securing the Queen's political position — Caution of the government — Religious tastes of Elizabeth — Religious indifference of the nation — Tendencies of the Marian exiles toward compromise — Compromise and the Catholics — Identification of the Sovereign and the State — Catholic opposition — Complication of the domestic with the foreign situation — Plans of the government — The first Parliament — Freedom of discussion — Disputation at Westminster — Employment of moderate Protestants — Character of the Parliament — Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity — Other acts of the Parliament — Removal of the Catholic Bishops — The Royal Visitation — High Commission — The choice of the higher clergy — The character of the new clergy — The choice of the lesser clergy — Elements of hope for Catholics — The foreign political situation — Weaknesses of the ecclesiastical system — Act for the Assurance of the Queen's Supremacy — Act for execution of Writ *de Excommunicato Capiendo* — Offenses that incurred excommunication — Acts against prophesyings and conjurers — Similarity of the new establishment to the old.

III. THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CATHOLICS 35

The lenient policy of the government — The Rebellion of the North — The old and new nobility — Significance of the revolt — The Bull of Excommunication — Its effect on the religious situation — Elizabeth's reply to the Bull — Need for further

legislation — Act making further offenses treason — Restraints upon the press — Act against the introduction of papal bulls and instruments — Fugitives beyond the sea — The Jesuit missionaries — Foreign dangers — Statutes to retain the Queen's subjects in obedience — Seditious words and rumors — Spanish resentment and plot — Parliament of 1584-85 — Parliament of 1586-87 — Mary Stuart in England — English policy and Mary Stuart — England, Mary, and Scotland — England, Mary, and Spain — The defeat of the Armada — Continued fear of the Spaniard — Enthusiasm for the Crown — Legislation of 1593 — The government and the Jesuits — Government policy in dealing with the Catholics — The imposition of the death penalty — Exile — Desire to keep Catholics in England — Exception in cases of the Jesuits and the poor — Inability of the government to imprison all Catholics — Fines and confiscations — Resistance of the Catholics — Failure of the fines and confiscations to produce an income — Later imposition of the pecuniary penalties — Lenient administration of the laws against Catholics — Governmental influence to prevent execution of letter of the law — Factions in the Council — Moderating proposals of Cecil — Educational value of the government's tolerant attitude.

IV. CHURCH AND STATE 64

Formative period of Anglicanism — The Establishment an experiment — Elements of patriotism and of moderation in the Church — Political dominance determined these characteristics — Relations of Church and State before Elizabeth — Causes for political dominance in Elizabeth's reign — The supremacy of the Queen — Erastianism — Legal extent of Crown's Supremacy — Exercise of supremacy by commission — Preservation of regular ecclesiastical jurisdiction — High Court of Delegates and the Royal Supremacy — Commissions of Review and the favor of the Crown — The Council and the High Commission — Change in the nature of High Commission activity — Council and Star Chamber — Court influence and the lower ecclesiastical courts — Justices of peace and the religious acts — Control of the Council over the justices of peace — The logic of secular administration of the Religious Acts — Use of the prerogative writs by King's Bench and Common Pleas — Special privileges — The Peculiars — The Peculiars added confusion to the system — The Palatinates — Lesser franchises — System subject to the interference of the Court at all points — Irregularity, causes and results — The Queen's prerogative and coercive power — Dispensing power of the Crown — Legality of the judicial acts of the Queen and Council — Extent of the activity of the Council — Need for coördinating power — Inadequacy of the inherited machinery to deal with new conditions — The success of the relationship existing between State and Church — State intolerance imposed upon the Church — Religious and ecclesiastical intolerance restrained by the State — Influence of the union of the Church and State upon the development of dissent — Political dominance and promotion of tolerance — Personal influence of the Queen in this development.

V. ANGLICANISM 93

Lack of unity in the early Anglican Church — Causes of union and elements of disunion — Ambiguous nature of the standards set up — Religious character of the Church — Caution needed in formulating doctrinal and ecclesiastical standards — The Parliamentary doctrinal standards — The Thirty-nine Articles — Further restraint on doctrinal formulation — Religious opposition to the abuses of Roman Catholicism — Controversial character of the period — The character of the clergy — Queen's opposition to religious enthusiasm — Protestantism lightens the responsibility of the ecclesiastical organization for the individual — Non-religious interest of the period — Demands of ecclesiastical controversy — Religious zeal developed by dissent — Need for ecclesiastical apologetic — Basis of apologetic historical — Papacy rejected upon historical grounds — Church not limited by primitive church history — Recognition of the principle of historical development — Advantage to Anglicanism of this liberal position — Importance of ecclesiastical theory in the development of intolerance — Restraints upon Anglican development — Causes for development — English sources of the idea of apostolic succession of the bishops — Whitgift and the apostolic succession — Anglican denials of the doctrine — Alarm of the radical Protestants — Hooker and the apostolic succession — Development of Anglican ecclesiastical consciousness — Changed relationship between Anglicans and Continental Protestantism — Anglican desire for autonomy — Jewel and Hooker — Jewel's emphasis upon the unity of Protestantism — Hooker's defense of Anglicanism as an independent entity — Hooker's distrust of bare scripture — Jewel's confidence in the power of the Word — Hooker's belief in the authority of reason and need for experts — Hooker's exaltation of the episcopal organization — Position of the Queen in Hooker's theory — Jewel's idea of the sovereign's power — Hooker's lack of confidence in the secular dominance over the Church — Changed attitude of Anglicanism toward dissenting opinions — Early uncertainty and liberality — Development of ecclesiastical consciousness paralleled by hardening of the Anglican spirit — Other causes for hardening — Early Anglicanism intolerant of papal Catholicism — Changed basis of Anglican strength — Moral condemnation of the Jesuits — Common ideals of Early Anglicanism and other forms of Protestantism — Practical character of the early Church — Development of antagonism within the Church.

VI. PROTESTANT DISSENT 131

Complexity of dissent — Difficulties of classification — Loose use of the term "Puritan" — Difficulty of distinguishing Puritan from Separatist — Precisianists — Presbyterians — Genetic use of the term "Congregational" — Anabaptists — Cleavage was upon lines of ecclesiastical polity — The Fanatic Sects — Elements of discord in the Church — Indifferent nature of the first questions of dispute — Ceremonial differences — The sympathies of the leaders in State and Church — Variety in the use of ceremonies —

Parker's *Advertisements* — Legality of the *Advertisements* — Parker's argument on the habits — The anti-vestiarian argument — The determination of the Queen that the habits be worn — Reasons for her insistence — Results of the vestiarian controversy — Bacon on the development of the quarrel between Anglicanism and Dissent — *First Admonition* to Parliament — Its place in the development of dissent — Disregard of the Queen's position — Circumstances preceding appearance of the *First Admonition* — Literary controversy over the *Admonition* — Objects of the *Admonition's* attack — Protestations of loyalty — Danger in the attack — Intolerance shown by the Admonishers — Absolute authority of the New Testament in ecclesiastical organization — The *Second Admonition* — The purpose of the publication — Spirit of the *Second Admonition* — Split in the ranks of dissent — Controversy between Cartwright and Whitgift — The work of Travers.

VII. PROTESTANT DISSENT (*continued*) . . . 159

Presbyterian polity — Scriptural basis of the system — Basis for condemnation of Catholicism — Ecclesiastical intolerance of the Presbyterians — Presbyterian doctrinal intolerance toward Lutheranism — Presbyterian attack upon the Anglican organization — Results upon Anglicanism of the Presbyterian attack — Presbyterian attack upon Anglican doctrinal standards and its results — Presbyterians and the fight for Parliamentary freedom — Aristocratic character of Presbyterianism — Presbyterianism to be established by the government — Presbyterian theory of the relationship between Church and State — Legal basis of governmental repression of Presbyterianism — Opposition to repression on the part of officials — Basis of charges of disloyalty — The attitude of Cecil and Elizabeth — Danger to the government's policy of leniency toward Catholics — Danger to cordial relations with all forms of Continental Protestantism — Dissenting movements other than the Presbyterian — Rejection of necessity of the union of Church and State — Idea of the Church as a body of the spiritually fit — Narrow dogmatic standards — Loose and ineffective form of organization — Religious earnestness of the group — Religious basis for condemnation of others — Attempt to transfer basis of disagreement from unessential to essential — Doctrinal and religious intolerance — Causes for Elizabethan condemnation of the Congregationalistic groups.

VIII. CONCLUSION 183

Importance of the separation from the Roman Catholic Church — The governmental policy of toleration — Modification of the governmental policy by reason of Catholic activity — Modification of the governmental policy by reason of Presbyterian activity — Modification of the governmental policy by reason of Anglican development — The idea that ecclesiastical unity was essential to political unity — Development of Anglican

ecclesiastical intolerance — Presbyterian intolerance — Rejection of the connection between Church and State by the Congregational group — The development of three strong religious parties.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX	191
----------------------------------	-----

INDEX	213
-----------------	-----

INTOLERANCE IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

MOST of us feel that intolerance is an antiquated evil. We hasten to enroll ourselves in the ranks of the tolerant, and at least in the free world of hypothesis and speculation, we experience, at little cost, the self-congratulatory pleasure of thus reckoning ourselves in the advance guard of civilization. As a matter of fact, our conception of tolerance is usually so vague as to entail no renunciation of our pet prejudices: our renunciation is confined to the abandonment of intolerant principles, moribund some centuries before our birth. Men have probably always in this way proclaimed their allegiance to the spirit and principles of toleration without being seriously disturbed by their own intolerances, and without voicing any earnest protest against the intolerance of their own time. We easily recognize the inconsistency between the utterances and the attitude of Elizabethan Englishmen who insisted by means of prison and banishment that the forms of a Prayer Book be strictly observed, and looked with horror upon the Spanish Inquisition. We smile a superior smile over their boasts of tolerance on the score that the number of Catholics killed by Queen Elizabeth did not equal the number of Protestants killed by Queen Mary, and we may even see the weakness of their modern apologists who point with pride to the fact that Elizabethan England had no St. Bartholomew's Eve. The examples of such inconsistency are amusing and satisfying in direct proportion to their antiquity and their distance from our own ruts of thought. When in England it became possible for all

2. INTOLERANCE IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH

religions to exist side by side, and men therefore proclaimed themselves tolerant, there was still attached to Catholicism and to all forms of Protestantism other than the particular form known as Anglicanism the penalty of the curtailment of political rights. Some Englishmen are still unreconciled to the removal of divorce and marriage from the jurisdiction of the Established Church. Some Americans still defend Sabbatarian legislation enacted at the demand of a religious prejudice which saw no intolerance in forcing the extreme interpretation of the Mosaic law upon Christian and non-Christian alike. Like our ancestors, we leave sufficient leeway for the full play of our own intolerances and with easy carelessness avoid the discomforts of exact definition.

Intolerance is essentially a social phenomenon based upon the group conviction of "rightness." When manifested by the dominant group, it is both a dynamic and a conservative force. It is occupied with the maintenance of things as they are, and has for its purpose social unity. It exerts itself to bring into line those individuals, or groups of individuals, who are clinging to things as they were, and attempts to restrain the individuals or groups of individuals who are striving toward things as they shall be. Its relations and its sympathies are closer to the past than to the future. It bases its authority on accepted knowledge or opinion. Opposed to it are the groups who cling to opinions already rejected and the groups with opinions not yet accepted. Intolerance is a phase in the development of social consciousness, a part of the process of whipping into shape unique or diverse elements of the social group. It is a by-product of the process of social grouping. In so far as the various social groups have conflicting interests or standards, and so long as the existence of one or more groups is theoretically or practically inconsistent with the existence of other groups, antagonism or *intolerance* results. Since the social relation-

ships of men are practically infinite in variety, intolerance may be displayed upon any subject of sufficient interest or importance to secure the adherence of a group, and may manifest itself in an infinite variety of ways. Medical intolerance has shown itself in the persecution of the advocates of anæsthetics and antiseptics. National intolerance of the foreigner, legal intolerance of new conceptions of justice, social intolerance of unusual manners, the intolerance of the radical for the slower-minded conservative in politics, economics, law, or dress, — these intolerances may vary in extent, nature, and results, and their history is merely the story of the modification of the extent, nature, and results of antagonisms.

Necessarily the intolerance displayed by the larger groups of society is most conspicuous and receives the most attention, although from the standpoint of the progress of society such intolerance may not be of the most far-reaching influence. Religion, for instance, which occupies the consciousness of groups of international size, has been given so much attention by the writers on intolerance that it has become necessary to resist its claims to a monopoly of the word.

Religion, however, is of great importance for the subject of intolerance from other reasons than the mere size of the religious groups. Religion is based upon bodies of opinion that are regarded as more important and as more positive than any of the other facts of human life. Starting with a group of opinions which are positively and supernaturally revealed, religion offers the greatest resistance to the attacks of critical reason and to the advance of the merely human phases of knowledge. It insists with inflexibility upon the truth of its tenets and the acceptance of them by all men. Historically, also, the religious organization in Western Europe obtained such a dominance over men that it succeeded in subjecting to its religious and ecclesiastical control elements of social activity which, as we view the matter now,

were only remotely connected with the acceptance of its fundamental body of divinely revealed dogma. It succeeded in adapting to this dogma almost the whole body of scientific and social investigation. Chemistry, anatomy, botany, astronomy, as well as law and government, all felt the restraining force of ecclesiastical conceptions and dogmas. Its supernatural elements were emphasized at the expense of human progress. Claiming to be the most social force, it became anti-social in so far as it made its ideal one of otherworldliness. Obviously the students of intolerance have a rich and important field in religion.

The Christian religion has afforded material for studies of pagan intolerance of Christians, and Christian intolerance of pagans. We have volumes upon Catholic intolerance of Protestants and upon Protestant intolerance of Catholics and of other Protestants. The study of religious intolerance, both Catholic and Protestant, in the field of non-religious activities is still rich in unexplored possibilities, so rich that it is perhaps useless to attempt to call the attention of the historians of intolerance to the fact that there is also a field worth investigating in the groups of non-religious intolerance. A very interesting book, or series of books, even, more useful than much that has been written about religious intolerance, might be compiled by some one who turned his attention to the intolerances of medicine, of law, or of etiquette. They might even repay the historian by displaying a humorous ridiculousness that the solemn connotations of theology make impossible in that field.

It is unfortunate that the study of intolerance has been so largely confined to a record of punishments and penalties, and has concerned itself so little with the development of positive tolerance. The interesting and important thing about intolerance is its decrease. It has usually been taken for granted that decrease of intolerance has meant increase of tolerance; but this is not always true and tends to make tolerance synonymous with indifference. Tolerance becomes

at best easy amiability. Indifference and amiability are negative and afford no basis for the self-congratulatory attitude we like to associate with tolerance. Tolerance as a force provocative of progress is positive. It implies a definite attitude of mind, an open-minded observation of divergent opinions, a conscious refraining from the attitude of condemnation, and a willingness to adopt ideas if they prove, or seem likely to prove good. Intolerance of heretical ideas prevents progress. Tolerance welcomes the new, looks to the future, has a supreme confidence in the upward evolution of society.

It is the purpose of this essay to examine one very small field of religious intolerance, that in England during the reign of Elizabeth. Much has been done already. Catholics and Anglicans alike have devoted volumes to the suffering and disabilities of the Catholics. The subordination of religious to political considerations which marks the step in the direction of religious tolerance that came with the revolt of the nations from the suzerainty of the Papacy and the formation of national churches, has been repeatedly emphasized. The importance of the period for the developments in the reign of the Stuarts has been pointed out. But unfortunately attention has been confined too exclusively to the government and the Anglican Establishment. Of almost equal importance are the rise of the dissenting Protestant groups in England, particularly the Presbyterian, and their attitudes and theories of relationship with the Catholics, the Established Church, and the government. Elizabeth's reign was essentially a period of the formation of parties and opinions. During her reign Puritan and Independent came to group consciousness, grew into awareness of themselves as distinct from Anglicanism and from each other; the Anglican Church rose, collected its forces, and transformed itself from a tool of secular government into a militant ecclesiastical organization. The ground for the later struggle

was prepared; and if in the seventeenth century we find distinctly different theories at the basis of intolerance, we must seek the origin of the later attitude in Elizabeth's day. Her reign is a time of beginnings, a period of preliminary development, and partakes of the interest and uncertainties of all origins of complex social phenomena.

The purpose of this essay is to estimate and to call attention not only to the intolerance of the government and the Established Church, but also to the rising Protestant groups of dissent, and to indicate the way they conditioned and influenced the attitude of both the government and the Church and intrenched themselves for the future conflict.

CHAPTER II

POLITICS AND RELIGION

UNLOVED and disheartened, Mary Tudor died on the 17th of November, 1558. Her sincere struggle to establish the old faith in England once more, her pathetic love for Philip of Spain, the loss of Calais, the knowledge that without children to succeed her the work done could not endure, — all these things had made her life a sad one. Our imaginations have clothed her reign with gloom and blood, while that of her successor has become correspondingly splendid, intriguing, fanciful, swashbuckler, profane, — a living age. We approach the study of Elizabeth's reign with the expectation of finding at last a period when life was all dramatic, but, as always, we find that the facts are less romantic than our imaginative pictures.

Life to the Elizabethan Englishman was not all a joyous adventure. Famine and pestilence ushered in the reign. An empty treasury confronted the new queen. The commercial and the industrial life of the kingdom declined. War with France and Scotland made taxation heavy. The army and navy were riddled by graft, and crumbling fortresses indicated a lack of national military pride. The officials of Mary's rule still maintained their power in Church and State, objects of hatred to the people, and — the greatest danger to the Queen's peaceable accession — centers around which might gather foreign opposition to the daughter of Anne Boleyn.

ELIZABETH'S ALLEGED ILLEGITIMACY

In the eyes of her Catholic subjects Elizabeth rested under the shadow of an uncertain title. The charge of illegitimacy had stamped its black smudge upon the brow of

the baby girl, followed her through young womanhood in her uncertain and dangerous position during the reign of Mary, and when death had removed Mary, strode specter-like across the joy of the nation. Upon Elizabeth's entry into the City she was greeted with great demonstrations of joy by the populace, but the councillors whom she had called around her¹ realized that within the kingdom, Catholic love for Mother Church and power, Catholic consistency, might unite a large party which, resting upon papal condemnation of the marriage of her father and mother, would reject her claims to the throne. Domestic dangers to her position might also threaten from that anti-Catholic party whose members had grown bitter under the persecutions of Mary.² The domestic dangers became menacing and real by reason of their complication with the projects and ambitions of foreign powers.

From the fact of Elizabeth's illegitimacy in the eyes of the Catholic world sprang two great foreign dangers, the one to endure throughout the reign, the other to end only with an act which has brought upon Elizabeth's name an undeserved reproach; the Papal See was hostile and Mary of Scotland set up a claim to England's throne.

Neither Elizabeth nor her advisers, probably, expected that a break with the Papacy could be avoided. The Pope's attitude must necessarily be determined in some measure by the pronouncements of his predecessor upon the marriage of which Elizabeth was the fruit. It could hardly be ex-

¹ Cecil, Parry, Cave, Sadler, Rogers, Sackville, and Haddon were summoned to her at Hatfield. The old council was reorganized. Sir Thomas Parry became Comptroller of the Household; Sir Edward Rogers, Vice-Chamberlain; William Cecil, Principal Secretary in the place of Dr. Boxall, Archdeacon of Ely; Sir Nicholas Bacon displaced the Archbishop of York as Keeper of the Great Seal; while the Earls of Bedford, Derby, and Northampton, Cave, Sadler, and Sackville took the places of Mary's councillors. Pembroke, Arundel, Howard, Shrewsbury, Winchester, Clinton, Petre, and Mason continued.

² S. R. Maitland, *Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England, with an introduction by A. W. Hutton* (London and New York, 1899), *Essays* vi, no. ii; vii, no. iii; viii; ix; x, quotes from Knox, Goodman, Whittingham, Kethe, Becon, Bradford, Ponet.

pected that the most compliant and peace-loving of popes would heartily welcome to the family of Catholic royalty the daughter of Anne Boleyn. Still less could it be expected that Paul IV, energetic and uncompromising, would disregard that quarrel which had torn England from the fold of the faithful. Theoretically, at least, — and it was chiefly upon theoretical grounds that those closest to Elizabeth had to base their policy, — Mary of Scotland must have seemed to the Papacy the only logical and legitimate heir to England's throne.

Mary recognized her advantage, and she was sufficiently vigorous in her Catholicism and shrewd in her politics to seize every weapon opportunity might offer. Although Elizabeth was seated upon the throne and was supported by the sentiment of the English people, Mary's hope of displacing her was by no means based on dreams alone. She had married the Dauphin of France, who succeeded to the crown as Francis II but a few months after Elizabeth's accession, and upon the advice of the Cardinal of Lorraine the new King and Queen at once added to their other titles that of King and Queen of England. With France behind her claim, and the Pope supporting her, Elizabeth might have been crowded off the throne and England forced into Catholicism, had Philip, the autocrat of the Catholic powers, also thrown his weight into the struggle upon the side of Mary. But Philip, with all his Catholic enthusiasm, would never allow France and the Guises to attain that dominance in European affairs which the addition of England to their power would have meant. Philip did not love England, nor did he wish to see it become Protestant, but at the first he had hopes that the country might still be preserved for Catholicism and be made to serve his own purposes against the aggression of France.¹ Elizabeth played with the offer of marriage which Philip made as long as it was possible to avoid a decisive answer, and encouraged

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, 72, April 23, 1559, June 11, 1559.

him to believe that the Council of Trent might accomplish something to make reconciliation possible even though she rejected his hand. Philip lent his aid in securing favorable terms for England at the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis and relieved her from the embarrassment of his opposition at the time when he could have done most harm to Elizabeth.

But Mary's purposes were not balked by the opposition of Philip alone. She did not have the sympathy of her own land, Scotland, either in the alliance with France, in her desire to establish the Catholic religion, or in her opposition to England. In Scotland the Reformation had established itself among all classes, although the motives which inspired them were not exclusively religious; for, in Scotland, as in other countries, a variety of purposes inspired the Protestant party. Here, as elsewhere, it was not simply a religious reformation, but a social conflict arising from political, economic, and legal motives. The party formed in Scotland in 1557 was made up of elements looking for the spoil of the wealthy and corrupt Church, for the expulsion of French influence from the country, the lessening of the royal power, the establishment of Protestant doctrines; and it was from these diverse elements that the signers of the first Covenant were drawn. Nor did the Covenant represent the extreme Calvinism usually associated with the Scotch; it demanded merely that the English Book of Common Prayer be used, and that preaching be permitted. Not until after the return to Scotland of John Knox in May, 1559, was the stamp of uncompromising Calvinism placed upon the Scottish Church. Mary could look for bitter opposition from her Scottish subjects if she tried, with French aid, to establish herself upon the English throne and attempted to impose Catholicism upon the English people and autocratic power upon Scotland. In spite of these difficulties, however, the danger to England was real. Any change in the situation which might free Mary's hands, or any change in the attitude of Philip which would cause him to abandon his hostility to France

and unite with that country in opposition to England, might sweep Elizabeth off the throne and place the nation in danger of foreign dominion. From this situation came that succession of crises calling for the patriotism of Englishmen which ended only with the death of Mary and the defeat of the Armada.

THE CAUTION OF THE GOVERNMENT

In these circumstances domestic considerations were of primary importance in determining the character of the changes in the religious establishment of England. Of first importance, also, in any changes to be made was the personal and dynastic safety of the Queen. The necessity of making her position as queen secure took precedence over all questions of personal or national religious preference. Could her throne have been secured most certainly by continuing the alliance with the Papacy by means of diplomatic accommodations on both sides, doubtless this would have been the method adopted. The personal attitude and character of Paul IV, and perhaps also French influence upon the Papal See, the Continental religious and political situation combined with the domestic situation to make such a solution of Elizabeth's difficulties well-nigh impossible. Without voluntary concessions on the part of the Papacy,¹ it seemed to Elizabeth's advisers more dangerous to meddle with the papal power in England than to abolish it altogether.² Yet the wretched condition of the military and economic resources and the uncertainty of national support made dangerous a step so radical as complete separation from the Roman Church.

¹ Dixon (*History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction* [Oxford, 1902], vol. v, p. 88) has disposed of the often-repeated assertion that the Pope offered to confirm the English Prayer Book if his authority was acknowledged. But cf. Raynaldus, no. 42 (trans. in E. P. Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, pp. 373-74), where the offer to sanction the English Liturgy, allow the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and revoke the condemnation of the marriage of Henry and Anne is printed.

² *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 1, no. 68.

The government advanced with caution. The exiles on account of religion were allowed to return in great numbers, but nothing was done for them. In May, 1559, Jewel complained to Bullinger, ". . . at present we are so living, as scarcely to seem like persons returned from exile; for to say nothing else, not one of us has yet had even his own property restored to him."¹ All preaching was prohibited until Parliament could meet to decide upon a form of ecclesiastical settlement.² The Queen herself received men of all parties, wrote to the Pope,³ kept up her friendship with Philip of Spain. The Council repressed the enthusiasms of Catholics and Protestants alike. The government was anxious to give neither Protestants nor Catholics hopes or fears which would bring matters to a crisis until they had formulated and arranged for the execution of the policy best suited to secure the allegiance of as great a number of all religious parties as was possible. Dictated by the desire to make secure the position of the Queen, this policy must necessarily be one of compromise and moderation, at least until it was safe to disturb the delicate balance of the foreign political situation which made England dependent upon the friendship of Philip and freedom from the active hostility of the other Catholic Powers.

In entire accord with the moderation thus made necessary were the personal tastes and preferences of the Queen. She did not share, she could not understand, the uncompromising zeal of either Catholic or Protestant. If the political considerations demanded a Protestant or anti-papal establishment, she was willing that it should be set up; yet her love for the pomp and forms of a stately religion and her hatred of the extremes and fanaticism of Protestant enthusiasm were real, and she stood ready to establish and maintain the policy of moderation which left room for some of the forms she loved.

¹ *Zurich Letters*, no. xx.

² H. N. Birt, *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement* (London, 1907), p. 23.

³ Raynaldus, *Ann. Ecc.*, Ann. 1559, no. 2.

The middle course could make little appeal to enthusiasm. Zealous Catholics could not be satisfied thus nor could the extreme Protestants be content with halfway measures. "Others are seeking after a golden, or, as it rather seems to me, a leaden mediocrity; and are crying out, that the half is better than the whole." "Whatever is to be, I only wish that our party may not act with too much worldly prudence and policy in the cause of God." ¹ But Elizabeth and the men who were in her confidence were not extremists, they were not religious enthusiasts; they represented the national state of mind and were justified in their belief that the Queen could depend upon the nation's support for a reasonable and moderate religious settlement.

On the religious question the nation was, on the whole, indifferent. Nor is it strange that this was true at this time. England had been forced through change after change in the religious establishment, beginning with Henry VIII and ending with the proscriptions of Mary. It had been trained for a quarter of a century to adjust itself to a turn-coat policy in religious matters. As Lloyd quaintly says of Cecil, "He saw the interest of this state changed six times, and died an honest man: the crown put upon four heads, yet he continued a faithful subject: religion changed, as to the public constitution of it, five times, yet he kept the faith." ² During that period the nation had seen England sink into insignificance in Continental affairs and watched its internal conditions grow from bad to worse. The extremes of Mary's reign and the growing economic distress of the country repelled English thought from purely religious quarrels and absorbed their attention in more practical matters. Just as at the Restoration, following a period of political control by the extremists in religion, there was a period during which re-

¹ Jewel, *Works*, vol. iv, Letters, no. xii, Jewel to Martyr; *Zurich Letters*, no. viii, Jewel to Martyr, Jan. 26, 1559.

² Nares, *Burghley*, vol. iii, p. 326.

ligious enthusiasm languished and the country joyfully proceeded to recuperate from the effects of religious restraints, so now after Mary's persecutions there succeeded a period of that indifference to religion, which, if not a promoter of positive tolerance is a great check on intolerance. The country needed the help of all in adjusting its home affairs and demanded their loyalty to protect their queen and themselves from another Catholic sovereign. Their enthusiasm found vent in these things, not in religious contentions. The policy of subordinating religious considerations to the political safety of the nation enabled the Church of the early part of Elizabeth's reign to survive the attacks from within and without the kingdom; the Church was not itself an object of enthusiastic support, but served as a standard around which Englishmen gathered to defend principles to which they gave their deepest loyalty and purpose, determination and love. Changes which appealed to the loyalty and patriotism of the nation, and which freed it from the wearisome persecutions and distracting turmoil that characterized Mary's reign, were certain of English support.

The policy of moderation, the halfway course, which the religious indifference, the political situation, and the Queen's preferences made the logical plan to secure the allegiance of the kingdom, implied, of course, a departure from Roman Catholicism in the direction of some form of Protestantism. The religious and ecclesiastical history of England under Henry and Edward furnished a precedent for the change which could be made with the least shock to the feelings of Englishmen.

The Church developed in the reigns of Elizabeth's father and brother was of a character which of all the forms of Protestantism departed least in belief, form, and organization from Catholicism. Practically all of Elizabeth's mature subjects had been living in the time of Henry and Edward, and there existed a large party

within the kingdom accustomed to, if not partisans of the Church, as it had developed in Edwardian times. The right wing of this party had in Mary's reign become stronger and its leaders had confirmed their predilections by residence on the Continent, where they had associated closely with the prominent figures of Continental Protestantism. On the Continent sufficient time had elapsed since Luther's attack upon the Papacy to make less dominant the essentially political motives of the revolt from papal control, and Protestantism itself had begun that hardening of dogmatic and ecclesiastical standards which resulted in a more oppressive spirit than had existed in Catholicism itself prior to the Lutheran revolt; but this development had not yet gone so far nor the Protestant parties become so strong that anti-papal principles had sunk into the background of sectarian propaganda. Thus the English who had fled to the Continent during Mary's reign were, with the exception of a few extremists hypnotized by the Calvinistic system, most influenced by their residence in the Protestant centers toward an anti-papal rather than toward a narrow sectarian policy.

These men the government could use in carrying out its plans, though it did not ask their help in making them.¹ Many of the most able and practical were ready to make compromises, either for the sake of introducing a modified reform into the Church in England, or for the sake of securing for themselves the exercise and emoluments of clerical office.² Papal Catholics could not compromise. The theory of the Church forbade it, although it is perhaps true that shame for the compromises of the past rather than strict regard for the theory of the Church induced many of them to stand firmly now upon the convictions registered during Mary's reign.³ "For sake of consistency which the

¹ Jewel, *Works*, vol. iv, Letters, nos. viii, x, xii; *Zurich Letters*, nos. xi, xiv, xv; *Parker Correspondence*, no. xlix.

² Jewel, *Works*, vol. ii, p. 770; *Zurich Letters*, no. xlix.

³ Jewel, *Works*, vol. iv, Letters, no. xiv; *Zurich Letters*, no. xxvii; Burnet,

miserable knaves now choose to call their conscience, some few of the bishops, who were furious in the late Marian times, cannot as yet in so short a time, for very shame return to their senses."¹ Lukewarm Catholics, however, Catholics from policy, Catholics whose patriotism exceeded their love for the Church, should not be driven into opposition by extreme measures. With regard to the Protestants the government occupied the strategic position. Any change from Catholicism could be regarded as a concession which, for the present, must perforce satisfy the radicals, and win for the government the great mass of reformers, already prepared to make compromises and to rejoice over gains religious or financial.² Necessity, not inclination, may have made the changes in the religious establishment veer toward Protestantism, but the government had little to fear from a national Protestant party and could safely proceed in the direction made inevitable by the attitude of the Pope and by the political situation. The change was so moderately made, however, that Ascham was able to write to Sturmius, "[The Queen has] exercised such moderation, that the papists themselves have no complaint to make of having been severely dealt with."³

The government, in depending for the success of a compromise religious policy upon the party of reform and upon the Catholics whose papal traditions were not so strong as their English feelings, was strengthened by the circumstances which made support of its religious policy clearly essential to the safety of the Queen. Loyalty to the sovereign was the greatest practical bond of national union in sixteenth-century England, the first principle of national patriotism. That such a spirit existed and would support the Queen's religious policy was comparatively easy of con-

History of the Reformation of the Church of England (Pocock edition, Oxford, 1865), pt. III, bk. VI, no. 51.

¹ Jewel, *Works*, vol. IV, Letters, no. lxi. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. xv, xx, xxi.

² *Zurich Letters*, nos. ii, xxvi, xxxiii.

³ *Ibid.*, no. lxiv.

firmation during a time when the opinions of the great mass of the population were negligible or non-existent. The new nobles and gentry were sufficiently numerous and influential to see to it that their dependents made no serious trouble; their own allegiance was secured by conviction, or by prospects of place and profit.¹

In England the Queen might depend upon practically the united support of the reforming party and upon many lukewarm Catholics. The greatest dangers within the kingdom came from the older Catholic nobility, displeased at the prominence of the new men as well as devoted to the old Church, and from the clerics who had held high office in Church and State during Mary's reign. The latter, alarmed at the uncertainty of the government's policy, reasonably certain that Papal Catholicism would not be established as the religion of the State, and fearful lest the extreme Protestants ultimately have their way and a system of persecution be inaugurated, formed the party of opposition to governmental plans for an ecclesiastical compromise. Yet for the most part this opposition was passive, and was accompanied by protestations of loyalty to the Crown, and to the Queen.

This party would have been of little importance and helpless in the grip of royal disfavor had not the policy which the foreign complications forced upon the government been one of compromise and reconciliation of all loyal Catholics. In so far as the clerical party was at one with and in a sense dependent upon foreign, that is papal, politics, it was dangerous to the government; but fear of alliance or intrigue with Continental Catholicism had to give way before the more pressing danger that the suppression or harsh treatment of the old leaders of the Church would excite the sympathy, or arouse the antagonism, of men who would otherwise quietly acquiesce in the moderate proposals of the government.

¹ Lee, *The Church under Elizabeth* (2 vols. 1880), vol. 1, p. 70.

ELIZABETH'S FIRST PARLIAMENT

The details of the slow and cautious plans of the government would here occupy too much space and serve only to confuse the purposes of this essay.¹ They are to be found in the histories of the period. Throughout the time between the accession of Elizabeth and the meeting of her first Parliament the plans for the religious changes were perfected and the country carefully persuaded into an attitude of waiting for the settlement of the religious questions to be embodied in law by that body.² In the mean time Cecil and the other leaders arranged for the election to Commons of men who would be amenable to the directions of the Crown,³ and the committee of the Council, "for the consideration of all things necessary for the Parliament" drafted the measures thought necessary to be passed by that body when it should assemble.⁴

Parliament was opened on January 25, 1559, with the usual ceremony, and Convocation assembled, as was the custom, at the same time. In the Lords the bishops and one abbot took their usual places and were permitted a freedom in voicing their opposition to all the proposed religious changes that would hardly have been granted to lay opponents of governmental policy.⁵ Convocation passed articles asserting uncompromising adherence to the Roman Catholic faith.⁶ The fairness of the government and its magnanimity were ostentatious; the pleas of the clerics vivid and impassioned, in spite of the fact that they knew their case was

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. I, no. 69; vol. IV, no. 40; Strype, *Annals*, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 74-76, App., no. iv; Burnet, pt. II, bk. III, no. I, p. 497; Dodd (Tierney's ed.), vol. II, p. 123, and App., no. 33.

² *Zurich Letters*, nos. iii, viii.

³ For methods of influencing the elections cf. Council to Parker and Cobham, *Parker Correspondence*, no. cclxxvii, Feb. 17, 1570.

⁴ Strype, *Annals*, vol. I, pt. I, App., no. iv; Dodd (Tierney's ed.), II, p. 123, and App., no. 33; Dixon, vol. V, p. 22, note.

⁵ Strype, *Annals*, vol. I, pt. I, App., nos. vi, vii, ix, x, xi; D'Ewes, *Journals*, Elizabeth's first Parliament.

⁶ Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. IV, p. 179.

hopeless except as the vigor of their protests in Parliament and through the Convocation might serve to modify or soften for Catholics the terms of the settlement. They knew that the government would go as far as it could to avoid trouble and that it was willing to make as light as was consistent with safety the disabilities placed upon the Catholics. Elizabeth had shown this, when at her coronation, ten days before the assembling of Parliament, the Catholic bishops, who had, with the exception of Oglethorpe, refused to officiate,¹ were allowed to escape any outward evidence of her displeasure. In spite of a perverseness which often drove the even-minded Cecil to distraction, Elizabeth sometimes showed, when conditions demanded it, a proper regard for practical politics, even at the expense of her personal feelings.

After Parliament had been in session for some time and after the points of the settlement had been well mulled over in both houses, the government reached the culmination, and at the same time the end, of its previous policy toward Mary's clergy. Arrangements were made for a great disputation, before the members of the Council and the nobility at Westminster, between the representatives of the Catholic and of the reforming parties. Governmental show of fairness in choosing the subjects for the conference and in arranging the method of discussion was perhaps more seeming than real, but the indiscretions of the Catholic divines, before the notable assemblage gathered to listen to the debate, afforded the authorities sufficiently good grounds for placing restraints upon their liberties. The refusal of the Catholics to proceed had, if we may trust Jewel, another effect, doubtless appreciated by the government. Jewel wrote to Martyr immediately after the affair, "It is altogether incredible how much this conduct has lessened the opinion that the people entertained of the bishops; for they

¹ Dixon (vol. v, pp. 47-51) denies this, but does not seem to me to have proved his case.

all begin to suspect that they refused to say anything, only because they had not anything to say."¹

We have already had occasion to mention the impatience of the Protestants, who had returned from exile or come out of hiding, over their neglected condition and the slowness of the government in making provision for them. Their impatience was aggravated by governmental permission of dilatory tactics by the Catholic bishops. "It is idly and scurrilously said, by way of joke, that as heretofore Christ was *cast out* by his enemies, so he is now *kept out* by his friends." "We manage . . . as if God himself could scarce retain his authority without our ordinances and precautions."² Since most of them were not admitted to the counsels and purposes of the government in its treatment of Catholics, nor capable of understanding the need for caution and moderation, they were greatly discouraged over their prospects. The moderate men of the reforming party, however, who, like Cox,³ and Parker, were least fanatical, were used by the leaders at court and given assurances of favor, conditional upon coöperation in establishing a church such as the government had in mind. Protestants preached at court and were given employment upon the details of arrangement for the changes contemplated, such as the revision of Edward's Prayer Book and the compilation of the Book of Homilies. With the progress of the work of Parliament the Protestants had less cause for complaint and were allowed greater expression of opinion so long as they did not exceed the limits of discussion set by government policy. Forced, as the court was, to depend for support of its anti-papal policy upon the reformers, it placed confidence only in those who were in sympathy with its de-

¹ Jewel, *Works*, vol. iv, Letters, no. ix (*Zurich Letters*, no. xii; Burnet, pt. III, bk. vi, no. 49, p. 407). Cf. also *ibid.*, no. viii; *Zurich Letters*, nos. xi, xix; Burnet, pt. III, bk. vi, no. 47, p. 402; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. III, no. 52; Strype, *Annals*, vol. I, pt. I, App., nos. xv, xvi.

² *Zurich Letters*, no. xiii. Cf. also *ibid.*, nos. xi, xiv, xvii, xix, xlii.

³ Hall, *Elizabethan Age*, chap. viii, "The Churchman," pp. 103-18.

sire to make no radical changes, and to conduct all things in order and decency, with proper regard to the secular interests of all concerned.

The carefully packed Parliament was significantly enough characterized by the predominance of younger men who had not had previous experience as members of the Commons. They were for the most part of Protestant sympathies, but sufficiently in awe of court influence to submit to the management of Cecil and the Crown. We find in this Parliament little of that tendency to take the bit in its teeth and direct its own course which later in the reign gave such opportunity for the exercise of royal authority in restraint of Parliamentary action. No serious obstacles presented themselves in the Commons to the passage of the religious acts determined upon by the government; but nothing was done in haste, and the willingness of the Commons was restrained by the greater experience of the Lords. Perhaps, too, the government was willing to allow more or less radical talk in the Commons to counteract the effects of Catholic protests in the Upper House. The history of the passage of the acts through Parliament is somewhat tiresome, and significant only as confirming the care and supervision of the court leaders. It will be sufficient here to name and summarize briefly the provisions of the acts as they finally received the signature of the Queen.

The most important of these were the Acts of Supremacy¹ and Uniformity.² The Act of Supremacy repealed 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8, which had revived papal jurisdiction, and the statutes concerning heresy made in that reign. Ten statutes of Henry VIII and one of Edward were revived. It dropped the title "Supreme Head of the Church,"³ although it retained the substance and pro-

¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, 1 Eliz., c. 1.

² *Ibid.*, c. 2.

³ D'Ewes, *Journals*, p. 38; Stubbs, in *App. Ecc. Courts, Com. Report, Sessional Papers*, 1883, vol. XXIV, p. 44: "the effect of omitting the revival of 26 H. VIII, c. 1, 28 H. VIII, c. 10, 35 H. VIII, c. 3, and 35 H. VIII, c. 1, sec. 7, was the abolition of the royal claim to the title of supreme head as affirmed by Act of Parliament."

vided for the exercise of a supreme royal authority by means of ecclesiastical commissions practically unlimited by law as to composition, number, and duration. The old jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts was, however, retained. The Act of Uniformity imposed an ambiguous Prayer Book, designed to permit men of all faiths to take part in the services. Of laymen no declaration of faith was demanded; outward conformity, signified by attendance upon the service, was all that was asked; and a fine of twelve pence imposed for absence from the new services was intended to secure attendance. Office-holders,¹ both lay and clerical, were required to take an oath acknowledging the Queen's supremacy and renouncing all allegiance and obedience to any foreign power, upon pain of loss of, and disqualification for office. Clerics who took the oath, but refused to use the service and comply with the terms of the act, were subject to increasing penalties culminating in deposition and life imprisonment.

Besides the two great measures of establishment, which virtually placed the Queen at the head of the English Church, Parliament annexed the first fruits and tenths to the Crown; declared Elizabeth lawful heir to the Crown,² without, however, affirming in so many words the validity of Anne's marriage to Henry; annexed to the Crown the religious houses which Mary had founded; and gave the Queen power, with the ecclesiastical commissioners, to take further order for the regulation of the cathedral and collegiate churches.³

INAUGURATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT

After the completion of the work of Elizabeth's first Parliament and its dissolution, the government had yet to put the system devised into operation. Naturally the first

¹ Cf. however, *Span. Cal.*, 1558-67, vol. 1, no. 36, p. 76; *Parker Corresp.*, no. lxxi.

² *Statutes of the Realm*, 1 Eliz., c. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, c. 22.

step toward the inauguration of the establishment was the removal of the obstructionist bishops. This the Act of Uniformity had made legally possible in the paragraphs which provided that from the clerics an oath acknowledging the Queen's supremacy might be demanded by such persons as were authorized by the Queen to receive it. The Council, by virtue of commission dated May 23, offered the oath to the Roman bishops, and, upon their refusal to take it, deposed, during the course of the summer, all except Landaff, who took the oath and was allowed to retain his bishopric.

The removal of the lesser Catholic clergy throughout the kingdom was accomplished by means of Commissions of Royal Visitation formed during the summer months. England was divided into six circuits and commissioners, mostly laymen, appointed to make the rounds,¹ administer the oath to the clergy, and inquire into certain articles of which the most interesting are those concerning the late persecutions.² The visitors carried with them also a set of royal injunctions for the guidance of the Church. These were copied after the injunctions of Edward VI, with an explanation added at the end setting forth the fact that the Queen did not claim spiritual functions and a denial that the government attached to the taking of the oath the acknowledgment of any such belief.³ Because of the extent of the territory to be covered by these commissions and because of their limited powers, the results of this visitation are hard to estimate. Anglican and Catholic writers, after careful study of all available statistical information, differ widely in their conclusions as to the number of the clergy

¹ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. x, no. 1; vol. vi, no. 12; Henry Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy* (Oxford, 1898), pp. 89-93, 133-36; Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, vol. I, 249; Burnet, pt. II, bk. III, no. 7, p. 533.

² Articles printed in Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, pp. 65-70; Sparrow, *Collections*.

³ Prothero, *Select Statutes*, p. 184; Sparrow, *Collections*, p. 65; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. xv, no. 27; Burnet, pt. II, bk. III, p. 631; Collier, II, 433; Strype, *Annals*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 197; Jewel, *Works*, vol. IV, "Defence of the Apology," pp. 958-1039; Whitgift, *Works* (Parker Society), vol. I, p. 22.

who were deposed.¹ The point is not essential. We know enough to be certain that, while not thorough in its work, the visitation accomplished practically all that the government hoped for or desired; the system was inaugurated and its most fanatical enemies removed from the exercise of their offices. The perfection of the system, and the sifting out of enemies whom the visitation had missed and the government desired to find, might safely be left to other more permanent agencies of supervision.

The examination of the certificates of the royal visitors and the completion of their work² were assigned by commission, dated September 13, to the central commission for the exercise of royal supremacy contemplated by the Act of Supremacy. This central or permanent body had already been created and given extensive powers by commission issued on July 19, although it probably did not meet until the practical completion of the work of the royal visitors, as many of its members were also visitors. Besides the business resulting from the work of the Royal Visitation, the central commission had committed to its care the supervision of the working of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity throughout the kingdom, repression of seditious books, heretical opinions, false rumors, slanderous words, disturbances of, and absence from, the established services, and was further given jurisdiction over all vagabonds of London and the vicinity.³

The removal of the Catholic bishops, the work of the Royal Visitation, and the creation of a central commission were in large part merely repressive measures, providing for proper policing of the country. It was essential to the working of the system that the episcopal offices, made vacant by the forced retirement of the Roman Catholic bishops, be

¹ Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy* (Oxford, 1898); H. N. Birt, *Elizabethan Religious Settlement* (London, 1907).

² *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. vii, no. 79; Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 141; Birt, *Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, p. 183, no. 2. Cf. *Parker Corresp.*, no. lxxx.

³ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. v, no. 18; Prothero, *Select Statutes*, pp. 227-32; Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, vol. 1, p. 223.

filled. There was no lack of candidates for the positions. Protestants who from conviction regarded the abolition of the papal supremacy as the essential element for the National Church; Protestants who hoped for further reform, but were willing to take honorable office in the Church for the sake of excluding persons less Protestant than themselves, and for the sake of working from the inside for more radical changes; Protestants whose convictions were swayed by the knowledge that high offices in the Church were not likely to be awarded to radicals — all more or less modestly waited for preferment. And men from all of these classes obtained what they waited for, some in positions less high than they had hoped, but better than exile or obscurity. The disagreeable bickerings of the newly chosen clergy with the Queen over the exchange of parsonages inappropriate for bishops' lands, which delayed their installation and consecration for some time, was not entirely due to greed on the part of the bishops. "The bishops are as yet only marked out, and their estates are in the mean time gloriously swelling the exchequer,"¹ Jewel wrote to Martyr in November, 1559. Many felt, with Jewel, more concern over the impoverishment of the Church by the Queen's excessive demands than for their own loss of worldly goods. Their greed at this time has probably been considerably magnified because of the avarice of such men as Aylmer, one of the least admirable of the Elizabethan bishops. His conduct was the opposite of that which he had demanded before he became a bishop. Then he had cried, "Come of you Bishoppes, away with your superfluities, yeld up your thousands, be content with hundreds as they be in other reformed Churches, where be as greate learned men as you are. Let your portion be priestlike and not princelike."² As a bishop his greed became a common

¹ *Zurich Letters*, no. xxxv. Cf. *Parker Corresp.*, nos. lxviii, lxix; *S. P., Dom.*, *Eliz.*, vol. VIII, no. 19.

² Maitland, *Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation*, p. 166; Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, pt. I, App., no. xxxi; Strype, *Aylmer*, *passim*.

scandal. But Parker, Jewel, Grindal, Parkhurst, and many of the others were men of relatively high character, although better fitted perhaps for scholastic affairs than for the complexities of practical ecclesiastical administration. None of them had ability or training in ecclesiastical administration comparable to that of Cecil in secular administration. Yet they were earnest and sincere men fitted to give intelligent, if not brilliant, service in the establishment of the Church.

The selection of the lesser clergy to fill the places made vacant by the work of the Royal Visitation presented a much more difficult problem. Secular influence in the selection of these men was exerted by local magnates and nobles with more concern for selfish advantage than for the welfare of either of Church or of State, and Parker wrote to Lady Bacon: —

I was informed the best of the country, not under the degree of knights, were infected with this sore, so far that some one knight had four or five, some other seven or eight benefices clouted together, fleecing them all, defrauding the crown's subjects of their duty of prayers, somewhere setting boys and their serving-men to bear the names of such living.¹

The Queen herself did not realize the need for competent preachers and pastors; the higher clergy were in too many cases, even where competent men were available, careless about securing their services, or as greedy as the laity to secure cheap ones. Clerical service gave no dignified or honored position in the community, and the financial rewards were not enticing to men of ability. The tone and character of the lesser clergy reached perhaps its lowest ebb during the first years of Elizabeth's reign.²

In spite of the setting in motion of the machinery provided by the religious acts, the Roman Catholics were not entirely disheartened. There were elements in the situation

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. ccxxxix.

² Cf. chap. v, p. 131.

which justified them in thinking that their case was not hopeless. Although they had apparently lost power, the obvious conciliatory policy of the government gave them practical assurance that they were in little real present danger and led them to hope that a chance for rehabilitation might present itself. That the organization and the services of the establishment were not radically changed by the new order was a subject for congratulation among Catholics. Parsons, the Jesuit, at a later date rejoices "that the sweet and high Providence of Almighty God hath not been small in conserving and holding together a good portion of the material part of the old *English* Catholick Church, above all other Nations, that have been over-run with Heresie, for that we have yet on foot many principal Monuments that are destroyed, in other countries, as namely we have our Cathedral Churches and Bishopricks yet standing, our Deanries, Canonries, Archdeaconries, and other Benefices not destroyed, our Colledges and Universities whole, so that there wanteth nothing, but a new form to give them Life and Spirit by putting good and vertuous Men into them. . . ." ¹

The work of the Royal Commissioners of Visitation had varied with the character of the visitors and the sentiments of the districts visited, and the institution of the new system was by no means thorough. Catholic clergy were left, in some sections at least, in charge of their old parishes. " . . . The prebendaries in the cathedrals, and the parish priests in the other churches, retaining the outward habits and inward feeling of popery, so fascinate the ears and eyes of the multitude that they are unable to believe but that either the popish doctrine is still retained, or at least that it will be shortly restored." ² The most dangerous and rabid of the papal adherents had been removed, but the impression was given that this was all the government wished to

¹ Parsons, *Memorial of the Reformation of England*, printed in part in Taunton, *English Jesuits*, App., p. 478.

² *Zurich Letters*, no. liii, Lever to Bullinger, July 10, 1560.

accomplish. Finally, there was much in the foreign political situation to give Catholics hope, and cause concern to Elizabeth and her advisers.

ELIZABETH'S SECOND PARLIAMENT

Foreign events during the first four or five years of Elizabeth's reign served to emphasize the need for the loyalty of Englishmen and for the maintenance of governmental control over the religious question.¹ When Parliament met for the second time, January 12, 1563, Philip had given up his hope of regaining England for Catholicism by matrimonial alliance. Elizabeth had refused to send representatives to the Council of Trent, and the labors of that body had ended without accomplishing anything which tended toward reconciliation. In 1562 the Pope, Pius IV, issued a brief forbidding Catholics to attend the English services on pain of being declared schismatic, and thus, in some measure, English Catholics had been compelled to withdraw the assent to the new arrangement which the moderate policy of the government had won from them. Mary was back in Scotland, forced to make concessions to the Protestants to maintain her throne, but craftily intriguing to gain freedom. She schemed and waited in the hope that a turn of the wheel might seat her on the English throne and give her the means to suppress the hated preachers. Her hopes were dependent upon her uncles the Guises, and events in France in 1562 seemed to indicate that the time she awaited had come. The year opened with the issue by Catharine of an edict of toleration. Guise replied with the massacre of a Protestant congregation at Vassy. He entered Paris and seized the queen mother and the king. The Huguenot leaders took the field and France was divided into two hostile and destructive religious camps. Philip sent forces to Gascony to aid the Guises. The Pope and the Duke of Savoy hired Italians

¹ D'Ewes, *Journals*, Cecil's speech in the second Parliament. Cf. *Zurich Letters*, nos. lxix, lxxii, lxxiii.

and Piedmontese to attack the Huguenots from the southwest. German mercenaries were added to the Catholic forces in the north. The Huguenots seemed enclosed in the net of their foes. Mary negotiated a marriage with the son of Philip, strengthened her connections with the Continental Catholics, and plotted the overthrow of Elizabeth and the restoration of both Scotland and England to the jurisdiction of the Papal See. Success for the Catholics on the Continent seemed to mean success for Mary in Scotland, perhaps in England also. Then came the battle of Dreux and the virtual defeat of the combined Huguenot forces.

That the English Parliament in this situation should strengthen the kingdom's defenses against its religious and political enemies was inevitable; that it proceeded along the lines of the weaknesses found in the system established is evidence of conservatism and moderation not to be expected from a radical Protestant body.

There is no question that the system had been proved ineffective in some points by the experience of the past five years. In the first place, under the arrangements made by the Act of Supremacy for administering the oath, many, both clerics and laity, who were in positions to hinder the secure establishment of the system, had been able to escape, either because the means for administering the oath were ineffective, or because they were not included in the classes specified as required to take it. Thus we find disorders both among the clerics and laity, particularly in the north where the great centers of Catholic dissent were situated, and where the need for a united front was especially great from a military standpoint. Compared with the extent of the country, the means of administering the oath to the clergy were few, and where such means should have been sufficient they were often hindered by the opposition or indifference of secular officials whose sympathies were with their Catholic neighbors. The ecclesiastics were often forced to make such complaints as Parker's to Cecil: —

I am here stoutly faced out by that vain official who was declared to have slandered Mr. Morris and some justices of the peace, and purpose to examine the foul slander of Morris according to the request of your letters. The official seemeth to discredit my office, for that I am but one of the commission, and have none other assistants here; and therefore it would do good service if the commission I sued for to be renewed were granted. There be stout words muttered for actions of the case, and for dangerous premunires, and specially tossed by his friends, papists only, where the better subjects do universally cry out his abuses. If I had some advice from you I should do the better.¹

Complaints of such hindrance were constantly sent to the Council, because the bishops and other ecclesiastics were without the power necessary to enforce their orders. Since the real sting of excommunication lay, for the Catholics, not in exclusion from the Church, but in the temporal penalties attached to that condition, failure to impose these penalties took from the hands of the Church the force of its most powerful weapon. Here, then, are at least two important defects of the system created by the acts of 1559: the right to administer the oath of supremacy and the obligation to take it did not extend far enough to cover all dangers, and the ecclesiastical censure of excommunication could not be rightly enforced because minor officials, particularly the sheriffs and justices of the peace, failed to do their duty and there was no generally applicable means of forcing them to do so. These are obviously defects that needed correction, and we find that Parliament's two most important acts, the Act for the Assurance of the Queen's Supremacy and the Act for the Better Enforcement of the *Writ de Excommunicato Capiendo*, deal with these very things.

The Act for the Assurance of the Queen's Supremacy² had for its purpose the most effective administration of the previous legislation concerning the royal supremacy and the

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. cclxxix; cf. Grindal, *Remains*, Letters, no. lxxii; *S. P., Dom.*, *Eliz.*, vol. CCLXX, no. 99; vol. CCLXXIV, no. 25.

² *Statutes of the Realm*, 5 *Eliz.*, c. 1; cf. speeches against the bill by Browne, Lord Montague, and Atkinson, Strype, *Annals*, vol. 1, chap. xxvi.

extension of such legislation to persons not previously reached by its requirements, particularly the provision which compelled the taking of the oath of supremacy. The punishment for maintenance of the papal power in England was increased, and the enforcement of the law was, for the first time, brought under the control of a powerful and efficient secular court, King's Bench. The minor officials to whom the administration of the laws against Catholics had been in great part entrusted, were made directly responsible to it for the performance of their duty. The loopholes left by the Act of Supremacy for escape from taking the oath of supremacy were closed and the application of the requirement was greatly extended. To those classes of persons formerly required to take it, were added the members of Commons, all lay and clerical graduates of the universities, schoolmasters, public and private teachers, barristers, lawyers, sheriffs, and all "persons whatsoever who have or shall be admitted to any ministry or office belonging to the common law or any other law within the realm." The agents for administering the oath were increased in number. Every archbishop and bishop was given power to administer the oath to all ecclesiastics within his diocese, and the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal was authorized to issue commissions to any persons he saw fit, to administer the oath to such persons as were specified in the commission. Refusal to take the oath was punished by more severe penalties.¹

In the Act for the due Execution of the *Writ de Excommunicato Capiendo*² the ecclesiastical censure of excommunication was made stronger. It had long been the custom for the bishop, upon excommunicating an offender, to write to the Court of Chancery for a *writ de Excommunicato Capiendo*,

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, nos. cxxvii and cxxviii. Parker, with the approval of Cecil, took measures to see that these penalties were not too severely enforced. Cf. Strype, *Parker*, 126.

² *Statutes of the Realm*, 5 Eliz., c. 23. History of the act in Strype, *Annals*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 460.

or *capias*. Chancery issued the writ to the sheriff for execution, and that officer was supposed upon its receipt to arrest and imprison the person excommunicated. Under the new establishment, however, the sheriff was often in sympathy with such offenders and failed to do his duty,¹ and there was, in cases of such failure, no way, by means of the ordinary processes of law, to force him to perform his duty because the writ was not returnable to any court. The new act, probably drawn up by Parker and Grindal,² provided, by means of fines imposed upon the minor officials for failure to do their duty, that the authority of the spiritual censure be effectively enforced and that the personal leanings of the sheriffs should not prevent the execution of the penalties involved in excommunication. Incidentally the act specifies the offenses that incur the penalty of Excommunication:

Excommunicatyon dothe proceede upon some cause or contempte of some originall matter of Heresie or refusing to have his or their childe baptysed or to receave the Holy Communion as yt commonlye is now used to be recyved in the church of Englande, or to come to Dyvine service nowe commonlye used in the said church of Englande, or errour in matters of religion or doctryne now receyved and alowed in the sayd church of Englande, incontenencye, usurye, symonye, periurye, in the ecclesiastical court or Idolatrye.

Parliament did not confine its work for the security of the Queen and the realm to the enactment of these two acts. The repression of that class of persons who pretended to forecast events, or to exercise magical powers, was looked to in two special acts which imposed penalties upon witches and enchanters. Such persons were regarded as dangerous because of their associations with the old religion.³ The acts were framed because the people were misled by seditious persons dissatisfied with the religious establishment, who

¹ Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 19.

² Strype, *Annals*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 460.

³ *Statutes of the Realm*, 5 Eliz., c. 15; Strype, *Annals*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 441, 465-66; *Statutes of the Realm*, 5 Eliz., c. 16.

used prophecy and divination as excuses or incentives for bringing about the Queen's death. The belief in magic, possession, witchcraft, and similar supernatural manifestations of power was shared by all classes and by all types of religious faith. This somewhat curious persistence in Christianity of an essentially dual conception of the universe and supernatural forces has extended even to the present time, and though the importance which all men of that time attached to such claims seems absurd to-day, the fear was real and the danger imagined particularly hard to meet.

THE SUCCESS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

In the establishment thus created by the first Parliament and strengthened by the second, there was little to alarm the great mass of the people. There was no change made that on the surface could not be justified by some act of the past, although, as is usual, Englishman's precedent applied to a new situation might involve consequences utterly foreign to the substance of past conceptions. The old machinery remained; the two provinces, the bishoprics, and in great part the same clergy still conducted the services. The services were not so different as to shock religious sense, or to arouse the opposition of the people, although isolated cases of Protestant violence and Catholic stubbornness might occur. For a long time the Queen retained, much to the distress of her clergy, elements of the old worship in her private chapel.¹ The supremacy of the Queen was maintained, but the title of "Supreme Head of the Church," so offensive to Catholics, was not assumed, and the national headship over all estates of the realm found support in the patriotic sentiments of all Protestants and a great number of Catholics. In the enforcement of the supremacy no extraordinary judicial bodies with which the people were unfamiliar were created. The Queen's commissions

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, nos. lxvi, lxvii, lxxii; *Zurich Letters*, nos. xxv, xl, xxxix, xliv, xlviii, xliii.

were similar to those of Edward and Mary, and the regular and ecclesiastical courts exercised jurisdiction in establishing and maintaining the supremacy and ecclesiastical order in much the same way that they had in the past. The purposes of the government had been to construct a Church which would enable Elizabeth to retain her throne, which would reconcile Catholics and Protestants, and which might serve as a police force over the outlying districts of the kingdom. The Church as established served as a protection against Catholic dangers and in a minor degree insured the avoidance of Protestant excesses.¹ As a governmental tool it accomplished its objects with as little friction and injustice as could be expected. In the hands of Elizabeth and her government it came as near satisfying all parties as any system that could have been devised.

The years from 1563 to the end of Elizabeth's reign brought no essential changes in the structure of the Church. Details were adjusted and relationships changed somewhat as new problems arose and as the Church itself developed an independent ecclesiastical consciousness, but essentially the structure given the Church in the first years of Elizabeth remained unchanged. Of the adjustments and changed relationships, so far as they concern the growth of an independent Anglican Church, and the development of various phases of Protestant dissent, we shall speak in succeeding chapters. They are phases of English religious and ecclesiastical history which may be best treated after we have reviewed the course of those events which, to the minds of all Protestant elements in the kingdom, most closely concerned the religious as well as the political integrity of England.

¹ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. VI, no. 22; vol. XIII, no. 32; Strype, *Annals*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 279; Collier, *Ecc. Hist.*, vol. VI, p. 332.

CHAPTER III

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CATHOLICS

THE Catholic danger was, during the whole reign of Elizabeth, the one most prominent in English religious politics, yet the lenient policy in the handling of her Catholic subjects, inaugurated at the beginning, was maintained by Elizabeth and her government. Repression of disorder and restraint of individuals whose activity might be politically dangerous were in general the only purpose of that policy. Nevertheless, we find considerable diversity in the thoroughness with which such restraint and repression were exercised, and a growing severity in the laws enacted for dealing with Catholic recusants. At times of great national danger or of increased Catholic activity, laws were put in execution with greater vigor and greater legal safeguards were erected. A history of the reign in detail is unnecessary here, but a résumé of the chief events and situations in connection with the Catholic problem will make clear the grounds for political fear of Catholic disturbance and the incentives afforded for new legislation; and a description of this legislation will, in conjunction with other sources of information, afford a basis for an analysis of the character and purposes of governmental repression of Catholics.

THE REBELLION OF THE NORTHERN EARLS

From 1563 until 1570 there is little of striking interest or importance to detain us. They were years of anxiety, it is true, years during which the kingdom was least prepared to meet the Catholic disorders within and attack from Catholic powers outside the kingdom, yet the wisdom of the governmental policy of waiting, and the confusion of Continental politics enabled the State to weather the minor dis-

turbances caused by the revolt of the nobles in the north and the tempests of the vestiarian controversy. We are for the present concerned only with the former.

The rebellion of Northumberland and Westmoreland in 1569 was not based exclusively upon dislike of the religious changes made by Elizabeth and a consequent advocacy of the claims of Mary Stuart, but was in part at least founded upon the disgruntled feeling of the old nobility displaced by "new men." The earls, a remnant of the feudal nobility, with many of the views and ideals of family position which belonged to an earlier time, were jealous of the power wielded by Cecil, Bacon, Walsingham, and the new families. In their proclamation the rebels charged that the Queen was surrounded "by divers newe set-upp nobles, who not onlie go aboute to overthrow and put downe the ancient nobilitie of the realme, but also have misused the queen's majestie's owne personne, and also have by the space of twelve yeares nowe past set upp and mayntayned a new-found religion and heresie contrary to God's word." ¹ In one sense, the revolt of 1569 was a struggle between the old and the new aristocracy, and it is easily conceivable that some such strife would have arisen had a political situation other than the religious one made the monarchy as dependent upon the employment and preference of the new men as was Elizabeth in the situation which had been forced upon her.

The revolt was easily quelled, and punished with a cruelty in excess of the dangers that might justly have been feared from such a poorly planned attempt upon the throne of Elizabeth. The revolt of the north proved that internal Catholic discontent could not serve as the primary force for the overthrow of existing conditions, although it might, under certain circumstances, form a powerful auxiliary to foreign invasion should the international political situation unite the enemies of Elizabeth against England. The fact

¹ Lingard, *Hist. Eng.*, vol. v, p. 113. Cf. Bull of Excommunication, par. 2; Jewel, *Works*, vol. iv, pp. 1130-31.

that the parties of opposition were essentially foreign, papal, Scotch, Spanish, won for Elizabeth the support of all who resented outside interference in English affairs, and brought her triumphantly through the succession of crises that confronted the kingdom.

THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF ELIZABETH

In February, 1570, the carefully laid and remarkably successful plans of the government to secure by a broad and inclusive policy the adherence of Catholics to the establishment were rudely disturbed. The question now became whether the government's lenient policy during the years preceding would bear good or evil fruit. Four years before, Pius V, hot-tempered and pious in fact as well as name, had come to the papal throne. In 1570 he issued a Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth.¹ What its consequences might be it was hard to estimate. Catholics were compelled to choose definitely whether they should withdraw from the Elizabethan establishment that assent which the leniency of the government had made possible, or remain true to their loyal feelings and incur the censures of Mother Church. Would the leniency of governmental religious policy bear fruit in continued adherence of loyal Catholics at so great cost? Or would they yield obedience to the Pope at the sacrifice of personal comfort and safety, loyalty and home? The Pope demanded the sacrifice of English loyalty to ecclesiastical and religious zeal. Many hesitated, and Elizabeth issued a masterly proclamation in which she disclaimed a desire to sacrifice religious feeling to patriotic feeling:—

Her majesty would have all her loving subjects to understand, that, as long as they shall openly continue in the observation of her laws, and shall not wilfully and manifestly break them by their open actions, her majesty's means is not to have any of them molested by any inquisition or examination of their con-

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iv, p. 260; Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, vol. 1, pp. 328-31; Burnet, pt. II, bk. III, no. 13, p. 579.

sciences in causes of religion; but to accept and entreat them as her good and obedient subjects. She meaneth not to enter into the inquisition of any men's consciences as long as they shall observe her laws in their open deeds.¹

The Bull was not popular with the reasonable English Catholics, nor with the European princes.² From this time forth, until the final settlement of the danger to England from foreign aggression, all parties in England felt that however much they differed, there was need for a common front against the enemy. In a sense it aroused the Protestants of England to a united loyalty to the Crown which had not been possible before, not even ten years before at the reorganization of the Church. The only point of disagreement was as to the severity of the measures that should be taken in retaliation upon the Catholics who submitted to the commands of the Bull.

The publication of the Bull of Excommunication was the occasion for the most striking proclamation of governmental determination to adhere to its fundamental policy of abstaining from active interference with Catholics whose religious beliefs did not involve them in political plots; but the revolt of the northern earls and the dangers attendant upon the imprisonment of Mary Stuart, in conjunction with the publication of the Bull, led the political leaders to favor the passage of more restrictive legislation by the Parliament of 1571. That element in Parliament which wished for a more radically Protestant reformation of the Anglican Establishment was more bitterly anti-Catholic than the government, and heartily lent itself to the framing of severe laws against the Catholics. An act, "whereby certayne offences bee made treason,"³ attempted to counteract the effects of the Bull by making treasonable the declaration in any way that the Queen was not, or ought not to be, queen

¹ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. LXXI, nos. 16 and 34.

² *Span. Cal.*, p. 254, Philip to Gueraude Spes; *For. Cal.*, p. 291, Norris to Eliz.; *ibid.*, p. 339; Raynaldus, p. 177 (1571).

³ *Statutes of the Realm*, 13 Eliz., c. 1.

and the declaration that Elizabeth was a heretic, schismatic, or usurper. By disbarring from the succession any who claimed a greater right to the throne, and making the maintenance of such claims treason, the act struck at Mary of Scotland and her Catholic supporters. Not content with this, severe penalties were attached to the publication of books which, before any act of Parliament was made establishing the succession, maintained the right of any particular person to the succession. Another act made treasonable the introduction and putting into execution of Bulls or other instruments from the See of Rome, and subjected the importers of articles blessed by the Pope to the penalties of Provisors and Premunire.¹ Catholics who had fled to the Continent were, by still another act, commanded to return home within six months upon pain of forfeiture of their lands during life.² These measures made clear the resolution of the nation to protect itself and its queen. But Cecil wrote, ". . . there shall be no colour or occasion to shed the blood of any of her Majesty's subjects that shall only profess devotion in their religion without bending their labours maliciously to disturb the common quiet of the realm, and therewith to cause sedition and rebellion to occupy the place of peace against it."³ Since the severity of the enforcement of the laws rested almost entirely upon the Queen and her councillors, Catholics had little to fear as long as they kept their skirts clear of political intrigue.

· LAWS AGAINST CATHOLICS FROM 1580 TO 1587

The Parliament which reassembled in 1580-81 had to meet a situation more complicated and alarming even than that following the publication of the Bull of Excommunication. The seminary at Douay, founded in 1568 by William Allen to train Catholic priests to fill the vacancies in the English priesthood caused by the death or withdrawal of the

¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, 13 Eliz., c. 2.

² *Ibid.*, c. 3.

³ *Dom. Cal., Eliz.*, p. 391.

Marian clergy, had prospered, and in 1576 began to send its missionaries into the kingdom. The effect of their presence was made evident by increased activity on the part of the Catholic laity and more general refusal to attend the established services. In 1580 the first of the Jesuit missionaries, Campion and Parsons, landed in England and passed from one end of the country to the other.¹ Latent enthusiasm for the old faith was roused by the earnest preaching of Campion, while Parsons sowed the seeds of political discontent and gathered together the loose ends of Catholic plot and intrigue. In the Netherlands Don John of Austria had planned a descent upon England by sea, and so pressing was the danger that in 1577 Elizabeth made an alliance with the Netherlands and sent men and money to the assistance of the burghers. In 1578 Philip's forces defeated the Dutch at Gemblours, and the next year the Pacification of Ghent was broken by the defection of the Catholic southern provinces. In Ireland papal soldiers, headed by the Jesuit Sander, landed in 1580 and aroused the Irish to rebellion, and at the same time William Gilbert was sent to England to organize the Catholics for coöperation with the Spanish forces of Philip. Walsingham and his spies were active and successful in ferreting out and punishing recusants, yet the dangers in the situation and the panic fear of Englishmen demanded that some more severe weapon than any yet in existence be created for use against the Catholics.²

The Parliament of 1581 enacted in the statute "to retaine the Queenes Majesties Subjects in their due Obedience" that all "persons whatsoever which . . . shall by any wayes or means . . . withdraw any of the Queenes Maties subjects from their . . . obedience to her Majestie or . . . withdraw them . . . from the relygion nowe by her Highnes aucthoritie established . . . to the Romyshe Religion . . . shalbe ad-

¹ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CXXXVII, no. 28; vol. CXLIV, no. 65; Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, App., no. vi.

² *Span. Cal., Eliz.*, vol. III, nos. 31 and 119; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CXLII, no. 33; vol. CXXXVI, no. 41; vol. CXXXIII, no. 46.

judged to be Traitors." ¹ Any person thus withdrawn was also declared guilty of high treason. The saying of mass was punished by a fine of two hundred marks; and persons not going to church, as required by law, were to forfeit to the Queen for every month twenty pounds of lawful English money, and after one year of absence to give bond of at least two hundred pounds for good behavior. An act against seditious words and rumors uttered against the Queen provided the penalties of fine for the first, and death for the second offense. ²

From 1582 until 1585 the situation increased in difficulties for England, but came to no crisis. Spanish resentment at the exploits of the English freebooters on the seas and over the secret aid and open sympathy of the English for the Netherlands grew in bitterness. Mendoza plotted with Mary and was dismissed from England. ³ Philip's fear of French interference disappeared upon the death of Alençon and the outbreak of the war of religion between Henry of Navarre and the Catholics. The assassination of William of Orange freed Spain from its most able single opponent in the Netherlands and raised a panic of fear for the life of their queen in England. Parliament in 1584-85 passed an act banishing Jesuits from the realm, ⁴ and sanctioned the associations formed for the defense of the Queen. ⁵

Antwerp fell, and in January, 1586, Elizabeth openly broke with Spain and sent an armed force to the aid of the Dutch. James of Scotland was induced, by his desire for recognition as the next in succession, to form an offensive and defensive alliance with Elizabeth. The Parliament of 1586-87 made effective the law of 1581 levying a fine of twenty

¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, 23 Eliz., c. 1; *Span. Cal., Eliz.*, vol. III, no. 57; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CXXVII, no. 6; vol. CXXXVI, no. 15; D'Ewes, *Journals*, pp. 272, 274, 285-88, 293, 302.

² *Statutes of the Realm*, 23 Eliz., c. 2.

³ Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, App., no. xxvi.

⁴ *Statutes of the Realm*, 27 Eliz., c. 2; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CCXVI, no. 22.

⁵ *Statutes of the Realm*, 27 Eliz., c. 1; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. II, nos. 6 and 7; vol. CLXXIII, no. 81; D'Ewes, *Journals*, 285.

pounds upon Catholic recusants, by authorizing the seizure of the goods and two thirds of the lands of such as evaded or refused payment,¹ and vigorously addressed itself to the removal of Mary Stuart from the situation. The complicity of Mary in the Babington Plot gave to Walsingham and the statesmen who had long urged her death, grounds for insistence, and the more decisive stand of England internationally made the elimination of Mary a consistent and logical step. After nineteen years of imprisonment Mary Stuart was beheaded on February 8, 1587.

MARY STUART

The importance of this step as indicative of the new determination of English policy in meeting the dangers which had confronted the realm from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, will be made more evident, perhaps, by a summary showing the position which Mary occupied in national and international affairs during the period of her captivity. We have already spoken of her title to the throne of England and its bearing upon the Catholic problem during the first years of Elizabeth's reign, but until Elizabeth was definitely excluded from the Catholic communion Mary of Scotland must have felt that her claims to England's throne, in so far as they were dependent upon Catholic rejection of Elizabeth's legitimacy, had not received adequate support from papal power. When the Bull of Excommunication was finally issued by Pius V (1570), however, Mary was not free to push her claims with vigor, nor had her course of action during the years immediately preceding her confinement in England tended to make real the political purposes by which she should have regulated her personal and political action. We shall not here review the familiar story of Mary, Queen of Scots, her difficulties at home, the flight to England, her imprisonment and death. English treatment of the Scottish queen and Elizabeth's attitude toward

¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, 28 and 29 Eliz., c. 6.

her, points which concern us closely, have been the subjects of bitter historical controversy and partisanship. The motives which governed the English in their treatment of Mary have always provided a rich field for disagreement to the controversialists. With the details of that discussion we shall not meddle. We shall present briefly the considerations which to us seem to have determined England's attitude toward Mary.

In the eyes of the English political leaders of the time the detention of the queen for nineteen years was not wise. Barlow, Bishop of Chichester, wrote in 1575: "We have nothing new here, unless it be a new thing to hold a wolf by the ears, to cherish a snake in one's bosom; which things have ceased to be novelties in this country: for the queen of the north, the plague of Britain, the prince of darkness in the form of a she wolf, is still kept in custody among us."¹

They clamored for her death: "If that only desperate person were away, as by justice soon it might be, the Queen's Majesty's good subjects would be in better hope, and the papists daily expectation vanquished. . . . There be many worldings, many counterfeits, many ambidexters, many neutrals, strong themselves in all their doings, and yet we which ought to be *filii lucis*, want our policies and prudence."²

That they did not have their way was undoubtedly due to the stubbornness of the Queen, her absolute refusal to make a decision to do as they wished. For this conduct on her part we have been offered the explanation that she was unwilling that the blood of her cousin should rest upon her head. Perhaps Elizabeth did have some such scruple, but it may be as reasonable to believe that the delay which she caused was due to a truly statesmanlike realization of the consequences of Mary's death. It must be remembered that

¹ *Zurich Letters*, no. ccvii; *Parker Corresp.*, no. ccxlix.

² *Parker Corresp.*, no. ccciv, Parker to Burghley, Sept. 16, 1572; Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, App., no. xiv.

the years until the death of Mary were years of political balancing and caution for England, years of inaction where inaction was possible, careful and parsimonious decision only when decision became inevitable, not alone in regard to the fate of Mary of Scotland, but in foreign and domestic policy in all other lines. Elizabeth with the men about her realized that Mary alive must be the nucleus of multitudinous plots. Would Mary dead give greater safety to England? Probably not. Mary's plots with English factions, papal emissaries, Scotch Catholics, and Spanish interests were dangerous only if they could be developed in secret, and it appears that nothing was hidden from the crafty spies of Walsingham and Cecil. In Scotland the Protestant party evidently joined with the radical English in demanding Mary's death. Elizabeth could have surrendered Mary and got rid of her easily had there appeared to her no good reason for keeping her cousin under her own control. Most of us find it difficult to think of the Scotch as anything other than Presbyterian, but it must not be forgotten that to Englishmen of Elizabeth's time it was by no means certain that Catholicism would not once more gain the upper hand in Scotland. Release of Mary might be the occasion for an outburst of Catholic zeal and fury there. As long as Mary was in English hands, England could count on Scotland's friendship and dependence. If Scotland became Catholic once more, Mary alive in English custody was worth more to England than Mary dead in the grave. Nevertheless, Mary's life was more important to England from the standpoint of her influence upon the question of the Spanish attitude than of the Scotch. Many Catholics did not see, Mary herself did not realize, but Elizabeth may have understood perfectly that the interest of Philip of Spain in the restoration of England to Catholicism had in it a very large element of selfishness. Philip entered into plots with Mary, he promised great aids, he sheltered and pensioned expatriated English Catholics, he stirred up dis-

content in the country. But he would not invade England to set Mary Stuart, a niece of Guise, upon England's throne — not even for love of Catholicism. He waited as Elizabeth hoped he would wait. He waited until Mary died at odds with her Protestant son. He waited until those who had been children at the accession of Elizabeth had grown to manhood under her rule and under the influence of the Church she had established. When Mary was killed Philip was ready to act. He received as a legacy from the Scotch queen the bequest of her claims on the English throne.¹ Action by Philip now, if successful, would bring him the selfish rewards which had always been essential to secure his action. He sent the Armada. The Spanish party, which for years before Mary's death he had tried to build up in England with the help of the Jesuit Parsons, proved to have no substantial body. All England, Catholic and Protestant alike, rallied to repel the invader.² Elizabeth's policy had proved successful.

That Elizabeth foresaw all this is incredible; that she may and probably did believe that the selfishness of Philip would keep him out of England as long as Mary Stuart was alive, is not difficult to believe; and it is easier to believe that this, rather than Elizabeth's fear of the blood of her cousin, was the reason why Mary's life was preserved for so many years in the face of English opposition.

THE LAWS OF 1593

The defeat of the Armada did not for the Elizabethan, as it does for us, mark the end of the Spanish danger. It seemed a great victory, a national and providential deliverance from the hands of Antichrist and the hated foreigner;

¹ *Cal. State Papers (Simancas)*, vol. III, pp. 581, 590, 645; Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, vol. VI, p. 453; *Record of the English Catholics*, vol. II, pp. 285, 286, paper drawn up by Parsons and Allen.

² Pierce, *Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, p. 146; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, Add. 1580-1625, vol. XXXI, p. 14; Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, App., no. lxxv, a paper drawn up to show the Catholics how they may assist in repelling the Spaniard.

but the name and the prestige of Spain were still great, the forces of the Papacy insidious and persistent; the throne of the Queen and the independence of England not yet safe. Partly as a result of the national panic over continued dangers from the Spaniard and his "devils" the Jesuits, partly as a result of her thirty-five years' reign, dedicated, as the nation felt, to the spiritual as well as the political welfare and safety of England, enthusiasm for the Queen burst into flame and loyalty to the Crown assumed an importance that threatened to give to the monarchy a power and authority equal to that exercised by Henry VIII. Protestant extremists as well as Catholic, all whose opinions in the least threatened the safety of the State or the disturbance of the established system, were dangerous and should be crushed. In 1593 Parliament passed the most severe anti-Catholic legislation of the reign.¹ But it also enacted statutes against Protestant dissenters hardly less rigorous.² At no time in the reign, however, would dependence upon the formal letter of the law give a more misleading conception of the true spirit of governmental religious policy. The obvious inference from the legislation of 1593, that the Queen was taking advantage of a wave of national feeling to inaugurate a system of relentless repression of Catholics would be far from the truth. National loyalty won victories and wrote statutes which gave the Queen the mastery and might have supported a relentless persecution had the government desired it; but the government did not. Elizabeth used her supremacy in more tolerant fashion.

After the harsh laws of 1593 a system of horrible persecution would have been set up in England had the will to punish been as angry as the tone of the law. Fortunately those who led, both in Church and State, directed their efforts not to crushing either Jesuits or Catholics, but to

¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, 35 Eliz., c. 2.

² *Ibid.*, c. 1, "An Acte to retayne the Quenes subjectes in obedience."

providing insurance against treasonable outbursts of their enthusiasm. We find Bancroft, Bishop of London, with the consent of Elizabeth and the written absolution of the Council, going so far as to furnish the secular priests of Rome with printers and protecting them in the distribution of their books in order that the influence of the dangerous Jesuits might be counteracted. He and the Court hoped to win all loyal Catholics to peace by this practical evidence of immunity for those who confined their Catholicism to belief in the doctrines of the Mother Church and kept their skirts clear of political intrigue. Catholics were even led to hope for toleration of their religion. A Catholic wrote to Cecil:—

England, I know, standeth in most dangerous terms to be a spoil to all the world, and to be brought into perpetual bondage, and that, I fear, your lordships and the rest of the Council will see when it is too late. Would to God, therefore, Her Majesty would grant toleration of religion, whereby men's minds would be appeased and join all in one for the defence of our country. We see what safety it hath been to France, how peaceable the kingdom of Polonia is where no man's conscience is forced, how the Germans live, being contrary in religion, without giving offence one to another. Why might not we do the like in England, seeing everyman must answer for his own soul at the Latter Day, and that religion is the gift of God and cannot be beaten into a man's head with a hammer? Well may men's bodies be forced but not their minds, and where force is used, love is lost, and the prince and state endangered.¹

In 1601 Bancroft went so far in that direction as to present a petition for Catholic toleration to Elizabeth and his reproof was no more severe than the observation from the Queen, "These men perceiving my lenity and clemency toward them, are not content, but demand everything, and wish to have it at once."

To quiet the alarm of Presbyterians and radical churchmen who were frightened at the seeming kindness to the Catholics, Elizabeth was forced to issue a proclamation

¹ Historical MSS. Commission, Hatfield MSS., pt. vii, pp. 363-64.

disclaiming any intention to permit a toleration in England:—

They [the secular priests] do almost insinuate into the minds of all sorts of people (as well the good that grieve at it, as the bad that thirst after it) that we have some purpose to grant a toleration of two religions within our realm, where God (we thank Him for it who seeth into the secret corners of all hearts) doth not only know our innocency from such imagination, but how far it hath been from any about us to offer to our ears the persuasion of such a course, as would not only disturb the peace of the church, but bring this our State into confusion.¹

But the leaders dominated the situation and had no intention of abandoning the consistent policy of reconciliation and moderation which the Queen had found so effective during the period preceding the Armada. Bancroft did not succeed, as he had hoped, in transferring from Jesuits to seculars the influence over the Catholic laity, but he so intensified the bitter dissension in the ranks of English Catholicism that the danger of Catholic plot was for the time reduced to a negligible factor, and the persecuting spirit of the acts of 1593 grew cold during the last ten years of Elizabeth's reign.²

ADMINISTRATION OF LAWS AGAINST CATHOLICS

The penalties imposed by the statutes ran through the whole range of punishments designed to discourage crime against the State. Fine, imprisonment, segregation, exile, or death, might legally result from failure to conform to the established ecclesiastical requirements, but Elizabeth and her government in the imposition of these penalties assumed pretty definite policies which modified considerably the purposes of the statutes imposing them.

The authorities were exceedingly reluctant to apply the extreme penalty to all those who might clearly and easily have been brought under the terms of the statutes. The ex-

¹ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CCLXXXV, no. 55.

² Usher, *Reconstruction*, vol. I, pp. 132-37, 156-59.

cesses of Mary's reign were fresh in the minds of the people as a horrible example of papal cruelty which it was the pride of the English to avoid. Elizabeth's hope of securing the peaceable acquiescence of the nation to the new ecclesiastical establishment was dependent upon abstinence, so far as possible, from any action which would incite the fears of Catholics or range the nation definitely upon the side of the radical Protestants. Ecclesiastical censures, fines, short terms of imprisonment, even if applied pretty generally, would necessarily afford less ground for the development of Catholic desperation than would even one death for adherence to the old faith. Patience, care that pressure was not applied to those persons who might, if pressed, persist in opinions and actions which would subject them to the extreme penalties of the law, a certain clear-sighted blindness to the violation of the law, enabled Elizabeth to rule for ten years unsmirched by the blood of any Catholic subject. When armed rebellion, papal absolution from obedience to her rule, and treasonable plots against her throne and life made it clear that some Catholics, at least, would not rest content with the passive resistance which Elizabeth had been well content to overlook, the policy of the government in dealing with such persons was carefully formulated and given the widest publicity.

The public utterances of governmental officials, the state papers and writings of Burleigh, the proclamations of Elizabeth in reply to the Bull of Excommunication, made the strongest possible declaration of the government's purpose to abstain from interference with the religious opinions and conscientious scruples of Englishmen, so long as those opinions and scruples did not involve the commission of open acts in direct violation of the law and dangerous to the safety of the State. To be sure, such a statement might mean little, since, under a less liberal interpretation, almost any manifestation of Catholic faith could, without inconsistency with the avowed policy, be treated as inimical to

the welfare of the commonwealth. But with few exceptions Elizabeth and her government were careful to seek and to find evidence of clearly menacing purpose before proceeding to the imposition of the death penalty.¹ Legally much was treasonable that was not punished as such, and the knowledge of Catholic activity in the hands of the government at all times was used only when it seemed that a warning was needed, or that the activity of some individual was actually dangerous to the State.

Perhaps no closer comparison of the English governmental attitude toward Catholics can be made than with the attitude of established government toward anarchistic opinion in our own time. The attitude is distinctly one of suspicion and supervision, but also one of tolerance and abstinence from active interference, except when the expression of opinion becomes clearly destructive of existing institutions or manifests itself in acts of violence. The comparison is also susceptible of extension to the opportunity afforded in both cases for the manifestation by minor officials, because of individual feeling or desire for personal advantage, of an attitude less tolerant than the one assumed by the government. The zeal of the police in our own country sometimes oversteps the law, and in Elizabeth's day it sometimes became necessary for the government to restrain excessive zeal in the repression of Catholics on the part of government officials. The centralized authority of the Privy Council enabled the government to dismiss quietly harmless Catholics whom the zeal of local officials had involved in difficulties.

"The total number of Catholics who suffered under her [Elizabeth] was 189; 128 of them being priests, 58 laymen and 3 women." To them should be added — as Law remarks in his "Calendar of English Martyrs" — thirty-two Fran-

¹ Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, App., no. xlvii, "That such papists as of late times have been executed were by a statute of Edward III lawfully executed as traitors. A treatise."

ciscans "who were starved to death."¹ This is one of the most recent Catholic statements. If the figures given are accepted without question, one who is uninterested in proving the diabolic activity of the Elizabethan government will be impressed by the comparative smallness of the number who suffered death during the forty-five years of Elizabeth's rule. In this number are included Catholics who suffered because of clearly treasonable activity as well as those who suffered because of too great caution on the part of the government. The number, therefore, who suffered death without having been involved in what, to-day even, would be regarded as treason, must have been relatively small; so small as to afford little ground for the argument that the action of the government against Catholics was inspired by a theory of its duty to crush out that type of personal religious faith. It is undoubtedly true that some Catholics were condemned to death and executed who were personally guiltless of more than adherence to their religious faith, but they were the innocent victims of the treasonable activity of their fellow Catholics, rather than of governmental religious intolerance. The case of Campion is in point. Campion was himself singularly free from political guile and suffered death, not for his own intrigues, but for those of his brother Jesuit Parsons. Many Catholic writers have either included in their lists of martyrs every Catholic who died, no matter what the cause, or have, with more seeming fairness, made the most of every case where the evidence of treasonable complicity is not clear. Anglicans have endeavored often to establish presumption of criminal complicity in practically all the cases, or have satisfied themselves by glossing over the facts by vague, general statements about differences of times and the cruelty of the age. To an impartial observer it seems useless to try to distinguish in every case between the justly and the unjustly condemned upon the basis of such

¹ W. S. Lilly, "England since the Reformation," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. v, p. 449.

remnants of evidence as remain to us. The important thing is not the establishment of the justice or injustice of individual cases, but the determination of whether the policy proclaimed by the government was the one which was in fact adhered to in its treatment of Catholics. The evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of the conclusion that it was. The cases in which the death penalty was imposed without definite political reason are so few that, though they may excite compassion and regret, they are not of sufficient weight to counterbalance the evidence which establishes the unwillingness of the government to proceed to the death penalty in its dealings with Roman Catholics. Elizabeth created and maintained an illegal toleration of Catholics of such extent that in the later years of her reign the Catholics were encouraged to hope that freedom of worship would be granted them, and Elizabeth was compelled, by the fears and bigotry of her radical Protestant subjects, to issue a proclamation denying that she had any such purpose. Perhaps nothing more clearly indicates the success of the government's Catholic policy. The most important hindrance to it during the last ten years of the reign came, not from the excesses of the Catholics, but from the opposition of the radical Protestant groups that had, during the first thirty years of Elizabeth's rule, developed into parties of consistent antagonism to the middle course in ecclesiastical matters. Of these bodies and their attitude we shall speak in a succeeding chapter.

Theoretically, the purpose of the death penalty is the final removal of those subjected to it from the community to whose peace and existence their presence is a menace. From the standpoint of the State, the more merciful penalty of exile is less effective than death, only because of the possibility of a secret return to the community. Because of the unwillingness of the English authorities to stir up the emotional horror of the nation by condemning Catholics to death, the policy of exiling them would have been an ob-

vious one for the government to adopt had it desired to rid the commonwealth of Catholics. But the circumstances were such that the detention of Catholics in England was less dangerous than forcing them into, or permitting them to seek, exile.

In 1574 Cox wrote, "Certain of our nobility, pupils of the Roman pontiff, either weary of their happiness or impatient of the long continued progress of the gospel, have taken flight, some into France, some into Spain, others into different places, with the view of plotting some mischief against the professors of godliness."¹ The aid which exiles might give to foreign enemies was more to be feared than their activity at home under the eye of the government.

We have noted the laws which attempted, by means of confiscation of property, to secure the return to England of such persons as fled overseas. Probably such laws were not very effective in inducing those to return who had already fled to the safety of the Continent, but they were perhaps of use in causing Catholics who were still in England to remain in the enjoyment of their property even at the expense of occasional fines, a regular tax, or short terms of imprisonment; and this unwillingness to subject themselves to the hardships of property loss and exile was encouraged by practical assurance of the inability and unwillingness of the government to impose upon Catholics who remained peacefully in England, penalties involving hardships equal to those of exile.

There are but two exceptions to the consistent purpose of the State to keep the Catholics at home. The statute against Jesuits and seminary priests, passed in 1585,² provided for the expulsion of such persons from the kingdom within forty days after the close of Parliament, and the act passed in 1593 against Popish Recusants³ provided that

¹ *Zurich Letters*, no. cxcix; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CLXXVI, no. 9; *Strype, Annals*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 495; pt. II, App., no. xl.

² 27 Eliz., c. 11.

³ 35 Eliz., c. 11, sec. v.

those who because of poverty lived better in prison than they could if "abrode at their own libertie," should be compelled to adjure the realm. The provision of the act against the Jesuits and seminary priests which required them to leave the realm applied, however, only to a small and, in a sense, non-resident class, whose activity in England was more dangerous than upon the Continent, and is no very large exception to the general rule. Further the provision which allowed Jesuits and priests to remain for forty days after the close of Parliament was a merciful and politic measure, for the laws already upon the statute books were sufficient to condemn to death any Jesuit or priest caught in England, and it was probable that the dread of Jesuit machinations felt by the nation would have left no other alternative. The opportunity to leave, thus offered Jesuits and priests, gave no such cause for Catholic alarm as would the enforcement of previous law against those already virtually in the power of the government. The other exception was merely the logical consequence of the chief purpose of the government in dealing with the Catholics, the purpose to make them pay the expenses of supervision and, if possible, a profit for the treasury. The class affected by the order to leave the kingdom did not have and could not pay any money toward its own support. The order to leave the realm was in fact about equivalent to the expulsion of a pauper class.¹ Without money they could work little harm on the Continent.

The imprisonment of Catholics who refused to submit to the formal requirements of the law in regard to church attendance and outward conformity was not persecution inspired by religious principle. The conformity which the government demanded was little more than a pledge of political loyalty to the Crown, and at first did not, to most Catholics,

¹ See R. B. Merriman, "Notes on the Treatment of the English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth," *American Historical Review*, April, 1908, vol. XIII, no. 3, for a project to send poor Catholics to America.

imply any renunciation of their religious faith. Imprisonment was resorted to because it was felt that persons who would not grant the easy pledge of loyalty demanded were dangerously hostile and should be shut up until they were no longer dangerous; that is, until they would submit themselves and conform. The difficulty encountered, however, in this method of dealing with Catholics was that there were too many of them, — there were not enough prisons to hold them all. Several methods of confinement were tried. Catholics were committed to prison at their own expense, they were released on bond, they were confined to their houses or neighborhoods, or placed in the easy custody of responsible individuals.¹ Segregation in such places as Ely and Wisbeach was tried. But there was an embarrassingly large number of Catholics, and to imprison them all, even by these expedients, involved a great deal of expense that the government did not like to incur.

Fines and confiscations of property were the penalties that appealed most to the parsimony of Elizabeth, and best fitted in with the purposes of the government to avoid placing excessive burdens upon loyal Catholics.² The fine of one shilling for absence from church brought in little money, however, and contributed practically nothing toward the expense of supervision. In the early eighties, when Catholic activity became alarming, Walsingham found that his vigorous efforts to cope with the danger were costing more than the sum furnished by confiscations, the fine of one hundred marks imposed upon those who depraved the services, and the fine of one shilling for absence from church. The act passed by Parliament in 1581, "to reteine the Queenes Majesties Subjectes in their due Obedience," endeavored to make up the deficit by providing that absentees from church be fined twenty pounds a month. In December, 1580, Mendoza had written to Philip, "The Queen has ordered an inquiry into the incomes of the imprisoned

¹ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CXXVII, no. 6.

² *Ibid.*, no. 7.

Catholics, which cannot fail to be considerable as their number is large. It is understood that the object is to pass an Act in Parliament confiscating their property if they do not go to church. Their punishment hitherto has only been imprisonment." ¹ The statute was not so severe as they had feared, however, and perhaps nothing so well serves to emphasize the previous want of hardship imposed upon Catholics as their efforts to prevent the passage of this law. They offered Elizabeth a hundred and fifty thousand crowns in a lump sum as evidence of their loyalty and willingness to contribute to her expenses, and their unwillingness to pay such a tax.² But, curiously enough, the act had neglected to provide a means of levying upon the lands and property of those subject to the penalties, and the first alarm of the Catholics subsided as soon as it became evident that the law would become inoperative if passive resistance and evasion were resorted to. A curious paper drawn up by a Catholic to furnish directions on how to meet the law is headed: —

A briefe advertisement howe to answere unto the statute for not cominge to church both in law and conscience conteyning three principall pointes. The first what is to be said in law to that common demand, Doe you or will you goe to the Church, The second whether the matter of the statute for not cominge to Church can be found by inquisition of a Jury. Thirdly, if any person beinge denied the advantage of all exceptions by lawe how to answere with most safety according to the duty of a catholique.³

To many, imprisonment or the easy custody in which they found themselves, was far preferable to the payment of such a sum for their freedom.⁴ Further, the essential defect of the act was hardly more responsible for the failure to impose the large fine than was Elizabeth's attitude.⁵

¹ *Span. Cal., Eliz.*, vol. III, no. 57, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, no. 79.

³ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CXXXVI, no. 15.

⁴ *Span. Cal., Eliz.*, vol. III, no. 109; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CXXXVI, no. 17; vol. CXIV, no. 22.

⁵ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CLV, no. 42.

The passage of the act had raised such alarm among Catholics and the crisis of 1581 had passed so easily that, dearly as she loved money, Elizabeth felt it was dangerous to her policy of compromise to permit its rigid enforcement. There is no evidence that the government secured the regular income from the fines which might have been expected and which actually did accrue, when, in 1587, the threatening danger of Spanish invasion made the Court willing that the defects of the act be corrected, and removed Elizabeth's personal opposition to its enforcement.

Walsingham was dissatisfied with the act and with the attitude of Elizabeth, for he well knew that had the Court wished the law enforced, the minor defects of statement in the law would have presented no insurmountable obstacle.¹ When the contributions of recusants² in 1585-86, toward the force raised for the assistance of the Netherlands, showed that the failure of the act of 1581 was not entirely due to the poverty of the Catholics, but to their unwillingness to submit themselves to such an excessive tax as the law demanded, Walsingham seized upon this idea and secured a letter from the Privy Council to the sheriffs and justices of peace, which had for its purpose such ease and alleviation of the penalties imposed by the laws as would enable the government to secure a reasonable tax from all recusants.³ The proposal was that the local officials should require the recusants "to make offer and sett downe every man accordinge to his particular value what yearly sume he cane be contented of his owne disposition to allowe . . . to be discharged of the perill and penalties of the lawe whereunto they may stand subjecte and liable by reason of their recusancye." The income promised as a result of this modification of the act was more than had been obtained during the four years since its passage, but Walsingham was

¹ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CLVII, no. 51; vol. CLI, nos. 72 and 73.

² *Ibid.*, vol. CLXXXIII, nos. 15, 23, 32, 33, 35, 38, 40, 45, 46, 51, 53, 57, 61, 62, 71, 72; vol. CLXXXIV, nos. 41, 45, 46, 61.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. CLXXXVI, nos. 81-83; vol. CLXXXVII, no. 45.

not yet satisfied with the returns.¹ The recusants had just made what they felt was a generous contribution to the expenses of the Dutch expedition, and did not wish to part with any more money. The law of 1581 had been a dead letter so long that its perils and penalties did not inspire them with much fear. It would have been well for them had their response been more enthusiastic and liberal, for the fears inspired by the foreign political situation in 1586-87 led Parliament in 1587 to provide for the enforcement of the penalty by authorizing the seizure of two thirds of the lands and all the goods of recusants who evaded or refused to pay the fine.²

The administration of this phase of the law was now taken out of the hands of the local officials, often incompetent or parties to its evasion, and placed in the hands of court appointees, and the results were gratifying both to the government and to those who shared with the government the revenues forced from the Catholics.³ During the last years of the reign, this method of taxation had become so regular and dependable that the recusants' fines were farmed out.

Curiously enough, in the face of statutes which made the Catholic faith a crime, we find Catholics occupying offices of trust in the kingdom, rich and powerful, giving wholeheartedly of their loyal service against the Spanish invader. Their presence, in the face of the laws on the statute books, would have been impossible had laws been consistently enforced.⁴ Needless to say they were not. Within limits the laws were consistently annulled. Loyal Catholics from whom money could be extracted were left in comparative

¹ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CLXXXVII, nos. 45, 48, 49, 64; vol. CLXXXIX, nos. 2, 17, 47, 48; vol. CXC, no. 11; vol. CXCIV, no. 73; Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, pt. II, App., no. xiii.

² 29 Eliz., c. 6; D'Ewes, *Journals*, pp. 387-88, 415-17.

³ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CCXXIX, no. 68; vol. CCXLI, no. 66; vol. CLVII, no. 77; vol. CCLI, no. 53; W. H. Frere, *English Church under Elizabeth and James I*, pp. 214, 264-67, 337; Strype, *Annals*, vol. IV, no. cxxxii; no. xxxi.

⁴ *Parker Corresp.*, no. cccv, Parker to Burghley, Oct. 6, 1572.

peace. The laws stood on the books, witnesses to the world of the loyalty and patriotism of the English people; warnings against disloyalty; harsh correctors of treason when need required. They were little more. They were intended by the government to be little more. However truly they may stand to-day, and stood then, as the expression of an intolerant religious spirit in the people of England, that was not the purpose of the government in allowing their enactment, nor is it evident in the government's use of the laws enacted. Had the rulers wished to use the laws in the spirit of repression, persecution would have been more severe than we find it, and the existence within the kingdom of any considerable body of Catholic believers impossible. The government was not, however, seeking the extermination of Catholics; it was seeking the safest policy for itself; it might use the intolerance of religious fanatics to make its laws, but it would use its own judgment in enforcing them.

It is hard for us to conceive of the innumerable influences the Court could bring to bear, without coming into open conflict with the statutes of Parliament, to annul the effects of the legislation therein embodied, if such statutes interfered with, or were contrary to, the policy upon which the government had determined. The Queen's prerogative was great. The Council was practically unlimited by existing law or public opinion in what it could do. The law itself placed in the Queen's hands the means to make of little effect any procedure of which she disapproved. The Church was absolutely under her thumb, and could not move to do its share in enforcing these acts without her consent or even direct order. The local officials were under the influence of the gentry,¹ and upon the local officials depended the enforcement of the acts to an extent little realized to-day; and their responsibility to the superior power, while undisputed, was not backed by an efficient series of connecting links or an

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. cc, Parker to Cecil, Feb. 12, 1565-66; *S. P., Dom.*, *Eliz.*, vol. xix, no. 24; vol. lxxiv, no. 22.

effective supervision. Further, the influence of the gentry in protecting their retainers in office was greatly increased during a time when the government feared to antagonize any of their class because of the immense influence they had upon their immediate neighbors, and the mass of unintelligent and otherwise negligible persons who took their opinions and orders from the gentry.

Your Lordship knoweth that the people are comonly carried away by gentlemen Recusants, landlords, and some other ring-leaders of that sorte: so as the winninge or the punishinge of one or two of them is a reclayminge or a kind of bridlinge of many that doe depend upon them.¹

I would plainly prove this, that neither ye Papists number equall their report, nor ye Puritans would euer fill up a long register, if ye ministers and Recusants were not backed, flattered and encouraged by Gentlemen in countries that make a good reason for it, if private evil may justifie such formes, as keep oyle still in yt Lampe.²

All these influences combined to make the acts of Parliament less severe in practice than they were in letter. Nor must it be lost sight of that the Parliaments from 1570 to 1585 were Parliaments containing a large anti-Catholic element which the Queen and the Church of England men were anxious to keep under control because they were representative of a class which desired definitely to abandon the government policy of leniency in religious matters. Their statutes served as a means to keep down dangerous conspiracies and as a testimonial to the Catholic powers that the Queen was backed by the nation in her position of independence. That they should be rigidly enforced, Elizabeth did not desire.

This view is not entirely supported by the utterances of those who surrounded Elizabeth and were supposed to be in her confidence. But there were in her Court and Council at least two factions, the one headed by Leicester and Sir Francis Knollys, who represented the rabid Puritan oppo-

¹ *S. P., Dom., Jac. I*, vol. XIII, no. 25.

² *Ibid.*, vol. XII, no. 28.

sition to all things Romish, in part from conviction, perhaps, but chiefly from desire to humiliate the second and leading faction headed by Cecil and Bacon. The utterances of the former may be dismissed for the present by classing them with that radical element in Parliament whose programme of legislation served the useful purpose of warning against conspiracy and foreign interference. The latter faction felt that the Queen proceeded too moderately and agreed, in part at least, with the anti-Catholic Parliamentary programme of the radical reformers. Their motives were, however, entirely political and loyal, and not, as it seems, personal or religious, and they agreed, that, if possible, the policy of reconciliation was best. Cecil seems to have continually entertained plans for preserving and making more effective Elizabeth's determination to make state policy and not religious opinion the test of Catholic repression. As late as 1583 we find him proposing that the oath of supremacy be so modified that Catholics could swear their allegiance without violating their religious convictions.

Therefore considering that the urging of the oath of supremacy must needs, in some degree, beget despair, since in the taking of it, he must either think he doth an unlawful act, (as without the special grace of God he cannot think otherwise,) or else, by refusing it, must become a traitor, which before some hurt done seemeth hard: I humbly submit this to your excellent consideration, Whether, with as much security of your majesty's person and state, and more satisfaction for them, it were not better to leave the oath to this sense, That whosoever, would not bear arms against all foreign princes, and namely the pope, that should any way invade your majesty's dominions, he should be a traitor? For hereof this commodity will ensue, that those papists (as I think most papists would, that should take this oath) would be divided from the great mutual confidence which is now between the pope and them by reason of their afflictions for him; and such priests as would refuse that oath, then no tongue could say, for shame, that they suffer for religion, if they did suffer.

But here it may be objected they would dissemble and equivocate with this oath, and that the pope would dispense with them in that case. Even so may they with the present oath, both

dissemble and equivocate, and also have the pope's dispensation for the present oath, as well as the other.¹

The number of Catholics in the country was great and it is somewhat astonishing and difficult of explanation, if one believes that the government had deliberately set out to suppress all Catholics, to find Cecil saying, "I wish no lessening of their number but by preaching and by education of the younger under schoolmasters." His proposal that tenants be protected from popish landlords to the extent "that they be not put out of their living" for embracing the established religion, neither argues any general suppression of Catholics nor any desire on the part of Cecil that they be absolutely suppressed.¹

It is clear that the anti-Catholic legislation, passed in part because of dangers from Catholic enemies, in part because of the influence of growing anti-Catholic sects, was modified in the letter of its enforcement, primarily by the conciliatory and positively tolerant purposes of government politics, and secondarily by the unavoidable inadequacy of the machinery of enforcement.

We have in this chapter traced briefly the course of Elizabethan religious and ecclesiastical politics, with especial reference to the relations that existed between the Catholics and the English government. We have shown that political motives dominated the government in its organization of the Church and in its repression of Roman Catholicism. We have endeavored to make clear the fact that in spite of penal legislation, in spite of pressure from within and without the kingdom, considerations of national safety made the policy of the government throughout the reign one of conciliation toward Catholics. This conciliatory attitude marks

¹ "A Tract of Lord Burleigh to the Queen," *Somers Tracts*, by Sir Walter Scott, vol. 1, p. 165 (13 vols. London, 1809). Quoted in Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, vol. 1, p. 157.

² Burleigh, "Execution of Justice," and Walsingham's letter printed in Burnet, pt. II, bk. III, p. 661. Also Queen's proclamation after the issue of the Bull of Excommunication. Spedding, *Life and Letters of Bacon*, vol. 1, p. 97; cf. for the Catholic view, J. H. Pollen in *The Month*, Nov., 1904.

a perceptible advance in the direction of toleration by its educational influence upon the people of England toward the acceptance of the principle that state safety, preservation of national political integrity, and not championship of a particular form of salvation, was the reason for restraint on men's religious practices, and that such restraint should be exercised only when open and overt acts, or the expressed determination to commit actual acts of hostility, arising from such opinions, endanger the safety of the commonwealth. Unfortunately the acceptance of these principles was not complete. The government had erected and maintained a National Church that had yet to learn to apply these ideas to all, and Puritanism had during the period developed into complex groups of fanatical intolerance. It is to the examination of the Anglican Church and the sects of Protestantism that we must now turn.

CHAPTER IV

CHURCH AND STATE

IT would be an interesting study in religious life and ideals and in religious psychology to attempt to draw a diagram of the complex motives which actuated the men who once more set in motion the machinery of the Church of Henry VIII. It would be an interesting and perhaps profitable study to examine the mechanism they set in motion at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, when the Church was in its formative period, and when the structural features of its organization were in greatest evidence, and their character of greatest importance in determining the nature of the English Establishment. But motives and mechanics are closely connected. The Anglican Church, like every other great institution drawing its support from the love and emotion of a people, never existed in mechanical form alone. The Church was always a living body, not a structure artificially constructed from the blue-prints of mere governmental politics. Men built into the Church their motives, loves, hatreds, their delusions and ambitions.

Yet the Church of that time was not the Anglican Church we know, with its great body of traditions, its long history and distinctive personality. Anglicanism had not yet won for itself an allegiance which in devotion and in loyalty — and occasionally in bigotry — has rivaled the feeling of Catholics for Mother Church. The Church had not come to look upon itself as an institution whose form and doctrine had been determined by the ordinance of Deity. It had not yet returned in search of apostolic authorization to the dim infancy of a primitive church history of questionable authenticity. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the Church did not demand from Englishmen their adherence

upon these grounds; its appeal was to expediency and to loyalty, rather than to divine right.

The new church system was an experiment, a part of that general experimentation to find a *modus vivendi* and to meet the untried difficulties by which Protestantism was everywhere confronted. It was an experiment connected with, and founded upon, the experience and organization of the past, but an experiment nevertheless. Many who supported it recognized its experimental character and hoped that it would be but temporary, the vestibule to that better and more truly Christian building whose plan they had learned from John Calvin in the days of their exile. Many failed to see that it was an experiment and felt surprise when later experience proved this governmental tool unable to cope with changed conditions. None believed possible, few desired, a complete break with past ecclesiastical history; but neither did any recognize the inadequacy of that organization and that past experience for the new conditions. Between the elements which made up the new Church conflict arose. Yet, as we search for the qualities which have held for centuries the allegiance of Englishmen, we find two still maintaining their sway, which lay at the basis of the Church even in its foundation, the elements of patriotism and of moderation.

THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE ESTABLISHMENT

How great has been the influence of these two factors during the history of the Church, how important the rôle they have played during its later development, we shall not inquire; it is impossible, however, to comprehend the Church of Elizabeth's day without understanding how there was breathed into it a spirit which has made Englishmen feel that the Anglican Church is peculiarly English, noble and worthy the devotion and love of Englishmen, and that it is neither rabid with the unreasonable and unreasoning love of change, nor, on the other hand, cold and inflexible

and dead. We must understand the Englishman's loyalty to the Church as a national institution and the Englishman's pride in the safe, sane character of the Church's government and doctrine, if we would understand the structure which was given to the Church when England's greatest sovereign sat upon the throne.

Fundamental in the creation and maintenance of that moderation and inclusiveness, which have come to be the particular pride of the Anglican Establishment, were the close connection between Church and State at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and the dominance of political interests in that union throughout the forty-odd years of her rule. The identification of the ecclesiastical and the religious establishment of the kingdom with the political integrity of England gave to the support of the Church a patriotic importance which has persisted through times when national welfare demanded rejection of the claims of the Church. To the dominance of State over Church in Elizabeth's time, the Anglican Establishment owes those elements of character and form which have made it an institution so distinctively national, and through which it still retains the allegiance of the vast mass of Englishmen.

THE ROYAL HEADSHIP

In England the subordination of the Church to the will of the sovereign was no new thing. From the time when William the Norman had refused to render homage to Gregory VII, and resisted all attempts to sink his power and the English Church, into absolute subservience to the dominance of the Roman See, kings of England had struggled to keep a grip on the National Church, and Parliament had enacted laws to maintain the independence which they believed an essential characteristic of the Church in England. Continental theory and practice supported the assumption that the religion of the people should follow the religion of the prince. The ecclesiastical changes undertaken by Henry

had rested fundamentally upon this principle and, at a time when the popular absolutism of the first Tudors had so closely identified loyalty to the sovereign with loyalty to the nation, the people of the kingdom accepted the theory almost without question, and a book, written by Hayward, which asserted that allegiance was due to the State and not to the person of the sovereign raised a great stir because of the novelty of the idea.¹ The reigns of Edward and Mary and the ecclesiastical changes which accompanied them confirm the fact of submission to the idea, in spite of the persistence during Mary's reign of a Protestant opposition developed under Edward. As long as national life and loyalty to the Crown were so closely identified, the connection between Church and State would persist if the personal safety or the dynastic claims of the sovereign made necessary the championship of any particular religious or ecclesiastical establishment against the claims of foreign power. The hostility of Roman Catholics and Roman Catholic powers to Elizabeth made it necessary for the Queen to call upon the nation for support of her ecclesiastical policy in order that her right to rule, established by the Parliament of Henry, might be maintained.

An ecclesiastical establishment, on any basis other than that of the supremacy of the Queen over the Church as well as State, was, to the Tudor Elizabeth, inconceivable. English history and Continental practice made it familiar. The political situation made it necessary. Elizabeth's desire for the power which she believed essential to her dignity made impossible any other arrangement. On such practical considerations was based the royal headship, still one of the distinctive characteristics of the English Establishment.

Although Elizabeth's first Parliament had, in the Act of Supremacy, dropped the title used by Henry, "Supreme Head of the Church in England," so offensive to Catholics

¹ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CCLXXV, no. 28, no. 31.

and not entirely acceptable to some Protestants,¹ the essential fact remained. It is somewhat difficult to define just what this headship involved, just what were its limits. The act does not clearly define it. The men of Elizabeth's time set few bounds. Elizabeth herself disclaimed the right to exercise spiritual functions,² yet it is difficult to see how powers she undoubtedly did exercise are to be distinguished from supreme pastoral office. The act, 8 Elizabeth, c. 1, declares that the Queen, "by her supreme power and authority, hath dispensed with all causes and doubts of any imperfection or disability that can or may in any way be objected" against the validity of the consecrations of the archbishops and bishops already made. She sometimes asserted powers equal to those of the Pope, and the leaders of the kingdom, both in Church and State, were equally generous. Cecil said that the Queen might do as much as the Pope and that she certainly could exercise powers equal to those of Archbishop Parker.³ Jewel asserted that the English give to the sovereign "that prerogative and chiefly that evermore hath been due unto him by the ordinance and word of God; that is to say, to be the nurse of God's religion; to make laws for the church; to hear and take up cases and questions of the faith if he be able; or otherwise to commit them over by his authority unto the learned; to command the bishops and priests to do their duties and to punish such as be offenders."⁴ Bancroft granted that her authority was equal to that of the Pope. Parker was more cautious. He wrote: "It is one thing to discuss what is done, in order or out of order, and commonly hand over

¹ Jewel, *Works*, vol. iv, Letters, no. xii; *Def. of Apol.*, pp. 974-76; *Zurich Letters*, nos. xvii, xviii; Burnet, vol. iii, bk. vi, no. 52; *Parker Corresp.*, no. xlix; Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Amos*, chap. vii. v. 13, "Erant enim blasphemii qui vocarent eum [Henricum VIII] Summum Caput Ecclesiae sub Christo."

² *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. xv, no. 27; vol. xxvii, no. 40; Thirty-nine Articles, on the Civil Magistrate.

³ *Parker Corresp.*, no. cclxx.

⁴ Jewel, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 167. Cf. also, *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 396-97, 410-11; vol. iii, p. 98; vol. iv, pp. 976, 959, 903, 1036.

head, and what is safely and surely done by warrant of law. During the prince's life who will doubt of anything that may pass from that authority? But the question is, what will stand sure in all times, by the judgment of the best learned? And here I am offended with some lawyers, who make the Injunctions of the prince in her own life not to be of such force as they make a Roman law written in the same or like case." ¹ And to Cecil: "Whatsoever the ecclesiastical prerogative is, I fear it is not so great as your pen hath given it her in the Injunction, and yet her governance is of more prerogative than the head papists would grant unto her." ² Pilkington, who represented the more Protestant group within the Establishment wrote: "We endure, I must confess, many things against our inclinations, and groan under them, which if we wished ever so much, no entreaty can remove. We are under authority, and cannot make any innovation without the sanction of the queen, or abrogate any thing without the authority of the laws: and the only alternative now allowed us is, whether we will bear with these things or disturb the peace of the church." ³

No party, not even the more radical Protestants, ⁴ whether Calvinist, Lutheran, or Zwinglian, questioned the necessity of the union of Church and State, and a certain supremacy of the sovereign over the Church. The difficulties were entirely over the extent of that supremacy and the nature of that union. Theoretically, perhaps, the Established Church of Elizabeth was founded upon a difference in kind of secular and spiritual matters, of government and church. "A church and a commonwealth, we grant, are things in nature the one distinguished from the other. A church is one way, and a commonwealth another way defined." ⁵ But

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. cclxx.

² *Ibid.*, no. ccclxix.

³ *Zurich Letters*, no. clxxvii.

⁴ The Anabaptists would have questioned the necessity for such union between the Church and State, but it is very doubtful whether there were Anabaptists in England during the early years of Elizabeth's reign. There were certainly not enough to merit the name of party. Cf. Burrage, *Early English Dissenters*, *passim*.

⁵ Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. viii, chap. 1, sec. 2.

mediaeval history had long before proved untenable the theory that supreme spiritual authority and supreme temporal power could move each in its own distinct sphere. The theory of the equality of the two powers had given way to two opposing theories: that the secular power was inferior in kind to spiritual power and therefore subject to it in all matters over which the spiritual power chose to assert its authority; that the secular power was divinely instituted and therefore had control to a great extent within the spiritual realm. The political necessity for a strong secular administration in England and the complications of secular with religious politics necessitated the negation of the theoretical separation of the two powers. To all intents the Church was founded and conducted upon purely Erastian principles. This was the view of the Queen and was confirmed by the action of the government, and in great part also, by the statements of churchmen, however much they kicked against the pricks of governmental domination in individual cases.

The religious acts passed by Elizabeth's first Parliament had vested in the Imperial Crown of the realm all spiritual or ecclesiastical authority of visitation, reformation, and correction of the Church,¹ and had given to the Queen authority to make ordinances and rules in churches collegiate, corporations, and schools,² and with the advice of the Metropolitan to make changes in the order appointed in the Book of Common Prayer or in the ornaments of the church and ministers.³ Here certainly is extensive power, and the means for its practical exercise were provided by the authorization of commissions to be issued under the Great Seal.⁴ The power of the Queen was not limited, by the terms of the act, as to the time for which such commissions should continue their existence, the number of persons in

¹ Act of Supremacy, par. vii.

² 1 Eliz., c. 22; *Parker Corresp.*, nos. cv, cvii.

³ The Act of Uniformity, par. xiii. Cf. *Parker Corresp.*, nos. xciv and xcv.

⁴ Act of Uniformity, par. viii.

the commission, nor the number of commissions existent at any one time. The only limitation placed upon her in their appointment was that such persons as were appointed be natural-born subjects of the realm.

In actual practice the Queen took full advantage of this broad privilege to an extent usually given little weight in the treatment of the ecclesiastical commissions during her reign. Emphasis has most usually been placed upon the central, more permanent ecclesiastical commission at London, commonly called the High Commission, but other commissions of wide jurisdiction and extensive powers were created; commissions of royal visitation, provincial commissions, diocesan commissions, and temporary or local commissions were issued for special purposes, all exercising according to the particular terms of the letters patent, as provided by the act, a more or less extensive degree of the power involved in the royal supremacy.¹ It should be noted, in passing, that the lesser and local commissions, the commissions other than the High Commission, enabled the Queen to keep a closer rein on ecclesiastical affairs than would have been possible had she vested her authority in one High Commission, which might have developed a tendency to become an independent body, exercising her powers without reference to the Queen, in somewhat the same way that the King's Court outgrew the control of royal power.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS

The extensive power involved in the royal supremacy thus placed in the hands of the Queen, is by the acts apparently limited by the clause which saves the jurisdiction of the regular ecclesiastical officers and courts, but this limita-

¹ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CXLI, nos. 3, 28; vol. LXXIV, no. 37; vol. CVIII, nos. 7, 8; vol. CXIX, no. 60; vol. LXXVII, no. 81; vol. XLVI, nos. 19, 20, 32; vol. XXIII, no. 56; vol. XXVI, nos. 41, 42; Prothero, *Select Statutes*, pp. 241, 240, 237, 235, 232, 150; Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, pp. 37-38; Birt, *Elizabethan Settlement*, p. 222.

tion is more seeming than real. The regular jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts extended over matrimonial and testamentary cases and offenses such as perjury, sacrilege, heresy, and immorality. The censures they might impose were penitential in their nature, culminating in exclusion from the church — excommunication. Excommunication was followed by the imposition of further punishment, — fine, imprisonment, or death at the hands of the temporal power. By the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy their jurisdiction was extended, and the censures placed in the hands of ecclesiastical officials were increased in severity. Yet their relation to the temporal power was in general one of subordination, subordination to the temporal courts and to the Crown.

This subordination to the Crown, so far as the orderly system is concerned, is best illustrated by the fact that the highest court of appeal in ecclesiastical cases was a body appointed by the temporal power and largely made up of the laity. In theory ecclesiastical causes passed by a regular system of appeals from the Archdeacons' or Bishops' Courts, to final settlement, so far as the Church had control, in the Archbishop's Court.¹ But when the abolition of papal power made necessary some substitute for appeal from the national ecclesiastical courts to papal ones, Henry VIII had provided ² that appeals from the Archbishop's Court might be made to the king and be determined by a Royal Commission.³ Owing to the fact that these commissions were chosen from a regular list kept by the Secretary of Appeal to the Lord Chancellor, it became in a sense a permanent court and thus received the name of High Court of Delegates, although a new commission was appointed for

¹ The Archbishop's Courts were sources of confusion and corruption. Cf. Grindal, *Remains*, p. 361, Letter no. lxxxiii.

² 25 Henry VIII, c. 19, repealed by 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8, but revived by the Act of Supremacy.

³ Brodrick and Freemantle, p. lvii, n. 2, for a case which went through the whole system.

the hearing of each case.¹ During Elizabeth's reign the Court of Delegates was of little importance, for there was one notable exception to the general rule that all ecclesiastical appeals lay to this court. Because the High Commissioners were the Queen's delegates, with authority, by virtue of their commission, finally to hear and determine cases, no appeal lay from their decision to the Court of Delegates,² and litigants preferred to have their cases tried by the High Commission rather than by the slower and more involved process of the High Court of Delegates.

The supremacy of the Crown is further marked by the fact that although the High Court of Delegates and the High Commissioners were thus final and definitive courts, it was possible, following the analogy of papal practice, to secure further hearing by petitioning the Queen in Council for a Commission of Review.³ Since such commissions were not, according to Blackstone,⁴ "a matter of right, which the subject may demand, *ex debito justitiæ* : but merely a matter of favour," the power of the sovereign, at a time when subservient commissioners were always available, enabled the Crown to enforce its personal will upon the Church by perfectly legal process.

The dominance of the Crown over the system of ecclesiastical courts was not, however, maintained by its position at the apex of the system alone. Interference and dictation from the Queen and Council extended down the line from the highest to the lowest courts having to do with the ecclesiastical causes and the enforcement of the religious acts passed during Elizabeth's reign, which so closely concerned the political interests and purposes of the government.

¹ Blackstone, *Com.*, vol. II, bk. III, c. v, p. 65; Phillimore, *Ecc. Law*, vol. II, p. 970; W. F. Finlason, *Judicial Committee of the Privy Council*, p. 68; Brodrick and Freemantle, *Collections of Judgments*, p. xlvii.

² Brodrick and Freemantle, pp. xliii-xliv.

³ Phillimore, *Ecc. Law*, vol. II, p. 971; Coke, *4 Inst.*, 341. Example of such commission, Brodrick and Freemantle, p. xlii; cf. Justice Williams, *Law of Executors*, vol. I, p. 437 (3d ed.); *Commission for Ecc. Courts* (1832), p. 701.

⁴ Blackstone, vol. II, bk. III, c. 5, p. 67.

The chief of these courts, the High Commission, may be regarded as somewhat out of the line of regular ecclesiastical courts, in spite of its use as a final court of appeal, for its most important regular function was the handling of business arising from the enforcement of the statutes passed in Elizabeth's reign, both in an appellate capacity and as a court of original jurisdiction. During the early part of the reign it acted as a sort of committee of the Council for consideration of cases committed to it by the Council,¹ received its orders from the Council, and registered its decisions according to the wishes of that body. Toward the end of the reign, however, it was becoming increasingly a body of ecclesiastical administration. "The commission itself was ordained for very good purposes, but it is most horrible abused by you, and turned cleane contrarie to the ende wherefore it was ordayned."² But Cosin wrote in 1593, in defense of its activity, "the device of the Commission Ecclesiasticall was for assistance and ayde of Ordinary Jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall, and for rounder proceeding and more greuious punishment at least (in these dissolute times) more feared: then can or may by Ordinarie Jurisdiction be inflicted."³ As the Commission was used more extensively for purposes more purely administrative, the Council or Star Chamber attended to religious or ecclesiastical cases which were of political importance. At no time, however, was it free from the control of the Queen and her secular officers. Such control, of course, was natural and intended, since the Commission acted merely as the Queen's representative, yet it was doubtless intended by the acts that the jurisdiction exercised by the commissions was to be such,

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, nos. lviii, lviii, lix, lx, lxii, lxiii, lxx, lxxi, lxxiii; *Privy Council Register* (New Series), xi, 315, 435; xviii, 362; xxiv, 317; xxv, 113, 211, 505; xxvi, 179; xi, 137, 149, 174, 182, 212, 322, 362, 386; vii, 145; xi, 322; xii, 336; xiii, 72; viii, 395; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. XLVI, no. 12.

² *Marprelate Tracts, Epistle*, conclusion.

³ Richard Cosin, *Apology of and for Sundry Proceedings by Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical* (1593), pt. I, p. 111. Cf. Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. I, p. 267; Calderwood, *History of the Scottish Kirk*, vol. VII, p. 63.

and to be exercised in such way, as was consonant with legal practice in ecclesiastical courts, although in part created free from restraints in order that action might be expedited. The illegality of some of the High Commission's activity during the early part of the reign was made possible by the pressing dangers which threatened and by the subservience to the will of the Queen of its members, who, in other capacities, owed their preferment to their sovereign. The increasing opposition to it by the secular courts toward the end of the reign was due to the greater security of the kingdom and to the fact that the Council and the Council in Star Chamber gradually removed from it business of a religious or ecclesiastical character which concerned the safety of the State; although, on the other hand, the Council and Star Chamber may have been compelled to assume charge of such business because of the legal opposition to the High Commission. The Star Chamber and the Council were not so subject to legal restraints as was the Commission and could deal summarily with cases which the Queen or her advisers felt should be thus handled. The legal powers of the Star Chamber were extensive and its close connection with the Crown gave it power to exercise extra-legal jurisdiction which at a later time the nation resented fiercely. The activity of this court is, however, so intimately connected with the exercise of royal prerogative and a subject of such dispute that we shall defer its consideration until we have occasion to speak of that phase of the Queen's prerogative which partook of the character of administration of justice.

Royal and secular influence upon the regular ecclesiastical courts was hardly less direct and dominant. The Bishop's Court, regularly a consistory court presided over by the official of the bishop, had jurisdiction over all ecclesiastical matters within the limits of the diocese. This official originally held office at the pleasure of the bishop and ceased to exercise jurisdiction upon the removal or death of the bishop

to whom he owed his appointment; but by Elizabeth's time he had become entirely independent of the bishop for his tenure of office. The control of the bishop was preserved, however, by the fact that the bishop might reserve such particular cases as he or the Crown desired for his own hearing.¹ Further the diocesan court was inhibited from exercising jurisdiction during episcopal visitation of the diocese. Appeal lay from the bishop to the Metropolitan Court.²

Although interference of the Crown with the courts of the diocese, by means of its influence upon the bishop, was perhaps of little importance in actual practice, the dependence of the bishop upon royalty for place and preferment subjected his episcopal jurisdiction to the constant influence, if not the direction, of the Queen and those who surrounded her. The courts of the bishops and the archbishops were subject to interference by the Queen and Council chiefly by admonition to try cases, or by reproof and punishment of ecclesiastical officials who failed to do their duty, although cases are not lacking in which their officials were ordered by the Council to render particular decisions or punishments in cases that came to the notice of the Council, or ordered to send offenders, already before the ecclesiastical court, up to London for examination by the Council. Such cases were then usually committed by the Lords of the Council to settlement by the High Commission with directions to examine further and report to the Council, or to proceed to such penalty as seemed to them good, or to inflict punishment according to the directions of the Council given with the commitment.

THE SECULAR COURTS AND THE CHURCH

The justices of peace, to whom were committed certain phases of the enforcement of the religious acts, came most closely in contact with the people and dealt with minor

¹ *Report of the Ecc. Comm.* (1832), pp. 11-12, and for 1883, pp. 25-26.

² Phillimore, *Ecc. Law*, vol. II, p. 970.

offenses at first instance. The justices held office and exercised power by virtue of commission from the Crown,¹ and were compelled to take the oath acknowledging the Queen's supremacy besides the regular oath promising uprightness in the discharge of the duties of office. Their jurisdiction over offenses coming under the terms of the religious acts formed the most intimate contact between the people and the superior agents of ecclesiastical and religious control. Cases too difficult, or too serious for settlement in general sessions, were committed to the ecclesiastical commissioners or reported to the Council. Subject as they were to the supervision and the orders of the Council and the Star Chamber, the justices of peace served in many capacities. Because of their humble position and because of the fact that they were not usually trained in legal lore, they came in for a great deal of supervision. Failure of the justices to do their duty, either of office or by conceding that degree of religious conformity and zeal which were regarded as essential, was reported to the Council.² The justices of peace were ordered to seize persons whom the Council wished sent to them in London, and they were directed by the Council to enforce the Queen's proclamations. Justices who refused the oath of supremacy were looked after and the loyal ones directed how to proceed in regard to offering the oath to the others. They were sometimes required to determine cases of religious offense without "further troubling the Council of any such matters." The Council sent the justices to examine Papists and directed them where to send the examinations already taken. There is hardly a point at which their activities did not come in for the guidance of the powers above.³

¹ Prothero, *Select Statutes*, pp. 144, 147, 149; Crompton, *L'Office et Autorité de Justices de Peace*, p. 3. (ed. 1583); Middlesex County Records, vol. I, p. xxiv (Middlesex County Record Society); Beard, *The Office of Justice of the Peace in England*, New York, 1904.

² *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. XIX, no. 42; vol. XXI, no. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, no. 29; vol. XVI, no. 49; vol. LX, no. 53; *Acts of Privy Council*, *passim*.

The placing of the administration of the ecclesiastical law in the hands of justices of peace is not consistent with the conception of the Church as a body having exclusive jurisdiction over spiritual and ecclesiastical questions, but the offenses with which the justices dealt were statutory offenses against the royal power; and their jurisdiction, and the jurisdiction of the other secular courts over such ecclesiastical questions, is entirely consistent with the idea of the Church as one means of securing the sovereign's supremacy over all the subjects of the realm.

The chief points of contact between secular and ecclesiastical courts, however, aside from such statutory relationships as were created by the religious acts are found in the attempts of the secular courts, notably King's Bench and Common Pleas, to preserve the common law from encroachment by the ecclesiastical courts and High Commissioners. Such restraint was most usually exercised by means of prerogative writs.¹

IRREGULARITY OF THE SYSTEM

It was characteristic of the time that certain rights, acquired originally by way of grant from the Crown, or possessed by virtue of long custom, were private property. Thus there were a variety of jurisdictions, franchises, and patronages which were treated as private property, and gave the holders the power to hinder in many ways the regular execution of justice and the enforcement of the laws for religious uniformity. In the hands of the Queen were some such rights which she held as private property independent of her sovereignty over the realm, and in such cases she had a more effective means of control than that afforded her by the laws of the kingdom. Various sections of the country, various cities and institutions,² were especially favored or

¹ Blackstone, *Com.*, bk. III, c. VII, pp. 108, 111.

² The Universities were especially important and very tenacious of their charter rights. *Parker Corresp.*, no. cclxiv, note 3; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. XLIX, no. 29; vol. XIX, no. 56.

had, by right of custom, charter, or special grant, exemption from the control of the regular courts to greater or less extent; or were given special local courts to deal with matters which ordinarily fell under the jurisdiction of the regular courts. This characteristic of Tudor times is, in the ecclesiastical courts, exemplified by the "peculiars"; those in the realm of secular judicature may be grouped as the palatinates and lesser franchises.

During papal times, as marks of exceptional favor or for the purpose of curtailing the power of great ecclesiastics, the Papal See had granted to various churches and districts exemption from the jurisdiction of the regular ecclesiastical superior. This irregularity was entirely in line with the prevalence of special franchises and privileges in the secular administration and continued until long after our period. The churches or districts which held such exemptions from the control of the regular ecclesiastical system are called "peculiars." The subject is particularly intricate and irregular, but wherever we find a peculiar court it means that certain extraordinary rights of exemption from local jurisdiction, or rights to exercise an independent jurisdiction out of harmony with the regular system, have been granted as special privileges, just as in feudal society it was usual for large landholders to exercise a franchise jurisdiction which displaced or paralleled the jurisdiction of the king's courts.¹ The Report of the Ecclesiastical Commission of 1832 shows that there were many kinds of these peculiars, archiepiscopal, episcopal, diaconal, prebendal, rectorial, and vicarial. The way in which they curtailed the jurisdiction of the diocesan courts — the privilege was often granted for this purpose — may be seen from a report in the Episcopal Register of the Bishop of London, Grindal, made to the Privy Council in 1563.² We learn that out of a total of six hundred and forty-one churches in London, forty-seven were

¹ Holdsworth, *Hist. Eng. Law*, vol. 1, p. 370.

² Phillimore, *Ecc. Law*, p. 927; Birt, *Elizabethan Settlement*, p. 443.

peculiars, exempt from his jurisdiction. Of these, thirteen, including Bow Church whose dean was judge of the Court of Arches, belonged to the peculiar jurisdiction of the archbishop, but some were exempt both from the jurisdiction of the bishop and of the archbishop. Henry VIII provided that appeals from peculiars, whose privileges exempted them from the jurisdiction of the higher ecclesiastical courts, lay directly to the King in Chancery, the High Court of Delegates. It would be a somewhat profitless study to attempt to determine how far the existence of these peculiars affected the regular and appellate jurisdiction of the Bishops' and Archbishops' Courts, but that they contributed to the intricacy and confusion of the administration of ecclesiastical law is evident.¹

The palatinates were sections which were in a sense separate from the rest of the country and in which the king's writ did not run. They had a local independence.

The power and authority of those that had counties Palatine was king-like for they might pardon treasons, murders, felonies, and outlawries thereupon. They might also make justices of eyre, justices of assize, or gaol delivery, and of the peace. And all original and judicial writs, and all manner of indictments of treasons and felony, and the process thereupon was made in the name of the persons having such county Palatine. And in every writ and indictment within any County Palatine it was supposed to be *contra pacem* of him that had the county Palatine.²

They were subject, however, to the acts of Parliament, and, owing to the nature of English government and to the development of royal power, they did not continue an independent development. Their legal system closely followed that of the English system and English common law was applied in their courts. Often the same officer acted as royal judge and judge of the palatinate. Bacon describes the judicial system of the palatinate as "a small model of

¹ Phillemore, *Ecc. Law*, pp. 214, 441; *Parker Corresp.*, no. ccxcvi; Grindal, *Remains*, p. 150, item 11.

² Coke, *4 Inst.*, p. 205. Cf. G. T. Lapsley, *County Palatine of Durham*; Holdsworth, *Eng. Law*, vol. 1, p. 50.

the great government of the kingdom," but the establishment of the Councils of the North and of Wales and the work of Henry VIII extended the control of the Crown and reduced their independence.¹

The lesser franchises were of varying degrees of importance and gave the holder different degrees of immunity from the interference of the royal officials. Thus, some, like the frankpledge, prevented the sheriff from inquiring into the affairs of the neighborhood, and by this means the nobles were often able to defeat, or delay, the purposes of the Crown by preventing royal officials from carrying out their directions within the liberties.

We have seen that, in the ecclesiastical court system, the final appeal lay to a court dominated by secular interest and directly dependent for its existence and power upon the will of the sovereign. According to the strict system of ecclesiastical court procedure, it would seem that there should be little interference with the ecclesiastical courts until by regular process litigation had brought matters to the point where appeal was made to the Queen for the appointment of Delegates. The strict system was not, however, the real one, and still less was the independent working of the system so complete as it would seem. In fact, the ecclesiastical court system did not exist independently, but was subject to interference from the secular courts, and the Queen, and the Queen's Council at all points. Secular courts had in some cases original jurisdiction concurrent with that of the ecclesiastical courts; the secular courts could by means of the prerogative writs restrain the ecclesiastical courts from hearing or proceeding to judgment. The Queen exercised her authority directly by virtue of her prerogative, and by means of the direct dependence of the ecclesiastical courts upon her for existence and authority, or indirectly through the identical interests of the court officials and the aristocratic class.

¹ 27 H. VIII, c. 24; 32 H. VIII, c. 50; 34 H. VIII, c. 26; 13 Eliz., c. 12. Ely and Durham retained their own jurisdiction, however, until 1835.

The confusion of the system, the inextricable mixture of secular and ecclesiastical power, must certainly be evident. It is possible to take any one phase of the system and make it appear fairly consistent and regular, but the overlappings and cross-currents make the arrangement of the whole scheme a somewhat chaotic one. This was, of course, due in great part to the necessity of meeting emergencies, the habit of using the commission, the undeveloped state of the best established courts and their uncertain relations with one another. The machinery for the enforcement of the law was by its very complexity made inefficient and wasteful of effort for accomplishing the purposes of the government, administering the affairs of the Church, and coördinating the activities of the government and Church.¹ It was a makeshift system, wheels and cogs were added, flexible couplings inserted, power applied to meet temporary or extraordinary emergencies until the least degree of efficiency was dependent upon an arbitrary disregard of machinery and the direct application of royal power to the task in hand. Elizabeth wrote to Parker:—

If any superior officers shall be found hereto disagreeable, if otherwise your discretion or authority shall not serve to reform them, We will that you shall duly inform us thereof, to the end we may give indelayed order for the same; for we intend to have no dissension or variety grow by suffering of persons which maintain dissension to remain in authority; for so the sovereign authority which we have under Almighty God should be violatèd and made frustrate, and we might be well thought to bear the sword in vain.²

The sovereign did not lack the power, nor did Elizabeth lack the will to use it.

THE ROYAL PREROGATIVE

The extensive legal powers given by the acts were not interpreted conservatively by the Queen or the men around her. The extent of her rightful prerogative was not defined

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, nos. ccxxxix, cclxxxiii, cccvi, ccviii, cccxvii, cccxxxiv, cccli, cccliii, App. ii, p. 485; Cheyney, *History of England from the Armada*, vol. I, p. 130.

² *Parker Corresp.*, no. clxx.

or limited. The temper of the Queen, the legal machinery which was at her service in accomplishing illegal objects, the political dangers which made men desire to avoid the delays and complexities of legal procedure, united in procuring from the nation assent to proceedings to which, at a later time, it could no longer be induced to submit. The will of the sovereign was absolute within the field where previously delegated agents had not by consent or custom removed power from her hands, and her influence over such delegated agents was so great that in a case of contest, not involving national feeling, she was practically certain of victory.¹ The control by the sovereign, whether directly, or through her Council, may be classified as that which partook of the character of legislation and that which partook of the character of administration of justice.

The extensive control exercised by the Queen personally, by means of letters and proclamations was in part based upon the prerogative right, claimed and generally allowed in Tudor times, that the sovereign could issue edicts having the force of law concerning matters not contrary to the statutes of the realm or the common law; and in part founded upon the act of Parliament which gave the Queen the ecclesiastical supremacy. It would be difficult, and is unnecessary, to attempt to determine upon which of these rights the various acts of Elizabeth were based. Sufficient to know that her letters and proclamations were treated by secular and ecclesiastical officials as having the force of law and that the Council insisted upon the observance of her proclamations as though they were statutory enactments. ". . . The queen by her royal prerogative has power to provide remedies for the punishment or otherwise of exorbitant offenses as the case and time require, without Parliament," and such proclamations be firm and forcible law and of the like force as the common law or an act of Parliament, declared the Council in Star Chamber.²

¹ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. XVIII, no. 21; vol. CCVIII, no. 15 and no. 34.

² Quoted in Cheyney, *Hist. Eng. from Armada*, vol. I, p. 92.

Of somewhat different character from this power of positive enactment, is the dispensing power exercised by the Queen, although it, too, is based upon the royal prerogative. The dispensing power is a survival of that absolutism which existed at a time when monarchy had not become constitutionally limited. Founded upon a similar basis, also, was the interference of the Queen in the action of Parliament; although it is true that in religious matters the Queen might claim that until her ecclesiastical supremacy had been repealed by the body which established it, if she would admit the power of that body to establish it, Parliament could have no right to exercise any part of the functions involved in the supremacy without her express consent.

It is not difficult to see how the power of legislative enactment was based upon the royal prerogative, but many writers have hesitated or failed to recognize that the same principle is involved when the administration of justice by the Queen and Council is concerned. Because this branch of the royal power was so largely exercised by the Council, which in turn was so closely connected with a court, the Star Chamber, which at a later time was declared illegal, the legal categories of a later period have been applied to this phase of royal activity, and the true situation confused.

That the administration of justice was at one time a fundamental duty of the sovereign is clear from the fact that from this royal obligation arose the whole judicial and court system of England. That the growth of the courts rendered them to a great degree independent of the sovereign, and limited the sovereign in the exercise of his administrative duty, in so far as it concerned the administration of justice, is equally clear from the history of English law. But that in Elizabeth's time this growth of the courts had deprived the sovereign of all, or nearly all, of these functions is an unwarranted assumption and contradicted by the facts. The facts show that to the sovereign still remained a con-

siderable portion of the king's original right and duty to see that justice was administered and enforced. Under the Tudors this right was exercised extensively, and was not confined to matters not cognizable in the established courts, nor to the supervision of these courts, but included jurisdictions concurrent with those of both the secular and the ecclesiastical courts. No one, so far as we know, denies that the Queen or the Council actually attended to matters which it was the regular duty of the established courts to look after, but the foundation of these acts has been often misinterpreted.

Though Finlason attempts to show that the Council never had any "direct judicial power or jurisdiction original or appellate, as to causes arising within the realm," and maintains that the actual exercise of such power was an "abusive and usurped jurisdiction" during the reign of Elizabeth,¹ he admits that it did have the legal right to deal with cases arising in dependencies without the realm — that is, Guernsey, Jersey, and the colonies — by virtue of the "duty of the sovereign to see that justice was administered in all his dominions and to prevent a failure of justice." He admits here, in other words, that the Council was the Queen's representative, in these cases to exercise the royal function of administering justice. And he admits also that such function was still held by the sovereign until a time much later than that which we are considering. But he denies that the function was legally operative in England where royal courts regularly exercised the jurisdiction involved in such royal power. The very fact that the Council did exercise such powers in England refutes his argument, even though it were not for the further fact that it was not until eighty years after our period that the exercise of such powers by the Star Chamber was abolished by act of Parliament, at a time when the royal power was undergoing a violent curtailment. That the restraint of royal power in this direction

¹ Finlason, *Judicial Committee of the Privy Council*, pp. 16, 187, 690.

was one of the greatest benefits conferred by the contest between the Stuart kings and the people, may perhaps be admitted, but that this result of that contest has anything to do with the legality of the royal prerogative during the first years of Elizabeth's reign can be maintained only by imposing on an earlier time the legal conceptions of a period over eighty years subsequent. We must return to what we actually find during the early years of Elizabeth's reign and the only conclusion possible from those facts is that the sovereign did, at this time, exercise, personally or by means of her Council, a control which involved both the right of legislative action and of administration of justice.

It is not necessary for us, perhaps, to distinguish the legal from the illegal, or extra-legal exercise of royal power, since our interest lies in the fact rather than in its basis. By virtue of her prerogative, her legal rights, or extra-legal powers the Queen issued injunctions and orders for the regulation of the Church, prescribed regulations for the press, issued proclamations, maintained a close supervision over her officials ecclesiastical and lay, enforced or created penalties against offenders.¹ The Council, as representative of the Queen or on its own legal authority, handled much of this business without attempting to distinguish carefully upon what authority its action was based. It supervised both secular and ecclesiastical courts, received petitions and appeals, dealt with offenders directly, or gave orders how they should be dealt with by other agents. It is difficult to place any definite limits to their jurisdiction and their activity.² Probably none was placed at the time. Whatever came to their attention as requiring correction or guidance,

¹ Sparrow, *Collections*, p. 65; Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, vol. 1, p. 178; Strype, *Parker*, vol. 1, p. 442; Strype, *Whitgift*, App. iii, no. xxiv; Prothero, *Select Statutes*, pp. 168-72; Grindal, *Remains*, pp. 404-35; Camden, *Annals*, (1625), bk. III, pp. 14-16.

² *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. III, nos. 52, 54; vol. XI, nos. 16, 25; vol. XXI, no. 7; vol. XXIV, no. 24; vol. XII, no. 13; vol. XVI, nos. 49, 60; *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. VII, pp. 127, 145; Strype, *Annals*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 139; Cheyney, *History of England from the Armada*, vol. 1, p. 80.

they attended to in one way or another, directly or indirectly, and during this period we find no instance of protest against their powers, certainly not from the ecclesiastical officials. On the contrary, Parker's appeal to the Council, "if you lay not your helping hand to it . . . all that is done is but to be laughed at," was by no means rare.¹ The feeling was probably pretty general that the times were not settled, that the new establishment was uncertain and in need of support from all sources; no one cared to question the authority of the body which was so closely connected with the safety of the Queen and with the exercise of her broad and poorly defined prerogative, especially since the actual force which the Council could wield, legally or illegally, made opposition dangerous. To the exercise of royal power and the activity of the Council was due whatever of unity or efficiency there was in the workings of the complex machinery. If it had not been for some overriding or directing force which could solve problems without unnecessary reference to the complex instruments provided by law, the confusion would have been far greater than it actually was.

Strype has preserved for us a somewhat whimsical note, made by an Elizabethan cleric, recording what "every man that

hath cure of souls is infolded by his oath to keep and obey"; I. The sacred canonical word of God. II. The statutes of the realm. III. The queen's majesty's injunctions, and formal letters patent. IV. The letters of the lords of the Privy Council. V. The Metropolitan his injunctions and articles. VI. The articles and mandates of his bishop. VII. The articles and mandates of Mr. Archdeacon. VIII. The mandates of chancellors or commissaries, sompnors, receivers, etc. IX. The comptrolment of all men with patience.²

The opponents of the bishops expressed their consciousness of restraint with somewhat less patience: —

. . . No preachers may withoute greate danger of the lawes,

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, nos. clxxvi, ccv, ccvi, ccxix.

² Strype, *Annals*, vol. 1, pt. II, p. 132.

utter all truthe comprised in the book of God. It is so circumscribed and wrapt within the compasse of suche statutes, suche penalties, suche injunctions, suche advertisements, suche articles, suche canons, suche sober caveats, and suche manifolde pamphlets, that in manner it doth but peepe out from behinde the screene. The lawes of the lande, the booke of common prayer, the Queenes Injunctions, the Commissioners advertisements, the bishops late Canons, Lindwoodes Provincials every bishops Articles in his diocese, my Lord of Canterburies sober caveates in his licenses to preachers, and his highe courte of prerogative or grave fatherly faculties, these together, or the worste of them (as some of them be too badde) may not be broken or offended against, but with more daunger than to offende against the Bible.¹

THE EFFECTS OF THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE

The Queen seems to have believed at first that all that was necessary for the establishment of the Church and the accomplishment of the government's objects, was the passage of the laws and the installation of the officers of the system to do their complex duty. She displayed an angry impatience with her clergy, and charged them with neglect and failure to do their duty when the Establishment failed of itself to accomplish what she desired; ² yet her own willfulness and greed were as responsible as more fundamental causes in the failure of the ecclesiastical machinery. Parker was moved to protest bitterly that all he could do amounted to nothing unsupported by the Queen, or, what was worse, that he was actually hindered in his work by her perverseness and her willingness to lend her ear to the complaints of the enemies he made in doing her will. "If this ball shall be tossed unto us, and then have no authority by the Queen's Majesty's hand, we will set still."³ "And where the Queen's Highness will needs have me assay with mine own authority what I can do for order, I trust I shall not be stayed hereafter."⁴ He felt that the clergy were

¹ *Puritan Manifestoes, Second Admonition*, p. 91.

² *Parker Correspondence*, nos. cvii, clxx, cclxxiii.

³ *Ibid.*, no. clxxvi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. ccix; cf. also, nos. cxiv, clxxviii, cciii; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. clxxv, no. 2.

being used by the Queen to shield herself from the unpopularity which might result from the work she wished done. "The talk, as I am informed, is much increased, and unrestful they be, and I alone they say am in fault. For as for the Queen's Majesty's part, in my expostulation with many of them I signify their disobedience, wherein, because they see the danger they cease to impute it to her Majesty, for they say, but for my calling on, she is indifferent." "If this matter shall be overturned with all these great hopes, etc., I am at a point to be used and abused: *nam scio nos episcopos in hunc usum positos esse.*" ¹ Aylmer bluntly said, "I am blamed for not taking upon me a matter wherein she herself would not be seen." ²

Yet, in spite of hindrances, in spite of the uncertainties of royal temper and the discouragement of the clergy at times, the results desired by the government were obtained. The nation was won to regard for the Anglican Establishment as a patriotic duty, the Church itself preserved from the narrow sectarianism of the Continent. Of the lesser effects of the connection of Church and State upon the spirit of Anglicanism, of the compromise spirit of its standards, and the practical character of its leaders, we shall have occasion to refer in the following chapter.

The union of Church and State was of primary importance in determining the degree of tolerance possible in England during Elizabeth's reign. It is obvious that the political purposes of the government were such as made certain forms of Catholic and Protestant activity equally intolerable. In so far as the desire of the government was to repress such activity, its attitude was by its dominance over the Church forced upon the ecclesiastical establishment. The Church reflected the intolerance of the State. Yet this was of little importance as a factor in the promo-

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. clxxix.

² *Strype, Aylmer*, p. 77; cf. also *Parker Corresp.*, nos. cxiv, cxxvii, clxxviii, cciii.

tion of ecclesiastical intolerance, for moderate and reasonable as was the spirit of the personnel of the Establishment, ecclesiastics, by virtue of their narrow interests and perspective, were more inclined to repress the religious enemies of the government than was the government itself. The policy of the government acted rather as a check than an incentive to intolerance on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities. We find the Church and its officers prevented by their subjection to the will of the secular power from exercising the force which they conceived their position gave them, and which they felt should, from the standpoint of the Church, be exercised. The instruments of the law, however, were not in their control, and their own courts and officials were so restrained at every point by the influence of the Queen, the Council, and the secular officials, that there was little opportunity to display that spirit of compulsion which many of them would have liked to exercise toward both Catholics and Protestants. The moderate and conciliatory policy of the State prevented the development of doctrinal and ecclesiastical bigotry in a Church which, unrestrained, would doubtless have developed both.

In the union of the two, and the consequent mould in which the Church was cast, lay also one of the principal causes for the growth of dissent. The union between State and Church determined the early character of this dissent. Individuals found the restraints imposed upon them too confining, and without daring to break the mould itself, without daring to direct their energies against the fundamental structure of a Church backed by government patronage, sought a greater freedom within the system itself. Thus the vestiarian controversy was significant, not as a protest against the system, but as a protest against one of the small features within the system which it was felt could be safely attacked without coming in conflict with the government. That this controversy later developed into

what amounted to a direct attack upon the particular type of ecclesiastical organization, was due to influences of which we shall speak when we come to deal with the development of dissent.

There is no question that there is in the general lenient policy of the government to let live in comparative peace any who would take the essential vows of loyalty to the Crown, and attend the services of the Church as prescribed by law, an advance in tolerance over the spirit of the time. Government restraint prevented the Church from demanding subscription to a particular set of doctrinal theories, and when subscription to a formula was demanded it was subscription to no such system as that embodied in the Augsburg Confession, but to a somewhat spineless collection of polemic statements, that in only the slightest degree involved religious intolerance.¹ It was the fault of the arrangement which so subjugated the Church to the State, and the temporary character of the advance in tolerance was due to this, that the peculiar form of ecclesiastical organization made it inevitable that once established firmly the organization would no longer be content to be so inclusive and so colorless. The good of the relationship, from the standpoint of the permanent advance of tolerance, lay in the opportunity it gave for dissenting opinion to become powerful enough to resist with strength all later attempts at complete suppression, so that in the end it became necessary to arrange some peaceable method for the existence of varied phases of Christianity side by side.

To carry to its logical consequence the dominance of the Queen over both State and Church, would lead to the conclusion that whatever tolerance or intolerance we discover manifested by either, was based, not on group consciousness and prejudice, but upon the personal will of the sovereign. Undoubtedly Elizabeth's personal prejudices modified profoundly the groups which are for us the only index to

¹ Cf. Thirty-nine Articles, Arts. XIX and XXII.

national feeling, but it would be absurd to ascribe an all-powerful influence to the Queen. Intolerance of any importance is always the manifestation of a social attitude of greater or less extent, however great may be the influence of an individual in determining that attitude. In England neither national, religious, nor ecclesiastical unity of feeling had reached a high development, and as intolerance is the outward manifestation of variant groups striving for social cohesion the time was ripe in England for an outburst of religious and political intolerance. Around the person and the throne of Elizabeth centered the development of English national unity, and it is to her glory that her great influence made religion and the Church subservient to that development, and was directed toward the moderation and elimination of religious differences. She made mistakes, she was unwise, but to her, and to a few men around her, is due the fact that the tone of the government in religious matters was more sane and reasonable than the spirit of the men she used to establish and serve in her Church.

CHAPTER V

ANGLICANISM

THE men who made up the early Church of Elizabeth were drawn from three parties, those to whom the compromise Church was agreeable because of temperamental or intellectual convictions, Catholics who were loyal and felt that the governmental Establishment was sufficiently right to excuse the outward show of adherence which the government demanded, and the more radical Protestants who were ready to make compromises and concessions for the sake of securing an anti-Roman Church, and perhaps for the sake of securing for themselves the advantages of position and hoped-for power. Naturally those who would now be called the Erastians were most acceptable to the Queen and secured the most important positions. The directing heads were not extremists, not religious enthusiasts. They were reasonable men. They were cautious men. Temperament and the desire to keep their positions made them so. The antiquarian interests of Parker, and his dry-as-dust researches, so far removed from definitely religious views, are characteristic of the men who had the Church in charge at the first of the reign. Parker, Grindal, Sandys, and the rest were eminently practical men in a worldly sense, good men also, but not religious enthusiasts, not unreasonably pious. They were not men fitted to assume a rousing captaincy of militant religion. The government was perhaps not utterly indifferent to religious interest, but primarily fighting for self-preservation; the Church itself was inspired by the same fears as the government and well satisfied with the alliance of the two. The Protestant party also hated the common enemy with a bitter hatred and felt that for the present it could give up

cherished notions in order to present a united front to the foe. Any institution thus founded on the alliance of essentially different ideas in opposition to a common foe, or even in love of a common object, is liable to rupture when the danger disappears or the common object is obtained. Colorless and political as the Church was in the beginning, founded upon compromise, there lay within it the seeds and the causes for the growth of divergent opinions of well-founded character, should the country once become free from external danger.

THE ESTABLISHMENT AS A COMPROMISE

The desire of the Church to compromise comes out clearly in the standards which it set up, or attempted to set up. Judging from these standards alone, the Church, apart from its obtrusive patriotism, emphasized few aspects of religious conviction. The only legal standard was for years the taking of a purely political oath of loyalty to the Crown by the clerics, and, on the part of the laymen, a purely formal expression of allegiance to the established government by attendance on the Church services. True there was an attempt by the Church to secure the adoption of a standard of belief in 1563, but government policy secured the delay in the necessary enactment of that standard into law until 1571, when the political situation had been so changed by the pronouncements of Papacy that the government was willing to permit the Thirty-nine Articles to be incorporated into the body of ecclesiastical standards. But the Articles are themselves so indefinite in statement, so merely anti-Roman, that they but serve to emphasize further the compromise and political character of the English Establishment. The fact that the Church was established at, and according to, the dictates of government policy resulted in a Church that was a compromise. It was not simply a compromise between Catholicism and Protestantism, but, more important still, it was a compromise with itself. It was a conscious

attempt to abstain from making definite statements of its own position and justification of its position as a compromise Church.

You may see how he [Jewel] would mingle policy and religion together. Surely he is wise and a good servant in this time.¹ And where the Queen's Highness doth note me to be too soft and easy, I think divers of my brethren will rather note me, if they were asked, too sharp and too earnest in moderation, which towards them I have used, and will still do, till mediocrity shall be received amongst us.²

We find the clergy taking pride in its "mediocrity," although there could be little defense of the Church from that standpoint.³ This was a condition which was bound to vanish as soon as the dangers from foreign aggression disappeared and the Church had acquired the sanction of age. At first, however, the only clear thing about its position was that it was not papal and that it was English, things, which, in themselves, do not define a Church any more than they define industrial or philosophical systems. That the Church finally escaped from colorless compromise, and has, in general, become a deliberately tolerant and inclusive body, was due to the men who directed its affairs in later years, to the struggle with enthusiasts through which it passed, to the essentially patriotic and national stamp placed upon it in the beginning.

Yet the Church established by the government, Erastian in form and conception, would have failed to become the great Church we know, it could not have played the rôle it has in the development of England, it could not have held the allegiance of Englishmen, had it not been something greater than a tool of secular politics. In the face of sincere religious feeling, before the enthusiasm of Puritan earnest-

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. cxvi; cf. no. clxiv.

² *Ibid.*, no. cxxvii; cf. Strype, *Parker*, bk. I, p. 126.

³ J. H. Newman's early defense of the *via media* would have been impossible for one who lived in Elizabeth's day and adhered to the Establishment during her first years of rule.

ness and inexorable piety, it would have failed even to serve the political purpose for which it was created, it could not have continued its life and remained for centuries the Church to which Englishmen have given their allegiance, had it not been from the first something more than Erastian, something more than expedient. It was religious. During the time when its officers and its polity were most subservient to governmental dictation, the English Church had, and was conscious of the fact that it had, a function other than that of serving merely as a cog in the governmental machinery. Yet the connection between Church and State, the essential subordination of ecclesiastical to secular policy, was during Elizabeth's reign never repudiated by the Established Church; and the development of its religious life, as well as the development of ecclesiastical and doctrinal theory, was necessarily limited by that relationship. Opponents charged that "common experience dothe prove, that they doe for the most parte apply them selves to the time and seeke rather to please and followe worldly pollicie, then sincerely to promote Gods cause, and to publish his truth." ¹

FORMULATION OF DOCTRINAL STANDARDS

The moderate and conciliatory purposes of secular politics made the formulation of an independent ecclesiastical or doctrinal apologetic a delicate task. Any theory of the ecclesiastical Establishment which too vigorously condemned Catholicism would defeat the desire of the government to procure the allegiance of Catholics, and would not be permitted. Any theory which antagonized the Continental reformers would be equally distasteful to the government. In doctrine and in religion, therefore, we find little development during Elizabeth's reign over what had existed from the first, largely because of the restraints placed upon such development by royal taste and policy. By

¹ *Puritan Manifestoes, Second Admonition*, p. 89. Cf. Burrage, *English Dissenters*, vol. II, p. 98.

the acts of Parliament which erected the Elizabethan Establishment, there was, appropriately enough, considering the secular character of the parliamentary bodies, little emphasis placed upon the doctrinal features of the new Church. In the Act of Uniformity we find a limitation placed upon doctrinal formulation, in entire accord with the historical grounds upon which the repudiation of papal claims had been made, and entirely in harmony with the essentially political interest of the act establishing the form of ecclesiastical service and government. The Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds, the pronouncements of the first four General Councils, and the Scriptures, are to serve as the standards upon which charges of heresy are to be based. These are indefinite standards, the interpretation of which may vary with changed conditions of thought and government; nor can they be regarded as furnishing a proper doctrinal statement of the position of the English Church; they are rather the traditional inheritance of all Christians, Catholic as well as Protestant, and are in no way distinctive or to be ranked in the same class with the doctrinal formularies of the Continental Reformed and Lutheran Churches.

The first real attempt to give to the Establishment a definite statement of its doctrinal and ecclesiastical belief, was that of the Convocation of 1563 when it passed the Thirty-nine Articles. A detailed history of the Articles, or an analysis of their contents even, would be out of place here, and would require a treatment far beyond the limits of this study. Essentially they were the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI, modified in the spirit of compromise. They were essentially polemic, in so far as ecclesiastical theory is concerned, and conciliatory in regard to doctrine. "The papists mislike of the book of common prayers for nothing else, but because it swerveth from their mass-book, and is not in all points like unto it. And these men mislike it for nothing else, but that it hath too much likelihood unto it,"¹

¹ Whitgift, *Works*, vol. I, p. 120. Cf. also, *Zurich Letters*, nos. cix, cxii, cxx.

wrote Whitgift, and the same might have been said of the Articles. They so far fail to embody what came to be distinctively Anglican that a later English ecclesiastic could say of them that they "are no more part of the Church of England than the limpet which clings to the rock is the rock itself."¹ Doctrinally there is nothing in them which could not, by judicious interpretation, be accepted by any Protestant, or even by any Catholic. Yet so great was the Queen's aversion to definite statement of the position of the Church, apart from its Erastianism, or so anxious her concern that the way be left open for any move which the future political situation might make necessary, that even this seemed dangerous and she refused the royal signature necessary to give the Articles authoritative position. It was not until nine years later,² when all hope of reconciliation with the Papacy was past, at a time when it might be supposed that the Church could afford to take a more decisive stand than in 1563, that the Articles received Parliamentary sanction and the assent of the Queen;³ and then in a form whose interpretation, in so far as the ecclesiastical features were concerned, was debatable.

The catechism, in both the longer and shorter forms prepared by Nowell, similarly avoided debatable doctrinal statements and never received governmental sanction. The Church, for the most part, gave the government hearty support in repressing doctrinal discussion. The homilies were prepared for this purpose, as well as for supplying homiletic material for use by those incapable of preparing their own sermons. Elizabeth and Cecil discouraged such doctrinal debates as Parker and Jewel and the early prelates were inclined to enter upon, and so great were the restraints imposed upon the clergy that many of them

¹ Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops, Parker*, p. 353. Cf. Child, *Church and State*, p. 196.

² *Parker Corresp.*, nos. ccxxiv, ccxxv; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. xli, no. 43; D'Ewes, *Journals*, pp. 132, 133.

³ 13 Eliz., c. 2.

thought caution was being carried too far. "To be prescribed in preaching, to have no matter in controversy in religion spoken of, is thought far unreasonable, specially seeing so many adversaries as by their books plentifully had in the court from beyond the sea, do impugn the verity of our religion." ¹ "What can I hope, when injunctions are laid upon those appointed to preach, not to handle vice with too much severity; when the preachers are deemed intolerable, if they say anything that is displeasing?" ²

When Whitgift, in his zeal for the doctrines of Calvinism and for the suppression of dissent, endeavored to impose the Calvinistic Lambeth Articles upon the Church, the Queen, through Cecil, promptly quashed both the attempt to give Anglican doctrine a Calvinistic stamp, and the seeming assertion of archiepiscopal authority in the realm of religious dogma.

THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF THE CHURCH

Quite apart from any ecclesiastical theory or formulation of doctrine, however, the Church looked upon itself as the opponent of Roman Catholicism. This, of course, was in part due to the trend of secular politics in opposition to Rome, but the presence within the Church of influential and sincere men whose political fear of the menace of Rome was equaled by their moral and religious horror of the abuses within that Church, gave to this opposition a strength and determination which no mere loyalty to the Crown could have done. In England, as on the Continent, the purely secular motives of opposition to the papal and ecclesiastical control enabled those whose religious or moral motives led them to protest against abuses which shocked and repulsed them, to express their opinions and to resist suppression. In England, as on the Continent also, the secular revolt, however, would have been immensely more

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. clxxv, Parker to Cecil.

² *Zurich Letters*, no. xxxix, Sampson to Martyr.

complicated and have resulted in more distress and instability than was actually the case, had it not been for idealistic notions of religion and the Church which afforded the necessary emotional grounds of opposition.¹ Following the usual habit of men the English Church and its leaders found at hand the material for the construction of an ecclesiastical theory which allowed full play for their emotional condemnation of Roman Catholicism, but the emotional rather than the intellectual motive, determined the spirit and attitude of the Church.

A superficial reading of the writings of the time would lead one to believe that the only possible concern felt for the souls of Englishmen was lest they be damned through adherence to Romanism, and that the ecclesiastics believed Rome the only religious danger which the Church had to combat. Yet there were not lacking within the Church men who felt that, independently of ecclesiastical or doctrinal theory, independently of opposition to Rome even, the Church had laid upon it the duty of proclaiming the gospel of God's forgiving love to common men. The controversial character of the period is, of course, much more patent than this idealistic concern for the souls of men, and it often concealed the religious earnestness which really existed. The pressing political aggression of the Papacy gave to the age an essentially controversial stamp and many causes combined to prevent the development of Anglican religious spirit.

Within the Church were men more concerned over the dignity and remuneration of clerical office than about the spiritual duties connected therewith.² Earnest and trained men to take the lower, more intimate pastoral offices were

¹ Fox's *Martyrology*, probably the most widely known of Elizabethan religious productions, was little more than an emotional campaign document intended to arouse the feeling of the English against Roman Catholicism.

² Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 331, 463, 467; Strype, *Aylmer*, p. 169; Froude, *History of England*, vol. XII, pp. 4-7, 543; Dixon, *History of the Church*, vol. V, p. 23; *Parker Corresp.*, no. ccxxxiv; Usher, *Reconstruction*, vol. I, pp. 209-11; Pierce, *Introd. to Marprelate Tracts*, pp. 101 *et seq.*

lacking. Ignorant and illiterate artisans were, of necessity, employed to perform the services. Parker admitted the fact.

. . . We and you both, for tolerable supply thereof, have heretofore admitted unto the ministry sundry artificers and others, not traded and brought up in learning, and, as it happened in a multitude, some that were of base occupations.¹

There was truth in the charge made, that the bishops have made priests of the basest of the people, not only for their occupations and trades whence they have taken them as shoemakers, barbers, tailors, waterbearers, shepherds, and horse keepers, but also for their want of good learning and honesty.²

Sandys wrote:—

The disease spreadeth for patrons gape for gain, and hungry fellows utterly destitute of all good learning and godly zeal, yea scarcely clothed with common honesty, having money, find ready entrance to the Church.³

The greed of patrons enabled the unfit to secure places. Bishop Cooper could write truthfully:—

As for the corruption in bestowing other meaner livings, the chief fault thereof is in patrons themselves. For it is the usual manner of the most part of these (I speak of too good experience) though they may have good store of able men in the Universities, yet if an ambitious or greedy minister come not unto them to sue for the benefice, if there be an insufficient man or a corrupt person within two shires of them, whom they think they can draw to any composition for their own benefit, they will by one means or other find him out, and if the bishop shall make courtesy to admit him, some such shift shall be found by the law, either by *Quare impedit* or otherwise, that whether the bishop will or no, he shall be shifted into the benefice. I know some bishops unto whom such suits against the patrons have been more chargeable in one year, than they have gained by all the benefices they have

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. lxxxvi.

² *Supplication of Puritan Ministers to Parliament in 1586*, quoted in Neal, vol. I, p. 317. Cf. also *Parker Corresp.*, nos. ccxi, ccxxxix, cclxxxii; Jewel, *Works*, vol. II, p. 1012; vol. IV, pp. 909, 873; *Zurich Letters*, no. lvi; Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. I, pp. 328–30; Grindal, *Remains*, p. 130; Whitgift, *Works*, vol. I, p. 316.

³ Quoted in Hunt, *Relig. Thought*, vol. I, p. 77.

bestowed since they were bishops, or I think will do while they be bishops.¹

Political caution enabled disloyal parish priests who had served under the Catholic régime to retain their livings, much to the discouragement of the ecclesiastical officials.

This Machiavel government is strange to me, for it bringeth forth strange fruits. As soon is the papist favoured as is the true Protestant. And yet forsooth my levity doth mar all. When the true subject is not regarded but overthwarted, when the rebel is borne with, a good commonwealth, *scilicet*. When the faithful subject and officer hath spent his wit to search, to find, to indict, to arraign, and to condemn, yet must they be kept still for a fair day to cut our own throats.²

All of these conditions combined to give to the lower clergy, and too often to the higher also, a character little provocative of spiritual life in the Church. A great part of the nation was dead to the emotions that give religion vitality. Ideas of morality were loose among both clergy and laity;³ ministerial office, of the lesser kind at least, carried with it no guarantee or expectation of respectability.⁴ There was little hope of immediate or rapid improvement. The changing value of money, due to the increased supply of gold from the New World, the changed agricultural and commercial conditions, so reduced the already insufficient remuneration of clerical office, that only the inefficient and untrained were attracted to the ministry in its more humble aspects. "For what man of reason will think that eight pounds yearly is able to maintain a learned divine? When as every scull in a kitchen and groom in a stable is better provided for?"⁵

¹ Cooper, *Admonition*, p. 147, quoted in Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, vol. II, bk. VII, chap. XXIV, sec. 7, note 87. Cf. Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, vol. II, bk. VII, chap. XXIV, sec. 7, p. 210.

² *Parker Corresp.*, no. CCXCVII. Cf. also Usher, *Reconstruction*, vol. I, pp. 35, 110, 111; S. P., *Dom.*, *Eliz.*, vol. IX, no. 71; Whitgift, *Works*, vol. I, p. 313.

³ Hall, *Elizabethan Age*, chap. VII, "The Courtier"; App., pp. 242-50.

⁴ Cf. Spenser, *Shepherd's Calendar* and *Mother Hubbard's Tale*; *Parker Corresp.*, no. CC.

⁵ Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. I, p. 534. Cf. also *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 174; Usher, *Recon-*

The Queen did not like the idea of religious zeal, she could not understand the stern and unyielding religious convictions of either Catholic or Protestant. She feared the effects of both. The growth within the Church of any great enthusiasm for any kind of religious belief seemed to her dangerous. She dreaded the effects upon the people of popular and soul-stirring preachers. She preferred that the Church slumber a little. When Grindal, one of the most sincere of the clergy and most deeply imbued with the spirit of piety, attempted to regulate the prophesyings in the interests of an educated ministry, she absolutely commanded him to put them down. He refused. His unwillingness to allow the political fears, or personal dislike of the Queen, to interfere with what he regarded as his spiritual duty,¹ stirred the Queen to wrath and she promptly suspended him from the exercise of his office of Archbishop of Canterbury. When one whom she personally had held in high regard, one of such eminence in the organization which she had built up, was thus suppressed for attempting to encourage a purely spiritual exercise, it was not likely that less favored persons and less eminent ones would meet with much consideration at her hands. The growth of any considerable body within the Church which attempted to place in the forefront the belief that the Church was the repository of God's truth, and had, as such, a duty transcending its duty of obedience to the commands of royalty, could not exist during Elizabeth's reign.

In so far as Protestantism asserted the power and necessity of direct communion between man and his God, the pressure upon the corporate Church to regard itself as responsible for the individual was lightened, and, upon reli-

struction, vol. I, pp. 219-39; Collier, *Ecc. Hist.*, vol. II, App., p. 104; Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. VII, chap. XXIV; Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. IV, p. 283; E. F. Gay, *Royal Historical Society's Transactions* (New Series), vol. XIV, pp. 258-62.

¹ Strype, *Grindal*, pp. 327, 328, App., p. 558; Grindal, *Remains*, pp. 373, 374, 376-90, 467, 468, Letters, nos. xc-xcix, App., nos. II, III; Prothero, *Select Statutes*, pp. 202-06; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. XLI, no. 44; Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, pt. II, App., nos. VIII, IX; vol. II, pt. I, App., nos. XXIII, XXXVIII, XXXIX.

gious grounds, the demand of the Church that the individual submit his soul to the Church lost force. Anglicanism was under the necessity of securing universal allegiance because the political situation demanded the adherence of all Englishmen to the State Church; this need, and the influence of the Protestant idea of individual capability and responsibility in the sphere of religion, weakened ecclesiastical insistence upon, and concern for, the salvation of men. Nevertheless, imbued as were many of its clergy with the moral and religious ideas and feelings of a Protestantism kept sane by governmental regulation and cool-headedness, it was inevitable that they should have the spiritual welfare of their charges thrust upon their consciousness. We find them striving constantly to raise the standards, morally and educationally, of both clergy and people. But with the death of the clerics who survived from the reign of Mary, and with the dying-out of such men as Parker, Jewel, Sandys, and Grindal, when Whitgift and Bancroft, with their talent for organization, took the places of the first clerics, the Church was absorbed in the conflict with Presbyterianism and with religiously earnest dissent; there were difficulties in the way of the cultivation of the religious life of the Church. Yet many men had been by that time educated under the Elizabethan Church,¹ and perhaps there was as much moral earnestness and truly religious propaganda as exists in any Church when men are busy with concerns more immediate and practical than the salvation of their souls. Religious enthusiasm sometimes serves as a substitute for other intellectual and emotional excitement, but seldom makes much headway at a time so crowded with political, literary, and commercial interest as was the reign of Elizabeth. During Elizabeth's reign the consciousness in the Anglican Church of its function as God's messenger of salvation never developed into any great spiritual or religious movement. There was too much need for the establishment of the

¹ At Cambridge in 1568, 28 men proceeded B.A.; in 1583, 277.

machinery of the Church, too great necessity for caution in every pronouncement upon religious questions; there was not, in the stress of papal controversy, time for the development of non-controversial religious earnestness. The Church was, as was the rest of the nation, religiously quiescent, until stirred into life by the agitation of a group of emotionally religious men whose convictions, borrowed or adapted from Continental Protestantism, brought them into conflict with the constituted church authorities and the government.

FORMULATION OF ECCLESIASTICAL THEORY

Justification of the Establishment as an organization was an immediate need, more pressing than the formulation of its doctrinal theory or the development of its religious life. The formulation of an ecclesiastical theory for the Church was, of necessity, one of the first considerations of the men who took office in the new Establishment. Obviously the real political motives behind the organization of the Church, the bare assertion of the Erastian principle, could not serve as adequate apology for the Church in the minds of many Englishmen, nor could it serve as a defense against the attacks of its enemies.

The historical claims of Henry, reiterated by the Elizabethan religious acts, served as the basis for the development of a theory of the Church such as was required. Historically, the preface to Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy asserted, the jurisdiction of the Papacy in England was a usurped and abused jurisdiction. The Act of Uniformity asserted that the doctrinal standards of the Church were primitive, pre-Roman. Thus the language of the acts indicates the justification of the Church which was in the minds of the leaders in the separation movement. That the Elizabethan Church should continue the development of the ecclesiastical apologetic chosen by Henry was natural. It gave to the Church of Elizabeth a direct connection with

the Church of her father under which most of her subjects had been born. It was a return, beyond the unpopular reign of Mary, to the golden times of her predecessors. The justification of the Establishment upon historical grounds was also entirely in line with the attempts of the Continent to find historical basis for their separation from the Church of Rome. Englishmen who during Mary's reign had retired into private life or fled to the Continent, men like Jewel and Parker, had imbibed their ideas from the separatist apologists of Henry's and Edward's reigns; those who spent their time on the Continent had used the opportunity for association with Continental reformers, to perfect their studies in primitive church history; a study based, it is true, upon uncritical use of the sources, but nevertheless adequate for their purposes in spite of the Catholic charge, "Your own opinion is the rule to esteeme them or despise them."¹ Parker the Archbishop was an antiquarian. His interests and his tastes combined to make agreeable the defense upon historical grounds of the Church of which he was the head. Jewel, the first apologist of the English Church, was an omnivorous student who sought and found, in his study of the primitive fathers, abundant authority for the Establishment. Nowhere is the essential unity of thought upon the Continent and in England shown more strikingly than in the importance given to historical investigation of the first four centuries of Christianity.

The historical apologetic had for its fundamental article the idea emphasized by the preface to the Act of Supremacy, the idea that the jurisdiction of the Papacy historically did not reach back to the beginnings of Christianity.² The primitive Church knew no such papal power; it contemplated no such hierarchy and universal dominion as was maintained by the Romans. A natural corollary to this

¹ Jewel, *Works*, vol. III, p. 176.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 192, 233, 267; vol. II, pp. 106, 85; vol. IV, pp. 1062-68, 1072; vol. I, pp. 338, 444, 3-25; *Parker Corresp.*, no. lxxvii.

fundamental rejection upon historical grounds, of papal claims, was the rejection also of many of the rites and ceremonies and observances of the Roman Catholic Church. Extreme unction, administration of the sacrament in one kind only, the excessive use of saints' days, were rejected, practically, because of the objections of the extremer Protestants; theoretically, because no authority was found for their use in primitive times. "As for us, we have planted no new religion, but only have renewed the old, that was undoubtedly founded and used by the apostles of Christ, and other holy fathers in the primitive church, and of this long late time, by means of the multitude of your traditions and vanities, hath been drowned."¹ Yet the association of the Church with the government in the particularly close relations which conciliatory politics made necessary, prevented the maintenance of primitive practice as the exclusive touchstone for organization and ceremony in the English Church.² The subservience of the Church to the will of the Queen made necessary the retention of ceremonies and forms of organization whose persistence in the English Establishment would have been hard to justify on the grounds of apostolic precedent. A theory permitting a more liberal practice than that laid down even by liberal interpretation of the primitive history of the Christian Church was necessary. In essence, the basis for this theory, so far as it had a Scriptural basis, was Paul's command to render obedience unto superior powers. The leaders of the Church also showed a common sense in their recognition of historical development and change in external ecclesiastical organization hardly to be expected in the sixteenth century. No doubt their contention that the form of the organization and the ceremonies to be used in the Church were to be

¹ Jewel, *Works*, vol. IV, pp. 777, 1123. The economic argument that such profusion of saints' days interfered with labor was advanced, but during the first years of Elizabeth's rule received little emphasis. It was a favorite argument with the Presbyterians.

² *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 65, 75; vol. III, p. 177.

determined by the needs of time and place, was inspired in great part by the necessity of finding a justification for certain features of the English Establishment which could not be defended upon purely historical grounds, but that this defense took the general ground of reasonableness, rather than some more narrow ground, such as the divine character of the kingship, was due, in some cases at least, to a truly liberal realization of the fact rather than to polemic difficulties.¹

Practical common sense and practical needs produced this liberal sense of historical development. There was in this position room for the necessary Erastianism of the Church and no difficulty to reconcile with the acts of Parliament and the headship of the Queen. The contention that the external form of ecclesiastical establishment was a matter of indifference and might, therefore, be changed and accommodated to the needs of different peoples at different times, served in a measure to blunt the reproaches of the Catholics that Elizabeth's Church existed merely by virtue of secular, that is, Parliamentary, enactment. To this charge the reply was not a direct denial, but a counter-charge that Parliament had always debated concerning ecclesiastical changes and that under Mary the Catholics had a "Parliament faith, a Parliament mass, and a Parliament Pope."² The refusal to claim for the English Establishment any particular sanctity, or divinely given plan, enabled the Church to avoid condemning Continental Protestantism and permitted the most cordial relations with the most important forms of anti-Romanism. At the same time, Parker's claim that the English Church was the truly Catholic Church was given its full force in reconciling those Catholics who could be brought to renounce the ecclesias-

¹ Cf. the rather amusing instance, "In the Apostles' times that was harmless, which being now revived would be scandalous; as their *oscula sancta*." Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, *Pref.*, chap. IV, sec. 4, p. 137.

² Jewel, *Works*, vol. IV, p. 904. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 903, 898, 902, 264, 166, 906; Whitgift, *Works*, vol. I, p. 185; Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. VIII, chap. VI.

tical headship of the Pope. Hardly less important was the fact that, with such a theory for the basis of an ecclesiastical structure, there was not inevitably bound the acceptance of any set of semi-religious ecclesiastical dogma. And finally, such a basis gave encouragement to a great number of radical Protestants to believe that entire freedom was left to the Church to develop an organization and a service more in accord with their extreme ideas than was the Establishment already erected. This particularly was true as regards the ceremonies of the Church, and led directly to the attacks made upon the vestments and certain other ceremonies which Parker was hard put to it to defend upon the grounds of expediency.

We have indicated how few were the steps taken in the doctrinal and religious development of the Established Church during the reign of Elizabeth, and have shown some of the causes which prevented further growth in those lines. The same causes were, for the most part, operative in preventing development of ecclesiastical theory also, but there was, nevertheless, a tendency here toward the formation of a particular system. The development of ecclesiastical theory is most important for the theory of intolerance in Elizabeth's reign, for, contrary to the accepted belief, it is in the realm of ecclesiastical, rather than purely religious, divergence, that the greatest field for intolerance lies. The emotional reactions which lead to intolerance may be developed from any kind of divergence in views, even those which often seem the most immaterial are capable of producing as strong reactions as those bearing directly on daily life. But where belief is the foundation of social institutions it is most likely to secure the defense of lasting intolerance. It is the necessity for defense of the social organization for religious purposes, rather than the necessity for the defense of a particular type of strictly religious dogma, that affords the greatest occasion for a display of intolerance. The dogma which the organization has made official may serve

as the charge on which intolerance manifests itself, but the supposed danger to the organization implied in the rejection of the dogma of the organization, inspires the charges. Nothing illustrates this more strikingly than the latitude allowed to scholars by the Catholic Church in their speculations, so long as they did not so express or publish their private opinions as to threaten the safety of the hierarchy. In England the differences between dissenting Protestant groups and the Establishment, which caused the greatest friction, were differences of organization and ceremony rather than those of religion. The political connection between the Church and State accentuated the danger in every dissenting tendency which attacked the form of the religious social system established by the secular government. It was not the political danger to the monarchy, but the ecclesiastical danger to the Establishment which led to the development of ecclesiastical theory in the English Establishment. It was in opposition to hostile championship of the Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical organization that the most important tendency to development of a new Anglican ecclesiastical theory arose. This tendency was toward the development of the dogma of the apostolic succession of the bishops.

The immediate sources of the idea of the apostolic succession in England are difficult to determine, primarily because the development in Elizabeth's reign did not become a clear and consistent championship of the theory. The dignity of episcopal, as opposed to the claims of papal, power was an old subject of controversy, and it was but natural that it should assert itself in the English Church, whose foundation was opposition to the Papacy and whose episcopal administration was a survival from the old Church. The substitution by Henry of his own authority for that of the Pope, and the very personal exercise of that power by him, were not conducive to the development of an independent episcopal theory. Barlow, Bishop of St. Asaph's, said:—

If the King's grace being supreme head of the Church of England, did choose, denominate, and elect any layman (being learned) to be a bishop, that be so chosen (without mention being made of any orders) should be as good a bishop as he is or the best in England.¹

Cranmer said he valued his episcopal title no more than he did "the paring of an apple," and that "there is no more promise of God that grace is given in the committing of the ecclesiastical office than it is in the committing of the civil office."² An ambiguous statement in the ordinal of Edward VI suggests, but does not assert, the necessity for episcopal ordination, and practice during his reign destroys whatever force might be given to this seeming assertion of episcopal dignity. Jewel, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, confused the question of an apostolic episcopal succession with the succession of apostolic doctrine in the Church. He refused to be definite, and certainly no apostolic succession of bishops was asserted as essential. He implies that it was not. "If it were certain that the religion and truth of God passeth evermore orderly by succession and none otherwise, then were succession a very good substantial argument of the truth."³ The attempt of Whitgift to call in question the validity of Travers's Continental ordination, and the appeals made to the case of Whittingham,⁴ which concerned the same question, indicate a tendency to interpret the act, "that ministers be of sound doctrine," as excluding all who had not been ordained according to the legal forms of the Anglican Church, which, of course, required episcopal participation.

The act itself states that

Every person under the degree of a bishop, which doth or shall

¹ Quoted in J. Gregory, *Puritanism*, p. 50.

² Cranmer, *Works* (Jenkins ed.), vol. II, p. 102. Cf. Cranmer, *Remains and Letters*, p. 305.

³ Jewel, *Works*, vol. III, p. 322. Cf. also *ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 103, 104, 106, 309-10.

⁴ Cf. Maitland, *Essays*, "Puritan Politics," no. II, pp. 77-98; Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, pt. II, App., no. xiii; Strype, *Parker*, 156, App., nos. xxvii, xlvii.

pretend to be a priest or minister of God's holy word and sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration, or ordering than the form set forth by Parliament in the time of the late king Edward VI or now used; shall in the presence of the bishop or guardian of the spiritualities of some one diocese where he hath or shall have ecclesiastical living, declare his assent and subscribe to all the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments.¹

The generally accepted opinion, confirmed by practice, was that the act admitted of Presbyterian ordination.² Whitgift's opponents, and some of his friends, interpreted his attack as an expedient and illegal glorification of the episcopal office.

. . . Let our aduersaryes looke unto yt how they account of the reformed Churches abroad seing they have denyed such to be suffycient and lawfull Ministers of the Ghospell of Christ, who have bene of those Churches allowed and ordayned thereunto.³

But there is little indication here of a theory of apostolic episcopal succession. Whitgift undoubtedly desired a more independent and autocratic episcopal authority, but the most superficial thought discovered the obvious antagonism of the theory of a divinely ordained episcopal ministry, to that subservience to the political dominance which was the essential characteristic of the Elizabethan foundation.

Dr. Hammond wrote to Burghley in 1588:—

The bishops of our realm do not (so far as I ever yet heard), nor may not, claim to themselves any other authority than is given them by the statute of the 25th of King Henry the Eighth, recited in the first year of Her Majesty's reign, or by other statutes of the land; neither is it reasonable they should make other claims, for if it had pleased Her Majesty with the wisdom of the realm, to have used no bishops at all, we could not have complained justly of any defect in our church: or if it had liked them to limit the authority of bishops to shorter terms, they might not

¹ 13 Eliz., c. 12.

² Strype, *Grindal*, bk. vi, chap. xiii; Cosin, *Works*, vol. iv, pp. 403-07, 449-50; Bacon, quoted, p. 147.

³ Penry's *Answer to Fifteen Slandorous Articles*, Burrage, *Eng. Dissenters*, vol. II, p. 67. Cf. also, Travers's *Supplication*, in Hooker, *Works*, vol. II, p. 331.

have said they had any wrong. But sith it hath pleased Her Majesty to use the ministry of bishops, and to assign them this authority, it must be to me, that am a subject, as God's ordinance, and therefore to be obeyed according to St. Paul's rule.¹

A theory of divine right episcopacy implies an independence and freedom of action for ecclesiastical officials far beyond that contemplated by the ecclesiastical or secular founders of the system, and Elizabeth could admit no such theory, whatever its polemic advantages against Catholics or dissentient Protestants. Whitgift and the others, on whom is usually laid the charge of having introduced the idea, made statements and used arguments which may be interpreted as tending toward some such doctrine, but fear of the consequences led them to disclaim hastily and emphatically that they held such opinions. Bishop Cooper said: —

That our Bishops and ministers do not challenge to holde by succession, it is most evident: their whole doctrine and preaching is contrary.²

Whitgift goes to great lengths in his denials: —

If it had pleased her majesty with the wisdom of the realm, to have used no bishops at all, we could not have complained justly of any defect in our church.³ If it had pleased her Majesty to have assigned the imposition of hands to the deans of every cathedral church, or some other numbers of ministers, which in no sort were bishops, but as they be pastors, there had been no wrong done to their persons that I can conceive.⁴

Bancroft, in the sermon in which it is claimed he suggested the divine character of bishops, proclaimed that to the Queen belonged "all the authority and jurisdiction which by usurpation at any time did appertain to the Pope."⁵

¹ Quoted in Child, *Church and State*, p. 293. Cf. Lee, *Elizabethan Church*, vol. II, p. 124.

² Cooper, *Admonition* (Arber ed.), p. 137.

³ Quoted in Hunt, *Religious Thought*, vol. III, p. 298; Strype, *Whitgift*, App., no. xlii, Whitgift to Sir Francis Knollys.

⁴ Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. III, pp. 222-23.

⁵ Child, *Church and State*, pp. 237-38. On the other side, Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. V, pp. 194-95.

Nevertheless, their statements which showed the apostolic tendency excited the wrath of their opponents and the condemnation of their friends. Knollys wrote in anger and excitement to Cecil,¹ that the superiority and authority of the bishops rested upon the royal authority alone and that Dr. Whitgift had, he believed, incurred the penalty of præmunire by claiming for the bishops a divine right. Bacon strongly disapproved of the implied condemnation of their Continental brethren, and the clerics, who propounded the theory in opposition to the claims of Presbyterian dissent, themselves felt that it was a dangerous doctrine whose implications they did not care to accept.

Hooker, who marks the most just and able presentation of the Anglican view, and who had been foremost in contention with Travers,² heartily defends the episcopalian system of organization upon grounds of history and expediency, and even hints that it might be strongly defended upon a Scriptural basis.

If we did seek to maintain that which most advantageth our own cause, the very best way for us, and the strongest against them were to hold even as they do, that there must needs be found in Scripture some particular form of church polity which God hath instituted, and which for that very cause belongeth to all churches, to all times. But with any such partial eye to respect ourselves, and by coming to make those things seem the truest which are the fittest to serve our purpose, is a thing which we neither like nor mean to follow. Wherefore that which we take to be generally true concerning the mutability of laws, the same we have plainly delivered.³

He carefully abstains from asserting for bishops any apostolic authority not dependent upon the will of the sovereign and the parliamentary establishment of the episcopal organization, and admits that "we are not simply without

¹ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. cccxxxiii, no. 62; Strype, *Annals*, vol. iv, no. iv, App., no. v.

² Travers, *Supplication to the Council*, Hooker, *Works*, vol. ii, pp. 329-38; Hooker's answer to Travers, *ibid.*, pp. 339-51.

³ Hooker, *Works, Ecc. Pol.*, vol. iii, chap. x, sec. 8. Cf. *ibid.*, secs., 14, 18.

exception to urge a lineal descent of power from the Apostles by continued succession of bishops in every effective ordination."¹

Apostolic succession of bishops was not a consistently worked-out and defended system, however rich in argumentative material Elizabeth's reign may have proved to later defenders of the theory. There are too many contradictions and denials of logical conclusions, yet those who recognize the illogical existence of contradictory opinions, side by side in the minds of men, can understand that the idea was not wholly absent. Because of assertions made by Elizabethan clerics, some have discovered a theory of episcopal succession in the Elizabethan Church from the first;² some have, because of the contradictions and denials, refused to recognize its existence at all at that date.³ Both are wrong. The germs from which the theory was to develop and the causes for the development of the theory did exist. A development did take place, but not a development which enables us to predicate an apostolic episcopal succession in the reign of Elizabeth. It was a development of ecclesiastical consciousness and dignity. Its nature is most strikingly shown in the changed attitude toward Continental Protestantism, and the attempts of Whitgift and Bancroft to strengthen the administrative machinery of the Church.

Considerations of personal friendship and of similar ideals for the Church, and common enmity to papal power, made the early Anglican Church tolerant and friendly to Continental Protestantism, and in a sense dependent upon it. But with the death of the Marian exiles there were no longer influences of such importance and strength to hold the two together. The Zurich letters present a somewhat pathetic picture as the Continental and English friends

¹ Hooker, *ubi sup.*, bk. vii, chap. xiv, sec. 2, p. 175. Cf. also bk. iii, chap. ii, sec. 2; Editor's preface, p. xxxiii, n. 49; Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. ii, p. 202; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. vii, no. 46, for a later falsification of the facts in accordance with later apostolic theory. Cf. Saravia's treatises.

² Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops* (New Series), *Grindal*, vol. v, p. 41.

³ Child, *Church and State*, App., no. vi.

exchange letters telling of the death of former associates, until, at last, the correspondence is taken up by a second generation whose friendship is traditional rather than real. The personnel of both the Continental and English churches had changed. There was not that intimate personal intercourse and sympathy of the first years of Elizabeth's reign. Naturally, as the Protestants within the English Church had been disappointed in their attempts to make more radical changes, the sympathy of the Continent shifted from the Anglican Church to that body within the Anglican Church which set itself squarely for dissent. And in the same way, the Anglican Church, while prevented by political considerations and pressure by the Crown from condemning or breaking with the Continent entirely, as it passed through the dangers of Catholic opposition, and resisted the attacks of Protestant radicals at home, developed a consciousness of unity and homogeneity which made it less anxious for the approval of Continental Protestantism and more confident of its own self-sufficiency. One would hardly have found the early Elizabethan clerics writing as did Hooker, "... for mine own part, although I see that certain reformed churches, the Scottish especially and French, have not that which best agreeth with the sacred Scripture, I mean the government that is by bishops ... this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in such case than exagitate, considering that men oftentimes, without any fault of their own may be driven to want that kind of polity or regiment which is best." ¹

As the Church gained this feeling of social unity and ecclesiastical solidity, there was a tendency to resent the too active interference of secular power in its affairs, a desire for more complete autonomy. The hold of the State was too strong to permit the development of an ecclesiastical theory which would free the Church from the chains of temporal politics and secular greed, but the practical tal-

¹ Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. III, chap. XI, sec. 14.

ents of Whitgift and Bancroft saw opportunity for permissible and necessary work in the reconstruction of the administrative machinery of the Church. Whitgift, upon becoming archbishop, set vigorously to work. He enforced the laws against recusants; caused the press censorship to be vested in himself and the Bishop of London, and allowed the publication of none but the official Bible. He saw to it that the prescribed apparel was worn and that only priests and deacons and those with special license were allowed to preach. He would license no preachers without subscription to the famous "Three Articles," acceptance of the Royal Supremacy, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Prayer-Book with the Pontifical prescribed. The Ecclesiastical Commission gave him the most effective means of working the administrative machinery, and the oath *ex officio mero*, the most hated and feared method of procedure in the Commission, was used by Whitgift persistently. When legal opposition made necessary some other means of proceeding with the work he had undertaken, the Archbishop turned to the Star Chamber and thus added his quota to the burdens and sins of that court. Whitgift was in earnest, but royal jealousy and the inertness of an established order prevented during Elizabeth's reign more than the beginning of the reform needed in the ecclesiastical administration. At the accession of James, however, with that monarch's hearty coöperation, Bancroft was enabled to bring about the changes which his experience in Elizabeth's reign had shown him were desirable from the standpoint of the ecclesiastical body.

It was not, then, in religious life, in religious or ecclesiastical dogma, that the Church of Elizabeth made its most important development, but in the creation of a church personality. Starting with a fundamentally Erastian conception of itself, yet with large elements of truly religious feeling also, the Church failed to develop much beyond the initial stages either doctrinally or religiously. Ecclesiasti-

cally there was a tendency to give to the Church, as a defense against Catholic and Protestant, and, to a certain extent, perhaps, as a means of freeing itself from the burdensome restraints of royal control, an ecclesiastical apologetic which contained the germs of the dogma of apostolic episcopal succession. This tendency, however, was restrained by the subservient position in which the Church found itself as a result of the peculiar facts of its creation and the circumstances of its continued existence.

A COMPARISON OF THE FIRST AND THE LAST APOLOGISTS OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN

Perhaps no more illuminating summary of the change in the Church could be made than a comparison of Jewel, the first, with Hooker, the last, apologist of the reign. Jewel defended the Church from the attacks of the Catholics, Hooker from the Protestants. This difference of purpose might seem to make a comparison of the two somewhat difficult, but the very fact that the object of fear and antagonism had changed, is of great significance. Jewel felt no need for defending the Church from Protestants, for the bond between the English Church and the other varieties of Protestant faith was close, and their dislike of the common foe outweighed the unimportant differences among themselves. By Hooker's time this unity of feeling had broken down before the attacks of dissent and the development of Anglican ecclesiastical consciousness. In the English Church itself the differences of opinion which Jewel recognized as real were minimized and sunk from sight in the unity of faith and hatred which existed among all English Protestants. "Touching the dissensions in Religion which ye imagine to be amongst us in the church of England, I will say nothing. It grieveth you full sore to see that in all the articles of the faith, and in the whole substance of doctrine we do so quietly join together."¹ Jewel

¹ Jewel, *Works, Def. of Apol.*, p. 610. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 623; *Zurich Letters*, no. clxxvii.

was in somewhat the same position, in relation to the Catholics, that the Presbyterians occupied in relation to Hooker and the Anglican Establishment. There is a striking similarity between the reproaches Jewel cast upon the Romanists, and the attacks of the Presbyterians which Hooker had to repel. Inconsistency, greed, secularization of spiritual office, retention of superstitious ceremonies, aggrandizement of ecclesiastical office, charges which the Church of Hooker's day had to meet from the dissenters, were the old charges that Jewel had used as his chief justification for the break of the Church in England from the Papal Establishment. Cartwright's demand, "that they remember their former times, and correct themselves by themselves,"¹ had in it the sting of truth. The fact that during Elizabeth's reign the allies of her early Establishment had become the chief danger, to be feared more than the Catholics, indicates a change in circumstances, and necessitated a development of Anglican apologetic that Jewel would never have dreamed of. Hooker was compelled to make a defense of the Church as an independent entity, distinct from all other churches both Catholic and Protestant. Jewel's doctrines and arguments would have served as well for any of the Protestant churches as for the Church of England. Because of this changed standpoint, forced upon the Anglicans by the growth and attacks of English dissenters, the attitude toward the Catholic Church was different. In a sense it was more friendly.

The Church of Rome favourable admitted to be of the house of God; Calvin with the reformed Churches full of faults, and most of all they which endeavoured to be most removed from conformitie with the Church of Rome.²

Instead of justifying the English Church upon the merely anti-papal grounds of an experimental organization, Hooker rested his case upon the dignity and worth of the Anglican

¹ Cartwright, *apud* Whitgift, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 37.

² Hooker, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 123, n. 12, *Christian Letter*. Cf. also *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 86.

Ecclesiastical Establishment. He raised the Church above the attacks of Catholic and Protestant by glorifying its polity, and tried to make its position impregnable, by means of an articulated system of reasoning.

Where Jewel had emphasized the authority of truth and the Scripture, Hooker was convinced of the incompetence of both in the hands of the common man.

Thus much we see, it hath already made thousands so headstrong even in gross and palpable errors, that a man whose capacity will scarce serve him to utter five words in sensible manner blusheth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture to think his own bare *Yea* as good as the *Nay* of all the wise, grave, and learned judgments that are in the whole world: which insolency must be repressed or it will be the very bane of Christian religion.¹

The truth and the Scripture must be predigested by clerical and ecclesiastical learning and be accepted by the generality upon that authority. For

In our doubtful cases of law, what man is there who seeth not how requisite it is that professors of skill in that faculty be our directors? So it is in all other kinds of knowledge. And even in this kind likewise the Lord hath himself appointed, that the priests lips should preserve knowledge, and that other men should seek the truth at his mouth, because he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts.²

Reason must interpret and organize, the reason of a class expert and competent in religion. Jewel, clinging to what has been sometimes regarded as the fundamental principle of the Protestant Reformation, would have asserted the sufficient ability of all men to learn the truth from the Scriptures, and proclaimed the uselessness of interposing between them and the Bible the authority of experts. "In human conceits it is the part of a wise man to wait for judgment and consent of men; but in matters divine God's word

¹ Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. II, chap. VII, sec. 6, p. 213.

² *Ibid.*, *Pref.*, chap. III, sec. 2, p. 130. Cf. *ibid.*, chap. IV, sec. 4; bk. II, chap. VII, sec. 3; bk. III, chap. VIII, sec. 13.

is all in all: the which as soon as a godly man hath received, he presently yields and submits himself; he is not wavering nor does he wait for any other."¹ Jewel believed that the Scriptures were sufficient to bring all men to unity in matters of faith. Hooker knew this was untrue, and solved the difficulty by interposing the authority or reason of the Anglican Church, as Jewel's opponents interposed the Catholic. Hooker, however, based the authority of the Anglican Church, not upon a theory of living divinity in the Church with Scriptural authority to rule and interpret, but upon the authority of reason. He, therefore, had a basis for rejecting Catholic claims which Jewel had not had. This was merely a development, it is true, of the idea of "order and decency" and "fitness for time and place" which Jewel and Parker had proclaimed, but it went further. In Hooker's apologetic of this order and fitness, the system devised by ecclesiastical reason from the basis of the Scriptures, had become static, solidified. Hooker did not deny the possibility, or even some future desirability, of change, but he so carefully legalized the process by which such change could be brought about, that it became difficult, and remote, and the field of change definitely narrowed. Nowhere is this more evident than in his exaltation of episcopacy.

Let us not fear to be herein bold and peremptory, that if anything in the Church's government, surely the first institution of Bishops was from heaven, was even of God; the Holy Ghost was the author of it.²

This we boldly therefore set down as a most infallible truth, that the Church of Christ is at this day lawfully, and so hath been sithence the first beginning, governed by Bishops having permanent superiority, and ruling power over other ministers of the word and sacraments.³

... It had either divine appointment before hand or divine approbation afterwards, and is in that respect to be acknowledged the ordinance of God.⁴

¹ Jewel, *Works*, vol. IV, pp. 1121-22. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 897, 1162-88.

² Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. VII, chap. V, sec. 10.

³ *Ibid.*, bk. VII, chap. III, sec. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, bk. VII, chap. V, sec. 2.

He comes as near as he dares to the assertion of Scriptural authority for that form of organization; in fact he has no doubt but that it was established and maintained by divine approval, but he avoids breaking with the previous Anglican position in regard to the Continental churches, for "the necessity of polity and regiment in all Churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all."¹ He escapes the consequences of denying royal authority over the Church, by admitting that, although there is a divine authority for the episcopal organization, there is no divine guarantee of its permanence.

On the other side bishops, albeit they may avouch with conformity of truth that their authority hath thus descended even from the very apostles themselves, yet the absolute and everlasting continuance of it they cannot say that any commandment of the Lord doth enjoin; and therefore must acknowledge that the Church hath power by universal consent upon urgent cause to take it away.²

The Church and the bishops are given an authority which makes it somewhat difficult for Hooker to admit the royal authority which Elizabeth insisted upon. Because of the power actually possessed by the sovereign, he recognized that the sovereign must be given a prominent and decisive place in the system, but he wished to do so, also, because he saw that by making the sovereign the ultimate authority, hence ultimately responsible, the attacks of the dissenters upon the Church would be given an aspect of disloyalty which no previous charges had been able to bring home to the Queen and to the dissenters themselves. He identified the State and the Church by making them different aspects of the same national group.

We hold, that seeing there is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the common-

¹ Hooker, *ubi sup.*, bk. III, chap. II, sec. 1. Cf. also, *ibid.*, bk. IV, chap. XIII, sec. 7; Whitgift, *Works*, vol. I, p. 369.

² Hooker, *ubi sup.*, bk. VII, chap. V, sec. 8.

wealth; nor any man a member of the commonwealth, which is not also of the Church of England; therefore as in a figure triangular the base doth differ from the sides thereof, and yet one and the selfsame line is both a base and also a side; a side simply, a base if it chance to be at the bottom and underlie the rest; so, albeit properties and actions of one kind do cause the name of a commonwealth, qualities and functions of another sort the name of a Church to be given unto a multitude, yet one and the selfsame multitude may in such sort be both, and is so with us, that no person appertaining to the one can be denied to be also of the other.¹

At the head of this group was the Queen with authority over secular and ecclesiastical affairs by virtue of irrevocable cession by the people. Hence, the sovereign was superior to the officers of the Church in legislation, jurisdiction, and nomination to office, and changes could come only through the will of the sovereign.²

Jewel had also given the sovereign an extensive authority. He was fond of asserting "that since the strength of the Empire is lessened, and kingdoms have succeeded to the imperial power, that right, [formerly held by the emperor in matters of religion] is common to Christian kings and princes."³ "We give him that prerogative and chieftly that evermore hath been due him by the ordinance and word of God; that is to say, to be the nurse of God's religion to make laws for the church; to hear and take up cases and questions of the faith, if he be able; or otherwise to commit them over by his authority unto the learned; to command the bishops and priests to do their duties, and to punish such as be offenders."⁴ But the power of the Emperor was itself a debatable question and Jewel did not go further in justification of the royal power over the Church.

Although Hooker proposed a theory of sovereign power

¹ Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. viii, chap. 1, sec. 2. Cf. Whitgift, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 388.

² Hooker, *ubi sup.*, bk. viii, chaps. vii and viii.

³ Jewel, *Works*, vol. iv, "Epistle to Scipio." Cf. vol. iii, p. 167.

⁴ Jewel, *ubi sup.*, p. 1123.

consistent with his ecclesiastical theory, it is evident that he had less confidence in the beneficence of the connection of the Establishment with the monarchy than did Jewel, and was anxious to save for the Church and her officials a dignified position. He would have preferred to allow the Anglican Episcopacy to stand upon its own feet.

CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT DISSENTERS

The changed viewpoint and attitude of the English Church, thus indicated by a comparison of the first and the last apologists of the reign, was, in its development, paralleled by changing attitudes toward those religious and ecclesiastical groups within the kingdom which diverged from the Anglican Church in doctrine and polity. The basis for governmental intolerance of dissent, both Catholic and Protestant, did not change; the severity of its laws and its actions increased until 1593; but the grounds upon which such laws were passed and upon which governmental repression of dissent was exercised, remained the same throughout the reign. In the beginning, the Church, as a religious organization, had little basis of intolerance apart from, or other than, the basis of governmental intolerance, state safety. This was, of course, due to the fact that it had not yet developed a life and organization consciousness apart from its life as an arm of secular politics. Its earliest demands, even as an ecclesiastical body, went little beyond adherence to the Queen's supremacy and attendance upon the services established, not by ecclesiastical or spiritual authority, but by a purely temporal and only theoretically representative national body. There was little concern expressed or felt, at first, in the spiritual welfare or salvation of the members of this Church, nor could there be much emphasis upon this point when all parties agreed that the form of organization of the Church, even the greater part of the ill-defined doctrines of the Church, were not essen-

tials of salvation, but were expedients, or the best conclusions of men, at the most, only human and likely to err. Thus they felt that, while certain doctrines were better and that all men ought to believe them, the Roman Catholic even might be saved, believing as he did; there could be no great harm in demanding this state conformity from Catholics. However, as the Church of England, with its organization and ritual, was found to inspire love, and men learned to respect the theory on which it rested and to value its historical associations, Anglicans began to regret the ties which an earlier policy had imposed upon it, and to demand that the Church should be adhered to, not as a political necessity, but for the sake of its own merits. Not that they regulated the pleas and the arguments inherent in the political connection, but they regretted more the restraints it placed upon them from punishing those who did not like the forms and rites grown dear to themselves.

Her Majesty told me that I had supreme government ecclesiastical; but what is it to govern cumbered with such subtlety?¹ It is (by too much sufferance) past my reach and my brethren. The comfort that these puritans have, and their continuance, is marvellous; and therefore, if her Highness with her council step not to it, I see the likelihood of a pitiful commonwealth to follow.²

And their transition to this position was induced from both sides by powerful irritants. The Pope had excommunicated their Queen, for, and by whom, their Church had been reëstablished; loyalty demanded that they expel, for safety's sake, from the body of the new organization all who retained their love for Roman Catholicism. The law of the land reflected this loyal feeling and placed in their hands the means of accomplishing their desire. The Protestants whom Parker had called Precisianist, developed an ecclesiastical theory antagonistic to the established organization, and angrily hurled at the heads of Anglicanism reproaches

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. ccclxix. Cf. *S. P.*, *Dom.*, *Eliz.*, vol. xciii, no. 8.

² *Ibid.*, no. cccxxi. Cf. *ibid.*, no. cccxiii.

which their subservience to the government made it difficult to escape. In the beginning the Church was in a defensive position ecclesiastically against Catholics only, and the defense was not ecclesiastically intolerant, but moderate.

Religiously, in so far as the Church had any aggressive religious consciousness, it regarded itself as the enemy of the abuses of Roman Catholicism. This enmity afforded, perhaps, something of the emotional fervor which is so necessary to intolerance, and might have helped to make more vigorously hostile the intolerance of the Anglican Church, had it not been restrained by the necessity, imposed upon it by its subjection to the State, of reconciling Catholics to itself. The Church had not yet an authoritative and accepted apologetic upon which to base theories of intolerance. Governmentally, and as a tool of secular politics, its position was strong and well defined; religiously and ecclesiastically its position was indefinite, and the statement of its justification as an organization was not yet crystallized into definite form. In so far as the apologetic of Jewel and Parker was a justification for the Church's existence, it did not serve as a basis for intolerance of Catholics, but of the Papacy. The distinction is one that is essentially superficial in view of Roman Catholic history and theory, but to such men as Parker and Jewel, to Elizabeth and many leaders in England, the distinction was a true one, and their hope of maintaining the government's position was dependent, they believed, upon the recognition by Catholics that it was a legitimate distinction. In so far, then, as the primitive Church idea afforded a ground for intolerance, it was the basis for intolerance of papal authority alone. And it was intended to be no more. This theory was a defensive rather than an aggressive one. Had it become aggressive, or had it carried with it definite statements, or dogmatic definitions of the exact form of primitive, pre-Catholic doctrine, as did Presbyterianism, it might

have served as the basis for intolerance of Catholic or Protestant, according to the nature of the Church or belief thus defined. Politics, if not the convictions of the early leaders, prevented such definitions, however, and ecclesiastically the Church was liberal.

The religious intolerance of the Church manifested toward Catholics increased in intensity as it became a national institution, dependent no longer for sustenance upon governmental strength, but upon the love of the English nation. Its religious intolerance was, in other words, the result of its ecclesiastical development, from a hastily gathered army for the defense of the sovereign, into a true social religious group.

Aside from the increased love of the organization which afforded in later Elizabethan days a basis for condemnation and intolerance of Catholics, there was a practical reason for development of intolerance of Catholics which had close connection with, and in part was due to, the older Erastian standpoint, but which was, at the same time, distinct from and independent of that view. The increased activity of the Jesuits in England, the foundation of Jesuit communities, and the underground organizations of Jesuit missionaries, the multiplication of plots against the Queen and nation, filled Englishmen with terror; not alone because they feared for the safety of the State, but because they gave credit to reports of, and fully believed in, the extreme Protestant conception of the Jesuit teachings. They believed that the Jesuits stopped at no immoral, treacherous, or traitorous act to accomplish their purposes. They believed thoroughly that papal absolution, particularly in the case of the Jesuits, was at hand to relieve from spiritual penalties any crime or dastardly deed which was intended to promote the rule of the Roman See. The Church, with other Englishmen, heartily condemned both the Jesuits and the Church of which they were a part, upon what they believed to be, and what were in fact, high moral grounds.

The development during Elizabeth's reign of Anglican intolerance of Protestantism may well afford food for cynical comment to those who test the spirit of ecclesiasticism by the life of the great teacher of Galilee. The clerics of the early Establishment were the Puritans of the previous reign, strivers for religious and ecclesiastical freedom.¹ They were the pupils and friends of Continental Protestants. They disclaimed any particular sanctity for their Church. Their Calvinistic and Lutheran friends were the champions of a new temple of freedom where God might be worshiped in the spirit of holiness and simple love. The new Establishment was but one more added to the brotherhood of the free churches of God in Europe. So the idealists of the new English Church proclaimed.

Unfortunately, or fortunately, perhaps, the Church was not exclusively idealistic. It was a practical compromise between men who were half-heartedly Catholic in doctrine but anti-papal, and men who were Protestant but moderate, distinctly anti-papal, and willing to accept compromise in ecclesiastical organization and ceremony because, in the situation, it was the best that could be obtained. The Church defended itself by the assertion that the form of the ecclesiastical organization was a matter of indifference. Justification of itself against the claim of the Catholics that theirs was the only divinely instituted Church, as we have pointed out, compelled that, and at the same time this apologetic secured the allegiance of those who wished a more distinctively Protestant form of organization, for upon such a theory changes could be made when opportunity offered. It is here that the influence of the Queen is most striking. She did not wish, she would not permit, the radical swing to be made, and she was able, by virtue of the power given her by the Parliamentary acts, and by virtue of her assumed or justly claimed prerogative, to carry out her will,

¹ Maitland, *Essays*, "Puritan Veracity," no. ii, p. 17; Grindal, *Remains*, p. 203.

and also to prevent any modification of the power originally placed in her hands. Political danger and the common opposition to papal claims won the allegiance to the Church of those more radical in doctrine and ecclesiastical theory than the Establishment; political necessity and the composite character of the personnel of the Church made it necessary, during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, to deal tenderly with such persons. The party which intended that the Church should not change toward Continental Protestant forms of doctrine or ritual, but should continue its life as the embodiment of "mediocrity," or, as they preferred to put it, in the ideal form for England which events had given it at the first, was strong and destined to survive. By the time of Whitgift, however, dissent had become more impatient, and consequently the tone of the Establishment more brusque and insistent.

... Such insolent audacity against states and lawful regiment is rather to be corrected with due punishment than confuted by argument.¹

Surely the Church of God in this business is neither of capacity, I trust, so weak, nor so unstrengthened, I know, with authority from above, but that her laws may exact obedience at the hands of her own children and enjoin gainsayers silence, giving them roundly to understand that where our duty is submission weak oppositions betoken pride.²

It was dissent within the Church that aroused the loyal party of moderation to begin that formulation of a theory of church government which later developed into the Laudian Church idea. Where both sections of the Church had formerly agreed that its particular polity was a matter of indifference, they now advanced diverse theories of government, and each maintained its preference as though it alone were right. Opposition developed on each side, until,

¹ Whitgift, *Works*, vol. II, p. 188. Cf. also *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 170, 142, 122; Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. I, pp. 229-32; vol. III, pp. 81, 104-07; Pierce, *Introd. to Marprelate Tracts*, pp. 71, 72.

² Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. V, chap. VIII, sec. 4, p. 304.

instead of discussing mere preferences and degrees of expediency, each was violently defending a form of church government as alone divine, right, and acceptable to God. It is of this development that we shall speak in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

PROTESTANT DISSENT

DISSENT in the days of Elizabeth is of particular interest because many of those great religious organizations, which have taken such a prominent part in English religious and political life during the last three hundred years, trace their English sources to her reign. It was a period of the formation of churches and church parties, and has the peculiar fascination and at the same time the uncertainties of all periods of beginnings. Dislike of the Establishment manifested itself in almost every degree, from a simple, mild disapproval of the ceremonies of the Established Church, to a scathing denunciation of its forms, and a relentless determination to destroy it. Because organizations had not yet fully developed, because ideas were not yet crystallized and embodied in ecclesiastical standards, the classification of dissent during this period is difficult.

The names we apply to ecclesiastical bodies or religious opinions which began their growth in Elizabeth's reign, cannot be applied safely, in many cases, to the groups from which they developed. Contemporary names are inaccurate and have, by later development and association, taken on meanings utterly foreign to the thought of Elizabeth's time. Puritan, Anabaptist, Barrowist, Brownist, Seeker, Familist, were terms used variously, and inaccurately, to designate men whose opinions were condemned by constituted authority;¹ but will not serve for purposes of classification, even in the cases where they represented more or less definite

¹ Pierce, *Marprelate Tracts*, "The Epistle," p. 80. One of the conditions of peace with the bishops is "that they never slander the cause of Reformation or the furtherers thereof in terming the cause by the name of Anabaptistery, schism, etc., and the men Puritans and enemies of the State."

types of opinion in Elizabethan usage. Many historians have been accustomed, when speaking of dissent in Elizabeth's reign, to use the term "Puritan" to designate all who wished reform; while others have applied the name to all within the Church who wished reform, and have called those who attempted to accomplish their reforms outside the Church, "Separatists." This classification, however, is inaccurate and unsatisfactory. Elizabethan usage of the term "Puritan" does not sanction such a classification. We find that Elizabethans applied the name to types of thought and policy that are clearly Separatist. It was a loose term, attached in scorn or dislike to a variety of religious and ecclesiastical opinions, usually implying, at first, merely a desire to change the rites and ceremonies of the English Establishment, without implying attack upon its fundamental organization or character. It was in this sense applied to those whom Archbishop Parker preferred, more accurately, to call "Precisianists," quibblers over minor points of worship and ceremony, and was particularly distasteful to those accused of Puritanism because it had for them all the odium of an ancient heresy. "This name is very aptly given to these men; not because they be pure, no more than were the heretics called Cathari; but because they think themselves to be *mundioris ceteris*, more pure than others as Cathari did."¹ Yet, with the development of organized dissent, it was with increasing frequency applied to all, except Catholics, who differed from the Established Church in their opinions as to the organization and character of a true church. The use of the term for purposes of classification is also confusing because we ordinarily use the name to designate a type of thought, rather than a religious or ecclesiastical party; and the type of thought which we think of as Puritan was a development of the seventeenth century, and did not characterize any group of dissent in Elizabeth's

¹ Whitgift, *Works*, vol. I, p. 171. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 172; Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, pt. I, pp. 264-68.

time. At the beginning of James I's reign the term was taking on its later meaning.

The imputation of the name of Puritan is now growne so odious and reproachfull that many men for feare thereof are rather willing to be thought to favour some vice or superstition than to undergoe the scandall of that name, and seeing many who both do approve and are verie desirous to obey his Majesties lawes and government, (as well ecclesiastical as temporal,) yet only for absteyning from or not approving grosse vices or profaneness or for due frequenting publique exercises of religion or practicing the private duties thereof in their owne families, are branded with that opprobrious name.¹

In Elizabethan usage, however, the name "Puritan" was applied impartially to any and all who condemned the theory or practice of the Established Church, and had no reference to those qualities of character and mind which seventeenth-century history attached to the name. Cartwright wrote, in protesting against the application of the term to the Presbyterians: —

What is our "straitness of life" any other than is required in all Christians? We bring in, I am sure, no monachism or anchorism, we eat and drink as other men, we live as other men, we are apparelled as other men, we lie as other men, we use those honest recreations that other men do; and we think that there is no good thing or commodity of life in the world, but that in sobriety we may be partakers of, so far as our degree and calling will suffer us, and as God maketh us able to have it.²

Further, the familiar division of English dissent into Puritan and Separatist is inaccurate and unsatisfactory for Elizabeth's reign, because it is difficult and sometimes impossible to distinguish between the two. The degrees of separation were so varied that what may by one be regarded as merely Puritan, may by another with equal reason be classed as Separatist. The sources of Separatism are so clearly Puritan, and the development from one to the other

¹ *Report on the Rutland Papers*, vol. IV, p. 213.

² Cartwright, *apud* Whitgift, *Works*, vol. I, p. 110.

so gradual, that it is impossible to discover definitely a line of demarcation between the two; a great part of the dissatisfied can be placed definitely in neither class. The advocates of Presbyterianism, for instance, were recruited from Precisianists or Puritans, were called "Puritans," and, even after a long period of development, regarded themselves as part of the Anglican Establishment. "We make no separation from the church; we go about to separate all those things that offend in the church, to the end that we, being all knit to the sincere truth of the Gospel, might afterwards in the same bond of truth be more nearly and closely joined together."¹ Yet they condemned the fundamental structure of the Anglican Church as it existed, and set up their own unauthorized classes and synods which constituted a separate organization whose Scriptural character was proclaimed. It may be possible to call some particular sections of the Presbyterian movement "Puritan," but the term has no meaning for the movement as a whole.

Because of these difficulties we shall avoid so far as possible the familiar classification. We shall apply the term "Precisianists," following Archbishop's Parker's usage, to the quibblers who did not ally themselves with any of the distinct groups of dissent in attack upon the fundamental structure of the Establishment. Those who advocated the Presbyterian form of church government are easily placed in a class by themselves, and form the most important distinct group within the ranks of dissent. To those bodies which did not adhere to the Presbyterian polity, we shall apply the contemporary names so far as possible, and group them, with two exceptions, upon the basis of polity, under the genetic name of "Congregationalists," although somewhat inaccurately in some cases. To this group belong the Brownists, Barrowists, and Anabaptists.

Of these the Anabaptists are least important, although

¹ Cartwright, *apud* Whitgift, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 102. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 95, 104; *Theses Martinianæ*, Pierce, *Marprelate Tracts*, pp. 314-21.

the term is frequently used in the literature of the period. It was not, however, strictly applied, but, because of Anabaptist radical, social, and economic theories and the excesses at Munster, served as a term to cast reproach on all who were irregular or fanatical in their religious opinions.

It is more than I thought could have happened unto you, once to admit into your mind this opinion of anabaptism of your brethren, which have always had it in as great detestation as yourself, preached against it as much as yourself, hated of the followers and favourers of it as much as yourself. And it is yet more strange, that you have not doubted to give out such slanderous reports of them, but dare to present such accusations to the holy and sacred seat of justice, and thereby (so much as in you lieth) to corrupt it, and to call for the sword upon the innocent, (which is given for their maintenance and safety,) that, as it is a boldness intolerable, so could I hardly have thought that it could have fallen into any that had carried but the countenance and name of a professor of the gospel, much less of a doctor of divinity.¹

"Anabaptist" was used by Elizabethan Englishmen in somewhat the same sense that highly respectable members of modern society have used the term "anarchist," and, until recently, the term "socialist."² Radical Presbyterians, Barrowists, Brownists, Seekers, and Familists are all called by the offensive name; but Anabaptism proper was of little importance during our period and may be disregarded, except as other types of dissent, most numerous among the Congregational group, represented, or were supposed to represent, phases of Anabaptist opinion.

It is characteristic of those groups of dissent from which the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches originated, that their chief disagreement with the Established Church concerned matters of ceremony and of ecclesiastical polity,

¹ Cartwright, *apud* Whitgift, *Works*, vol. I, p. 77. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 125-36, 105; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. XIII, no. 36; Strype, *Grindal*, p. 181; Grindal, *Remains*, p. 243; Burrage, *English Dissenters*, vol. II, p. 21; vol. I, pp. 64, 66.

² *Parker Corresp.*, no. cccxxv; Strype, *Parker*, bk. IV, chap. XXIV; Grindal, *Remains*, pp. 297, 298.

rather than of doctrine or essential matters of faith.¹ The Presbyterian adhered to the particular form of church organization and theological dogma promulgated by Calvin; but, of these tenets, the distinguishing one was the ecclesiastical polity, not Calvinistic theological dogma, for the Calvinistic theology was the accepted theology of the greatest number of loyal Church of England men, and of many of the other groups of dissent. As Presbyterianism meant the advocacy of the presbyterial organization, so Congregationalism was merely championship of a particular form of church organization, one made up of independent local groups controlling their own affairs and determining what doctrines should be taught in particular Congregational churches. Within Congregationalism, therefore, we find the widest diversity of religious belief and management.

Of the minor sects that fall neither under the classification of Presbyterian nor Congregational, the most important was the Family of Love. These belong to a class by themselves, to that peculiarly fanatic religious type which bases group consciousness on a recently living leader, supposedly endowed with a new, divinely given revelation.² Since this adherence to a divine message, given in the lifetime of the believer, is a matter of actually controlling faith and emotion, these sects afford some of the most interesting phenomena of religious psychology; but, because of their connection with the life of one or two prophets, they are not usually of long duration nor of particular influence on the thought of the time. In Elizabeth's reign they afford the most striking example of persecution from religious and social motives.

This classification of dissent, into Presbyterian, Congregational, and "fanatic," affords a basis for our treatment of

¹ Grindal, *Remains*, Letters, no. lxix; Dean Bridges, *Defence*, *Preface*, p. 43, quoted in Pierce, *Marpelate Tracts*, *Introd.*, p. xxiii; Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, *Preface*, chap. III, sec. 7; *ibid.*, note 57.

² Hooker, *Works*, vol. II, p. 61, note; Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, pt. II, App., nos. xxv, xlviii, xlix.

Elizabethan dissent. After tracing their common sources, we shall speak of their opinions and their relations to the Established Church, to each other, and to the government.

THE BEGINNINGS OF DIVISION

As we have pointed out in a previous chapter, the compromise character of the English Establishment, and the composite personnel of the Anglican clergy, were sources of disunion. Many of the clergy had spent their exile during the reign of Mary in close association with the Reformers of the Continent where they had imbibed Continental notions of ecclesiastical independence and hatred of the Papacy. They took service in an Establishment which was pledged to peaceable and friendly relations with the Continental Reformers by little except common enmity to the Papacy. Thus, within the Establishment, were men at heart more extremely Protestant than the Church under which they took service and office, and to which they tendered conformity. Some of them frankly told their Continental friends, and were approved by them for so determining, that, in accepting the Elizabethan Establishment and employment under it, they were doing so in order to prevent less Protestant persons securing the direction of affairs, and with the fixed determination to exert all their official influence to bring about changes of a more radical nature.

It was enjoined us (who had not then any authority either to make laws or repeal them) either to wear the caps and surplices, or to give place to others. We complied with this injunction, lest our enemies should take possession of the places deserted by ourselves. We certainly hope to repeal this clause of the act next session; but if this cannot be effected, since the papists are forming a secret and powerful opposition, I nevertheless am of opinion that we ought to continue in the ministry, lest, if we desert and reject it upon such grounds, they insinuate themselves.¹

¹ *Zurich Letters*, Horn to Gualter, no. xcvi. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. xxvi, xxxiii, xlii, lxvii.

The lukewarm character of the government policy in religious matters logically led, therefore, under the shelter of the compromise, to the development of a large body which wished to go to greater lengths in reform, and to give to the Church a character more in accord with its own extreme views.

... Our religion ... will strike its roots yet deeper and deeper; and that which is now creeping on and advancing by little and little, will grow up with greater fruitfulness and verdure. As far as I can, I am exerting myself in this matter to the utmost of my poor abilities: others too are labouring for the same object, to which especially is directed the godly diligence of certain preachers, and particularly Jewel, now elected a bishop, and your friend Parkhurst.¹

Yet the questions which gave ground for the first dispute were questions which both sides united in calling matters of indifference. The most prominent of these, and the earliest to come into dispute in any wide way, were questions of ceremony.

Differences in regard to rites and external observances early manifested themselves, nowhere more strikingly than in the Convocation of 1563.² Proposals were there made in the lower house, that saints' days be abolished, that the use of the cross in baptism be omitted, that kneeling at the communion be left to the ordinary's discretion, that organs be removed from the churches, and that the minister use the surplice only in saying service and at the sacraments. These proposals were rejected by a scant majority of one, and those voting in their favor were by no means of the less able clergy. Many of the bishops themselves were numbered in the party of those who were called Precisianists. Jewel expressed his opinion of the habits in no uncertain tone: —

¹ *Zurich Letters*, Earl of Bedford to R. Gualter, no. xli. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. ii, v, vii, lx; Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, pt. I, pp. 25 *et seq.*; pt. II, App., no. iii.

² Prothero, *Select Statutes*, p. 190; Strype, *Annals*, chaps. xxix, xxx.

As to what you write respecting religion, and the theatrical habits, I heartily wish it could be accomplished. We on our parts have not been wanting to so good a cause. But those persons who have taken such delight in these matters, have followed, I believe, the ignorance of the priests; whom, when they found them to be no better than mere logs of wood, without talent, or learning, or morality, they were willing at least to commend to the people by that comical dress. For in these times, alas! no care whatever is taken for the encouragement of literature and the due succession of learned men. And accordingly since they cannot obtain influence in a proper way, they seek to occupy the eyes of the multitude with these ridiculous trifles. These are, indeed, as you very properly observe, the relics of the Amorites. For who can deny it? And I wish that sometime or other they may be taken away, and extirpated even to the lowest roots: neither my voice nor my exertions shall be wanting to effect that object.¹

Sandys also hoped that the habits would not be retained.

The last book of service is gone through with a proviso to retain the ornaments which were used in the first and second year of King Edward, until it please the Queen to take other order for them. Our gloss upon this text is, that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the meantime shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen.²

Grindal and Horn wrote: —

Nor is it owing to us that vestments of this kind have not been altogether done away with: so far from it, that we most solemnly make oath that we have hitherto laboured with all earnestness, fidelity, and diligence, to effect what our brethren require, and what we ourselves wish.³

Pilkington and Parkhurst openly espoused the cause of the radicals. Pilkington wrote to Leicester: —

It is necessary in apparel to show how a Protestant is to be known from a Papist. Popery is beggarly; patched up of all sorts of ceremonies. The white rochets of bishops began with a Novatian heretic; and these other things, the cap and the rest, have the like foundation.⁴

¹ *Zurich Letters*, no. xxxiv, Jewel to Martyr. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. xv, xxxii.

² *Parker Corresp.*, no. xlix, Sandys to Parker. Cf. *Zurich Letters*, no. xlviii.

³ *Zurich Letters*, no. cxxi. Cf. *Parker Corresp.*, nos. clxxv, clxxix, ccxiii, ccxviii; Grindal, *Remains*, pp. 211, 242, Letters, no. lxix.

⁴ *Strype, Parker*, bk. II, App., no. xxv. Cf. *Parker Corresp.*, no. clxxix.

Parker complained of Parkhurst: —

The bishop of Norwich is blamed even of the best sort for his remissness in ordering his clergy. He winketh at schismatics and anabaptists, as I am informed. Surely I see great variety in ministration. A surplice may not be borne here. And the ministers follow the folly of the people, calling it charity to feed their fond humour. Oh, my Lord, what shall become of this time.¹

Nor was it in the Church alone that the differences between the radicals and the conformists became the subject of serious difference of opinion. Sandys wrote to Burghley: —

Surely they will make a division not only among the people but also amongst the Nobilite, yea, and I feare among men of highest calling and greatest authorite except speedy order be taken therein.²

The nobles were actuated, not only by conviction, but by motives of policy and even of greed.

Another sort of men there is, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. . . . Those things which under this colour they have effected to their own good are, 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the clergy always in awe, and thereby made them more pliable and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring cathedral churches and bishops livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the Church they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the civil state more covertly. For such is the nature of the multitude they are not able to apprehend many things at once, so as being possessed with dislike or liking of any one thing, many other in the meantime may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the clergy in entertaining a conceit in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice, that men of learning, and specially of the clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly admitted to matters of state; contrary to the practice of all well governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.³

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. cvii. Cf. *Zurich Letters*, nos. lxxv, cxvii.

² *Puritan Manifestoes*, App., p. 152.

³ George Cranmer's letter to Hooker, App. II to bk. v of *Ecc. Pol.*, vol. II, p. 64.

Of Leicester Parker wrote to Cecil: —

I am credibly informed that the earl is unquiet, and conferreth by help of some of the examiners to use the counsel of certain precisians I fear, and purposeth to undo me, etc. Yet I care not for him. Yet I will reverence him because her Majesty hath so placed him, as I do all others toward her. And if you do not provide in time to dull this attempt, there will be few in authority to care greatly for your danger, and for such others. They will provide for themselves, and will learn by me in my case how to do.¹

Walsingham appointed the Puritan Reynolds to the divinity lecture at Oxford founded to discredit Romanism.² Knollys, Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir Walter Mildmay wrote an extraordinary letter to Parkhurst desiring him to allow the exercises called "prophecyings" to continue, although Parker was at the time making vigorous attempts to suppress these training schools for Puritanism.³ Even Cecil, who headed the opposite faction in the Council, was not altogether favorable to Parker's procedure, and took care in many cases that those affected by the orders in regard to the ceremonies and vestments suffer a minimum of inconvenience.⁴

As a result the ceremonies were not everywhere observed. The minister's taste often dictated whether he should wear the habits or not, and determined the posture of the congregation during communion. Forms of baptism varied. The sign of the cross was sometimes used, sometimes not. Many of the clergy held the prescribed habits up to ridicule. The Dean of Wells, Turner, even made a man do penance for adultery in a square priest's cap, much to the scandal of his more dignified brethren.⁵ But in 1565, under pres-

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. ccclxvii. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. clxxix, ccxviii, ccxix, cclxxvi, cccxi, cccxii, cccxxviii.

² Hooker, *Works*, vol. 1, p. xxx.

³ *Parker Corresp.*, p. 457, note 2. Cf. also, nos. cccl, cccli, ccclihi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. clxxviii, clxxix, clxxxiv, clxxxv, clxxxvi; Grindal, *Remains*, Letters, no. lxxvii; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. CLXXII, no. 1. Travers, Hooker's opponent at the Temple Church, was Burghley's chaplain and tutor to his children.

⁵ *Parker Corresp.*, no. clxxxii; *Zurich Letters*, no. cviii.

sure from Elizabeth, Parker issued his famous "Advertisements," which were designed to do away with all such irregularities, and proceeded to enforce conformity to the habits.

There was some uncertainty whether he could legally proceed to the deprivation of ministers who refused the test he intended to offer, and neither the court, nor the great lay lawyers, would back him up; some of them through sympathy for the views of the dissenters, some through question as to the legality of such procedure. The test was made by Parker and Grindal on the London clergy and most of them submitted. The rest were suspended at once and given three months to consider before the bishops proceeded to deprivation. Grindal did not like the work nor did some of the other commissioners. Parker had printed his articles without the Queen's authorization, although on the title-page, he had endeavored to create the impression that they had that sanction by proclaiming that they were issued "by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's letters" commanding the same.¹ Had Elizabeth given them her sanction, they would have had the authority of law as provided by the Act of Uniformity empowering the Queen, with the advice of the Metropolitan, to take further order for the ceremonies and ornaments of the Church, as was the impression conveyed by Parker's clever title-page. The "Advertisements," however, did not settle the question as Parker hoped, but aroused much alarm at the prospect of compulsion, and occasioned much of the opposition to the bishops and the Establishment which now began to develop everywhere. Parker's proceedings mark the real beginning of the split in the Anglican Church.

We may regard Parker as most clearly representing the official Anglican position; and even Parker did not hesitate to say that these were matters of indifference in themselves.

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, nos. clxxv, clxxvi, clxxviii, cciii, ccix, ccx; Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. IV, p. 247; Cardwell, *Annals*, vol. I, p. 287; Prothero, *Select Statutes*, p. 191; Gee and Hardy, *Documents*; Sparrow, *Collections*; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. XXXIX, no. 14.

"Does your Lordship think that I care either for cap, tippet, surplice, or wafer-bread, or any such?"¹ He argued that the habits and the ritual were not essential matters, in the sense that the Catholic Church made them essential, but, because of the order and decency lent by them to the church service and the ministerial person, were worthy of observation, even had the law of Parliament and the will of the sovereign not ordained that within the English Church such habits and ritual should be observed. In no sense were other Protestant churches condemned for not using them, for there was nothing sacred in their use or character. "The Queen hath not established these garments and things for any holiness' sake or religion, but only for a civil order and comeliness: because she would have the ministers known from other men, as the aldermen are known by their tip-pets," etc.² Why should Christians squabble about such matters and give to Catholics opportunity for reproaching the Protestants for their lack of unity, and, at the same time, by such quarrels make Continental friends believe that the English Church tacitly condemned them because they did not use the habits? The law commanded all to use the habits—what was the profit in fighting about them?

On the other hand, those who objected to the habits proclaimed with equal certainty that they were matters of indifference. Few made the actual wearing of the habits a matter of conscience. Such men as Dr. Humphrey³ argued: in this indifferent matter of the wearing of the habits why give the wearing or not wearing of them such importance that refusal or dislike of them entails dismissal from the ministry of the Church?⁴ Many devout and

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. ccclxix. Cf. conclusion of the *Advertisements*.

² Grindal, *Remains*, p. 210.

³ *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. xxxvi, no. 64; vol. xxxix, no. 63; *Zurich Letters*, nos. lxxxv, ci, cix, cii; Strype, *Annals*, vol. I, pt. II, App., no. xxvii; Strype, *Parker*, bk. II, App., nos. xxx, xxxi.

⁴ It seems curious to find Whitgift's name among those who took this position. Cf. Strype, *Parker*, bk. III, chap. III, p. 125, and App., no. xxxix; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. xxxviii, no. 10; Strype, *Whitgift*, App., no. iv.

serious young men, who are heartily loyal to the Queen and deeply attached to the Church now established, feel that they cannot take service under her because they are obliged to wear a costume which they look upon as a badge of Romanism. Why not leave it, in the present dangerous, unsettled, poverty-stricken, and preacherless condition of the Church, to individual conscience? We shall thus secure the whole-hearted service of the able men whom we need so much. They agree on all else, why exclude them from becoming one of us, or eject devout and worthy preachers who are already within the service of the Church, because an indifferent matter is made into one of vital importance? If we insist on the outward observances of Catholicism, we give our Continental friends the idea that we are not truly Protestant, but still cling, or will soon return, to images, crosses, and tapers. Humphrey held that there was nothing wrong in the habits themselves, but that insistence upon them was a restraint of Christian liberty ill fitted for a Church in the position and of the character of the Anglican Establishment. He held up the threat that if the habits were insisted upon, the Church would lose the support and service of many who would otherwise give hearty allegiance. At root the differences were largely temperamental and matters of taste.

Parker would have been glad to give in; he grew tired of insisting.

The Queen's Majesty willed my lord of York to declare her pleasure determinately to have the order to go forward. I trust her Highness hath devised how it may be performed. I utterly despair therein as of myself, and therefore must sit still, as I have now done, alway waiting either her toleration, or else further aid. Mr. Secretary, can it be thought, that I alone, having sun and moon against me, can compass this difficulty? If you of her Majesty's council provide no otherwise for this matter than as it appeareth openly, what the sequel will be *horresco vel reminiscendo*.¹ And must I do still all things alone? I am not able, and

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. ccxv.

must refuse to promise to do that I cannot, and is another man's charge. All other men must win honour and defence, and I only shame to be so vilely reported. And yet I am not weary to bear, to do service to God and to my prince; but an ox can draw no more than he can.¹

But neither the opposition of a great part of her clergy, nor the influence of councillors could secure changes which the Queen did not desire. And she did not desire these, although she would not come out openly with support for her clergy in enforcing the things she wished. She did not like the barrenness and extremes of Continental Protestantism, and she did like form and pomp. Had there been any real, immediate danger to the Church, and hence to the government, from the dispute, it is probable that she would have given way as she did in other cases, but she sensed the situation too well to feel that it was necessary to give way. She felt that she might continue to maintain her absolute sway over the Church in this respect in spite of some factious individuals. To Parker's objection "that these precise folks would offer their goods and bodies to prison, rather than they would relent," Elizabeth replied by ordering him to imprison them then.² Several considerations in the situation made her insist that the habits and ritual be strictly observed. In the first place, it was the law, and the law must be enforced. In the second place, she felt that the question was not of enough importance to alienate any large body of the clergy. And her opinion was correct. Grindal wrote to Bullinger: —

Many of the more learned clergy seemed to be on the point of forsaking their ministry. Many of the people also had it in contemplation to withdraw from us, and set up private meetings; but however most of them, through the mercy of the Lord, have now returned to a better mind.³

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. ccxiii. Cf. also, *ibid.*, nos. cxiv, clxxvi, cciii, cccxxi.

² *Ibid.*, no. ccxiii. Cf. also, *ibid.*, nos. clxx, clxxi, ccxcii.

³ *Zurich Letters*, no. cxi. Cf. also, *ibid.*, no. cxxi; *Parker Corresp.*, no. ccvii.

They would not give up their lately won places because of the mere wearing of a habit. Further, she was not so keen for preachers, devout and able, as was Humphrey.¹ She preferred that the Church slumber a little. A large body in the Church liked the habits and the forms; they did not desire, and some realized the inexpediency of making such radical changes that the service would seem unfamiliar to the people as a whole. Few of the Protestant officers of the Church felt it worth while to make any vigorous protest against their use in opposition to the wish of the Queen, and many condemned the agitators for stirring up discussion and controversy over the question. Nor did the Continental Reformers stand back of the extremists or take the view they were expected to take. They felt that opposition to the government Church was not worth while on such matters when the government was apparently so wholeheartedly opposing the Papacy. Bullinger wrote to Horn:—

I approve the zeal of those persons who would have the church purged from all the dregs of popery. . . . On the other hand, I also commend your prudence, who do not think that churches are to be forsaken because of the vestments. . . . But, as far as I can form an opinion, your common adversaries are only aiming at this, that on your removal they may put in your places either papists, or else Lutheran doctors and presidents, who are not very much unlike them.²

And to Humphrey and Sampson the same divine wrote:—

It appears indeed most extraordinary to me, (if I may be allowed, most accomplished and very dear brethren, to speak my sentiments without offence,) that you can persuade yourselves that you cannot, with a safe conscience subject yourselves and churches to vestiarian bondage; and that you do not rather consider, to what kind of bondage you will subject yourselves and churches, if you refuse to comply with a civil ordinance, which is a matter of indifference, and are perpetually contending in this troublesome way; because by the relinquishment of your office, you will expose the churches to wolves, or at least to teachers who

¹ Cf. Elizabeth's letter to Grindal, Prothero, *Select Statutes*, pp. 205, 206.

² *Zurich Letters*, no. xcvi.

are far from competent, and who are not equally fitted with yourselves for the instruction of the people.¹

Elizabeth had her way. A few men lost their preferments, but the habits were worn. In itself the vestiarian controversy is an exceedingly dry, and, like so many of the discussions which have engaged the controversial genius of Christianity, silly, discussion; but its significance, as one of the breaking-points between the two wings of the Church, cannot be overemphasized. This controversy lies at the root of the matter. Added to the natural temperamental differences of taste, the discussion about the vestments dug up arguments, and stirred up feelings, and prepared the way for opinions, which, when developed, made continuous union impossible. But for a time the question slumbered. It never died out entirely; and the arguments used in this controversy lay at hand when the increasingly radical opinions of the discontented compelled them to diverge still more widely from the Established Church.²

That there should develop a more positive opposition was inevitable. That antagonism between the Church Established and Church Militant should grow sharp and bitter was in part the result of controversy and in part the result of the character of the men who carried on the work of the Anglican Establishment and of the opposition to the Establishment. It was a growing quarrel, increasing from these small beginnings to irreconcilable differences. Bacon has well described the nature of the development of this antagonism.

It may be remembered, that on their part which call for reformation, was first propounded some dislike of certain ceremonies supposed to be superstitious; some complaint of dumb ministers who possessed rich benefices; and some invectives against the idle

¹ *Zurich Letters*, no. civ. Cf. also, *ibid.*, nos. xlii, xlvi, clvii, clviii; Strype, *Annals*, vol. 1, pt. 1, App., nos. xxiv-xxvii.

² *Parker Corresp.*, no. ccxii; *Zurich Letters*, nos. cix, cxii, cxxii, cxxix, clxxiii, clxxiv, clxxv, clxxvii.

and monastical continuance within the Universities, by those who had livings to be resident upon; and such like abuses. Thence they went on to condemn the government of bishops as an hierarchy remaining to us of the corruptions of the Roman church, and to except to sundry institutions as not sufficiently delivered from the pollutions of the former times. And lastly, they advanced to define of an only and perpetual form of policy in the church; which (without consideration of possibility or foresight of peril or perturbation of the church and state) must be erected and planted by the magistrate. Here they stay. Others, (not able to keep footing in so steep ground) descend further; That the same must be entered into and accepted of the people, at their peril, without the attending of the establishment of authority: and so in the meantime they refuse to communicate with us, reputed us to have no church. This hath been the progression of that side: — I mean of the generality. For I know, some persons (being of the nature, not only to love extremities, but also to fall to them without degrees,) were at the highest strain at the first. The other part which maintaineth the present government of the church, hath not kept to one tenor neither. First, those ceremonies which were pretended to be corrupt they maintained to be things indifferent, and opposed the examples of the good times of the church to the challenge which was made unto them, because they were used in the later superstitious times. Then were they also content mildly to acknowledge many imperfections in the church: as tares come up amongst the corn; which yet (according to the wisdom taught by our Saviour) were not with strife to be pulled up, lest it might spoil and supplant the good corn, but to grow on together until the harvest. After, they grew to a more absolute defence and maintenance of all the orders of the church, and stiffly to hold that nothing was to be innovated; partly because it needed not, partly because it would make a breach upon the rest. Thence (Exasperate through contentions) they are fallen to a direct condemnation of the contrary part, as of a sect. Yea and some indiscreet persons have been bold in open preaching to use dishonourable and derogative speech and censure of the churches abroad; and that so far, as some of our men (as I have heard) ordained in foreign parts have been pronounced to be no lawful ministers. Thus we see the beginnings were modest, but the extremes are violent; so as there is almost as great a distance now of either side from itself, as was at the first of one from the other.¹

¹ Bacon, *Letters and Life* (Spedding ed.), vol. I, pp. 86-87.

Bishop Cooper's statement is more explicit, but essentially the same: —

At the beginning, some learned and godly preachers, for private respects in themselves, made strange to wear the surplice, cap, or tippet: but yet so that they declared themselves to think the thing indifferent, and not to judge evil of such as did use them [Grindal, Sandys, Parkhurst, Nowel, 1562]. Shortly after rose up other [Sampson, Humphrey, Lever, Whittingham] defending that they were not things indifferent, but distained with anti-christian idolatry, and therefore not to be suffered in the Church. Not long after came another sort [Cartwright, Travers, Field] affirming that those matters touching apparel were but trifles, and not worthy contention in the Church, but that there were greater things far of more weight and importance, and indeed touching faith and religion, and therefore meet to be altered in a church rightly reformed. As the Book of Common Prayer, the administration of the Sacraments, the government of the Church, the election of ministers, and a number of other like. Fourthly, now break out another sort [Brownists], earnestly affirming and teaching, that we have no church, no bishops, no ministers, no sacraments; and therefore that all that love Jesus Christ ought with all speed to separate themselves from our congregations, because our assemblies are profane, wicked, and antichristian. Thus have you heard of four degrees for the overthrow of the state of the Church of England. Now lastly of all come in these men, that make their whole direction against the living of bishops and other ecclesiastical ministers: that they should have no temporal lands or jurisdiction.¹

It is characteristic of the first stages of this development that the leaders of the opposition tried to bring about the desired changes by what they conceived to be regular and lawful methods. The first important literary effort to secure the adoption of changes advocated took the form of an appeal to Parliament. The "First Admonition to Parliament," written by two ministers, Fielde and Wilcox, was not a proclamation of independence in religious and ecclesiastical matters, but an appeal to civil authority to correct the abuses within the Church, and to change it in accordance with Scriptural models. Its authors believed that the

¹ Cooper, *Admonition*, p. 16, quoted in Hooker, *Works*, vol. I, p. 129, note 40.

national representative body had the right to alter the fundamental structure of the Church by statute. Their belief was justified by the fact that the acts of Parliament had undoubtedly created and given legal form to the Establishment which existed. They had not been able to carry their reforms in Convocation by the regular and ordinary means created by statute for ecclesiastical lawmaking and they, therefore, went behind Convocation to Parliament. In this belief and appeal, however, they disregarded the position of the Queen in the system and her determination to maintain it. She looked upon such appeal to Parliament as an infringement of her rights of supremacy over the Church. Parliament had vested the control of ecclesiastical affairs in her. She was determined to keep that control, and throughout the reign insisted, with more or less success, that Parliament keep its hands off ecclesiastical matters, even when the proposals were not those of malcontents.¹ Such an attitude on the part of the Queen was not calculated to satisfy the appellants, nor did it soothe the dignity of the Commons, but the fact remains that Elizabeth was able to make good her position and that the appeal of the "First Admonition" was punished as seditious.

The circumstances immediately preceding its publication made it doubly obnoxious to the Queen. In the Parliament of 1572 a bill was introduced in the Commons which provided that the penalties imposed by the existing religious acts for not using the prescribed rites and ceremonies should be in force "against such persons onely as do or shall use anie maner of papisticall service, rites or Ceremonies," or who "use the same forme so prescribed more superstitiouslie" than authorized.² It also provided that, by permission of the bishop, any minister might be free to omit all, or any part, of the Prayer Book, or to use the service of the French or Dutch congregations. These drastic changes

¹ D'Ewes, *Journals*, pp. 132, 133; *Parker Corresp.*, nos. ccxxiv, ccxxv.

² *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. LXXXVI, nos. 45, 46, 48; *Puritan Manifestoes*, App. i.

were disliked by many, and a committee was appointed to frame another bill. The second bill restricted the penalties to those uses of the book which were Popish or superstitious, and gave some further liberty to the preacher. Speaker Bell stopped proceedings, however, by signifying "her Highness' pleasure, that from henceforth no more bills concerning religion shall be preferred or received into this House unless the same should be first considered and liked by the clergy."¹ It was immediately after this session of Parliament that the "Admonition" appeared.

They did not only propound it out of time (after the parliament was ended), but out of order also, that is, in the manner of a libel, with false allegations and applications of the scriptures, opprobrious speeches, and slanders.² For if you ask of the time; the Admonition was published after the parliament, to the which it was dedicated, was ended. If you speak of the place; it was not exhibited in parliament (as it ought to have been), but spread abroad in corners, and sent into the country. If you inquire of the persons; it came first to their hands who had least to do in reforming.³

It was not strange that Elizabeth, already annoyed by the attitude of the Commons, should regard it as an attack upon her authority, and believe that it partook more of the nature of a seditious appeal to the people than an appeal to Parliament.

Wilcox and Fielde were lodged in prison, but that did not prevent the "Admonition" from becoming popular and widely circulated. A lively literary contest resulted. Bishop Cooper of Lincoln refuted the pamphlet in a sermon at Paul's Cross a week after Parliament closed. An anonymous reply to Cooper appeared almost immediately, and, in spite of the efforts of Archbishop Parker to discover the secret press,⁴ within three months after its first appearance,

¹ D'Ewes, *Journals*, p. 213; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. LXXXVI, no. 47.

² Whitgift, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 39.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 80. Cf. also, D'Ewes, *Journals*, pp. 160, 161; *Zurich Letters*, no. clxxxii.

⁴ *Parker Corresp.*, nos. ccciii, cccxiii; Sandys to Burghley, Aug. 28, 1573; *Puritan Manifestoes*, App. vi.

the "Admonition" was twice printed in a second edition, while Fielde and Wilcox were still in prison. Closely connected with the "Admonition" were two treatises which appeared as one publication in September or October of the same year, "An Exhortation to the Byshops to deal brotherly with theyr Brethern," and, "An exhortation to the Bishops and their clergie to aunswer a little booke that came forthe the last Parliament." Shortly after the appearance of the "Admonition," its opponents compiled "A Viewe of the Church that the Authors of the late published Admonition would have planted within this realme of England, containing such Positions as they now hold against the state of the said Church, as it is nowe." We have no copy of this tract, but its contents are made clear by an answer which appeared not earlier than September, 1572, under the title, "Certaine Articles collected and taken (as it is thought) by the Byshops out of a litle Boke entituled An Admonition to the Parliament with an answere to the same."

This series of attacks upon the Establishment represents the first stage of the Presbyterian movement. This stage is midway between the early Precisianist attacks upon the ceremonies and habits of the Church, and the active propaganda to establish the distinctive ecclesiastical organization of Presbyterianism. As in the case of the opponents of the vestments any resemblance to the practices of the Roman Church is sufficient basis for condemnation. But there is an advance from the early vestiarian position. The chief object of attack is not the ritual, but the organization and the spirit of the Church and the clergy. While the "Admonition" does not minimize the importance of abandoning the ceremonies which are copied from the ceremonies of the old Church, the chief and most telling part of its attack is directed against the church organization itself, because it is similar to the hierarchy of Rome, with its grades of rank, its ecclesiastical nobility, its courts, and faculties, officials and commissioners, its dispensations and licenses. The

likeness to Roman organization inevitably stamps its organization as wrong; the fact that it does not follow the New Testament pattern irretrievably damns it. They find in the proceedings of the bishops and other clerics who exercised secular functions, not simply, however, the externals of Roman, non-Scriptural organization, but the very spirit of papal episcopal rule and anti-Christian superiority. The Church deals more hardly with true Protestants like themselves, who are loyal to the Queen and to Christ's holy religion, than with the traitorous and anti-Christian Romanists.

In spite of the fact that they must have recognized that such arguments were covert attacks upon the connection between Church and State, they proclaimed their loyalty to the Queen and the government. They warned the Queen that such resemblance to Rome, such a Roman hierarchy within the kingdom, afforded the greatest encouragement to her Papist enemies. They pleaded that they were more truly her loyal subjects than the bishops who maintained such a state of affairs. Yet there is a note of rebellion against the secular dictation as represented by the Queen. In ancient times "nothing was taught but God's work and now Princes pleasures, men's devices, popish ceremonies, and Antichristian rites in publique pulpits defended."¹ "The pope's canon law and the will of the prince must have the first place, and be preferred before the word and ordinance of Christ."² The Queen could not have relished the demand that Parliament see to it that "the statute may more prevaile than an Injunction."

The appeal that poor men may study the matters in dispute is a return to what is traditionally regarded as a fundamental principle of the Protestant revolt, the right of every man to judge his own soul's problems. To such a liberal as Sandys even, their position seems dangerously anti-aristocratic and democratic.

¹ *Puritan Manifestoes*, p. 12.

² Cf. "Parte of a Register," Grindal, *Remains*, p. 205.

It may easely appeare what boldenesse and disobedience theis new writers have alredy wrought in the mynds of the people and that agaynst the Civill Magistrate whome in words they seme to extoll but whose authoritie in very dede they labor to caste downe. For he seeth litill that doth not perceyve how that their whole proceedings tend to a mere popularitie.¹

In spite of a seeming democracy and love of liberty, in spite of the fact that they enter the plea which is now recognized as one of the greatest arguments against intolerance, the plea that persecution does no good,² these writers were not tolerant even within the narrow limits of Protestantism. If divergent, they would have all opinions suppressed except their own. They would substitute for the authority of the early Church fathers and antiquity, in matters of ecclesiastical organization and discipline, the authority of the New Testament. And when they said New Testament, they meant the verbally inspired text. Inasmuch as this is an absolute and more restricted authority, it necessarily implies a greater intolerance of all divergences. Yet as the New Testament does not cover so much ground as "antiquity," — that is, tradition, — they freed the Church from many "precepts of men," thus seemingly increasing the sphere of freedom. This greater freedom was, however, largely neutralized by their insisting that nothing should be done in the Church for which there was not a clear command of God.

In the autumn of the year in which the "First Admonition" appeared, Thomas Cartwright wrote and published the "Second Admonition to Parliament." Led by Cartwright, Presbyterianism now entered upon that long and wearisome literary conflict with the Anglican Establishment, which, even to-day, has not entirely fallen into the desuetude it deserves. Although a cluster of lesser lights surrounded them, the controversy centers about the works of Cartwright and Dr. John Whitgift. The two had clashed

¹ *Puritan Manifestoes*, p. 154.

² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

before, and over substantially the same questions when Cartwright was Lady Margaret Professor at the University of Cambridge and Whitgift Master of Trinity College.¹ In that contest Whitgift succeeded in expelling Cartwright from the University, and Cartwright had gone to Geneva, where he had been confirmed in his opinions by his associations with the fountain-heads of Presbyterianism. He returned in 1572 at an opportune moment to take up his old quarrel with Whitgift. Excitement over the "First Admonition" was great. It was read on all sides. Whitgift had under way the construction of the official reply, "An Answer to a certain Libel intituled An Admonition to the Parliament," and Cartwright brought out the "Second Admonition" in time to receive his share of the worthy doctor's condemnation.

The "Second Admonition" may be regarded as marking a new stage in the controversy between dissent and Anglicanism; it marks the transfer in essential interest from condemnation of abuses to advocacy of a particular form of church polity, the Presbyterian.

The other bokes are shorte (as it was requisite to present to you), and therefore they have not so muche tolde you how to Reforme, as what to Reforme. They have tolde you of many things amisse, and that very truely, they have tolde you in generall, what were to be restored, but howe to doe these things, as it is the hardest pointe, so it requireth, as themselves saye, a larger discourse. I meane therfore to supplie . . . something that may make to the expressing of the matter, so plainly, that you may have sufficient light to proceede by. . . .²

Unfortunately for those who are compelled to wade through the vast mass of literary polemic that resulted, the method of procedure presented in the "Second Admonition" was not so clear that the force of truth compelled its immediate acceptance. Cartwright's work is less interesting than

¹ Grindal, *Remains*, Letters, no. lxxv, and note 4; Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. 1, p. 19; Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, pt. 1, App., nos. i, iii; *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. LXXI, no. 11.

² "Second Admonition," *Puritan Manifestoes*, p. 90.

the "First Admonition." Its tone is less earnest in that it is an intellectual, rather than an emotional, attack. In it we find the narrowing and hardening that almost inevitably accompany attempts to give practical organization to idealistic or moral theories. The emphasis shifts from moral and religious indignation, on a relatively high plane, to an intellectual presentation of a definite ecclesiastical polity. The "Second Admonition" and the development of the propaganda under Cartwright's leadership mark a distinct departure from the ground of the "First Admonition," as that work marks a breaking-away from those who merely desired reforms in the English ceremonial. The "Second Admonition" marks out the lines of development for a distinct and peculiar form of dissent, the Presbyterian. Not all dissenters followed that line of development. Cartwright succeeded in causing or forcing a division in the ranks of the reformers. Many who were most ardent in the struggle still further to modify the English Establishment toward Protestantism, particularly in regard to ceremonies, refused to follow Cartwright's extreme statements and positions.¹ Some of these contented themselves with remaining in the Church as churchmen with Precisianist tendencies, some withdrew in time to form churches more consonant with the spirit of Christianity than that proposed by Cartwright. Of these we shall speak more in detail after we have presented the course and the results of the Presbyterian development.

The "Second Admonition" and the Presbyterian movement logically developed from the opposition to Roman Catholicism manifested by the Vestiarians and the authors of the "First Admonition," but, more important, the "Second Admonition" developed the attack upon the Established Church organization and created the form and machinery for putting into operation the church organiza-

¹ *Zurich Letters*, nos. clxxxii, clxxxvi, cxcii, cxcii; Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, pt. II, App., no. xlix.

tion based upon Scriptural model which the "First Admonition" suggested.

By the consent of all, evidently, Cartwright was now regarded as the head of the opposition, and the controversy, so far as it was a Presbyterian controversy, was left pretty largely in his hands. He wrote at once, "A Reply to an Answer made of Doctor Whitgift," and then escaped to the Continent in time to avoid a warrant issued for his arrest by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.¹ Elizabeth's proclamation against the two "Admonitions"² made that a safe vantage-ground to occupy. Whitgift followed him with a "Defence of the Answer," and at long range Cartwright discharged two more shots, "The Second Replie" in 1575, and "The Rest of the Second Replie" in 1577. To these Whitgift did not reply, evidently considering that his massive work, made available to the modern reader by the Parker Society, had said all that was desirable. He now trusted to less intellectual means to suppress his opponents. As Hook expresses it, "It is not necessary to pursue this controversy further, especially as it passed from the hands of Whitgift to those of Bishop Aylmer, by whom Cartwright was several times committed to prison."³

In the mean time another Presbyterian work, of more real importance than a great deal of the work of Cartwright, had appeared. Walter Travers, whom we have met before in connection with the question of ordinations, wrote, while on the Continent, a Latin presentation of the Presbyterian system, "*Ecclesiastiæ Disciplinæ . . . Explicato*." This Cartwright translated and published as, "A full and plaine declaration of Ecclesiasticall Discipline owt of the word of God and off the declininge off the church of England from the same." The "Book of Discipline," as it is familiarly

¹ *Zurich Letters*, no. cciii. Cf. Soames, *Elizabethan History*, p. 141.

² *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. xci, no. 47; *Zurich Letters*, no. cxc; *Puritan Manifestoes*, App. v; Strype, *Parker*, vol. II, p. 320.

³ Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. v, p. 152 (New Series).

known, is a consistent and logical presentation of the Presbyterian system, and formed the party platform.¹

From this series of works, and from minor, incidental tracts and letters, we derive the essentials of Presbyterian ecclesiastical polity in England, its attitude toward Catholics and Continental Protestantism, its relations with the Anglican Establishment and the government. We shall examine these things in the order mentioned.

¹ Dr. John Bridges answered Travers's book in *Defence of the Government Established in the Church of England for Ecclesiastical Matters*. Aylmer had been offered the task, but declined. *Parker Corresp.*, no. cclxviii; Grindal, *Remains*, Letters, no. lxxviii.

CHAPTER VII

PROTESTANT DISSENT (*continued*)

THE familiar Presbyterian form of church organization is midway between the aristocratic Episcopalian and the democratic Congregational forms of ecclesiastical polity. The unit of the organization is the presbytery, made up of the ministers and elders of the local churches. Presbytery appoints and inducts the ministers and is the court of appeal for the local congregations. Local management is vested in a consistory session made up of the ministers and elders, subject in some respects to the wishes of the congregation, but, in effect, exercising practically its own discretion. The English system contemplated, also, provincial and national synods to serve for the consideration and settlement of church problems with which the local presbyteries were not competent to deal finally.

For this organization Scriptural authority was claimed. The pattern thus found in the Scriptures was the only right pattern for a Church of Christ; the New Testament made necessary the acceptance and the use of this particular organization.¹ There was no place for any other form, no authority equal to the Scriptures for the use of any other ecclesiastical organization. Presbyterian adherence to a particular form of organization, and assertion of a binding Scriptural obligation for its use, resulted in important consequences for the theory of relationship between various churches already existing.

Sharing with the Anti-Vestiarrians, the Precisianists, and the authors of the "First Admonition," a hatred for all that was Roman Catholic in ritual and form, this theory, that

¹ Whitgift, *Works*, vol. II, pp. 6, 60, 195, 259; Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. III, chap. V, sec. 1; chap. VII, sec. 4.

the New Testament commanded the use of the Presbyterian organization and condemned all others, gave to the adherents of this party a basis for condemnation of papal organization and Catholic ritual which the Anglican Church and the predecessors of the Presbyterians in discontent in England had lacked. The papal organization and the rites of the Roman Church were damnable and anti-Christian, not simply because of corruption and abuses, but because Christ had established another form of organization and other rites. They applied the test to the Church of England and found it base metal, for the Church of England likes "well of popish mass-mongers, men for all seasons, king Henry's priests, King Edward's priests, queen Mary's priests, who of a truth, if God's word were precisely followed, should from the same be utterly removed."¹ It thus gave ground for a more thorough-going opposition to, and a more utterly irreconcilable intolerance of, all that pertained to Catholicism. There was no need for Presbyterianism to appeal to political policy and national patriotism in justification of its opposition to Rome.

Inasmuch as the command of the New Testament to them entailed a religious duty or implied one,² since anything not there authorized was, to the Presbyterian mind, unsavory in the nostrils of the Lord, Presbyterianism became the advocate of an intolerant and exclusive theory. It substituted, within the sphere of ecclesiastical organization, the authority of the Scriptures for the authority of reason, drew "all things unto the determination of bare and naked Scripture."³ The sphere of religious tolerance narrows and expands directly in proportion to the number of things that are added to, or removed from, the sphere of religious

¹ Cartwright, *apud* Whitgift, *Works*, vol. I, p. 317. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 115. In later editions "King Edward's priests" was omitted. Cf. *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. III, p. 403.

² *Zurich Letters*, no. clxxvii; Whitgift, *Works*, vol. I, p. 26, note 3; pp. 180, 183; Hooker, *Works*, vol. I, p. 227, note 61.

³ Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. II, chap. VII, sec. I.

necessity. In so far as ecclesiastical polity is brought into the forefront of religious propaganda, it becomes narrow and intolerant. Anglicanism removed ecclesiastical polity from the list of things religiously essential; polity was a matter of indifference to be regulated and changed in accordance with the needs and circumstances of time and place. "... That any kind of government is so necessary that without it the church cannot be saved, or that it may not be altered into some other kind thought to be more expedient, I utterly deny," wrote Whitgift.¹ Anglicanism may have been intolerant of diversity in matters of polity and ritual, but it was an intolerance based, not upon a theory that these things were religiously important, but upon the belief that the legal establishment of certain forms by national legislation and the safety of the kingdom necessitated their observance. Apart from the religious question, reason may well decide that enactments by a national assembly based on political necessity are more justifiably insisted on than any dogmatic consideration. By this test Presbyterianism represents a backward tendency in the development of toleration.

The results of this theory of a divinely originated presbytery were not confined to the additional basis given for condemnation of Catholics. All forms of Protestantism not following the New Testament model were open to the same condemnation as the Catholic Church. Lutheranism and Anglicanism were equally detestable. Cartwright went so far as to say, "Heretics" — and by heretics he meant those not Calvinistic — "ought to be put to death now," and he backed his extreme statement by the assertion that, "If this be bloody and extreme I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost."²

... To say that any magistrate can save the life of blasphemers, contemptuous and stubborn idolaters, murderers, adulterers,

¹ Whitgift, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 184.

² Cartwright, *Second Reply*, *apud* Whitgift, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 116, note 1. Cf. also *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 386.

incestuous persons, and such like, which God by his judicial law hath commanded to be put to death, I do utterly deny, and am ready to prove, if that pertained to this question, and therefore, although the judicial laws are permitted to the discretion of the prince and magistrate, yet not so generally as you seem to affirm, and as I have oftentimes said, that not only must it not be done against the word but according to the word and by it.¹

It is, however, in connection with the condemnation of Anglicanism that the results of the Presbyterian ecclesiastical polity are most significant. The Anglican Church did not claim that it followed apostolic practice in church organization; it admitted that it did not. It said the form of organization was not an essential matter. Cartwright's older contemporaries in dissatisfaction were in substantial agreement with the Anglican Establishment upon the essential indifference of ecclesiastical polity, but in so far as they attacked the organization at all, maintained that the Anglican organization was inexpedient. Cartwright united with them in attack upon the resemblance of Anglicanism to Rome.

Remove homilies, articles, injunctions, and that prescript order of service made out of the mass-book. . . . We must needs say as followeth, that this book is an unperfect book, culled and picked out of that popish dung hill, the portuise and mass-book full of all abominations. . . . It is wicked, to say no worse of it, so to attribute to a book, indeed culled out of the vile popish service-book, with some certain rubrics and gloses of their own device, such authority, as only is due to God in his book. . . . Again, when learned they to multiply up many prayers of one effect, so many times Glory be to the Father, so many times The Lord be with you, so many times Let us Pray? Whence learned they all these needless repetitions? is it not the popish Gloria Patri?²

He attacked the wealth and pomp of the Anglican ecclesiastics, but departed from the position of the Admonishers by maintaining that the Anglican Church was wrong in its

¹ Cartwright, *apud* Whitgift, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 270.

² Cartwright, *Second Admonition*, *apud* Whitgift, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 119, note 6.

very essence.¹ New Testament authority necessitated another form of organization, and for the establishment of the new, the Church already established must give way. Theocratic, exclusive Calvinism must be substituted for the merely expedient and comprehensive Episcopalian Establishment. The Anglican Church was an attempt to nationalize the religious organization, with loyalty to the Queen as its fundamental article. The Presbyterian programme was an attempt to create a narrow, national, sectarianism founded upon exclusively Biblical authority. Political needs were a secondary consideration, although it is true that their antagonism to the Papacy served as a strong argument for the observance of that political policy which they deemed most wise for the nation and royal safety — absolute suppression of all Catholics.

From the Presbyterian opposition to Anglicanism, thus based upon Scriptural authority, resulted important consequences in Anglicanism itself. Anglicanism began the formulation, as we have pointed out in a previous chapter, of a divine right theory of episcopacy to meet the claims of Presbyterianism. It abandoned the old basis of its apologetic, expediency and antiquity, and substituted other arguments. This shift took two directions. First, a return, with the Presbyterians, to an exclusively Scriptural authority where authorization of the Episcopal form was found; and second, the development of an entirely new line of argument which based the authority of Scriptures and of religion itself upon reason. The Scriptures could be used by Anglicans in defense of their peculiar organization as forcefully as in defense of the Presbyterian. This appeal was made at first with desire simply to refute the Presbyterian argument that Anglicanism had no Scriptural basis, without implying that, when found, Scriptural authority should be used to maintain an exclusively Episcopalian polity as the

¹ Cartwright himself did not believe in, or practice, separation from the Anglican communion, however.

Presbyterians maintained an exclusively Presbyterian one; but it was perhaps inevitable, in the face of Presbyterian attack and argument, that Anglicanism should make, with Presbyterians, but in opposition to them, the logical step to maintenance of a divinely instituted and exclusive form of ecclesiastical polity. This logical advance was not made decisively in Elizabeth's reign. A theory of divinely appointed Presbyterianism or Episcopalianism was antagonistic to the political dominance which the Queen insisted upon maintaining,¹ and to which, for the sake of self-preservation, the Church was compelled to assent. Anglicanism, however, was turned toward the theory of an apostolical episcopal succession, and as soon as governmental opposition was withdrawn by the death of Elizabeth, it proceeded to develop within its ranks a sectarianism as contracted as that of its enemies.

The suggestion of Hooker in his "Ecclesiastical Polity," that reason had to rule in all cases even though arguing from a basis of verbally inspired Scripture, served as better ground for the apologetic of a Church so subservient to royal power and political policy as was the Anglican Establishment. That the rule of reason was, however, as opposed to Episcopalianism as to Presbyterianism, was a fact which neither Hooker and his party, nor the party of opposition, recognized until many years after our period, when men began to ascribe their conversion to Roman Catholicism to the teachings of the "Ecclesiastical Polity."

Of less real importance than the advocacy of a particular form of church polity by the Presbyterians, was their opposition to Anglicanism upon doctrinal grounds. Presbyterian polity was inseparably linked with the extremes of Calvinistic doctrine. Anglicanism was, as we have pointed out

¹ Had Elizabeth set up claims to rule by divine right, as did her successor and the French monarchs, there would have been no necessary antagonism between a divinely appointed Episcopal organization and her dominance. But Elizabeth's power was not based on "a divine right" theory.

above, tied to no articulated system of dogma; its standards were indefinite and theologically inclusive. This gave adequate grounds to Presbyterians for condemnation of Anglican belief, independently of their condemnation of Anglicanism on the score of polity. Accusations of Lutheranism were not relished by many of the bishops. Most of them classed together, "wolves, Papists, Lutherans, Sadducees and Herodians,"¹ and asserted that, "as he [the Devil] is unable to restore popery altogether, he is endeavouring, but imperceptibly and by degrees, to bring us back to Lutheranism."² They were for the most part Calvinistic themselves, but, from the standpoint of toleration, it is fortunate that their Calvinism did not express itself decisively in the creeds and articles of the Establishment. Whitgift's attempt to impose the Calvinistic Lambeth Articles upon Anglicanism fortunately failed. We have Elizabeth to thank for this, however great be the reproach we may feel justified in casting upon her for less beneficent exercise of her royal power. The liberality resulting from this freedom from dogmatic exclusiveness, gave occasion for some of the most strikingly intolerant utterances of Presbyterianism. They felt that the Church was too generous, too broad, its charity too closely allied to lack of zeal in the Lord. They objected that some of the prayers of the English Service were too charitable in view of what could properly be asked of the justice of God. "They," the Radicals said, "pray that all men may be saved without exception; and that all travelling by sea and land may be preserved, Turks and traitors not excepted . . . in all their service there is no edification, they pray that all men may be saved."³ Undoubtedly some men should be damned. The doctrinal opposition of the Presbyterians did not result in an increased hardening of Anglican dogmatic standards

¹ *Zurich Letters*, no. cviii.

² *Ibid.*, no. cxxx. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. cxxiv, cxi, cxxi, ccxv.

³ Nares, *Burghley*, vol. III, p. 348. Cf. "First Admonition," *Puritan Manifestoes*, p. 29; Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. v, chap. xxvii, sec. 1, p. 346.

comparable to the increased rigidity of its ecclesiastical polity. We even find in Hooker statements which indicate that the prevalent Calvinism was too uncompromising for the Anglican Establishment.

Incidental to Presbyterian defense of an exclusive New Testament ecclesiastical polity, insistence upon Calvinistic theology, and attack upon Anglicanism, Presbyterianism has some points of interest deserving of mention. One of the most insistent and important claims made for Presbyterianism is that it is in general, and was in particular during the reign of Elizabeth, the champion of liberty and democracy. Were this true, minor considerations of narrow theology and polity would sink into oblivion, when compared to the great service thus rendered to the cause of toleration. The justification for these claims is found, ordinarily, in the fact that in Parliament the chief defenders of the liberties of Parliament in opposition to the absolutism of Elizabeth were also found in opposition to the Established Church.¹ The questions which gave rise to the greatest assertion of Parliamentary right were, during the time when the Presbyterian controversy was at its height, questions of ecclesiastical polity and reform. The union of the question of national liberty with the question of ecclesiastical dissent was natural. Further, it is obvious that during this period the champions of national liberty were champions also of ecclesiastical dissent. But the obvious fact does not state the truth quite accurately. The greatest champions of the liberties of Parliament took occasion to voice their claims as questions of any sort gave them occasion to do so. During this period the questions of Church abuses, and the right to consider them, were the questions about which the conflict with the government and the Queen centered. At a later time these topics had sunk into the background, and the fight for Parliamentary liberties went on over the question of patents and monopolies. In so

¹ Whitgift, *Works*, vol. I, pp. 42, 262; vol. II, pp. 264, 398.

far as ecclesiastical dissenters were the champions of liberty, we would not deny to Presbyterians their fair share in any glory that may be derived therefrom. But they have no exclusive claims. Alongside of Presbyterians in this opposition were those within the Church itself, by no means advocates of Presbyterian doctrines, those whom we call Precisians, those actuated merely by desire to embarrass the bishops, lovers of liberty to whom the religious questions merely gave occasion for opposition to encroachments upon it by the sovereign, other types of dissent more truly democratic in their religious and ecclesiastical theory than the Presbyterian.¹ Presbyterians were allied with these opponents of royal absolutism; that was the only possible escape from the consequences of their religious and ecclesiastical principles; but their championship did not arise from the liberal character of those religious and ecclesiastical opinions.

Presbyterian principles of ecclesiastical organization were not democratic, but aristocratic. Appeals to fears of Englishmen that the bishops were seizing, or would seize, excessive power similar to that possessed by the Catholic bishops might touch a real danger, but were not consistent with proposals to set up a governing ministry like that of Scotland or Geneva. Arguments against concentration of wealth in religious men's hands, to the deprivation of the poor, arguments against religious rank and lordship, as contrary to Scriptural example, have in themselves nothing to do with championship of democracy and came with bad grace from those who proposed to establish such an aristocratic and exclusive system as the Presbyterian. An ecclesiastical system of standards which would limit church membership to those who accepted a dogmatic theological doctrine so precise as that of Calvin, is, in the last analysis, as undemocratic as its theology. However aristocratic is the

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, no. cccxxi; Cartwright, *apud* Whitgift, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 390.

Episcopalian form of government, it was one of the glories of Anglicanism that it was inclusive and liberal in its theological requirements. Outward conformity to established forms it may have demanded; submission of the private judgment to the confines of a theological system it did not. Even subscription to the doctrinal articles which it asked was made liberal by the indefinite character of those articles, an indefiniteness which admitted of interpretation consonant with a whole range of theological opinion. Presbyterian Calvinism certainly fails to satisfy one of the most important requisites of any democratic system, individual freedom.

To one unprejudiced by adherence to any sect it must be hard to see the justice in Presbyterian claims to championship of civil and religious liberty. Presbyterianism was not tolerant; it was not democratic in ecclesiastical or theological theory. Its purpose was the substitution on a national scale of theocratic, exclusive Calvinism for political inclusive Episcopalianism. Ecclesiastically it was exclusive, theologically it was intolerant. Nor can we see in its theory of the relationship between Church and State any great contribution to the principles of liberty and toleration.

Condemning as they did all other forms and all other doctrines, upon the basis of Scriptural truth, it might have been expected that Presbyterians would advance the tolerant suggestion that such obvious Scriptural authority be left to work conformity and uniformity by its simple presentation in preaching and teaching. As we have seen, however, they felt that the force of truth works but slowly, and that the need for acceptance of Presbyterian ecclesiastical and theological dogma was urgent. They proposed that the government compel the acceptance of both at once. The relations, therefore, between Church and State were not to be severed, but to be made closer, in order, not that political needs might be served by the Church, but that political

power might do the will of God as interpreted by the Presbyterians.

They would beare men in hand that we despise authoritie, and contemne lawes, but they shamefully slaunder us to you, that so say. For it is her majesties authoritie we flye to, as the supreme governour in all causes, and over all persones within her dominions appointed by God, and we flie to the lawes of this realme, the bonds of all peace and good orders in this land. And we beseeche her majestie to have the hearing of this matter of Gods, and to take the defence of it upon her. And to fortifie it by law, that it may be received by common order through out her dominions. For though the orders be, and ought to be drawne out of the booke of God, yet it is hir majestie that by hir princely authoritie shuld see every of these things put in practise, and punish those that neglect them, making lawes therfore, for the church maye keepe these orders, but never in peace, except the comfortable and blessed assistance of the states and governors linke in to see them accepted in their countreys, and used.¹

The Queen was not to dictate to the new Establishment as she dictated to the Episcopalian one.

No civil magistrate in councils or assemblies for church matters can either be chief moderator, overruler, judge, or determineer, nor has such authority as that, without his consent, it should not be lawful for ecclesiastical persons to make any church orders or ceremonies.² Church matters ought ordinarily to be handled by church officers. The principal direction of them is by God's ordinance committed to the ministers of the church and to the ecclesiastical governors. As these meddle not with the making civil laws, so the civil magistrate ought not to ordain ceremonies, or determine controversies in the church, as long as they do not intrench upon his temporal authority. 'Tis the princes province to protect and defend the councils of his clergy, to keep the peace; to see their decrees executed: and to punish the contemners of them: but to exercise no spiritual jurisdiction. "It must be remembered that civil magistrates must govern the church according to the rules of God prescribed in his word; and that as they are nurses so they be servants unto the church; and as they rule in the church, so they must remember to submit themselves

¹ "Second Admonition," *Puritan Manifestoes*, p. 130. Cf. *Theses Martinianæ*, Pierce, *Marprelate Tracts*, p. 309.

² But cf. the Act of Uniformity on this point.

unto the church, to submit their sceptres, to throw down their crowns before the church, yea, as the prophet speaketh, to lick the dust off the feet of the church." ¹

Rhetorical as this language undoubtedly is, it is strikingly similar in sentiment, as well as expression, to the language of some of those great bishops of Rome whom the Protestant Reformers denounced so heartily. This presents clearly enough the relationship which it was proposed should exist between Church and State when Presbyterianism was established. This was essentially the true position of Elizabethan Presbyterianism, although we find the point obscured by numberless protestations of ministerial humility. They were loyal inasmuch as they were whole-heartedly opponents of her most dangerous enemies, the Papists. They acknowledged her supremacy in temporal things, and over spiritual persons in temporal matters.

If the question be, whether princes and magistrates be necessary in the church, it holdeth that the use of them is more than of the sun, without the which the world cannot stand. If it be of their honour, it holdeth that, with humble submission of mind, the outward also of the body, yea the body itself, and all that it hath, if need so require, are to be yielded for the defence of the prince, and for that service, for the which the prince will use them unto, for the glory of God, and maintenance of the commonwealth.²

They were humble and unpretentious inasmuch as they were suppressed and felt their lack of power. In spite, therefore, of these protestations the Presbyterians came into conflict with the government and were subject to suppression by the government.

The religious acts intended primarily for the suppression of Papists afforded the legal basis for the prosecution and the Presbyterians protested that "lawes that were purposely

¹ Quoted in Madox, *Vindication of the Church of England*, p. 122. Cf. also, "Second Admonition," *Puritan Manifestoes*, p. 93; Cartwright, *apud* Whitgift, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 390; *ibid.*, pp. 27, 377; *Zurich Letters*, nos. clxxxvii, xciv.

² Cartwright, *apud* Whitgift, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 20. Cf. also, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 21, 79, 82, 105.

made for the wicked, be made snares by you to catch the godly.”¹ Until the drastic legislation of 1593, the provision of the act,² which demanded that all clerics below the dignity of bishop should subscribe to “all the articles of religion which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments” comprised in the Thirty-nine Articles, served as the legal basis of restraint upon the nonconformists. The phrase was interpreted by the bishops to mean that by the act subscription was required to all the Articles, those relating to the government as well as those relating to the doctrine of the Church.³ The opponents of the bishops interpreted it as meaning that subscription was required by the act to the articles of religion only. Under the leadership of Whitgift the Church proceeded, by means of the Ecclesiastical Commission and the oath *ex officio*, to subject the dissenters to great hardships. In this course Whitgift had the support of the Queen, although he was impeded sometimes by the opposition of members of her Council. For the most part, however, this unofficial governmental opposition was not exercised because of favor to Presbyterian principles, but because of dislike for the ecclesiastical aggrandizement of the bishops and their harshness. A great deal of the severity shown during this period was due to the personal character of the men in charge of ecclesiastical affairs, men like Whitgift, Bancroft, and Aylmer, rather than to a consistent regard for the principles of the Establishment. The opposition to their proceedings by Cecil and other men of influence was excited by humanitarian principles, rather than by intellectual or religious sympathy with those who suffered from the proceedings of the bishops.

¹ “An Exhortation to the Byshops to deale Brotherly with theyr brethren,” *Puritan Manifestoes*, p. 67; Burrage, *English Dissenters*, vol. II, Illustrative Documents, p. 21.

² 13 Eliz., c. 12.

³ D'Ewes, *Journals*, pp. 132, 160, 184; Strype, *Whitgift*, bk. III, App., no. xvi.

Convinced as they have been of the injustice of charges of disloyalty made against the Presbyterians, defenders of that system have usually dismissed the charges as having no other basis than the vindictiveness of the bishops, with their cry of "Disloyal to the Church, Disloyal to the Queen."¹ Without holding a brief for the ecclesiastics, we find more reasonable ground for the prevalence of these charges on the part of both ecclesiastical and secular leaders, and for their acceptance by the Queen. Elizabeth was not so subject to the influence of her bishops that she would permit them to impose their merely ecclesiastical hatreds upon her. The men supposed to have the greatest influence upon her personal opinions were not subservient to the bishops nor in sympathy with them ecclesiastically.

To a man like Cecil, with his high conception of the royal prerogative and power, the ecclesiastical conditions in Scotland were sufficient reason for rejecting Presbyterianism. The Presbyterian theory of the relation between Church and State would subordinate the Queen to the clergy.² That the advocates of such theories should be suppressed and restrained by the Queen was inevitable. She had a high conception of her position and she was determined to maintain it. The statutes of the realm gave her the advantageous position in such a contest; she could legally suppress such variations. But had this not been true, it is certain that she would have used her prerogative in spite of law; interpretation of an ambiguous phrase in the statute of 1571 was by no means the full measure of the lengths she would have gone had it been necessary. Yet there is in her attitude little that suggests religious intolerance. Such measures as she took, or were taken at her

¹ *Parker Corresp.*, nos. cccxxv, cccxxvi, cccxxxi, cccxxxiii, ccclxix; "Second Admonition," *Puritan Manifestoes*, p. 92; Whitgift, *Works*, vol. I, pp. 20, 393, 423, 466; vol. II, pp. 263, 399; Usher, *Reconstruction*, vol. I, p. 45, note 2.

² *Zurich Letters*, nos. xxxviii, note 3; clxxv; Strype, *Annals*, vol. IV, no. xciv; Hooker, *Works*, App., no. ii to bk. V of *Ecc. Pol.*; Cooper, *Admonition*, p. 86; *Parker Corresp.*, no. lxii.

direction, have in them nothing of the spirit of religious persecution. Elizabeth was influenced by no religious narrowness in her treatment of any of the bodies of dissent; political policy was the absolutely controlling motive in her suppression of nonconformity in all its phases. This may seem an extreme statement in view of the measures taken by her ecclesiastical officers, evidently at her direction; but the degree of coercive power she placed in their hands was determined by the political necessity she felt for maintaining her supremacy over the ecclesiastical establishment of the realm, not by the positive ecclesiastical intolerance of spirit which actuated some of the bishops who administered that power. In the case of the Presbyterians, rabid anti-Catholic propaganda, appealing to national sentiments of detestation for the Papacy, threatened not only the stately forms and ceremonies which she loved, but, more important still, it endangered that policy of conciliation and moderation toward non-political Catholics which she felt compelled to maintain in the face of its unpopularity with some of her closest advisers, and, during the last twenty years of her reign, with a great body of the best educated and most conscientiously loyal of her subjects. The extreme, uncompromising attitude of Presbyterianism toward all that savored of Catholicism was not to her liking. She preferred the old forms. The Church of England was sufficiently compliant, and there was room in its policy for such winking at Catholicism as secular politics made necessary. Elizabeth was willing to use the radical element as a means of keeping political Catholicism in check, but did not intend that the extremists should so gain the upper hand that loyal and merely religious Catholics should be forced into opposition to her.

Similarly, the exclusive ecclesiastical polity of the Presbyterians and their mathematical system of theology, which carried with them active condemnation of those Continental churches which were not Genevan in form and

doctrine, might be supposed to threaten the friendship which she wished to maintain with all forms of Protestantism, Lutheran as well as Calvinistic. There is little direct evidence to prove that this aspect of Presbyterianism was given much consideration, but the conclusion that this may have in part influenced the attitude of the Queen, is at least reasonable, in view of her desire to be regarded as the champion of all anti-papal movements. That repression of Presbyterian leaders and thought would alienate their Continental sympathizers, may have in part determined the fact that it was not against Presbyterian dissent that the most severe and persistent repression was directed, but against those types of nonconformity which originated in England itself and were, therefore, not representative of a wing of Continental reform.

With the assistance of the bishops, Elizabeth was made to feel the full force of any possible arguments that could be urged against the Presbyterians on the score of disloyalty. Absurd as such charges were from the standpoint of the personal feelings of the representatives of the movement, there was, nevertheless, that in their theory and their writings which might easily be interpreted as more disloyal than was mere condemnation of the Established Church.

NON-PRESBYTERIAN DISSENT

In regard to the opinion and practice of the nonconforming Protestant movements which did not ally themselves with Presbyterianism, and have a different development, and other theories of relationship to the Established Church, to the State, and to the other religious communions, it is difficult to generalize. There developed from the early opposition to the Anglican Establishment a variety of minor movements and sects, other than the Presbyterian. The most important of these, though marked by the widest diversity, belong to that group of ecclesiastical and religious sects from which the Congregational theory and system of

ecclesiastical organization developed. We include under the genetic name of Congregational the Barrowists, the Brownists, the Anabaptists, and with reservations the opinions of Penry, Greenwood, Robinson, and the writer or writers of the Martin "Marprelate Tracts," and individuals who share the essential characteristic of the group, but who are not to be classed definitely with its main divisions. Our interest is not primarily with the minutiae of the ecclesiastical or religious beliefs of individuals, and it is not necessary to regard minor phases of dogma and practice in the opinions of individuals which seem to separate them from the leaders of the Congregational movement.

The idea at the root of all the somewhat heterogeneous groups of religious opinion thus classified was the idea that the Church should not be an inclusive body whose standards of belief and admission to membership were dictated by state policy.¹ Current opinion required that all men belong to the Church; hence kindness of heart and of judgment required that all men be admitted easily or even compelled to enter the ecclesiastical body established by law.² This opinion the Congregational groups rejected. They would have no easy application of the parable of the wheat and the tares so far as church membership was concerned. Barrow in the Fleet Prison in 1590 wrote: —

Never hath all kinds of sinne and wickedness more universally rained in any nation at any time yet all are received into the church, all made members of Christ. All these people with all these manners were in one daye, with the blast of Q. Elizabeth's trumpet of ignorant papistes and grosse idolaters, made faithful Christians and true professors.³ [The Church of England is composed of] all the profane and wicked of the land, Atheists, Papists, Anabaptists, and heretics of all sorts, gluttons, rioters, blasphemers, purgerers, covetous, extortioners, thieves, whores,

¹ Burrage, *English Dissenters*, vol. II, pp. 29, 32.

² Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, vol. I, pp. 321, 383, 387; Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. III, p. 71.

³ Barrow's examination, printed in Arber, *Introd. to Marprelate Controversy*, pp. 41-48.

witches, connivers, etc., and who not, that dwelleth within this land, or is within the Queen's dominions.¹

Free from the State and all outside control, the local church should be made up of individuals conforming to, and judged worthy by the standards of belief and practice determined upon by a group already accepting and living according to those standards. Browne defined the church as

The Church planted or gathered in a company or number of Christians or believers, which, by a willing covenant made with their God, are under the government of God and Christ, and keep His laws in one holy communion. The Church government is the lordship of Christ in the communion of His offices, whereby His people obey His will, and have mutual use of their graces and callings to further their godliness and welfare.²

Thus their idea of a church was that of a body of spiritually fit persons united for worship together and for communion with God. Because the local church thus stood by itself, self-sufficient and with full authority to create its own machinery of administration, and to formulate its own doctrinal standards, within the ranks of Congregationally organized churches we find great diversity of opinion and practice.

The standards are usually as narrow religiously as those of Presbyterianism, for the ideal to be reached was absolute truth and holiness of life, and in the pursuit of absolute truth, men of ability or of spiritually earnest zeal, though often unlearned, in that day sought to express their spirit in the statements of dogmatic theology, rather than in the formulation of the broad principles essential to the religious life. They felt that these religious truths might be formulated by the unlearned as well as by the learned and

¹ Barrow, *Brief Discovery of the false Church*, vi, 9. Cf. Whitgift, *Works*, vol. 1, pp. 382, 385; Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. III, chap. 1, sec. 7; *Works*, vol. II, p. 63, note 18.

² Cf. Burrage, *English Dissenters*, vol. II, pp. 60, 139; Hooker, *Works*, vol. II, p. 63, note 18.

attacked the Presbyterians for emphasis on an educated ministry.

These Reformists howsoever for fashion sake they give the people a little liberty to sweeten their mouths and make them believe that they should choose their own ministers, yet even in this pretended choice do they cozen and beguile them also, leaving them nothing but the smoky, windy title of election only, enjoining them to choose some university clerk, — one of those college birds of their own brood, — or else comes a synod in the neck of them, and annihilates the election whatsoever it be.¹

This contempt for the aristocracy of learning and this democratic confidence in the people may have been promoted by the fact that lay readers were employed in the services of the Established Church. Mechanics and artisans took part in, and conducted parts of the services of the State Church, and hence the people saw no great incongruity when men in humble circumstances assumed independent leadership.²

Browne, who is usually regarded as the father of Congregationalism, had a hard time to find enough men to accept his formulation of rules of faith and practice to make a church, and parted with his congregation in anger because some would not agree to the rules he laid down. It is characteristic of the local church principle, however, that each local church recognizes the other churches, whatever their polity, Congregational, Presbyterian, or Episcopalian, as true churches of Christ, although Anglicanism and Presbyterianism might be regarded as corrupted by mistakes and condemned for unchristian refusal to practice the principles of religion as the Congregationalist understood them.

And in the meane tyme (as yt becometh us to iudge) we are perswaded that her Maiestie and many thowsandes of her Subiectes (who as yet differ in iudgment amongst themselves and from us in many thinges) are the deare Children of God, and heyres of saluation through faith in Christ Ihesus, etc.³

¹ Barrow, quoted in Dexter, *Congregationalism*, p. 239.

² Burrage, *English Dissenters*, vol. II, p. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 69. Cf. also pp. 67, 84, 104.

Congregationalists make a great deal of the ecclesiastical liberalism of Congregational principles, but neglect the facts of withdrawal upon religious grounds from communion with English and Continental Protestants.¹ Religiously Congregationalists were more precise and intolerant than either Anglicanism or Presbyterianism, but ecclesiastical narrowness and intolerance are foreign to the principles upon which the system of local churches is based. Owing to the narrowness of accepted religious principles in almost all of the Congregationalist churches, this ecclesiastical tolerance did not extend to the individual. Churches were regarded as the units and were to be permitted a freedom and looseness of coöperation that appeared anarchistic in Elizabeth's day. Yet, as it was thus more individualistic and democratic, so it was a less effective form of organization than Presbyterianism or Anglicanism.

Presbyterianism had an orderly sense consonant with its propaganda to establish a particular form of church government; it attempted, with a reasonable degree of success, to keep within the letter of the law.² The groups of Congregationalism were not allied to any one form of ecclesiastical organization, strictly speaking, nor indeed to any one form of theological doctrine. They lacked, therefore, the sense of organization cohesiveness. Hooker summed it up in the statement, "Yea, I am persuaded, that of them with whom in this cause we strive, there are whose betters amongst men would be hardly found, if they did not live amongst men, but in some wilderness by themselves."³ Congregationalism did not undergo that institutional hardening which made the Presbyterian movement at least capable of understanding Anglican concern at divergence, and patient to

¹ Burrage, *English Dissenters*, vol. II, p. 83; Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. v, App. no. II, p. 63, note 16; bk. III, chap. I, sec. 10, p. 224; Strype, *Annals*, vol. IV, no. lxii.

² Cf. Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. III, pp. 262, 283, 284; vol. II, p. 84; Usher, *Presbyterian Movement*, pp. 92, 93, 31, 36, 38.

³ Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. I, chap. XVI, sec. 6.

use intelligent and orderly methods of displacing it. The lack of unity, ecclesiastically and dogmatically, in Congregationalism, moreover, prevented the concerted action which Presbyterianism was able to bring to bear in the attack upon the Established Church.

In spite of the inadequacy of its ecclesiastical organization, or perhaps because of it, the whole group is characterized by a religious enthusiasm and intense religious fervor that are foreign to the Anglican Church, and in great part to Presbyterianism also. It is this intensity of religious feeling, as distinct from intellectual conviction of the truth of theological dogma, rather than the championship of their own Congregational polity, that lies at the basis of their condemnation of others. Toward Catholics this antagonism goes to great lengths. The expressions of denunciation and invective reach a heat even more fervid than that of the most enthusiastic Presbyterian. "That most dreadfull Religion of Antichrist, the great enemye of the Lord Ihesus, and the most pestilent adversary of the thrones of kinges and Princes"¹ was so much an object of horror that language seemed to fail to express the depth of their abhorrence. Here, too, lay essentially the cause of their denunciation of the Anglican Church. Although their attacks, like the attacks of Presbyterians, are directed against the ceremonies, the government, the officials, the courts, and the abuses of the Church, there is in their polemic a note of burning zeal that sometimes almost reaches the height and earnestness of the most fierce denunciations of the prophets of Israel.

This emotional intensity is interesting. It is the very stuff from which religious intolerance is made. Curiously enough, and unusual in the history of religion, it is a fervor, however, which is essentially liberal and tolerant as compared with contemporary religious opinion.

¹ Burrage, *English Dissenters*, vol. II, p. 82; Waddington, *Penry*, pp. 113, 114. Cf., however, the language of the Second Scotch Confession of 1580 (Schaff, *Credo III*, pp. 480 *et seq.*). Luther too went pretty far in this way.

. . . It is to no purpose that her Maiesties subiectes should bestowe their tyme in learning, in the study and medytation of the word, in reading the wrytinges and doinges of learned men and of the holy Martyrs that have bene in former ages, especyally the wrytinges published by her Maiesties authorytie, yf they may not without danger professe and hold those truthes which they learne out of them, and that in such sort, as they are able to convince all the world that will stand against them, by no other weapons then by the word of God. . . . Imprysonment, yndytementes arraignmentes yea death yt selfe, are no meet weapons to convince the consyence grounded upon the word of the Lord, accompanied with so many testimonies of his famous seruantes and Churches.¹

Whether one agrees with the religious opinions of Browne, or indeed with Christianity itself, one must recognize an earnestness here, even in their anger against other forms of their religion, which is comparable to the anger of their Master against the scribes and Pharisees. The spirit of Christ's "Woe unto ye scribes and Pharisees" was in the utterances of those Congregationalists, who denounced their fellow Christians as He denounced his fellow Jews for the abandonment of the true principles of religion, truth, and uprightness, and substituted rites and ceremonies and the incidents and unessentials of organization. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether Presbyterianism, Anglicanism, and even Catholicism were most concerned about diversity from the truths which they believed religiously essential or about diversity from their particular form of worship. Congregationalism was intolerant of such substitution of form and ritual for the truths of the religion of Jesus Christ as they saw them. Because this was true, the attacks of Congregationalists were directed against the ecclesiastical organization of Anglicanism, and against the connection between the State and the Church which had established and maintained the Anglican organization; and the grounds of that attack were religious, not merely ecclesiastical, as some

¹ Penry's "Confession and Apology," Burrage, *English Dissenters*, vol. II, p. 87.

writers maintain. Congregationalism was not fighting essentially for the creation of a new form of ecclesiastical organization. Episcopalianism and Presbyterianism as we know them in the United States would not have been exterminated by Congregationalists, nor would Catholicism itself, except as it claims to be the only agent of salvation upon earth. Their tolerance, however, did not extend to the permission of life and the protection of the State for the agnostic and the atheist, or those who denied such essential elements of the Christian faith as the Triune character of the Godhead and the everlasting damnation of sinful men. Their zeal made them more intolerant of such crimes against traditional Christianity than was Anglicanism, for their religious feeling was of primary importance and had not sunk into the background of an ecclesiastical system.

Congregationalists were chiefly subject to condemnation by the government, the Establishment, and the Presbyterians because they attacked the current theory that governmental unity was dependent upon ecclesiastical and religious unity. This position necessarily undermined the favorite doctrine of the age in regard to the headship of the sovereign over the Church.¹ Such tenets were, to the minds of the average Elizabethan Englishmen who occupied positions of trust in Church and State, utterly irreconcilable with political loyalty to the Queen and to the nation. Protestations of submission and loyalty² could not convince them. Further, the Congregational system of church organization was essentially democratic and brought Congregationalists in for a persecution more relentless than that directed against the followers of Cartwright;³ monarchical and aristocratic antagonism to democratic sentiments regarded them as more dangerous. The development of an

¹ Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. VIII, chap. 1, sec. 2; *Parker Corresp.*, no ccl; Burrage, *English Dissenters*, vol. I, p. 101; vol. II, pp. 28, 63, 64, 78.

² Burrage, *English Dissenters*, vol. II, pp. 78, 79.

³ Elias Thacher and John Copping were hanged in 1583 for "dispersinge of Browne's bookes."

economic and intellectual aristocracy, interested in forwarding social and economic movements antagonistic to its own supremacy, is a matter of comparatively recent growth. In Elizabeth's day and for long after, religious and secular aristocrats were opposed on grounds of economic interest to all movements which looked to the populace for the creation of a church.

A second fault is in their manner of complaining, not only because it is for the most part in bitter and reproachful terms, but also because it is unto the common people, judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine anything amiss for want of skill and authority to amend it.¹

Congregationalism could hope to win from the powers of the realm no such freedom of worship as was granted to the foreign congregations in London and elsewhere,² for Congregationalists were not so important commercially, industrially, and politically as were these refugees;³ and could not, it was thought, safely be allowed exemption from laws binding on all Englishmen.

¹ Cranmer's letter to Hooker, Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. v, App., no. ii, p. 65; cf. Whitgift, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 467.

² *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. xxiii, no. 67; *Parker Corresp.*, nos. cxli, cxlvi, and note i, ccxlv, ccxlvii, cccxxii; Burrage, *English Dissenters*, vol. II, p. 118.

³ Burrage, *English Dissenters*, vol. I, p. 118.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

THE reign of Elizabeth is not altogether an encouraging field to the idealist seeking in the past for the first rays of the light of tolerance. Catholics were fined, imprisoned, suffered death. Protestants who refused to accept the existing régime endured hardships no less severe. Government compelled adherence to its own Church and that Church stood for no great principle of religious freedom. In the realm of religion no commanding personality stands as the leader or the embodiment of his age; still less as a beacon light to the thought of succeeding ages. Two ecclesiastics alone, Fox and Hooker, are known to-day outside the halls of theological learning: the one as the author of a work which has perpetuated religious and theological bitterness founded upon falsehood and bigotry; the other remembered for the literary style of his prose, but for no great contribution to religious thought or feeling. No single voice was raised to free the minds of men from the restraints of theological and ecclesiastical dogma. The sovereign herself stood for no heroic principle of power or right. Her vices even were not impressive. Her genius for deceit gave her a certain distinction even in a Christendom skilled in lying; but Elizabeth's accomplishments were so petty in positive statesmanship demanding bold imagination and vision as to excite no wonder by their courage and audacity. No statesman under her formulated a bold and striking national religious policy which left his name impressed upon the institutions of his creation. Bickerings hardly worthy the name of religious struggles; an expedient policy so abject as almost to deny the existence of principle; repression without the excuse of a burning faith in an abstract ideal;

these are the superficial characteristics of the age. Yet the importance of the Elizabethan age in the history of toleration stands upon a sure foundation.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne of England more than a generation had passed since Luther had stirred the souls of men by his proclamation of revolt. His call to arms as it echoed over Europe had roused men of all nations to range themselves in fighting mood upon one side or the other. Religious enthusiasm, national feeling, a new vision of moral and intellectual life had stirred Catholicism and Protestantism alike to the very depths. No longer were ideas and ideals to be passively received and held; they became banners to lead armies by, the standards for which men joyfully flung away their strength. Hatred, unreasoning and unreasonable, obscured high purpose and lofty aim; in the name of religious faith both sides descended to unexplored depths of savagery and cruelty. But such sacrifice could not continue. Here and there in Europe evidences of returning sanity were seen. Vicious combat brought desire for peace, and the realization that ultimately an adjustment of its religious quarrels must be made if European civilization was to endure manifested itself in the first vague gropings for some basis of settlement. In Germany a certain basis of toleration in a small territorial setting was offered by the Peace of Augsburg. In France the wisdom of L'Hôpital attempted to secure an adjustment upon humane principles only to be defeated by the militarist elements which broke down the first slight barriers of moderation and left us the memory of St. Bartholomew's Eve. In England the same groping took form in a policy which may appear petty, but which, at least in the maturing consciousness of the national State, created a national Church. The pettiness of England's compromising religious policy may be forgotten and forgiven in the wider significance which that policy has as one phase of a general European adjustment.

That the withdrawal of England from the jurisdiction of

the Papal See afforded no occasion for dramatic declaration of principles makes no less important, in the history of religious toleration, the character of that withdrawal and the attempted adjustment of the religious questions of the age. It is true that the history of intolerance as well as the history of tolerance during the reign of Elizabeth is largely the story of the problems raised by the Catholic question. It is true that all the elements in the English religious situation reflect in their spirit the fact of the Catholic presence. But the fundamental fact that rises above all confusing issues is the unmistakable one that the government formulated and proclaimed a policy designed to meet the dangers of papal politics, not by more persecution but by less.

Primarily the complexities and difficulties of the political situation at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign defined the nature and extent of governmental toleration. The Queen and her officials plainly declared, and their actions backed up the declaration, that the consciences of men should not be violated by interference with their purely religious beliefs so long as conscience was not made the shield and excuse for opinions so depraved as to involve the Queen's subjects in acts of open violence against the State. Such was the degree of toleration made possible by the patriotism and the religious indifference of the nation and by the personal character and convictions of the nation's leaders. The association of English Catholics with the ambitions of Mary Stuart, with the schemes of Philip of Spain, the activity of Jesuits upon the Continent and in England aroused in the nation and in many of its leaders a sense of danger and a strong enmity which threatened this policy. Presbyterianism advocated the extermination of all who adhered to the Roman Catholic faith, and although itself subject to governmental restraint, added strength to that element in the kingdom which upon other grounds opposed the lenient attitude toward the most active religious enemies of the Queen and the nation. Anglicanism also, to a lesser

degree, as it developed an independent ecclesiastical consciousness sometimes displayed a desire to force Catholics into the fold of the English Establishment more insistent than was compatible with the purposes of the Queen and her councillors. The aggressive measures of the papacy compelled the abandonment in part of the liberality at first proclaimed and maintained. Yet the incentives to more drastic measures, whether from Catholic excess and treason or from Protestant prejudice, were never so powerful as to force the government to substitute for the policy it had at first assumed a policy of Catholic extermination.

The fundamental defect in carrying out the government's policy of toleration, however, was not the opposition of the Catholics, not the activity of the Presbyterians, not the ambitions of Anglicans, but the retention of a state ecclesiastical establishment and the idea that ecclesiastical unity was essential to political unity. It was upon this basis that the adjustment proposed by the Elizabethan government rested and it was foredoomed to ultimate failure. The conformity of all men to one ecclesiastical organization, however liberal its doctrinal standards and however formal the degree of conformity demanded, implies a simplicity or a hypocrisy of which men are not so universally guilty. Certainly such a programme could not succeed in an age that had developed two forces so antagonistic as Catholicism and Protestantism. But that the government should have abandoned the accepted belief of the times and permitted complete freedom of worship by no means follows. The religious forces with which it had to deal were themselves too intolerant to enjoy freedom or to employ it intelligently. Freedom would have defeated its own ends; freedom would have brought religious strife utterly beyond the control of the forces of order. Modern tolerance may regret the failure of the Elizabethan attempt, it may clearly recognize the causes of that failure, but only fanatical love of an ideal not yet universally understood in our own time will

refuse to do homage to the measure of success which, with the material at its disposal, Elizabethan England was able to attain.

Elizabethan ecclesiastical and religious bodies reacted to the Catholic danger and to the governmental policy, but the attitude of all toward the spirit of tolerance was also determined by their reactions upon one another and by characteristics peculiar to themselves.

The Elizabethan Establishment was the work of men temperamentally opposed to extreme theories of church government and was from policy fundamentally tolerant as well as inclusive. The doctrinal standards which were set up and the form of the organization itself were such as would imply the least strain upon the consciences and prejudices of the Englishmen whose formal allegiance to its Establishment the government demanded. The political purposes of the Establishment were clear and the function of allegiance to the Church as a test of loyalty to the Crown most evident. Conformity at the first to most of Elizabeth's subjects meant little more than this, but as Catholic opposition became more uncompromising and as Protestant discontent with the religious and ecclesiastical features of the State Establishment became more pronounced and clear-cut, Anglicanism developed an ecclesiastical consciousness of its own worth and excellence in only a minor degree dependent upon its position as an arm of secular politics. The vigorous attack of Presbyterianism upon the Establishment aroused it to defense of itself, not by appeal to its political and national functions alone, but also by championship of the desirability of the Episcopalian organization for its own sake. More radical Protestantism, both in England and upon the Continent, was regarded with less brotherly warmth, and arrangements which had at first been borne as mere expedients became the objects of earnest defense.

Presbyterianism, which was the most persistent and

irritating Protestant enemy Anglicans had to face, presented in Elizabeth's reign few aspects of tolerant spirit. Its lack of power and the necessity, imposed upon it by its weakness, of assuming the postures of petition, were responsible for whatever evidence of Presbyterian tolerance may be discovered. The insistence upon a New Testament ecclesiastical polity and the importance given by Presbyterianism to the form of the ecclesiastical organization as a part of the gospel were more mediæval in tendency than was the retention by Anglicanism and by the government of the idea of national conformity to a state ecclesiastical establishment. Further, the close connection of the Presbyterian form of organization with the cold and precise theology of Calvin made Presbyterianism dogmatically, as well as ecclesiastically, intolerant of all other forms of the Christian religion. Anglicanism developed its own peculiar ecclesiastical organization and doctrinal standards and built into them a spirit that has at all events the virtues of humanness and practicality. English Presbyterianism adopted ready-made a system of church government and the carefully articulated process of reasoning or argument upon which that system rested. It adopted, too, the most consistent and mathematically exact system of theology that Christianity has developed, — Calvinism entire as it was laid down by its creator. Presbyterianism was thus furnished with an ecclesiastical and dogmatic pattern to which it insisted that all organized Christianity must conform. All its direct influence was toward greater intolerance.

Of the ecclesiastical and religious movements developed during the reign of Elizabeth, the one which contained most possibilities of adjustment to modern ways of thinking was the Congregationalist, but it was of least influence upon Elizabethan thought and action, and in her reign developed little beyond the initial stages. The group was religiously and morally fired by intense earnestness and inspired to

righteous indignation and intolerance of the abuses and shame of scholastic Protestant ecclesiasticism. It proposed to destroy the strongest bulwark of national and ecclesiastical intolerance, the connection between Church and State, but, except as a forerunner and a source of later development, the Congregationalists are of no importance for the history of tolerance in the reign of Elizabeth.

Political considerations caused the formulation and promulgation of the one definite theory of religious toleration that the reign of Elizabeth offers us, and political causes also prevented the theory being carried to its logical conclusion, but the success of Elizabethan politics, our judgment of the character of Elizabethan policy, is not to be determined by its religious effects alone. Whatever the success or failure of the attempt at religious adjustment the policy which dealt with the religious situation dealt also with greater things. It was in the days of Elizabeth that the England of to-day was taking shape in commerce, in literature, in national policy. Labor was being faced as a national problem, the theories and the practice of finance were becoming modern, England was entering upon its period of commercial expansion. In response to this new wealth and enlarged outlook England was reveling in the creations of a released and profane imagination. Governmental policy not only for the time freed England from the more savage manifestations of religious hatreds and thus released her energies for development along these lines, but the religious aspects of governmental policy also directly contributed to that development by giving to the nation a great church in which centered much of high national pride.

Society transforms itself slowly, irrationally, with curious inconsistencies. Social groups form alliances and antagonisms rationally impossible. Tolerance and intolerance exist side by side. Tolerance in Elizabeth's reign did not in theory keep pace with national economic, literary, and patriotic

development. The reign had weakened but not cast off the hold of Roman Catholicism upon the nation. Anglicanism had become a great national force with a strong hold upon the affections of Englishmen. Presbyterianism had formed a compact ecclesiastical group. A few, ill-organized champions of church freedom and religious liberalism had begun to make their voices heard in the land. Greater bitterness and more savage quarrels would interfere with the free development of the national spirit, but already was visible the ultimate triumph of that sounder principle of national unity which recognized the element of *variety* in a harmonious whole — a principle which only the modern world has realized. In this field, therefore, as in others, the age of Elizabeth is the threshold to our own.

THE END

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

Two purposes have controlled the preparation of this bibliographical appendix: the wish to lighten the foot notes, and the desire to provide a bibliography that may prove useful to other American students. Completeness is impossible; rigid selection would have excluded many works here mentioned. The mention of less reliable works with critical comments will perhaps assist American students who are venturing into this field. The attention given to pre-Elizabethan and general works is necessary to a preliminary understanding of the topic and period. In this portion of the bibliography many omissions would be serious were the purpose other than that of providing introductory material for the study of Elizabethan ecclesiastical and religious history.

The manuscripts of the period of Elizabeth are, of course, not available in America; but the American student who has an opportunity to spend some time in England will find great collections opened to him and every facility for work offered at the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and the Lambeth Palace Library. For the student who is familiar with considerable detail of the reign of Elizabeth the best introduction to the manuscripts is undoubtedly the collection of *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, in the Public Record Office. These are conveniently bound and represent every phase of the Elizabethan age, so that the student who intends to specialize in this field will be abundantly repaid by reading the whole series. Other series of papers have been arranged and catalogued or calendared so that their use presents few difficulties to the beginner. Unfortunately, however, great masses of manuscript material exist, particularly those under the control of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which have never been prepared for use and are, furthermore, not opened under ordinary circumstances to examination by foreign students.

Many great collections of printed sources are available in American university libraries. For such material consult, E. C. Richardson, *Union List of Collections on European History in American Libraries* (Princeton 1912; Supplement: Copies Added 1912-1915, *ibid.*, 1915; A. H. Shearer, *Alphabetical Subject Index, ibid.*, 1915).

The *Calendar of the State Papers, Domestic*, for the reign of

Elizabeth has been published by the Government and may be found in several of the larger American libraries. For the student without access to the documents themselves the calendars serve as a very fair substitute, although the *Domestic Calendar* for the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign is too summary in character to be entirely satisfactory. The later volumes are much more complete. The *Foreign Calendar*, the *Venetian Calendar*, the *Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs preserved in the Archives of Simancas*, and the *Calendar of the Carew Papers* assist in making access to the documents themselves less imperative. *The Statutes of the Realme* (printed by command of His Majesty King George the III, 1819) is, of course, essential to any study of English history. Simonds D'Ewes, *Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, both of the House of Lords and House of Commons, revised and published by Paul Bowes* (London, 1682), is necessary for the study of Parliamentary history during the reign. *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, 1485-1714, calendared and described by Robert Steele, under the direction of the Earl of Crawford* (vol. I, England, vol. II, Scotland and Ireland, Oxford, 1909), is a work required constantly for that phase of Elizabethan administration, and makes access to H. Dyson, *Queene Elizabeth's Proclamations* (1618), less important. J. R. Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (New Series), throws much light on many topics and is essential for an understanding of the activity and importance of the Council in Elizabethan government. In the *Reports from Commissioners, Inspectors and Others* (35 vols., London), the MSS. of the Duke of Rutland comprise four volumes and contain much of interest and importance. Thos. Rymer, *Foedera conventiones literae et cujusque generis acta publica* (20 vols., London, 1726-35), is indispensable. Other collections of first-rate importance are Spencer Hall, *Documents from Simancas relating to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1865); P. Forbes, *Full View of the Public Transactions in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (2 vols., London, 1740-41); *State Papers of Sir Ralph Sadler* (ed. Clifford, Edinburgh, 1809); Sir Henry Ellis, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*.

Several smaller but very useful collections should be found in every college library. Prothero, *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents* (Oxford, 1898); A. F. Pollard, *Tudor Tracts, 1532-1588* (An English Garner, Westminster, 1903); Pocock, *Records of the Reformation* (2 vols., Oxford, 1870).

Printed letters, papers, and writings of Elizabethan statesmen available are, W. Murdin, *Burghley State Papers* (London, 1759); Samuel Haynes, *Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs in*

the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, from the year 1542 to 1570; transcribed from the original letters left by Wm. Cecil, Lord Burghley (London, 1740); *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon, Including all his Occasional Works* (ed. Spedding, 7 vols., London, 1861-74).

Biographical works sometimes quote largely from the sources, but are usually of little assistance to the historical student because of inaccuracy of quotation and the tendency to make a hero of the subject of study. Further, biographies are often written without a clear understanding of the age, and tend, therefore, to produce distorted estimates. These defects are more usually found in the older books. Edward Nares, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of the Right Honourable, Wm. Cecil, Lord Burghley* (3 vols., London, 1828-31), is, for instance, almost useless. M.A.S. Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley; A Study of Elizabethan Statecraft* (New York, 1898), on the other hand, is the work of a modern scholar thoroughly familiar with the sources for the whole reign of Elizabeth. Of similar importance is Karl Stählin, *Sir Francis Walsingham und seine Zeit* (Heidelberg, 1908).

Of the great biographical collections the *Dictionary of National Biography* is indispensable as a guide, but will, for the special student, serve as little else, for its summary character gives it rather more than its full measure of the disadvantages of all biographical material. Such collections as Arthur I. Dasent, *Speakers of the House of Commons* (London and New York, 1911); John Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England* (10 vols., London, 1868); E. Foss, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Judges of England* (9 vols., London, 1848-64), may sometimes prove helpful if used intelligently.

For English constitutional and legal history the classical histories remain useful, although extreme caution should be exercised, for statements of fact are often wrong and theories antiquated. Henry Hallam, *The Constitutional History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of George II with a continuation from George III to 1860*, by Thos. Erskine May (5 vols., New York and Boston, 1865), is a convenient edition of this old work. Thomas Pitt Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History from the Teutonic Conquest to the Present Time* (5th ed., revised by Philip A. Ashworth, London and Boston, 1896), should be checked by other histories and special articles. The only contemporary account of the English Constitution is that of Sir T. Smith, *De Republica Anglorum* (London, 1583). Sir W. Stanford, *Exposition of the King's Prerogative* (London, 1567), is well worth examining.

Of the histories of the English law, W. S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (vol. 1, London, 1903), is the most readable. J. Fitzjames Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England* (3 vols., London, 1883), is not entirely satisfactory, but has its uses. Sir Edward Coke, *Institutes* (many editions, the one used was that of London, 1809), and Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England in Four Books* (ed. by Thos. M. Cooley, 2d ed., 2 vols., Chicago, 1876), are necessary works. James Dyer, *Reports of Cases* (London, 1794), presents much of value. The student of the working of the law will also find much of interest in *The Middlesex County Records*, vol. 1, *Indictments, Coroners Inquests, Post-mortem and Recognizances from 3rd Edward VI to the end of the Reign of Elizabeth* (ed. John Cordy Jefferson, published by the Middlesex County Records Society). Miscellaneous special works and articles of use are D'Jardine, *Reading on the Use of Torture in the Criminal Law of England previously to the Commonwealth* (a pamphlet; London, 1837); Crompton, *L'Office et autorité de Justices de Peace* (ed. 1583); George Burton Adams, "The Descendants of the Curia Regis" (*American Historical Review*, vol. XIII, no. 1); Dicey, *The Privy Council* (Oxford, 1860); Conyers Read, "Walsingham and Burghley in Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council" (*English Historical Review*, vol. XXVIII, p. 42); *Record Commission Publications*, vols. I-III: *Cases before the Star Chamber in the Reign of Elizabeth*; C. A. Beard, *The Office of Justice of Peace in England* (New York, 1904).

For ecclesiastical law and administration the classic is probably Sir Robert Phillimore, *The Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England* (2d edition by his son W. G. F. Phillimore, 2 vols., London, 1895). Felix Makower, *The Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England* (trans. London, 1895), is the only work covering that field, but it is inadequate in many respects. Richard Burn, *The Ecclesiastical Law* (8th ed. by R. P. Tyrwhitt, 4 vols., London, 1824), is an old work, but for the student of the Tudor period, not a specialist in the ecclesiastical law, forms a convenient book of reference for terms and processes. Of primary importance is the *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts* (London, 1883, 2 vols.). G. C. Brodrick and W. H. Freemantle, *Collections of Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Ecclesiastical Cases relating to Doctrine and Discipline* (London, 1865), contains much historical material of value in the introduction, although written in defense of a particular theory. W. F. Finlason, *The History, Constitution and Character of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council Considered as a Judicial Tribunal; Especially in Ecclesiastical Cases*

(London, 187-), is representative of a type of partisan discussion.

For the study of Parliament several works of varying degrees of excellence exist. The old *Parliamentary History of England, from the earliest period to the year 1803* (36 vols., London, 1806-20, vols. 2-12; William Cobbett's *Parliamentary History from the Norman Conquest to the year 1803*) will not prove inviting to the modern student. Edward and Annie G. Porritt, *The Unreformed House of Commons, Parliamentary Representation before 1832* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1903), is a modern work that should not be neglected. C. G. Bayne, "The First House of Commons of Queen Elizabeth" (*English Historical Review*, vol. XXIII, pp. 455-76; 643-82), is a special study of an interesting Parliament.

For the Council and administration, besides works already mentioned, special studies should be consulted, such as Conyers Read, "Factions in the English Privy Council under Elizabeth" (*American Historical Association Annual Report*, 1911, vol. 1, pp. 109-20), for a brief summary. Other articles will be found in the *English Historical Review*. Charles A. Coulomb, *The Administration of the English Borders during the Reign of Elizabeth* (University of Pennsylvania Series), deals with one of the most interesting phases of administration.

The political histories of the Tudors are legion, and because of the political character of ecclesiastical and religious history during the period, they treat that phase in considerable detail. A. F. Pollard, *Political History of England from Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth* (sixth volume in the series, *Political History of England*, edited by W. Hunt and R. L. Poole), is one of the best more recent introductions. The opinions and interpretations offered by J. A. Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth* (12 vols., 1863-66), should not be accepted as authoritative, but his work remains the best detailed account covering the whole period. Green, *History of England* (many editions), is interesting reading. Some works covering sections of the Tudor period are more useful than the general works. E. P. Cheyney, *A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth* (vol. 1, New York, 1913), deals with a period somewhat neglected by historians and will do much to correct the current impression that Elizabethan history ended with the defeat of the Armada.

For Henry, Edward, and Mary the following are of first-rate importance: Moberly, *The Early Tudors* (Epoch Series); Pollard, *Henry VIII* (London, 1902); J. S. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII, from his Accession to the Death of Wolsey* (ed. by J. Gairdner, 2 vols.,

London, 1884); A. DuBoys, *Catherine d'Aragon et les Origines du Schisme Anglican* (Geneva, 1880, trans. by C. M. Yonge, 2 vols., London, 1881); N. Harpsfield, *Treatise of the Pretended Divorce between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon* (ed. N. Pocock, Camden Society, 1878); Paul Friedman, *Anne Boleyn, a Chapter of English History, 1527-1536* (2 vols., London, 1884); *Literary Remains of Edward VI* (Roxburghe Club, ed. J. G. Nichols, 2 vols., London, 1857); Sir J. Hayward, *Life and Reign of Edward VI* (London, 1630); P. F. Tytler, *England in the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary* (2 vols., London, 1839); *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary* (Camden Society, London, 1850); J. M. Stone, *The History of Mary I, Queen of England, as found in the Public Records, Despatches of Ambassadors, in Original Private Letters, and Other Contemporary Documents* (New York and London, 1901); Zimmerman, *Maria die Katholische* (Freiburg, 1891); Friedman, "New Facts in the History of Mary, Queen of England" (*Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. XIX, pp. 1-12).

For English life and thought during the reign of Elizabeth: Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James* (1865); E. P. Cheyney, *Social Changes in England in the 16th Century* (Philadelphia, 1895); Mandell Creighton, *The Age of Elizabeth* (Epochs of Modern History, New York, 1884); H. D. Traill, *Social England* (vol. III, New York and London, 1895); Harrison, *Elizabethan England* (Camelot Series); Hubert Hall, *Society in the Elizabethan Age* (London, 1886), an excellent corrective for poetic views; Wallace Notestein, *A History of Witchcraft in England from 1558-1718* (American Historical Association, Washington, 1911), a remarkable study; Payne, *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen* (First Series, Oxford, 1893); Saintsbury, *Elizabethan Literature*; J. W. Burgon, *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham* (2 vols., London, 1839).

For economic history: W. J. Ashley, *Introduction to English Economic History* (London, 1892); W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*; David D. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce* (4 vols., London, 1805); J. E. T. Rogers, *The History of Agriculture and Prices* (vol. IV, Oxford, 1882); W. A. Shaw, *History of Currency* (London, 1895); R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage* (3d ed. by Ahernan, 3 vols., London, 1840); S. Dowell, *History of Taxation* (2d ed., 4 vols., London, 1888).

For the life of Elizabeth: Frank A. Mumby, *The Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth told in Contemporary Letters* (New York, 1909); Wiesener, *The Youth of Elizabeth, 1533-1558* (English trans., 2 vols., London, 1879); M. A. S. Hume, *The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth* (New York, 1896, London, 1898); William Camden,

The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess, Elizabeth, etc. (London, 1675); J. Stow, *Annales, continued to the End of 1631* by E. Howes (London, 1631); E. S. Beesly, *Queen Elizabeth* (London and New York, 1892; Twelve English Statesmen); Mandell Creighton, *Queen Elizabeth* (New York and London, 1900); Thomas Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times, a series of letters of distinguished persons of the Period* (London, 1838); Collins, *Queen Elizabeth's Defence*.

For the European situation: Arthur Henry Johnson, *Europe in the 16th Century, 1494-1598* (Periods of European History, London, 1900); M. Philippson, *Westeuropa im Zeitalter von Philipp II, Elisabeth u. Heinrich IV* (Oncken Series, Berlin, 1882); Henri Forneron, *Les ducs de Guise et leur époque* (2 vols., Paris, 1877); and by the same author, *Histoire de Philippe II* (2 vols., Paris, 1881-82); J. W. Thompson, *The Wars of Religion in France, 1559-1576. The Huguenots. Catherine de Medic, and Philip II* (Chicago, 1909). Cf. also M. A. S. Hume, *Philip II of Spain* (Foreign Statesmen, ed. by J. B. Bury, London, 1897); *State Papers relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (ed. by J. K. Laughton, vol. 1, 1894, Navy Record Society Pub.).

For Scotland and Mary Stuart: David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland* (ed. by Thomas Thomson, vols. 1-VI, Edinburgh, 1842-45), one of the older histories of considerable importance. J. Spottiswoode, *History of the Church and State of Scotland* (Spottiswoode Society, Edinburgh, 1851; 1st edition, London, 1655); Thomas Wright, *History of Scotland* (3 vols., London and New York, 1856); Peter Hume Brown, *History of Scotland* (Cambridge Historical Series, ed. G. W. Prothero, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1899-1909); Mathieson, *Politics and Religion, a Study of Scottish History from the Reformation to the Revolution* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1902); P. Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England* (London, 1875); David Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland, Causes, Characteristics, Consequences* (Lectures delivered at Princeton Theological Seminary, 1907-08, London, 1910); *State Papers of Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, Calendar* (vol. 1, Edinburgh, 1898); Antoine Louis Paris, *Négotiations, lettres, et pièces diverses relatives au règne de François II* (in *Collections de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, vol. 19, Paris, 1841); Prince A. Labanoff, *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de M. S., reine d'Écosse* (7 vols., London, 1844); J. H. Pollen, *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots* (Scottish History Society Pub., vol. xxxvii, Edinburgh, 1901); H. Machyn, *Diary* (Camden Society, London, 1847); J. Anderson, *Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland* (4 vols., Edinburgh, 1727-28);

R. S. Rait, *Relations between England and Scotland* (London, 1901); Agnes Strickland, *Mary Queen of Scots, Letters and Documents connected with her Personal History* (3 vols., London, 1843); *The Bardon Papers, Documents relating to the Imprisonment and Trial of Mary Queen of Scots* (edited for the Royal Historical Society by Conyers Read with a prefatory note by Charles Cotton, Camden Society, 3d Series, vol. xvii, London, 1909).

Printed collections of sources for ecclesiastical history are numerous. D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae* (4 vols., London, 1739), is indispensable. Anthony Sparrow, *A Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, Orders, Ordinances and Constitutions Ecclesiastical with Other Publick Records of the Church of England* (4th impression, London, 1684), contains many things of value. Edward Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England from 1546-1716 with notes historical and explanatory* (2 vols., Oxford, 1839), is sometimes inaccurate, and the historical notes are of little value, but is a convenient collection. Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (New York and London, 1896), is the best of the more recent collections. W. H. Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation* (3 vols., London, 1910), has superseded all other texts.

Among the publications of various societies will be found practically all the works and writings of Anglican divines. The publications of the Parker Society especially give easy access to great quantities of such material. Among the most important works of this character published by the Parker Society are: *The Correspondence of Matthew Parker, comprising letters written by and to him from A.D. 1535 to his Death A.D. 1572* (edited by John Bruce and Thomas T. Perowne, Cambridge, 1853); the *Works of John Jewel* (edited by John Ayre, 2 vols., 1848-50) contain "The Apology of the Church of England," "The Defence of the Apology," "The Epistle to Scipio," "A View of a Seditious Bull," "A Treatise of the Holy Scriptures," "Letters and Miscellaneous Pieces"; the *Works of Sandys* (London, 1842); Edmund Grindal, *Remains* (edited by William Nicholson, Cambridge, 1843); *Works of Whitgift* (edited by John Ayre, Cambridge, 1851); *Zurich Letters, or The Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others with some of the Helvetic Reformers, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (trans. and edited by Rev. Hastings Robinson, 2d edition chronologically arranged in one series, Cambridge, 1846). The works of Cranmer, Coverdale, Hooper, Latimer, Bale, Bradford, Bullinger, Becon, Hutchinson, Ridley, and Pilkington also have been published by the Society. For further information see the Parker Society's *General Index* (Cambridge, 1855).

The Anglo-Catholic Library contains considerable material of first-rate importance, and the Camden Society publishes many things not easily procured elsewhere. Lists of the publications of these series should be consulted. Camden Society publications of great value, not conveniently mentioned elsewhere, are: J. Fox, *Narratives of the Reformation* (ed. J. G. Nichols, 1859); John Hayward, *Annals of the First Four Years of Queen Elizabeth* (edited by Bruce, 1840); Mary Bateson, *A Collection of Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council 1564* (Camden Miscellany, vol. ix, London, 1893).

The older biographies are worth consulting for the documents they incorporate, although their accuracy cannot be depended upon. The labors of John Strype (died 1737) produced several lives, published in the Oxford edition of his works (other editions are available in some of the larger libraries), among them the lives of Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, Aylmer, Cheke, Smith, Cranmer, all with abundant collections of sources.

Other collections of works and biographies are Thomas Cranmer, *Remains and Letters* (Jenkyns ed., 4 vols., Oxford, 1833), which should be used in connection with Pollard, *Thomas Cranmer* (1903); Henry Geast Dugdale, *Life and Character of Edmund Geste* (London, 1840); the works of Richard Hooker have been published in whole or part many times, but the edition of Rev. John Keble, *The Works of that Learned and Judicious Divine, Mr. Richard Hooker, with an account of his life and death by Isaac Walton* (2 vols., 3d American from the last Oxford edition, New York, 1857), contains much valuable supplementary material. The writings of Bancroft have not all been reprinted, but his *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings published and practised within this Island of Brytaine under Pretence of Reformation and for the Presbyteriall Discipline* (London, 1593) was reprinted in 1640 and in 1712 and large extracts are given in Roland G. Usher, *Presbyterian Movement as illustrated by the Minute Book of the Dedham Classis* (Camden Society Pub.). Other works of Bancroft are noted elsewhere. Ralph Churton, *Life of Alexander Nowell* (Oxford, 1809), is a life of one of the less conspicuous of the Elizabethan divines.

W. F. Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (New Series, 7 vols., 1868-76), contains much material, but is written from the standpoint of a vigorous and somewhat narrow ecclesiastic; it serves rather to throw light upon the opinions of latter-day Anglicanism than upon the period with which it deals. F. O. White, *Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops of the Anglican Church* (London, 1898), is another collection worth examining.

First and early editions of Elizabethan ecclesiastical and religious literature are not readily available in America, but some good public collections exist. That of the Prince Library, now incorporated in the Boston Public Library, contains among other things three copies of Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, possibly the only copies in America. The McAlpin Collection in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, is probably the most complete in this country and contains much not to be found in any other American collection, both of the works of the Elizabethan Anglicans and of their opponents. The collection is now being catalogued by Dr. Charles Ripley Gillett and it is to be hoped that the catalogue will soon be printed. In the mean time it is difficult to say just what will be found there; but the writer has seen *A Brief Discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554*, in an edition of 1575; Bucer, *On Apparell* (1566); Coverdale's *Letter* (1564); Parker, *Advertisements* (1564); *The Judgement of the Reverend Father Master Henry Bullinger* (1566); Grindal's *Visitation Articles* (1580); Penry's *Defence* (1588); Thomas Bilson, *Perpetual Government of Christ's Church, etc.* (London, 1593); [Bancroft] *Conspiracie for Pretended Reformation, viz. Presbyteriall Discipline*; R. Cosin, *Hacket, Cop-pinger, etc.* (London, 1593); Thomas Cooper, *An Admonition to the People of England* (London, 1589); J. Lily, *Pappe with an hatchet. Alias A figge for my God sonne or Cracke me this nut* (1589); Richard Bancroft, *A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse the 9 of Februarie anno 1588* (London, 1588); J. Udall, *Demonstration of the truth of Discipline* (1589); *Whip for an Ape and Martine*; John Davidson, *D. Bancrofts Rashnes in Rayling against the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1590); *The Execution of Justice in England for maintenaunce of publike and Christian peace, etc.*, by William Cecil (London, 1583). Other early editions available in America are Matthew Sutcliffe, *Treatise of Ecclesiastical Discipline* (1591); also Sutcliffe, *De Presbyterio* (about 1590); Christopher Goodman, *How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects* (Geneva, 1558); John Bridges, *Defence of the Government Established in the Church of England for Ecclesiastical Matters* (1587); Richard Cosin, *Apology of and for Sundry Proceedings by Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical* (1593); Sir John Harrington, *Brief View of the State of the Church of England*.

There is some tendency on the part of modern students to neglect the older historians on the score of their undoubted prejudices and inaccuracy; but the student who does so will deprive himself of valuable assistance. The prejudices of the older historians are by no means craftily concealed, and with the number of

printed sources and calendars available inaccuracies can rather easily be checked. With care in regard to these things the modern student will find much of interest and profit in many of the following: J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials . . . of the Church of England* (3 vols., Oxford, 1822), and the same author's *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion and other various occurrences in the Church of England during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign* (7 vols., Oxford, 1824), both abundantly supplied with collections of papers, records, and letters. Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England: a new edition carefully revised and the records collated with the originals by Nicholas Pocock* (7 vols., Oxford, 1865), includes Wharton's *Specimen of Errors*. Both Strype and Burnet write from the standpoint of Anglicans. John Lingard, *A History of England from the First Invasion of the Romans* (5th ed., 8 vols., Paris, 1840), is the work of a Catholic of considerable breadth. Jeremy Collier, *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain Chiefly of England from the First Planting of Christianity to the End of the Reign of King Charles the Second: with a Brief Account of the Affairs of Religion in Ireland* (ed. by Francis Barham, 9 vols., London, 1840), from the standpoint of a strong Tory and Jacobite at the period of the Revolution of 1688. C. Dodd [H. Tootell], *Church History* (ed. M. A. Tierney, 5 vols., London, 1839-43), written by a Catholic priest as an antidote to Burnet. Peter Heylyn, *Ecclesia Restaurata, or the History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (ed. by James Craigie Robertson and printed by the Ecclesiastical History Society, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1849), and Thomas Fuller, *Church History of Britain* (ed. J. S. Brewer, 6 vols., London, 1837), were written by clerics of the English Church who adhered to Charles I and to the High Church Laudian party. W. Corbett, *Protestant Reformation* (ed. F. A. Gasquet, 2 vols., London, 1896), with which it may be interesting to compare Charles Hastings Collette, *Queen Elizabeth and the Penal Laws, with an Introduction on Wm. Cobbett's "History of the Protestant Reformation."* *Passing in review the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary* (Protestant Alliance, London, 1890). Henry Soames, *History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (4 vols., London, 1826-28), and the same writer's *Elizabethan Religious History* (London, 1839), are less interesting than the older works.

The examination of more recent writers on the Church, covering the whole or parts of the Tudor period, will convince the careful American student, unprejudiced by national and ecclesiastical sympathies, that in some respects even greater care is

required in their use than is the case of the older historians. Documents and sources are used more accurately, there is little or no conscious polemic purpose, and prejudices are less obvious, but the student who compares the equally scholarly work of a modern Anglican cleric, a modern Catholic priest, and a nonconformist scholar will often find widely divergent conclusions equally honest. Religious and national prejudices are so difficult to escape that the student should be on his guard constantly, both in his own work and in estimating the work of even the most conscientious of modern scholars.

Richard Watson Dixon, *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction* (6 vols., of which vols. v and vi were compiled from the notes and papers of Canon Dixon by Henry Gee), is one of the fairest written by an Anglican clergyman. It is frankly stated that the writer's standpoint is that of a Church of England cleric. James Gairdner, *The English Church in the 16th Century* (1902), and the same author's *History of the English Church from Henry to the Death of Mary* (1902), covering part of the same period, while not entirely free from faults, are most excellent. W. H. Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I, 1558-1625* (in the *History of the English Church*, edited by W. R. W. Stephens and W. Hunt, London and New York, 1904), is a scholarly introduction to the period, although Frere's patience with the Puritans is not always unstrained. John Hunt, *Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the Last Century* (3 vols., 1870), is a somewhat older work deserving examination. To the same class belongs John Henry Blunt, *Reformation of the Church of England* (2 vols., New York, 1882). Henry Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion, 1558-1564* (Oxford, 1898), is a scholarly treatment of one phase of the subject, but this Anglican treatment should be compared with the study of the same subject by a Catholic scholar, Henry Norbert Birt, *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement; A Study of Contemporary Documents* (London, 1907). Gilbert W. Child, *Church and State under the Tudors* (London and New York, 1890), is as clear-sighted as any work the student can wish to examine. On the same topic as Arthur Elliot, *The State and the Church* (London and New York, 1896), a great deal of literature of historical value will be found arising from the recent attempts to bring about disestablishment. Roland G. Usher, *The Reconstruction of the English Church* (2 vols., New York and London, 1910), is a brilliant work written by an American scholar. S. F. Maitland, *Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England* (reprinted with an introduction by A. W. Hutton,

London and New York, 1899), is the work of one of the most able of the older English scholars and deals with early and pre-Elizabethan topics. These essays should be studied carefully. Bishop Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediæval and Modern History* (Oxford, 1900), is, naturally, scholarly and suggestive.

Histories of particular dioceses are published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in a series called *Diocesan Histories*. Of particular interest are J. L. Low, *Durham* (London, 1881); R. H. Morris, *Chester* (London, 1895); H. W. Phillott, *Hereford* (London, 1888); R. S. Ferguson, *Carlisle* (London, 1889). For the Universities consult J. B. Mullinger, *History of the University of Cambridge*, and Anthony à Wood, *Historia et antiquitates universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxoniae, 1674). Thomas Baker's *History of the College of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge*, has been edited by J. E. B. Mayor (2 vols., Cambridge, 1896). Among the many local histories published by local history societies and antiquarians William Watson, *Historical Account of the Ancient Town and Port of Wisbeach* (Wisbeach, 1827), will be very helpful.

For Convocation, T. Lathbury, *History of the Convocation of the Church of England* (1st ed., London, 1842; 2d ed., London, 1853); F. Atterbury, *Rights and Privileges of an English Convocation* (2d ed., London, 1701). G. Nicholsius, *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* (London, 1708), has an interesting section on "*homiliarum in nascente Reformatione usus*," and some material on the same topic will be found in J. T. Tomlinson, *The Prayer Book, Articles and Homilies* (London, 1897).

On the Prayer Book there are several works of first-rate importance, but the following will prove particularly useful: F. Proctor and W. H. Frere, *New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1901); Nicholas Pocock, *The Reformation and the Prayer Book* (London, 1879); F. A. Gasquet, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1890); J. Parker, *The First Prayer Book of Edward VI* (Oxford, 1877); N. Pocock, *Troubles connected with the First Book of Common Prayer* (Papers from the Petyt MSS., Camden Society, London, 1884); L. Pullan, *History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1900); H. Gee, *The Elizabethan Prayer-book and Ornaments* (London, 1902); E. C. Harrington, *Pope Pius IV and the Book of Common Prayer*.

For the Thirty-nine Articles cf. E. C. S. Gibson, *The 39 Articles* (2d ed., London, 1898); C. Hardwick, *History of the Articles of Religion* (Cambridge, 1859).

For the liturgies: *Liturgies of Edward VI* (Parker Society, edited by J. Kelley, Cambridge, 1844); *Liturgies set forth in the Reign of Elizabeth* (Parker Society, edited by Clay, Cambridge, 1847).

For episcopacy and the apostolic succession consult: Bishop Hall, *Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted*; E. E. Estcourt, *Question of Anglican Ordinations* (London, 1873); Stubbs, *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England*; John Bramhall, *On Apostolic Succession of the Church of England*, in *Works* (ed. by A. W. Haddon, 5 vols., Oxford, 1842-45); Samuel F. Hulton, *The Primacy of England* (Oxford and London, 1899); Francis Johnson, *A Treatise of the Ministry of the Church of England*; Pierre François Courayer, *Dissertation on the Validity of the Ordinations of the English and of the Succession of the Bishops of the Anglican Church; with the proofs establishing the facts advanced in this work* (Oxford, 1844). The works of Saravia should be examined, especially *De diversis gradibus ministrorum* (London, 1590). He defended the episcopal forms and the succession during the last years of Elizabeth's reign and had considerable influence upon the Anglican divines. There are long quotations from sixteenth-century Anglican writers in A. J. Mason, *The Church of England and Episcopacy* (Cambridge, 1914).

For an understanding of what Erastianism is, cf. J. N. Figgis, "Erastus and Erastianism" (*Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. II, p. 66).

The older histories of the nonconformists and dissenters are many of them prejudiced in the extreme and misrepresent facts and motives, but should be examined as carefully as the Anglican histories of the same class. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, should be read in connection with Madox, *Vindication of the Church of England against Neal*. Benjamin Hanbury, *Historical Memorials Relating to the Independents* (1839-44); Marsden, *History of the Early Puritans*; Samuel Hopkins, *The Puritans or the Church, Court, and Parliament of England during the Reigns of Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth* (3 vols., Boston, 1859-61), a common book, but of little value; Benjamin Brook, *Lives of the Puritans* (3 vols., London, 1813), is little more than a series of brief biographical sketches, sometimes useful in locating particular men, but of no historical value. John Brown, *The English Puritans* (Cambridge, 1912, Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature), is a good recent introduction to the subject. Henry W. Clark, *History of English Nonconformity from Wiclif to the close of the 19th Century* (vol. I, 1911, deals with the period up to the early Stuarts; vol. II, London, 1913, *The Restoration*). Champlin Burrage has written and published much on various phases of English dissent and all his work is worthy of examination, some of it indispensable. Of his writings the following are important: *The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research, 1550-1641* (2 vols., Cam-

bridge, 1912. Vol. I, *History and Criticism*; vol. II, *Illustrative Documents*, many of them hitherto unpublished), is a most scholarly treatment from the factual standpoint, and the introduction contains a valuable discussion of the literature. Cf., also, Champlin Burrage, *The True Story of Robert Browne, 1550-1633, Father of Congregationalism* (London, 1906); *The 'Retraction' of Robert Browne, Father of Congregationalism, being a Reproofe of certeine Schismatical persons* [i.e., Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood and their Congregation] *and their Doctrine, etc., written probably about 1588* (London, 1907); *The Church Covenant Idea; Its Origin and its Development* (American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1904); John Penry, *the So-called Martyr of Congregationalism as revealed in the Original Record of His Trial and in Documents related thereto* (Oxford and London, 1913); *Elizabethan Puritanism and Separatism*. The work of Henry M. Dexter is also important, although of somewhat different character and perhaps not so accurate as that of Burrage. Cf. Dexter, *Congregationalism, What it is, Whence it is, How it Works, etc.* (Boston, 1865); *Congregationalism as Seen in its Literature* (New York, 1880); *The True Story of John Smyth, the se-baptist as told by himself and his contemporaries* (Boston, 1881). For the Congregational and Baptist development: R. W. Dale, *History of English Congregationalism* (London, 1907); John Clifford, *The Origin and Growth of the English Baptists* (London, 1857); Thomas Crosby, *A History of the English Baptists from the Reformation to the Beginning of the Reign of King George I* (London, 1738); and for the Anabaptists, H. S. Burrage, *The Anabaptists of the 16th Century* (American Society of Church History Papers, vol. III, pp. 145-64, 1891); John Waddington, *John Penry, the Pilgrim Martyr, 1559-1593* (London, 1854), may prove of some assistance.

For the Martin Marprelate controversy: William Pierce, *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts, A Chapter in the Evolution of Religious and Civil Liberty in England* (New York, 1909), and the same writer's *Marprelate Tracts, 1588, 1589, with notes historical and explanatory* (London, 1911), are the best books on the subject. William Maskell, *A History of the Martin Marprelate Controversy*; Edward Arber, *An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy* (*English Scholars' Library*); H. M. Dexter, *Martin Marprelate Controversy*, present the views of older scholars. Many of the original tracts, and some of the replies as well, are in the McAlpin Collection in the Union Theological Seminary Library. For detailed literature see Pierce, *Introduction*, and *Tracts*.

Other writings of the dissenters and nonconformists will be

found in various collections and libraries. W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas have edited *Puritan Manifestoes, A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt. With a reprint of the Admonition to the Parliament and kindred documents, 1572* (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in the Church History Society Publications, vol. LXXII, London and New York, 1907). Arber, *English Scholars' Library*, contains many things and the list for that series should be consulted. It contains a reprint of *Brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort*; J. Udall, *A Demonstration of the Truth of Discipline*; Udall, *Diotrephes, Pappe with a Hatchet*, is printed in *Elizabethan and Jacobean Pamphlets*, edited by George Saintsbury.

For the Presbyterians and their leaders in Elizabeth's time, there is abundant source material, but few works of first-rate importance. Benjamin Brook, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Cartwright* (London, 1845), is still, so far as the writer knows, the only life of that eminent and vigorous Presbyterian, and it is to be hoped that a new one will soon take the place of Brook's work. Roland G. Usher, *The Presbyterian Movement in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth as illustrated by the Minute Book of the Dedham Classis, 1582-1589* (Camden Society, 1905), presents an interesting theory with considerable backing of fact. W. A. Shaw, "Elizabethan Presbyterianism" (*English Historical Review*, vol. III), is worth reading.

Three works touching the Familists are the chief source for the English group: Henry Nickolas, *An Introduction to the holy understanding of the Glass of Righteousness*; J. Knewstubs, *Confutation of certain monstrous and horrible heresies taught by H. N. 1579*; and John Rogers *The displaying of an horrible sect of gross and wicked heretics, naming themselves, the Family of Love; with the lives of the Authors etc.* (London, 1578).

For the Catholics in England during the reign of Elizabeth a great deal of material has been published, much of it unfortunately, whether written by Anglican, Catholic, or nonconformist, not very reliable. Arnold Oskar Meyer, *England u. die Katholische Kirke unter Elisabeth u. den Stuarts* (vol. I unter Elisabeth, Rom, 1911; translated, St. Louis, 1916), is a scholarly work by a German who has carefully studied the documents. Ranke, *Analecte in die Römische Papste* (translated in the Bohn Library) is still a very useful work. F. G. Lee, *Church under Q. Elizabeth* (2 vols., 1880), is a work by no means fair, but suggestive in many respects. Nicholas Sander, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism, published 1585 with a Continuation of the History by the Rev. Edward Rishton* (translated with an introduction and notes by David Lewis, London, 1877), is an excellent example of contemporary

Catholic writing. *Catholic Tractates of the 16th Century* (ed. T. G. Law, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1901), gives further material of somewhat the same character. Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, should most certainly be used although on many points not to be depended upon. For the Council of Trent the old classical histories of Sarpi and Pallavicino remain the best works.

For the Popes: W. Voss, *Die Verhandlungen Pius IV mit den katholischen Mächten* (Leipzig, 1887); an article by Maitland, "Queen Elizabeth and Paul IV" (*English Historical Review*, vol. xv, p. 326); Mendham, *Life and Pontificate of Pius V* (London, 1832; supplement, 1833).

Works of value in the study of the treatment of the English Catholics are: Phillips, *Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy* (London, 1905); T. E. Bridgett and T. F. Knox, *The True Story of the Catholic Hierarchy deposed by Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1889); T. F. Knox, *Records of Anglican Catholics under the Penal Laws* (London, 1878); Bishop Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests and Other Catholics of Both Sexes that have suffered Death in England on Religious Accounts from 1377-1684* (ed. T. G. Law, Manchester, 1878); Charles Buller, *Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish and Scottish Catholics since the Reform* (3d ed., 4 vols., London, 1822); Cardinal Manning, *Calendar of Martyrs of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London, 1887); T. G. Law, *A Calendar of the English Martyrs of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London, 1876); Pollen and Burton, *Lives of the English Martyrs, 1583-1588* (1914), is the latest. All these works must be used with considerable caution.

The work of J. H. Pollen, a modern Catholic scholar, deserves the highest consideration. Cf. especially his *Unpublished Documents relating to the English Martyrs* (vol. 1, 1584-1603, Catholic Record Soc. Pub. v, 1908); *Acts of the English Martyrs hitherto unpublished* (London, 1891), and various articles in *The Month*. Especially "Religious Terrorism under Q. Elizabeth" (March, 1905); "Politics of English Catholics during the Reign of Q. Elizabeth" (1902); "The Question of Queen Elizabeth's Successor" (May, 1903).

Consult also the following: F. A. Gasquet, *Hampshire Recusants, a story of their troubles in the time of Elizabeth* (London, 1895); J. J. E. Proost, *Les réfugiés anglais et irlandais en Belgique à la suite de la réforme religieuse établie sous Elisabeth et Jacques I*; Guilday, *English Catholic Refugees on the Continent* (vol. 1, 1914); M. A. S. Hume, *Treason and Plot, Struggles for Catholic Supremacy in the Last Years of Q. Elizabeth* (new edition, London, 1908); the

article by R. B. Merriman, "Notes on the Treatment of the English Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth" (*American Historical Review*, vol. XIII, no. 3), is by an American scholar and exceedingly fair.

On the Bull of Excommunication two of the most interesting contemporary pamphlets are *Bullæ Papisticæ ante brennum contra sereniss. Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginam Elizabetham et contra inclytum Angliæ regnum promulgatæ Refutatio, orthodoxæque Reginæ et Universi regni Angliæ defensio Henrychi Bullingeri* (London, 1572), and *A Disclosing of the great Bull and certain calves that he hath gotten and specially the Monster Bull that roared at my Lord Bishops Gate*. (Imprinted at London by John Daye.) On the same topic see M. Creighton, "The Excommunication of Q. Elizabeth" (*English Historical Review*, vol. VII, p. 81).

For the Jesuits consult: Robert Persons, *The First Entrance of the Fathers of the Society into England* (ed. J. H. Pollen, Catholic Record Society, *Miscellanea*, vol. II, 1906); Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (8 vols., London, 1877-83); Ethelred L. Taunton, *The History of the Jesuits in England, 1580-1773* (Philadelphia and London, 1901); T. G. Law, *Historical Sketch of the Conflicts between Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth with a Reprint of Christopher Bagshaws' 'True Relation of the Faction begun at Wisbich'* (London, 1889). Biographical material: Richard Simpson, *Edmund Champion, a Biography* (London, 1867); *The Letters and Memorials of Wm. Cardinal Allen, 1532-1594* (edited by the Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory, London, 1882); Morris, *Life of Father John Gerard* (London, 1881).

For the student particularly interested in the development of toleration and liberty the following books are suggested: James Mackinnon, *A History of Modern Liberty* (3 vols., London, 1906-08, vol. II, *The Age of the Reformation*, and vol. III, *The Stuarts*). Sir Frederick Pollock, "The Theory of Persecution," in *Essays on Jurisprudence and Ethics*; Schaff, *Religious Liberty* (in Publications of the American Historical Association, 1886-87); Mandell Creighton, *Persecution and Tolerance* (Hulsean Lectures, 1893-94, London and New York, 1895); J. O. Bevan, *Birth and Growth of Toleration* (London, 1909); Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity*. One of the best studies is A. A. Seaton, *Theory of Toleration under the Later Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1911), and it has an introduction of primary importance. Cf., also, C. Beard, *The Reformation of the 16th Century in its relation to modern Thought and Knowledge* (London, 1883). H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization in England* (2 vols., New York, 1891, from

the 2d London ed.), takes a view now somewhat antiquated, but worth considering. The intellectual aspects of the development are ably presented by J. B. Bury, *A History of Freedom of Thought* (*Home University Library*), and in greater detail by J. M. Robertson, *A Short History of Freethought* (2 vols., New York, 1906).

INDEX

INDEX

- Act for the Assurance of the Queen's Supremacy, 30.
- Act for the Better Enforcement of the *Writ de Excommunicato Capiendo*, 30.
- Act of Supremacy, 21-24, 29, 67, 72, 105.
- Act of Uniformity, 21-24, 72, 97, 105, 142.
- Acts of Parliament, religious, 70, 73, 80, 82, 97, 150.
- Advertisements*, Parker's, 142.
- Agnostics, Congregationalists intolerant of, 181.
- Anabaptists, 69 *n.*, 131, 134, 175.
- Anglican Church, 5, 64, 142. *See also* Established Church.
- Anglicanism, 93-130, 161, 180, 187, 190.
- Answer to a certain Libel intituled An Admonition to the Parliament*, An, 155.
- Anti-Vestiarrians, 159.
- Apostolic succession of bishops, 110-15.
- Ascham, 16.
- Atheists, Congregationalists intolerant of, 181.
- Aylmer, Bishop, 25, 157.
- Bacon, 80, 114, 147.
- Bancroft, Bishop of London, 47, 68, 113, 117.
- Barlow, Bishop, 43, 110.
- Barrow, 175.
- Barrowists, 131, 134, 175.
- Bell, Speaker, 151.
- Bible, publication of official, 117; private interpretation of, 120.
- Bigotry, 90.
- Bishops, opposed religious changes, 18; refused to debate with reformers, 19; removal of Catholic, 23; selection of Protestant, 25; courts of, 76; apostolic succession of, 110-15.
- Blackstone, 73.
- Book of Common Prayer*, 10, 11 *n.*, 70, 97, 117, 150; of Edward VI, 20.
- Book of Discipline*, 157.
- Book of Homilies*, 20.
- Bridges, Dr. John, 158 *n.*
- Browne, 176, 177, 180.
- Brownists, 131, 134, 175.
- Bullinger, 146.
- Calendar of English Martyrs*, 50.
- Calvin, 65, 136.
- Calvinism, 10, 99, 165, 188.
- Campion, Jesuit missionary, 40, 51.
- Capias, Writ of, 32.
- Cartwright, Thomas, 119, 133, 135, 154, 160-65, 181.
- Catechism, Nowell's, 98.
- Catholicism, Roman, 9, 14, 125, 173, 186.
- Cecil, Sir William, 13, 18, 21, 61, 98, 141, 172; quoted, 39, 68.
- Ceremonies, religious, 109, 141; a cause of dissent, 135, 138, 152.
- Chancery, Court of, 31.
- Church, a, Congregationalist idea of, 176.
- Church, the, and the secular courts, 76.
- Church and State, 64-92, 122, 153, 168, 172, 180, 189.
- Church of England. *See* Established Church.
- Clergy, removal of Catholic, 19, 23; required to take oath of supremacy, 22; selection of Protestant, 26; incompetent, 26, 95, 102; restraints on, 98; illiterate, 100; lack of morals of, 102; opposed use of habits, 142-45.
- Clerical offices, desire for, 15, 100.
- Commissions, Ecclesiastical, 70; of Royal Visitation, 23, 27; of Review, 73.
- Common Pleas, Court of, 78.
- Confiscation of property for absence from church, 55.

- Conformity, 22, 54.
 Congregationalism, 135, 174-82, 188.
 Congregationalists, 134, 135, 174-82.
 Continental Protestantism, 15, 115, 128, 137, 145.
 Convocation, 18, 150.
 Cooper, Bishop, 101, 113, 149, 151.
 Copping, John, 181 *n*.
 Cosin, 74.
 Council, the, 12, 18, 74, 77, 84-87.
 Court of Arches, 80.
 Courts, 84; ecclesiastical, 71-82; secular, 76.
 Covenant, the, 10.
 Cox, 20, 53.
 Cranmer, 111, 182.
 Crown, power of the, 72-76.

Defence of the Answer, 157.
 Democracy of Presbyterianism, 166.
 Disloyalty, Presbyterian, to Queen, 172.
 Dissent, 116, 129; causes of, 90; Protestant, 131-82.
 Doctrinal standards, Anglican, formulation of, 96-99.

Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ . . . Explicato, 157.
 Ecclesiastical apologetic, 117.
 Ecclesiastical polity, 135, 161, 164.
Ecclesiastical Polity, Hooker's, 164.
 Ecclesiastical theory, formulation of, 105.
 Edward VI, 14.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 5, 183; alleged illegitimacy of, 7; attitude toward the Pope, 8; attitude on the religious question, 12-16, 33, 57; her first Parliament, 18-22; and the clergy, 25, 88, 145, 147; second Parliament, 28-33; excommunication of, 37; the royal prerogative of, 59, 82 *ff*.; power over Church, 59, 67-71, 82, 92, 165; opposed religious zeal, 98, 103; attitude toward Presbyterians, 172-74; stood for no heroic principle, 183.
 Enchanters, repression of, 32.
 Episcopacy, exaltation of, 121.
 Erastianism of Established Church, 70, 93, 108.
 Established Church, 93-130; under Henry and Edward, 14; inauguration of, 22-28; excommunication from, 31; and Catholics, 35-63, 185; success of, 33; compulsory attendance, 41, 54, 94; national character of, 65-66, 88; a compromise, 94, 128; justification of, 105; desire of, for autonomy, 116; and Protestant dissent, 131 *ff*.; and Presbyterians, 135, 188; and Congregationalists, 135, 179-81.
 Establishment. *See* Established Church.
 Excommunication, 30-32, 72; of Elizabeth, 37.
 Executions of Catholics, 50.
Exhortation to the Bishops, etc., 152.
 Exiles, Protestant, 12; Catholic, 52.

 Familists, 131.
 Family of Love, 136.
 Fielde, 149, 151.
 Finlason, 85.
First Admonition to Parliament, 149, 155, 159.
 Foreign dangers to England, 8, 9, 28, 45.
 Forty-two Articles of Edward VI, 97.
 Fox, 183.
 Franchises, 78, 81.
 Frankpledge, 81.

 Gentry, influence of, 59.
 Government, intolerance of, 6, 186, 189, 191; caution of, on religious question, 11-17; moderation of, 14, 29; and the Catholics, 35-63.
 Greenwood, 175.
 Grindal, Bishop, 79, 103, 139, 142, 145.

 Habits, controversy over use of, 138-52.
 Hammond, Dr., 112.
 Hayward, 67.
 Henry VIII, 14, 67, 72, 80.
 Heresy, 21, 97.
 High commission, the, 71, 74.
 High Court of Delegates, 72, 80.
 Historical apologetic for Established Church, 106.
 Hook, 157.
 Hooker, 114, 116, 118-24, 164, 178, 183.

- Horn, 137 *n.*, 139.
 Huguenots, 28.
 Humphrey, Dr., 143, 146.
- Imprisonment of Catholics, 54.
 Indifference, religious, 13.
 Intolerance, definition of, 2; varieties of, 3; religious, 3-4; checked by religious indifference, 14; checked by government, 90; Elizabeth's influence on, 92; ecclesiastical theory a cause of, 109; Anglican, 124, 128; Presbyterian, 154, 159-63; Congregationalist, 178.
- James, King, 117.
 Jesuits, 46, 47, 127, 185; banishment of, 40, 53.
 Jewel, 106, 111, 118-24, 138; quoted, 12, 13, 19, 25, 68, 138.
 Justices of the peace, religious acts enforced by, 30, 76.
- King's Bench, Court of, 31, 71, 78.
 Knollys, Sir Francis, 60, 114, 141.
 Knox, John, 10.
- Landaff, Bishop, 23.
 Laudian Church idea, the, 129.
 Laws against Catholics, 39-42, 46; administration of, 48-63; against Protestant dissenters, 46.
 Leicester, Earl of, 141.
 L'Hôpital, 184.
 Loyalty to the Queen, 14, 16, 46, 54.
 Luther, 15, 179 *n.*, 184.
 Lutheranism, 161, 165.
- Marprelate Tracts*, 131 *n.*, 175.
 Martyr, 19.
 Mary, Queen of Scots, claim of, to throne, 8-11, 28, 42-45, 185.
 Mary Tudor, 7, 13.
 Mass, saying of, prohibited, 41.
 "Mediocrity" of Anglican clergy, 95; of Anglican Church, 129.
 Mildmay, Sir Walter, 141.
 Ministry, educated, opposed by Congregationalists, 177.
 Moderation of Anglican Church, 65.
- National character of Establishment, 65.
 New Testament, authority for Pres-
 byterian organization in, 153, 159-63, 188.
 Nonconformists, 171.
 Northumberland, Earl of, 36.
 Nowell's catechism, 98.
- Oath *ex officio mero*, 117, 171.
 Oath of supremacy, 23, 29-31, 61, 77.
 Oglethorpe, 19.
 Organization, church, Anglican form of, 110, 128; Congregationalist form of, 136; Presbyterian form of, 159.
- Palatinates, 79, 80.
 Papacy, attitude toward Elizabeth, 8, 11, 98; historical claims of, rejected by Protestants, 106; Protestant opposition to, 110, 126, 137, 146.
 Parker, Archbishop, 31 *n.*, 88, 93, 106, 140-45, 151; quoted, 26, 29, 68, 101.
 Parkhurst, 139.
 Parliament, 40, 67, 70, 83, 150; Elizabeth's first, 18-22; Elizabeth's second, 28-33.
 Parsons, the Jesuit, 27, 40, 51.
 Patriotism at basis of Anglican Church, 65.
 Paul IV, Pope, 9, 11.
 "Peculiars," 79.
 Penalties, 41, 48, 55, 72.
 Penry, 175, 180.
 Philip of Spain, 9, 12, 28, 44, 185.
 Pilkington, 69, 139.
 Pius IV, Pope, 28.
 Pius V, Pope, excommunicated Elizabeth, 37.
 Politics and religion, 8-34.
 Pope, attitude of, toward Elizabeth, 8, 11, 28, 37.
 Prayer Book. *See* Book of Common Prayer.
 Preaching prohibited, 12; licenses for, 117.
 Precisianists, 125, 132, 134, 138, 159.
 Prerogative writs, 78, 81.
 Presbyterianism, and Anglicanism, 104, 119, 134, 152, 187; opposition to Catholics, 126, 159, 185; intolerance of, 154, 159-63, 168, 187; form of organization of, 159; based on authority of the Scriptures, 160.
 Presbyterians, 5, 47, 159-64.

- Press censorship, 117.
 Priests, 27, 53, 102.
 Prophesyings, 141.
 Protestant dissent, 131-82.
 Protestant dissenters, attitude of Anglicanism toward, 124.
 Protestantism, 14, 103, 186.
 Protestants, 20, 38, 93, 118; return of exiled, 12; Elizabeth's attitude toward, 12; impatience of, with government, 12, 20; candidates for clerical offices, 25; in Scotland, 44; did not oppose union of Church and State, 69; Anglican intolerance of, 128.
 Provincial commissions, 71.
 Puritans, 60, 125, 128, 131-34.

 Reason, the rule of, in Anglicanism, 163.
 Rebellion of the Northern Earls, 35.
 Recusants, 42, 53, 57, 117.
 Reformation, the, 10.
 Religion, intolerance in, 3-4; and politics, 8-34; of England, changes in, 13; indifference in, 14.
 Religious houses annexed to Crown, 22.
 Religious liberty, 166.
Reply to an Answer made of Doctor Whitgift, A, 157.
Report of the Ecclesiastical Commission of 1832, 79.
Rest of the Second Replie, The, 157.
 Reynolds, 141.
 Rights, special, 78.
 Rites and ceremonies, 107, 150.
 Robinson, 175.
 Roman Catholics. *See* Catholics.
 Royal Commission, 72; of Visitation, 23, 27, 71.
 Royal headship of Church, 66-71, 122.
 Royal prerogative, the, 82.
 Royal Visitation, Commission of, 23, 27, 71.

 Sandys, 93, 101, 139, 153.
 Scotland, 10, 44, 172.
 Scripture, authority of, 120; for Presbyterian form of organization, 159; for Episcopal form of organization, 163.

Second Admonition to Parliament, 154-56, 169.
Second Replie, The, 157.
Second Scotch Confession, 179 n.
 Secular courts and the Church, 76.
 "Seekers," 131.
 Segregation of Catholics, 55.
 "Separatists," 132.
 Smith, Sir Thomas, 141.
 Spiritual life of the Church, 99-105.
 Star Chamber, the, 74-77, 84, 117.
 State and Church. *See* Church and State.
 Strype, 87.
 Sturmius, 16.
 Supremacy, Act of, 21-24, 29, 67, 72, 105.

 Taxation of Catholics, 53, 57.
 Thacher, Elias, 181.
 Thirty-nine Articles, the, 94, 97, 117, 171.
 "Three Articles," 117.
 Tolerance, hope of Catholics for, 47; advance of England toward, 63, 91; effect of union of Church and State on, 89; defects in government's policy of, 183, 186; success of government's policy of, 189.
 Travers, Walter, 111, 114, 157.
 Turner, Dean of Wells, 141.

 Uniformity, Act of, 21-24, 72, 97, 105, 142.
 Universities, 78 n.; graduates of, required to take oath, 31.

 Vestiarian controversy, 90, 141-47, 156.
 Vestments. *See* Habits.
Viewe of the Churche that the Authors of the late published Admonition would have planted, etc., 152.
 Visitation, Commission of Royal, 23, 27, 71.

 Walsingham, 40, 45, 57, 141.
 Westmoreland, Earl of, 36.
 Whitgift, Dr. John, 98, 113, 117, 129, 143 n., 165; controversy with Cartwright, 154-57.
 Wilcox, 149, 151.
 Witches, laws against, 32.
Writ de Excommunicato Capiendo, 31.

The Riverside Press
CAMBRIDGE . MASSACHUSETTS
U . S . A

THIS BOOK

14 DAY USE
RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED
LOAN DEPT.

This book is due on the last date stamped below, or
on the date to which renewed.
Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

8Jul'65DP

REC'D LD

JUL 7'65-1 PM

NOV 19 1982 125

REC. CIR. NOV 12'82

LD 21A-60m-3.'65
(F2336s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

YC 29898

